

LLANGWM
THROUGH THE AGES

PART ONE
1244 - 1800

W.G. THOMAS



LLANGWM
THROUGH THE AGES

PART ONE
1244 - 1800

W.G. THOMAS

FOREWORD

Strange though it may seem, the village of Llangwm, whose authentic life-style and folk culture once attracted unusual attention from far beyond Pembrokeshire, has never been the subject of a published history. For the last forty years, the main work of reference has been the manuscript 'Langum Scrapbook' (1953) compiled by the late Miss Elizabeth Morgan, a member of a deeply rooted Edward's Pill family, and a redoubtable teacher at the village school for forty years. But for it, generations of inhabitants would have been totally ignorant of the antecedents of the uncommon community to which they umbilically belonged. The transformation which has taken place in the village in the recent years has removed many links with the fast-receding past, and the availability of an unprecedented range of sources has made the publication of a revised, updated version of its history a matter of some priority. This modest volume, to be complemented by another at a future date, is offered in the hope that it will apprise present and future residents of the parish of the main features of their heritage, and enhance their appreciation of their local environment.

Since even before the advent of motorised transport and the mass media, no rural community was completely immune to outside influences, a deliberate attempt has been made to place Llangwm's history in a South Pembrokeshire setting. Readers are reminded when confronted with excursions into the history of the neighbouring village of Hook that the two villages are in the same parish, and that their earlier histories are so considerably intertwined as to be inseparable. Occasional references to Guildford require no justification. Though geographically within the Burton parish until 1951, it has always been socially part of Llangwm village.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I would like to place on record my thanks to several people for their ready co-operation - to Roland Thorne, M.A., London, for guidance and practical assistance which has greatly exceeded the obligations of friendship; to Rev. Martin Connop Price, Banbury, Oxfordshire, for the loan of the relevant section of his manuscript on the Pembrokeshire Coalfield; to Nancy Lewis B.A., Milford Haven, for translation of the extract from the *Valor Ecclesiasticus*; to Brian Howells, M.A., of the Picton Trust for a copy of the Nash genealogy from the Dale Castle MS; and to my wife for her patient deciphering and typing of the protean script.

W. Grenville Thomas. 25, *Romilly Crescent, Hakin, Milford Haven.*

(i)

AUTHOR

A native of the hamlet of Guildford, Grenville Thomas was educated at Llangwm village school, Haverfordwest Boys' Grammar School (1945 - 52), and the University College of Cardiff (1952 - 56). For almost his entire career, he taught at Milford Haven Grammar School, where he was Head of History for twenty-seven years (1961 - 88). He is best known as a Nonconformist preacher, and since 1969, he has been the lay minister of Thornton Baptist Chapel. His wife Gloria is a former Infant teacher, and they have a graduate daughter who is a Language teacher in Bath.

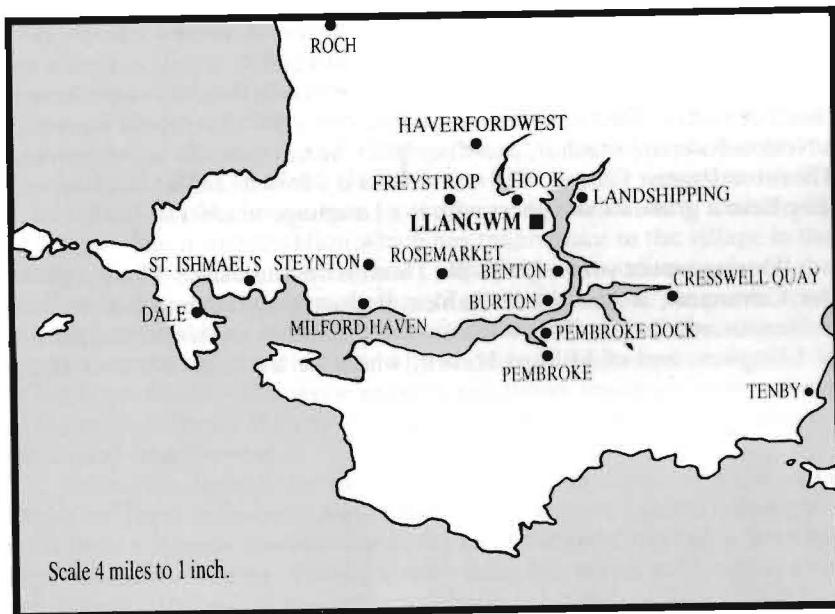
During recent years, Grenville Thomas has published 'The People of the Covenant', a history of Galilee Baptist Chapel, and has written numerous articles for 'The Western Telegraph' on aspects of the history of Llangwm, and of Milford Haven, where he has lived for over thirty years.

Photographs on pages 1 and 6 are by courtesy of Mr. Bert Jones of Hill Mountain.

Produced and printed by Elidaprint, Haverfordwest.
© 1991 W. Grenville Thomas.
ISBN No. 0 9515113 1 9
1st Impression 1991.

(ii)

The Situation of Llangwm
in South Pembrokeshire.



The place names are restricted to those towns and villages which are specifically mentioned in the text.

THAT NAME



The village name on a road sign at The Kilns.

It is almost de rigueur to begin the history of a community by investigating the name by which it is usually identified. In the case of the village and parish of Llangwm, custom is an imperative obligation. At least since the turn of the twentieth century, the enigmatic name has provoked periodic outbursts of speculation, and has continually posed acute problems for those who would seriously embark upon the esoteric study of place names. Whereas the etymology of the names of such neighbouring parishes as Burton, Freystrop, Rosemarket and Steynton has been traced with reasonable confidence, that of Llangwm has severely tested even the well-honed skills of distinguished topographical historians.

During the long-running, inconclusive debate, there has been one hypothesis which, though originally propagated by an educated minority, has so established itself as to achieve the status of dogma. It has persistently contended that the correct rendering is "LANGUM", that it is derived from two Norse words, and that it was wrongly Celticised, probably during the rectorship (1901-1919) of the militantly Welsh-speaking Rev. Henry Evans. This Scandinavian thesis has proved to be sufficiently plausible to gain unchallenged entry into a number of reputable glossaries, and it has been uncritically re-iterated in project work on the village by countless secondary school pupils and college students. Only during the last decade has the much greater accessibility of records and the insights of several Pembrokeshire-born scholars made it possible properly to evaluate the theory.

SOURCES

It is not difficult to detect the particular sources from which it has been derived. In his magisterial "History of little England beyond Wales" (1888), Tenby-born Edward Laws did not focus upon the parish name, but he did offer a glossary of colloquialisms, allegedly of Norse origin, several of which were in regular use in the village. His further assertion that such nearby locations as Freystrop, Barnlake and Dumpledale were also Norse seemed to invite the conclusion of a distant Scandinavian past for Langum. More influential, because much more explicit, was Dr. Henry Owen's editorial comment (1897) in George Owen's "Description of Pembrokeshire"-The Langum folk still retain peculiarities of dress, language and custom. They are probably a Norse remnant left in the midst of the surrounding population. The name also may be Norse-Lang heimr, the long village. Heimr in modern Norse is contracted into -om, or -um. See Cleasby and Ugfusson's Dictionary". Dr Owen's use of the tentative 'may be' suggested an initial reluctance to be dogmatic, but thereafter, he displayed a combative commitment to the thesis. In his "Old Pembrokeshire Families" (1902), he rather peevishly pontificated "Langum the old Norse Langheim, of late ignorantly Welshified into Langwm". Even if he dropped the accusation of ignorance, he repeated the substance of his interpretation in a footnote of his "Calendar of Public Records Relating To Pembs" (1919).

No doubt aware of Dr Owen's views, in his very readable "History of Pembrokeshire" (1909), Rev. James Philipps was resoundingly emphatic - "Langum is not the restoration of a Celtic name, but the corruption of a Scandinavian name." More than that, he rashly claimed an ability to detect Scandinavian physical traits in the inhabitants of the village. Since, during the first decade or so of the twentieth century, the village was attracting increasing attention as a uniquely distinctive community, it is hardly surprising that the local press latched on to the Norse thesis, and in so doing impressed it on the public mind. In its edition of Oct. 9th, 1912, "The Haverfordwest and Milford Haven Telegraph" strongly endorsed Rev James Philipps' conviction about the villagers -"They are commonly supposed to be Flemish, like the majority of South Pembrokeshire people, but their tall, strong features denote a Scandinavian origin". It was not that the people of Llangwm knew of such origins: it was that they were frequently informed of them by those whose superior learning they had no alternative but to accept. Once launched at such a level, the thesis was transmitted down succeeding generations. The Langum entry in the Royal Commission of the Ancient Monuments (1925) quoted Dr. Owen's editorial comment verbatim, and so, fifty years later, did P. Valentine Harries in a reference to the village name in his "South Pembrokeshire Dialect and Place Names" (1974).

THE VIKINGS

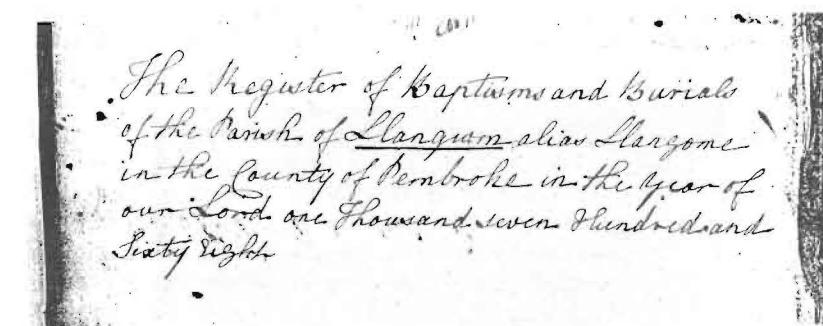
Several of these local historians wrote at a time when, especially among the intelligentsia, there was a fashionable preoccupation with remote ethnic origins. A close scrutiny of their works has confirmed that their claims were more the outcome of conjecture than of careful investigative research. Dr. Owen's argument that 'heimr' was contracted into - 'um' in 'modern Norse', admittedly later amended to the 'old Norse', completely overlooked the fact that since the inhabitants of the Pembrokeshire village were completely ignorant of such a development, they could not have been influenced by it. Though public awareness of it has been slow to develop, several professional scholars have insisted that Edward Laws palpably exaggerated the extent of Norse influence in Dyfed. During a protracted period (844-1091), the Vikings terrorised the coastal areas, perhaps wintered in the Haven, exacted tribute from local rulers and provided mercenaries for them, and they might well have been rewarded with the lordships of townships. But there is no conclusive documentary, archaeological or dialectical evidence that they created a colony, a provided mercenaries for them, and they might well have been rewarded with the lordships of townships. But there is no conclusive documentary, archaeological or dialectical evidence that they created a colony, a miniature Danelaw, in South West Wales, or even that they actually established settlements. George Owen (1552-1613), the first historian of Pembrokeshire, did not even mention any tradition of Norse settlement in the county. Richard Fenton (1811) was the first historian of Pembrokeshire to realise the importance of Norse influence in the area, but he certainly did not mount a case for permanent and extensive settlement. Dr. Brian John (1976) reported no reliable 'archaeological trace' of either an island settlement or of any colonies on the coast. In fact, the only Norse 'find' has been that of a lead object with a brass inset of a dragon at Freshwater East. It is true that there are at least twenty-one place names of Norse derivation, mostly linked with coastal landmarks and offshore islands, and that among them are Amroth, Caldey, Fishguard, Gelliswick, Grassholm, Ramsey, Stockholm, Skomer, Steynton, and arguably, Milford and Haverfordwest. But these only afford evidence of intensive maritime activity, not of lasting settlement.

Repeatedly, during the last fifty years, Dr. B.G. Charles has taken scholarly issue with the dialectical grounds often adduced in support of the Scandinavian thesis. In his "Old Norse Relations with Wales" (1934), he challenged the majority conclusion that such test words as 'lake', 'clom', 'grip', 'bottom', and 'back' were of Norse derivation, and proposed that, having been discovered among the dialects of several West Country counties, they were just as likely to be of Old or Middle English origin. More directly, in his much consulted "Non-Celtic Place Names"

(1938), he further proposed that 'Knapp', the name of the farm between the Gail and Black Tar, was derived from the Old English CNAEPP, signifying 'top, summit of a hill, a short, sharp ascent'. Even a cursory glance at his meticulously compiled "The English Dialect of South Pembrokeshire" (1982) will demonstrate just how few - 'stack' and 'hayguard' - of the old village colloquialisms were from the predicated Norse. There is a further commonsense consideration that makes the thesis of a Norse remnant untenable. A number of Main Street house deeds and a few Ordnance Survey maps make clear that Llangwm did not really develop a 'long village' shape until the nineteenth century (most of the dwellings between Llangwm Farm and the Kilns have been built since the 1930s). It is extremely unlikely that such a formation would have been such a striking feature a thousand years before that as to prompt the bestowal of the name 'Langheim' upon the village. Very obviously, the Scandinavian theory is a piece of romantic speculation which owes its currency to Dr. Owen's prestigious advocacy of it.

THE SYLLABLES

A diligent search through a range of documents has enabled a topographical profile of the parish name over almost 800 years to be constructed. References in a Catalogue of the British Museum MSS Relating to Wales, Archaeologia Cambrensis, Taxatio Ecclesiastica, the Calendar of Public Records Relating to Pembs, and the West Wales Historical Records leave no shred of doubt that during the latter part of the Middle Ages, the name almost invariably had three syllables - LANDEGUNNIE (1244), LANDIGAN (1287), LANDEGOM (1291), LANDEGAM (1303), LANDECOMBE and LANTIGORN (1376), LANDEGOM (1383), and LANDEGON (1441). The reference from the Taxatio of 1291 requires extended comment. The spelling in the Record Commission's copy of 1802 is 'Landegoin', but a London palaeographer, who has studied the document is convinced that this is a typing error. Apparently, the copy is a collation of three documents which give 'Landegom' or alternatively 'Landegoni'. Because the original compilers used the nominative and the genitive of the Latin forms of place-names at random, it is not possible to be certain which of the two versions was intended, but 'Landegom' is the most likely. During, and after, the Tudor period, the middle syllable was dispensed with, and the name was generally reduced to two syllables - LANGOME in the Valor Ecclesiasticus (1535), LLANGOME in the Letters and Papers of Henry VIII (1539), LLANGUNI on Saxton's Map (1578), and LANGOM, LANDGOME AND LANDGOOM in George Owen's Description (1605). These are the earliest discoverable spellings of the name, and in



The Welsh version of the name in the Register of the Parish Church at the Haverfordwest Record Office.

form and sound, they seem more Middle English than Norse. It is surely significant that the first cluster of these date from a period when English settlers, mostly from the West Country, are known to have entered Southern Dyfed in considerable numbers. In later centuries, the spelling varied from LANGUM on Speed's Map (1612), to LLANGUM on the Hearth Tax returns (1670), to LANGHAM on Bowen's Map of Pembrokeshire (1770), to LANGUM in the census of 1861 and on the O.S. Map of 1865. Probably aware of the implications, 'The Western Telegraph' doggedly persisted with the latter spelling until the 1950's.

LLANGWM

For all his formidable erudition and singular contribution to Pembrokeshire studies, Dr. Owen was also mistaken in his impression that 'LLANGWM' was a recent innovation. It seems first to appear in the Episcopal Register of St Davids in a reference to the appointment of the rector William Leya (April 1489) in a ceremony at Lamphey. This is most probably a piece of transliteration by the 1917 copyist, but it was definitely used - LLANGWM SYR BENFRO - by the Welsh-speaking Lewys Dwmm in his Heraldic Visitation of Wales in 1613. The Catalogue of Ecclesiastical Records of the Commonwealth (1643 - 1660) used it with the exception of one letter - LLANGYM. More convincing, the Welsh version was clearly written by the rector Rev. James Higgon on the inside cover of the parish church register during the second half of the eighteenth century - "The Register of Baptisms and Burials of the Parish of LLANGWM, alias Llangome, in the County of Pembroke in the year of our Lord, 1768". Over a century later, the long-serving rector Rev. Thomas Williams employed the Welsh spelling in a surviving letter of

Dec. 1868. In view of that, it is rather odd that 'Langum' was engraved on the village school, especially since the rector's letter was concerned with



The spelling of the name on the roadside wall of the village school at The Gail.

the purchase of land for the school's erection. Had that been the phonetic form of the name, it would hardly have been used for such a public purpose. If later, Rev. Henry Evans was most insistent on the Welsh form, it was surely because he was aware of the evidence in the records of his church. Particularly during the second half of the nineteenth century, the Welsh rendering was often employed for legal and formal purposes. As was often the practice in the Anglicised areas of Wales, one 'l' was sometimes omitted by English record keepers, and occasionally a 'u' was substituted for a 'w'.

THE WELSH THESIS

The most credible explanation of the etymology of the name is the simplest - that it is derived from two Welsh words, 'Llan' (church) and 'cwm' (vale or valley). According to the late Prof. E.G. Bowen's "Settlements of the Celtic Saints in Wales" (1954), the first word originally meant 'an enclosure', and has the basic meaning of clearing or an open space. In the vast majority of place-names in which it occurs, it is found in a religious context, and is often linked with the name of a saint. On the early sacred enclosure, the cells of Celtic monks were built, but with the passage of time, these were replaced by a church and 'Llan' came to signify the latter. In further development, it was often used to refer not particularly to the church, but to the community which had grown up

around it. Apparently, in Llangwm parish, unlike that of neighbouring Llanstadwell, the practice of linking the prefix with a saint's name was not followed. The parish church is dedicated to Saint Jerome, sometimes rendered Hierom, but there is no early version of the name that resembles Llanhierom. Moreover, the first time the church was linked with this particular saint was in Bacon's "Liber Regis" (1786), much too late for it to have influenced the name of the parish. It would seem that the other practice mentioned by Prof. Bowen, that of linking the prefix with a locational feature, as in the case of Llandaff, was adopted. Since the heart of the parish was a church in a vale, the nomen 'Llangwm' was transparently appropriate.

In recent correspondence, Dr. B. G. Charles of Aberystwyth, the leading authority on place-names who deliberately omitted Llangwm from his "Non-Celtic Place-names", has carefully stated the argument for the Welsh thesis. "The difficulty in arriving at the original form of the name from the early spellings is that most of them are Anglicised, or seem to be so. If there was a pre-Norman Conquest Welsh settlement and church here called Llangwm, the early English-speaking conquerors and settlers seem to have adopted it, but faced with the difficulty of pronouncing this strange and meaningless name, they may well have substituted their own Middle English sounds most akin to the Welsh ones. The Welsh 'Llan' has always been a difficult word for an Englishman to say properly - 'lan' is the best that he can do. It seems to me that in the case of Llangwm, the English settlers, unable to make anything of 'Llan', changed it to 'Land', the Middle English Lande, a word which makes sense of sorts. 'Cwm' or 'gum' was less of a problem. No doubt, the scribes of the early period were English and ignorant of Welsh, and it is their efforts to spell the name in their written records that have come down to us in the above quoted forms. It is they who established the misleading but conventional written form LANDEGOM for Llangwm, which lasted over a long period until it was ultimately restored to its present disyllabic form"

Dr Charles' statement, positing a Welsh name which was obscured for several centuries before it was eventually re-instated, is admittedly a theory, and it does require the existence of a Welsh settlement at Llangwm before the Anglo-Norman conquest to clinch it. But it is much more convincing than its Norse rival, and it has the capital advantage of accommodating the available evidence. Its crux has indirectly received reinforcement from no less an expert than the Herald Extraordinary of Wales, Major Francis Jones of Carmarthen - "Even in south Pembrokeshire where Anglo-Norman occupation was more pronounced, the native population was not so much displaced as absorbed, as is shown by the names of Welshmen in early deeds and documents and by Welsh names like Tenby, Pembroke, Pwllcrochan, LLANGWM (Major Jones might also have included Llanstadwell, Lamphey, Rhoscrowther), which

would not have survived had the occupation been as ruthless and as thorough as it is sometimes alleged to have been." Dr. Brian John reflected the change which has taken place in informed opinion when he firmly placed Llangwm in his list of Welsh place names.

LATE MEDIEVAL LANDEGOM

THE LANDSKER AND 'LITTLE ENGLAND'

Because its peculiar history has made it a linguistic and ethnic curiosity, Pembrokeshire has frequently attracted the inquiring attention of university academics, and excited the interest of countless visitors. In pre-Norman times, it was, almost certainly, a single Celtic community, organised into cantrefi and cymydau, and ruled by the princes of Dyfed. Two pieces of evidence from South Pembrokeshire prompt the conclusion that it was all Welsh, and that there was no Englishry. Tenby, known as Dynbych-y-pyscod, was the subject of a ninth century poem which shows it to have been the site of the palace of a local Welsh ruler. The surviving roadside memorial stone of Maredudd Ap Edwin, an eleventh century king of Deheubarth, strongly suggests that Carew may have been the estate of a Welsh ruler. It was the death, in 1093, of Rhys Ap Tewdwr, King of Deheubarth, in a battle fought near Brecon which triggered the Anglo-Norman conquest. The defeat left Dyfed vulnerable and exposed, and appreciating the strategic implications of the situation, Roger Montgomery, the Earl of Shrewsbury and one of the three most powerful marcher lords, launched an offensive from Central Wales, in which he over-ran Ceredigion, conquered Dyfed, and established the first stockaded fortification at Pembroke. The great Welsh Revolt of 1094 recovered Ceredigion and much of Dyfed, but under the leadership of Gerald de Windsor, Pembroke remained in Norman hands. During the reign of Henry I (1100 - 1135), the Anglo-Norman invaders, using the rebuilt Carmarthen Castle as their base, systematically subjugated South Pembrokeshire by a mixture of military force and shrewd policy. They took possession of lands and estates, and displaced, but did not always completely expel, the indigenous population. The original, hastily constructed earthworks often developed into more substantial motte and bailey forts, and during the course of the twelfth century, formidable fortresses were erected at Haverfordwest and Pembroke. As the Welsh were thrust back northwards, frontier castles were built at strategic intervals, approximately four miles apart at Roch, Wiston, Llawhaden, Narberth and Amroth. These marked the beginning of the famous landsker, a name derived from the Old English 'landscearu', meaning 'a landmark or a boundary', as a military frontier. By dividing the north

from the south, the Landsker promoted the development of that 'Little England Beyond Wales', of which Llangwm has been part for eight hundred years.

THE FEUDAL SYSTEM AND THE PARISHES

Inspired organisers and almost compulsive innovators, the Normans introduced radical changes into South Pembrokeshire. They defined and more strictly imposed the Feudal or Manorial System, in which land was not so much owned as 'held' in return for rents and services. The majority of the peasantry were villeins, who were tenants of virgates of thirty or so acres, and cottars, who occupied messuages of a house, with outbuildings and five to ten acres. They were liable to a fixed quota of 'week work', usually for two days on the lord's demesne, and a variable amount of 'boon work' at ploughing and harvest time. But the liability extended considerably beyond the provision of labour services. When he took over the land, the villein had to pay an entry fee, and when his daughter married, he had to make a payment known as merchet. Obliged to have his corn ground at the manorial mill, he had to pay a portion of the grain, known as mulfre, for the privilege. An annual rent or tallage had also to be paid to the lord, who when the peasant, died, claimed his best beast or chattel as heriot. The Normans also introduced the openfield system of agriculture on the English model into those parts of Pembrokeshire where soil and climatic conditions made arable farming practicable. On most manors, the castle or manor house and the lord's demesne were surrounded by, or were adjacent to, three large, unhedged fields, in which the peasantry had their scattered strips. A three-fold crop rotation was followed. Wheat and barley or oats were sown in consecutive years, and for the third year the field was fallow. Late in the pre-Norman period, the Welsh church had recognised the supremacy of Rome, and the episcopal system had been gaining ground. After the appointment of the first Norman bishop of St. Davids (1115), the pace of ecclesiastical change visibly accelerated. The diocese was divided into archdeaconries, and these into deaneries and parishes, and in each of the latter, the tithes were assigned to the priest for his maintenance. The Roman Catholic church, which was independent of the state and its laws, was equipped with its own courts and canon law for the trial of offending clergy and for cases involving marriage and probate.

THE FLEMINGS

For the last eighty years, there has been a widespread impression that

the history of Llangwm was profoundly influenced not by the invading Normans, but by the immigrant Flemings. There is no doubt that after 1108, the latter responded to Henry I's request for assistance in consolidating his hold over South Dyfed by settling in the cantrefs of Rhos and Daugleddau. Gerald the Welshman (1188) extolled them as a people 'brave and robust', 'well versed in commerce and handicraft', and 'a hardy race equally ready for the plough and the sword'. They were hated by the Welsh because they were ruthless colonists who 'drove away all the inhabitants of the land', and they were not always on good terms with the Norman military aristocracy. Fenton (1811) was quite mistaken in his statement that they consisted of the 'lower orders of society'. Many were farmers and traders of some substance, and a number of their leaders achieved positions of eminence, a few as custodians of the castles at Wiston and Haverfordwest. However, the idea that Llangwm originated as a Flemish colony is a tenacious myth propagated, again during the first part of the twentieth century, by the literati and paparazzi of Haverfordwest to account for the quaint community on their doorstep. It enjoyed maximum publicity with the appearance of two articles on the village, one in March 1912 in the American "Baltimore News" and the other, on January, 30th, 1913, in the "Daily Mirror". The latter, significantly contributed by 'Our Special Correspondent from Haverfordwest', was confident enough to be almost ostentatiously precise. Without trace of reservation, it asserted that the inhabitants of the village were 'descended from the Flemings who settled near here in 1105'. Almost co-incidentally in point of time, in their "History of Haverfordwest and Other Pembrokeshire Parishes" (1914), J. W. Phillips and F. J. Warren were quite certain that the women of 'Langum', who strongly resembled those of the Gower, were 'pure Flemings'.

The de-bunking of such a colourful and hard-wearing myth is not a congenial exercise, but it has to be insisted that, as in the case of the Norse thesis, there is no sound historical evidence to validate these kindred claims. The extent of the Flemish presence in the area has been considerably exaggerated, and several historians of Pembrokeshire have recently contended that these immigrants did not colonise large areas, and that such settlements as were established left little mark on the dialect of South Pembrokeshire. According to Dr. Charles' estimate, only nine or ten words of that dialect betray Flemish influence. Of these, only two - *dropel*, threshold, and *slop*, gap - regularly figured in the old Llangwm dialect, which was spoken by most of the villagers up to, and even beyond, the Second World War.

THE ENGLISH SETTLERS

The Flemings were gradually swamped by English settlers from the West Country, who migrated in considerable numbers along the coastal plain of South Wales, and probably also used the sea-routes across the Bristol Channel to the ports of Pembrokeshire, at least until the end of the thirteenth century. There is tangible evidence of several kinds that the influence of these settlers was much greater than that of the well publicised Flemings. In South Pembrokeshire, the Devonian acre was adopted as the unit of land measurement, and there were a number of Pembrokeshire knights who held lands on the other side of the Bristol Channel. More interesting for the twentieth century enquirer is the impact of these settlers on dialectical forms. It has become increasingly clear to philologists that the South Pembrokeshire dialect belongs to the South Western Group of English dialects, which originated in the region of the West Saxons of ancient Wessex. Many similarities have been discovered between it and the dialects of the West Country, especially with those of Cornwall, Devon, Somerset, Dorset, Gloucestershire and Hampshire. The following are only a selection but they all featured in the old Llangwm dialect, and they were, not Norse or Flemish as has often been alleged, but Old or Middle (ie before circa 1450) English.

Belg, to bellow; *cluck*, broody; *culm*, the slack of anthracite; *disle*, thistle; *drang*, a passage; *dryth*, drought; *evil*, garden fork; *grig*, to pinch; *hore-weed*, sea-weed; *hurts*, whortleberries; *lab*, to gossip; *lake*, stream; *lintern*, lintel; *murfles*, freckles; *nuddock*, head or nape of the neck; *mottlins*, pig intestines; *pilk*, to butt or to walk with head inclined forward; *pill*, tidal creek; *pinzel*, a small boil; *pople*, a pebble; *sog*, a comatose condition; *snob*, mucus; *trip*, to tip; and *wisht*, a delicate person.

THE DE LA ROCHES

As every self-respecting native knows - or ought to know - the early fortunes of the parish were intertwined with those of the distinguished family of the rock, called de la Roche in Norman French and de Rupe in charter Latin. It seems that they actively participated in the Pembrokeshire conquest of Ireland under Earl Strongbow, and founded a family in that country which was headed by the Viscounts Fermoy. It has sometimes been asserted that the de la Roches were descended, on the female side, from Charlemagne the Great, Emperor of the Franks (768-814), and, on the male side, from the lords of Rochville, who

accompanied William the Conqueror to Britain, and thereafter gave their name to Roch castle after being awarded lands in Pembrokeshire. However, this was probably a spurious exercise in pedigree - mongering, a flight of genealogical fancy, indulged in by a family of rank intent upon even further aggrandisement. The most favoured view, carefully set out by Dr. Henry Owen in his 'Old Pembrokeshire Families', is that the de la Roches were descended from Godebert, a Fleming of Rhos, who in 1131 acquired land in that district which had formerly been held by Lambert Echinors, who may have given his name to Lambston. His two sons, Richard and Rodbert, are known to be among those who took part in the Irish enterprise. The former was one of the first invaders, and is referred to as 'a Knight from Pembroke' in the Norman-French poem "The Song of Dermot and the Earl". The second son Rodbert, who gave lands in Rhos to Slebech, came into possession of Irish property which had originally been granted to Maurice of Prendergast, one of the numerous founders of Pembrokeshire families in Ireland. There is concrete evidence that Rodbert's three sons - David, Henry and Adam - adopted Norman customs and language, and took the name de la Roche. It appears in the charter in which they gave the island of Begerin in Wexford harbour, and the church on it, to St. Nicholas of Exeter, and dedicated it to their father Rodbert, the son of Godebert.

ROCH and BENTON CASTLES

In South Pembrokeshire, the two most important branches of the family settled at Roch and Llangwm. The first of the former was Adam de la Roch, who built the early fortification at Roch (circa 1140), and who granted the charter (1170) to the reformed Benedictine order of Tiron for the founding of Pill Priory (Milford Haven). This Adam must have substantially added to the family acres. In the charter, he specifically named the churches of the lands he had acquired, and these included St. Peter's, Steynton, St. Mary's, Roch, St. Davids (now St. Peters), Little Newcastle, and St. Nicholas's, New Moat. The Adam who was a witness to the Marshall charters to Haverford in 1219 may well have been a son, Adam the younger. Another son was John, who, in 1251, held one knight's fee (an estate) and one-third of another in the barony of Roch. Family prospects were further improved when John married Matilda, the niece of Thomas Wallensis, Bishop of St David's (1248 - 1256), and received from the bishop the grant of the manor of Eglwys Cummin. It was this augmenting status which, towards the end of the thirteenth century, prompted the building of the stone castle, a D-shaped tower house on the summit of a natural outcrop of pre-Cambrian igneous rock, at Roch, within the earthworks of the previous fortification, and on the

western end of the Landsker. There is a persistent legend associated with the building of the castle which has Llangwm connections. According to it, John, if it was he, constructed the tower on such an elevation to foil a prophecy that he would eventually die from the bite of an adder. Inspite of his extravagant precautions, he failed to deny his destiny, and was the victim of a bite by a snake unwittingly brought into the castle in a bundle of firewood. The legend was relayed by Fenton (1811), and has been repeated many times, most recently in the works of G. Scourfield (1983) and P. Davies (1987). There are still many who are convinced that the effigy of a knight in the Lady Chapel at Llangwm Church is that of a de la Roche of Roch, and that there is a mark on the leg which represents the viper.

Though Roch remained the administrative centre of the barony, it is probable that the de la Roches did not continuously live at the castle after they achieved eminence. For a time at least, they occupied their small fortress of Benton Castle in the manor of Burton. Consisting of a three - storeyed cylindrical tower in a small irregular court, it was perched on the verge of a steep cliff, and commanded a panoramic view of the deep and vulnerable Cleddau River. Built either on the order of the Marshall Earls of Pembroke during the reign of Henry III (1216-1272), or in 1293 by Bishop Beck of St. David's, it protected the district of Rhos from attack via the Haven, and it ensured that when the de la Roches were in residence, they could summon fairly swift assistance from Pembroke, Picton and Haverfordwest. However, the fortress was hardly suitable for extended occupation. It had no fire-places or stairs, and access to each floor was probably by ladders or trap-doors. The present building, with its conspicuous limed tower rising out of the surrounding woods, was restored by the Pegge family after 1932.



A view of the restored Benton Castle from Benton Wood.

THE PARISH CHURCH

The Llangwm branch of the de la Roche family can be traced back to Robert, probably the son of Richard, Rodbert's brother, who was granted

land at Talbenny by William Marshall, the Earl of Pembroke, who died in 1219. Residing at Great Nash 'Castle House', they are chiefly recalled in the present village as the builders of the parish church. When the contributer, presumably the rector, of a news item to the "Haverfordwest and Milford Haven Telegraph" on April 15th, 1908, alleged that people had worshipped on the Llangwm site since before St. Augustine landed in Kent (597), he was making the unwarranted assumption that the church had developed from one of the 'Llans' of Celtic Christianity. Tradition is very clear that the original church was erected by the de la Roches several centuries later. The precise date cannot be discovered, but the frequently suggested reign of Henry I (1100 - 1135) does seem too early. At that time, the second phase of the Norman conquest of Pembrokeshire was under way, and the de la Roche family had not really established itself. It is very likely that the initial building was a simple structure, perhaps consisting of a nave and a chancel. The cruciform lay-out of the present edifice, with a nave (44½ft x 16ft), a chancel (25ft x 16ft), a north aisle or lady chapel (21ft x 16½ft), and the south transept (7½ft x 9ft) does conform to the pattern of a church of the twelfth to thirteenth centuries. Though it obviously existed before that time, it is first mentioned as the church of Landegom in the famous *Taxatio Ecclesiastica* of 1291. In that instance, like the neighbouring churches of Burton and Lawrenny, it was assessed for tenths to the King at £8, sixteen shillings of which was payable. The parish was a rectory, in which the tithes - the tenth part of the annual increase of all stock and crop - were paid directly to the incumbent. Since these could take the form of the tenth calf, lamb or pig, the tenth of a fishing or hunting haul, or the tenth of animals slaughtered in the Autumn, the rector almost invariably had a tithe barn or paddock for their collection.

FIRST DE LA ROCHE REFERENCE (1244)

The first explicit documentary mention of the de la Roche connection with the Llangwm parish is of Robert's brother, David, lord of LANDEGUNNIE (Llangwm) and Mayclochau (Maenclochog). In 1244, he granted to the abbot and convent of the Alba Domus at Whitland the right of common pasture over all his lands of Presely for seven years, and remission of two shillings annual rent minus one penny. On the Sunday before St. Hilary Day (13th, Jan.), 1287, Robert's grandson Gilbert of LANDIGAN made a grant to a certain Philip and his wife Alice for their lives of a farm called 'Russells lande' (Rushlands). The rent was half a mark of silver to be paid half yearly at Easter and Michaelmas, and the tenant was to do service at 'the court of Landigan', with power to dig in the lord's marl pit there. A mixture of clay and carbonate of lime, marl was

used as a fertiliser, but the labour involved in digging, carting and spreading it was great. If both Philip and Alice died within twenty years of the date of the lease, they were entitled to lease the farm to anyone for a period of four years. Interestingly enough, among the witnesses of the lease was David of Patrickchurch, the holder of the estate on which many centuries later Pembroke Dockyard (1814-1926) was to be sited. On the day before the vigil of All Saints (Nov. 1st), 1303, David, who had succeeded his father Gilbert as lord of LANDEGOM and Maynclochau, entered into a similar agreement to that which the first David had concluded in 1244. He granted to the Alba Domus of Whitland and the convent there, as part of the price of a horse which he had brought from them, a share in the common pasture on Presely and the surrounding waste places for seven years at one penny, and thereafter at two shillings. Not infrequently, abbots were possessed of considerable business acumen, and at this distance, it does appear that the Whitland contemplative negotiated a very favourable deal. David, who probably died in 1324/1325, was succeeded by his eldest son Adam de la Roche, and it was his brother and putative successor, Sir David, who united the Roch and Llangwm branches of the family with his marriage with Johanna of Roch castle. His son Robert is mentioned in 1334, and it was his son, John, who married Isabel de Bromwich, the heiress of Castle Bromwich, Warwickshire.

THE INQUISITION OF SIR JOHN DE LA ROCHE (1376)

It is the surviving *inquisition post mortem* (1376) of this Sir John which has attracted scholarly attention for several reasons. In the first place, it affords a rare and most revealing glimpse of the extent and distribution of the properties of the Llangwm branch of the family. Sir John held of the earl, the manor of 'Ladayn' in free burgage, land at Yerbeston by military service; of the lord of Kemes, the castle and two hundred acres at Maenclochag; of the lord of Walwyn's Castle, the manor of Dale and lands at Snailston and Rayner Castle; of the barony of Roch, land at Freystrop, a parcel of the lordship of Stackpole; of the lord of Haverford, the manors and advowsons of LANDECOMBE (Llangwm) and Talbenny, with other lands; of the lord of Carew, land at Martletwy and a parcel at Stackpole; and of Isabella, the widow of Sir John Wogan of Picton, land at Guildford and Herbrandston. Incidentally, passing though it is, the reference to Guildford, part of the Burton parish until 1951, is the first which has been discovered in historical records. The university historian Brian Howells, has focused upon Sir John's inquisition for another reason - it provides the best evidence available that three-field farming was practised in late medieval South Pembrokeshire.

It unambiguously records that two-thirds of two coruces of land in the parish, when sown, was worth 13/4d yearly but that the remainder, which lay waste and in common, was worth nothing. This purely factual statement indirectly proposes a part explanation for the low standard of living, which hardly exceeded that of twentieth century Third World countries, in medieval societies. At any given time, around one third of the land was not effectively utilised, and the other two-thirds, though under cultivation, produced meagre crops. The lack of root crops and grasses made it impossible to sustain a continuous rotation which would have provided food for animals over the winter. As Prof. J.F.C. Harrison has observed 'Medieval agriculture was trapped in a vicious circle of low productivity'. Sir John de la Roche was succeeded by his second son, Thomas, but in 1382, because he was a minor, the custody of him, the manor of 'LANDEGOM', and a share in the barony of Roch was granted to Sir Thomas Bermingham, whose daughter, Elizabeth, afterwards married his ward. In 1392, as lord of Ireland and Haverford, King Richard II issued a writ to the sheriff and court of Haverford to partition the inheritance of the de la Roches of Roch Castle among the representatives of the four daughters of Thomas de la Roche. Among these was Sir Thomas de la Roche of Llangwm.

FEATURES OF THE PARISH CHURCH

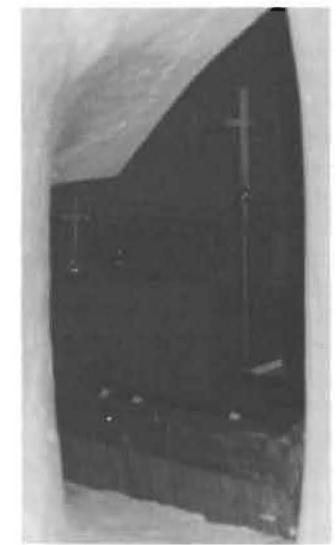
On their reported visits to the parish church, the members of Archaeologia Cambrensis (1911) and of the Commission of the Ancient Monuments (1925) were completely convinced by architectural evidence that the small elegant Lady Chapel was built, or rebuilt, during the second half of the fourteenth century. As part of the same building operation, two boldly carved ogee-arched recesses in Nolton stone were integrated into the north wall. Under one of them, a quite elaborate tomb of the late Decorated or early Perpendicular period, containing the effigy of a knight, was constructed. Fully clothed in armour, the knight lay cross-legged with his face turned towards the spectator, with his right hand in the act of drawing his sword, and his left clasping his shield belt. His features were strongly marked



Effigy of a Knight in one of the ogee-arched recesses in the north wall of the Lady Chapel.

with long-shaped eyes, and a flowing moustache, and the shorter surcoat, elbow defences, and especially the elaborate shoes are deemed to have been novel features. The shoes would have been made of leather, with the surface studded with a number of short four-sided pyramids, which would have glittered in the daylight. There was no sign of the thong on the military boot which, according to legend, represented the viper which had allegedly dispatched the de la Roche of Roch Castle. The tilting helmet was ridged with a rather clumsy bird's nest, sometimes identified as that of a corbie bird, as a crest. Though the thesis has never enjoyed wide currency, it is this identification which prompted Mr. Stephen Williams at the Haverfordwest meeting (1897) of Archaeologia Cambrensis, to contend that the effigy was one of the Corbets who succeeded the Philipps at Great Nash (1655). The mutilated female form now under the second recess in the lady chapel was not originally in that position. It formerly rested on the pavement north of the communion rails, but was transferred to its present place during the very extensive nineteenth century renovations.

The Lady Chapel opened into the nave by an arcade of two small pointed arches of Decorated character with fine mouldings quite unlike the usual Pembrokeshire Gothic, and which sprouted from an octagonal column. During the early part of the fifteenth century, a rather crudely made canopied piscina, perhaps the work of a local craftsman, was attached to the eastern wall of the lady chapel. Consisting of a basin or cistern supported by a shaft, it had a long pinnacle which was crocheted and surmounted by a finial in the form of a fleur de lys. Probably unique in Wales, it is not improbable that it was an imitation of a French model. In spite of the random speculation it has generated, it was a wall drain used for priestly ablutions before the distribution of the bread to the communicants in the north transept. Through the junction of the lady chapel with the chancel, a hagioscope or squint, an aperture with a lighted loop, was made to enable the communicants to view the High Altar during the Elevation of the Host in the Eucharist. Scattered around the chapel were the de la Roche coat of arms - gules (red), three roaches naiant (swimming) in pale argent. On the east wall of



View of the High Altar from the Lady Chapel through the squint or hagioscope

of the south transept was a trefoil window, now blocked but showing signs of shutter rabbet, to use an architectural term. Often wrongly dubbed 'the leper's window' it was used by an attendant for the ringing of a bell to announce the Real Presence in the Eucharist to those outside in the churchyard. The church contained at least three fourteenth century slabs, with incised calvary crosses, two of which presently rest on the east side of the arch leading to the small vaulted south transept. There is no physical evidence to confirm it, but in her invaluable manuscript 'Langum Scrap Book' (1953), the late Miss Elizabeth Morgan recorded the tradition that there was once an underground passage from Great Nash House to the vicinity of the church. Apparently, it was filled in for safety reasons at the Great Nash end by the late George Protheroe George (d. 1939), whose family had occupied the farm since 1811.

THE DE LA ROCHE LEGEND

The male de la Roche line expired with the death of Thomas de la Roche before 1413, when his wife is mentioned as a widow. Thomas left two daughters, both of whom married men of rank, as co-heiresses. Elizabeth married Sir George Longueville (d.1457) of Wolverton, Bucks., and Eleanor married that Lord Ferrers of Chartley from whom the Devereux of Lamphey, the Earls of Essex, were to be descended. For several centuries, the advowson of the church was passed down the issue of these two heiresses like a piece of real estate. Fenton's statement that the de la Roche property was speedily disposed of is not true. The Longuevilles were in possession of Roch castle until 1601 when it was purchased by the Walter family of Rosemarket. There is a intriguing local legend about the circumstances which attended the severing of the de la Roche connection with Great Nash. According to it, the family were involved in the Earl of Essex's unsuccessful coup against Elizabeth I, and fearful of punitive royal displeasure, they departed in haste for France. Before they did so, they hid many of their valuables in the underground passage, and they planted a tree which was not indigenous to the area and which would be easily recognised by members of the family on their return at some future date. Enchanting though it



The early 15th century canopied piscina on the east wall of the Lady Chapel.

might be, the story is exposed as romantic fiction by the well attested fact that the Nash family were in residence at Great Nash long before the Essex rising. Even if tradition has confused the de la Roches with the Nashes, the legend does not survive careful examination. By the time of the Essex Revolt, the Nashes themselves had been replaced at Great Nash by the Philipps. This revelation will come as a great disappointment to some inhabitants of the village who spent many hours of their schooldays fruitlessly searching for the buried treasure!

EARLY RECTORS

It has long been suspected that there were incumbents of the parish before the John David (1488) who heads both the Roll of Rectors in the parish church and Francis Green's list. The problem has been that until very recently, concrete evidence has been tantalisingly lacking. However, the discovery, after a careful search, of a pertinent reference in Francis Green's "Wills and Notes" has altered the situation. Couched in the legal jargon of the time, and particularly difficult precisely to interpret, the extract reads:-

"1453 Oct. 20th (32 Henry VI). Release by John Hogekyn, brother and heir of Robert Hogekyn, late rector of the church of St. Bridget, to JOHN DON and John Eliot, of all his right in the manors of Robertiston (Robeston) and Nolton, the reversion of which Thomas Perrot, Knight, and Alice, his wife, had granted by a fine in the court of Roland Leynthall, Lord of Haverford, at Haverford, on Wednesday, the Feast of Perpetua and Felicitas, the Martyrs, 1441 - 1442 (20th Henry VI) to Robert Hogekyn aforesaid, the said JOHN DON, rector of the church at LANDEGON (Llangwm), and John Eliot, vicar of St. Michael's Castlemartin, of which manors John Picton of Carrewe (Carew) was the tenant for life."

Unquestionably, John Don was rector of the parish for over forty years before John David, and his involvement in the above kind of transaction suggests that he was a man of some social standing and material substance.

WELSH WORDS

Popular preoccupation with the village's alleged Norse or Fleming origins has been allowed totally to obscure the Welsh element in its

evolution. Substantial though it was, the Landsker was not so impassable a frontier as perpetually to prevent movement across it. The Black Death (1348/51) and the Glyndŵr Revolt (1401/1409) caused pockets of depopulation, and considerable numbers of Welsh peasants migrated southwards to take over abandoned estates, farms and houses in the Englishry. They were never sufficiently numerous to change the character of the areas in which they settled, and in the course of time, they were absorbed by surrounding English-speaking society. But they were influential enough to introduce some forty to fifty words into the English dialect of South Pembrokeshire which have remained until the twentieth century. Though the majority of them have survived in those communities nearest to the Landsker, at least half a dozen of them were an integral part of the old village dialect, and have been recalled by several senior residents. They were - *Cardidwyn*, the smallest pig in a litter; *Cleggar*, a boulder; *Creath*, a scar; *Higgin*, a night-dress; *Tammat*, a small load; and *Toop*, silly. Admittedly, the number is not large, but it is greater than the dialect words of Norse or Flemish derivation. The demographic history of the parish does provide a measure of corroboration in that, several centuries later, Welsh surnames were more common than is now generally supposed.

TUDOR LANGOME

The historic nature of certain occurrences has rarely been immediately apparent. During the late summer of 1485, the tiny population of the parish of LANGOME could not have been aware that they were a short distance from the events which were to influence the subsequent history of England and Wales, and which would be the subject of intensive study in the twentieth century. When, on the evening of Sunday, August 7th, Henry Tudor, the Duke of Richmond, with 2,000 men dropped anchor at Mill Bay, Dale, the peasant majority would have been very much preoccupied with their miserable lot. Some, clad in clothes of coarse woollen cloth and



The blocked and wrongly named 'Lepers' Window' on the east wall of the south transept.

leather, had attended a service at the parish church conducted by the rector, John Don, before returning to their cramped hovels and to simple meals of oaten bread and cheese. The gentry at Great Nash would have known something of Henry, who had spent the first fourteen years of his life at Pembroke Castle before taking refuge in the duchy of Britanny. For the next fortnight, as the Lancastrian claimant, he undertook, via Haverfordwest and Cardigan, the one hundred and seventy mile march through central Wales to Bosworth, where his armies defeated and killed the Yorkist king, Richard III. During the following weeks and months, news of this, and of the establishment of the Tudor dynasty, filtered down from the local gentry, but it was a matter of high politics, mainly of interest and concern to persons of 'degree'.

THE CATHOLICISM OF THE PEOPLE

The people were Catholics, more out of convention and habit than conscientious commitment. Theirs was a superstitious religion, largely consisting of the observation of numerous Saints Days and of semi-pagan rituals connected with nature and the passing seasons. Apart from Sundays, there were 27 'holy days' in the year, and in addition to these, Easter Sundays, Easter Monday, Easter Tuesday, Whit Monday and Whit Tuesday were observed as holidays. There were others, relating to Michaelmas and All Hallows, which were of non-Christian origin. The only change the parish witnessed in the forty years before the Henrician Reformation was one in personnel which was recorded in the Episcopal Register of St. David's:-

'On 6th April, 1489 at Lamphey, Bishop Hugh before said admitted Sir William Leya to the parish church of Langome, vacant by the resignation of Sir John Don, last rector there'.

At first sight, this entry appears to be at variance with the Roll of Rectors and Francis Green's list, which both give John David as Leya's immediate predecessor. However, Green provides the explanation with the extra detail that John David resigned, and was paid a pension of six marks. His tenure of the rectorship was obviously too brief to register at diocesan level. Leya was presented the living by Walter Carwey of Webley, patron of this turn under a grant from Sir John Devereux, knight, lord of Ferrers, made to him by Sir John Longueville; and he held the living until the much more turbulent 1530s. Though clergymen were often of gentry or yeoman stock, the designation 'sir' was not an announcement of social status. It was a courtesy title of vicars and rectors in pre-Reformation times, and beyond, and even appears in Shakespeare. As holders of the glebe, the rectors were practising farmers, and in such rural parishes as

'Langome', they acted as scribes for official purposes, and sometimes as physicians to those who could not afford the fee of a professional man of medicine. The majority of them were quite untrained, and owed their preference to the favour of patrons from among the gentry.

THE NASHES OF GREAT NASH

The most persistent problem encountered in researching the history of the parish and village has been that of uncovering the genealogy of the Nash gentry family, and of detecting its association with the estate which thereafter bore its name, and which included most of the present villages of Hook and Llangwm. Curiously for such a well-connected family, they have left little trace in the records, apart from an incomplete, and largely undated, pedigree discovered in the Dale Castle MS. The first name of the pedigree is that Thomas Nash of Jeffreyston parish, the son of Arnold Nash by a daughter of Sir John Wogan of Wiston, who married Eva, the daughter of Jenkin Scourfield of New Moat. No date is available, but Eva's brother, Piers, of New Moat, flourished during the reign of Henry VIII (1509-1547). Thomas and Eva Nash had a son Richard, who married a daughter of Richard Bowen (d. 1560) of Lochmeylir, now a large farm in the parish of Llandeloy. They, in turn, had a son Richard, who married Mary, the daughter of John Vaughan (d. 1582) of Narberth. There is firm documentary evidence that this Sir Richard Nash died at Great Nash House in 1582, a few months after the death of his father-in-law. He was survived by one of his three children, Janet, who changed the name of the occupants of the Great Nash estate when she married Alban, the son of Morgan Philipps of Picton. That union took place before 1594, for in that year Alban Philipps of Nash sold a messuage in Angle to Henry White of Henllan. The likelihood is that the Nashes occupied Nash the estate for much of the Tudor century.

Though much of it is now obscured or removed, the presence of the Nashes did make its heraldic mark on the parish church. On another of their visits (1911), the members of Archaeologia Cambrensis directed their attention to the lower front of the canopied tomb in the lady chapel, which was enriched with a geometric pattern, into which a number of plain shields were introduced. It is very likely that these were once emblazoned with the bearings of related gentry families. Beneath this, the members carefully scrutinised a course composed of a carried badge repeated, each alternating with foliage. They were certain that the badge represented the coat of the Bowens of Lochmeylir, the family into which the first Richard Nash of the pedigree married. There was also a family connection between the Nashes and another Pembrokeshire gentry family. Though it is difficult to locate, and at present is inadvertently

screened by a velvet curtain, the members of Archaeologia Cambrensis (1911) and of the Royal Commission of the Ancient Monuments (1925), detected on the lady chapel side, on the second of the arcade arches near the squint, a shield bearing the three bars of the Barri family of Manorbier; and above that, two smaller shields, each of which was shaped with a bend sinister, a diagonal band from the upper right to the lower left, indicating a bastard branch of the family.

The shield pattern on the upper front of the Knight's tomb.



THE VALOR ECCLESIASTICUS (1535)

Ecclesiastically, Langome was situated in the large, sprawling, thinly populated diocese of St. David's, which covered the entire counties of Pembroke, Carmarthen, Cardigan and Brecon, a large part of Radnor and West Glamorgan, and a few parishes in Monmouthshire, Herefordshire and Montgomeryshire. What is now Pembrokeshire was within the jurisdiction of the archdeaconry of St David's which was divided into the rural deaneries of Pembroke, Pebidiog, Roose, and Dungleddy. In spite of its relative inaccessibility, the Langome parish did not escape the impact of those religious changes promoted by the imperious and egocentric Henry VIII in his attempt to secure the annulment of his twenty year marriage with his Spanish Queen, Catherine of Aragon. Infatuated with the sophisticated, assertive and unconventional Anne Boleyn, and anxious to secure the succession by begetting a male heir, the second Tudor prosecuted an escalating quarrel with the Vatican, in which he was abetted by his chief minister, Thomas Cromwell. Pope Clement VII, a virtual prisoner of Catherine's nephew, the Emperor Charles V, was unable to comply with Henry's request for a 'divorce', and in an attempt to force his hand, Cromwell piloted through parliament a series of statutes (1532-1535) which severed the umbilical cord binding English Catholicism to Rome, and created an independent English church under Royal Supremacy. To neutralise a potential Fifth Column and especially to augment the finances of his royal master, Cromwell mounted an offensive against the 825 monasteries in England and Wales. As a prelude to this act of expropriation, he ordered nominated commissioners to carry out a detailed survey. The data assembled by their

investigations was collated in the *Valor Ecclesiasticus* (1535), a kind of Domesday Book of ecclesiastical institutions. The *Valor* was written in Latin, but the reference to 'Langome', as translated by Miss Nancy Lewis of Milford Haven, reads as follows:-

'The church in the same place (is) in the bestowal of the Lord Ferrers and the knight Sir John Longueville, (and) a certain William Wogan is the rector having in the same place a rectory together with glebe an arable land belonging to the owners. And for the years under the same feudal lords, the rectory is worth £8 in produce and salary. Of this 1s 4d (7p) (is) for the visitation of the Ordinary every third year and 5s 9d every year for synodal dues and provisions during the Archdecon's Visitation. And the net amount remaining is £7: 12: 11d. Of this, the tithe (is) 15s 3.5d.'

The extract confirms that the advowson was still in the possession of the descendants of the co-heiresses of Sir Thomas de la Roche. With such a surname, the rector must have been a member of that Wiston family which was to become one of the leading gentry families of South Pembrokeshire. The very specific value of the benefice makes it possible to assign a ranking to the 'Langome' living among the others in the diocese. Prof. Glanmor Williams has calculated that only a handful of the livings were worth more than £30 a year, and that the average value of a benefice was £10. Rector Wogan's income was, therefore, less than average, and it did not compare with that of the rectors of Carew (£44), Narberth (£26), and Llanstadwell (£18). But he was reasonably off in a diocese in which 27.5% of the livings were worth less than £5.



The shield bearing the three bars of the Barri family of Manorbier, and the two shields above it.

PEMBROKESHIRE (1536) AND THE DISTRICT OF ROOSE (1538)

'Langome' was not only unable to escape bombardment by the unprecedented religious changes. Concurrently, during the second half of the reign of Henry VIII, the parish found itself in a Wales subject to radical Westminster legislation in the form of the famous so-called 'Acts of Union'. The Act of 1536 made Wales a political entity, formally incorporated it in the realm of England, replaced the Marcher lordship with six new counties, bestowed civil equality on all Welsh people, and conferred upon Wales the right of continuous parliamentary representation for the first time. As part of these reforms, a new county of Pembroke, which embraced the former lands of the earldom of Pembroke, the Bishop of St. David's demesne manor of Lamphey, the lordships of Dewisland and Llawhaden, and the estates belonging to the Commandery of the Knights of St. John at Slebech, was created. The Act also made provision for the sub-division of the Welsh shires into administrative districts, and the Bridgnorth Conference (Sept. 1538) divided Pembrokeshire into the seven hundred of Cemaes, Cilgerren, Dewisland, Roose, Dungleddy, Narberth and Castlemartin. The parish of 'Langome' was situated in the district of Roose, and according to a surviving muster roll of 1539, which specifies twenty men of over sixteen years of age, two equipped with 'jacks' (coats of mail) and sallettes (helmets) and splinters (arm protectors) and eighteen 'naked and appointed to a staf', it was one of the parishes of the lordship of Haverfordwest. The second (1543) of the 'Acts of Union' converted Haverfordwest into a county, consisting of the town itself, a few hamlets of St. Martin's parish, and rather surprisingly, the island of Skomer. It did not include 'Langome' which remained part of the hundred of Roose, and thereafter became a small element in the parliamentary constituency of Pembroke boroughs.

During this early modern period, government policy was decided by the monarch and the Privy Council which, in matters relating to Wales, transmitted its directives to the Council in the Marches, a statutory body after 1543. Stationed at Ludlow in Shropshire, the Council exercised general supervision over the affairs of Pembrokeshire and the other Welsh countries. In particular, it nominated sheriffs and justices of the peace from among the county gentry to carry out its instructions, and twice a year it dispatched judges to visit Pembrokeshire to motivate officials in the discharge of their duties. In such localities as Langome, effective authority, until well into the nineteenth century, was employed by the local gentleman, the occupant of the Great Nash estate, the few yeomen and the parson. It was they who convened and attended Vestry meetings, which determined the allocation of taxes and rates and the

extent of poor relief, made provision for the repair of roads and bridges, and expedited the appointment of parish constables.

IMPRISONMENT OF RECTOR (1540)

A natural conservative obliged by circumstances to be a revolutionary, Henry VIII did not boldly pursue the logic of his break with Rome. The church which he and Cromwell had almost inadvertently created by the mid 1530s was a curious amalgam of traditional Catholic and novel Protestant elements; and for the rest of the reign, the pendulum of religious change swung sometimes to the left, sometimes to the right, depending upon which court faction enjoyed royal confidence at a particular time. Initially, as the Six Articles (1536) implied, the Protestants enjoyed an ascendancy which they sought to exploit to greater effect. Henry VIII had appointed Anne Boleyn Marchioness of Pembroke in 1532, and she had used her influence in West Wales to secure the preferment of William Barlow as prior of the Augustinian Priory at Haverfordwest (1534). Controlling three of the four churches in the town, Barlow had very deliberately used their pulpits to launch an anti-papal propaganda campaign. His appointment as Bishop of St. David's (1536) made him the first committed Protestant to hold a position of real authority in the Welsh church. Abrasive, arrogant and iconoclastic, he made the first sustained attempt to implant Protestant doctrines in Welsh soil. His programme of reform contained proposals to remove the centre of the see from remote St. David's to Carmarthen, the largest town in Wales and the hub of many radiating roads, to endow Grammar Schools to raise the educational standards of the clergy, and measures to eliminate 'idolatrous' and 'superstitious' forms of popular piety. Barlow's conviction were such that he surely very positively responded to the Royal Injunctions of 1536 and 1538, which fiercely denounced images, the cult of saints, and pilgrimages, and insisted on the provision of a Bible in every parish church.

A rector of 'Langome' was one of the victims of this radical blitz. With that infuriating partial disclosure in which official documents too often indulge, the Calender of State Papers tersely recorded that on the 23rd, Feb. 1540, Richard Smythe was imprisoned by the bailiffs for 'treasonable words'. Strictly speaking, the revised Treason Act (1535) made it a capital offence to rebel against or to threaten the Royal Family, or maliciously to call the King a heretic, schismatic, a tyrant, an infidel or usurper. It is true that by 1540, Henry VIII's behaviour had been such as to scandalise the conventionally pious obliged to honour him as the Head of the church. His second wife, Anne Boleyn, had been executed on an absurd multiple adultery charge (1536), his third wife, Jane Seymour, had died

in childbirth (1537), and he had married the German Anne of Cleves purely for political reasons. However, grassroots religion was notoriously conservative, and Smythe might have given offence to the new aggressive diocesan Protestant establishment by loose and indiscreet talk about recent religious changes. He may even have shown a persistent and provocative preference for the old forms. If that was so, he was unfortunate. In the Six Articles (1539), the pendulum swung in a conservative Catholic direction, and the execution of Thomas Cromwell (July 1540) deprived Barlow of his powerful patron at court. Perhaps Smythe suffered because of the time-lag between Westminster and Pembrokeshire. Whatever his ultimate fate, he was not restored to the 'Langome' living. According to the church Roll, the rector in 1541 was Roderigo Jones. There is another possible explanation for Smythe's plight. If he was presented to the living by the Ferrers family, he could have been the victim of factional squabbling between them and the Barlows. The two families had recently quarrelled, and at this juncture the Ferrers were much less Protestant than they subsequently became.

FURTHER CHANGES IN RELIGION (1547 - 1563)

The Tudor mid-century witnessed a succession of national switches in religion which could only have bemused the inhabitants of a rural parish in South West Wales. During the reign (1547-1553) of the young Edward VI, the government followed Protestant policies of increasing radicalism. Among the many changes it introduced was the provision, for the first time, of a liturgy in the English language by way of Cranmer's First (1549) and Second (1552) Prayer Books. Potentially, this should have made a great difference to the form of public services. But the reform was counter-manded within a couple of years, and it is doubtful whether rector Ellis Pecock and his parishioners were affected by it. During her brief reign (1553-1558), Queen Mary, the daughter of Henry VIII and Catherine of Aragon, restored Roman Catholicism, removed many clergy for violation of their vow of celibacy, and burned three hundred Protestants at the stake. The diocese of St. David's was not spared Mary's policy of religious persecution. Barlow's successor, Bishop Ferrar, suffered martyrdom at Carmarthen (1555), and the humble and obscure William Nichol at Haverfordwest. (In 1912, a railed monument was raised to his memory below St. Mary's church in High Street). Either in 1552 or 1555, rector Pecock was succeeded by John Evans, the last incumbent to experience another major redirection of government religious policy. Predisposed to Protestantism by her background and personal history as the daughter of Anne Boleyn, Queen Elizabeth I declined to continue her half-sister's religious settlement. Determined to bring to an end the

unsettling upheavals of recent years, she opted for an ecclesiastical formula which was sufficiently broad for the majority of her subjects to accept. After overcoming strong conservative Catholic opposition in the Lords, she brought in the Anglican state church by parliamentary statute. The Act of Supremacy (1558) conferred upon her the title of 'Supreme Governor' of the church, and the Act of Uniformity (1559) insisted that all services were to be conducted in accordance with a Prayer Book based on that of 1552. Church attendance on Sundays and Holy Days was made compulsory on pain of the penalty of a fine. The theological tenets of the church were set out in the famous Thirty Nine Articles (1563), a statement of Anglican orthodoxy which has largely endured until the present day.

The task of implementing the settlement was so formidable that it was not substantially achieved until well into the 1580s in many parts of England and Wales. Even after that, there were several official complaints in the diocese of St. David's about the incorrigible popular attachment to papist practices - to the retention of vestments and ornaments in church, to the use of beads, to the observance of banned Holy Days, and the resort to tapers and superstitious rites at funerals. The people of 'Langome' were probably no different from so many in the other parishes in their head-strong preference for the centuries-old rituals. Upon his resignation in March 1561, the rector John Evans was succeeded by John Bathoe, whose task it was for the next sixteen years to initiate his parishioners in the practices of the Anglican church. Almost certainly, he was the man of the same name who had been removed as prior of the Augustinian monastery at Haverfordwest in 1536/1537. There are many well documented instances of former contemplatives who entered the ranks of the secular clergy after the Dissolution (1536-1540). If the identification is correct, with his monkish background and early training, the second Elizabethan rector of 'Langome' must himself have found it uncomfortably difficult to adjust to the prescribed forms of the fledgling régime.

POPULATION ESTIMATE (1563)

The first official census of England and Wales was not conducted until 1801, and all population statistics before that time are guess-timates of varying worth. Fortunately, in recent years demography has made such progress that it is now possible to make credible educated estimates even for the sixteenth century. Under explicit direction from the Privy Council, Bishop Davies, now much revered by Welsh-speakers for his indispensable role in the authorisation and production of the Welsh New Testament (1567) and Prayer Book, conducted a survey of the livings in his diocese, which included the number of households in each parish.

According to his returns, the population of 'Langome', which included Hook but excluded Guildford, was distributed among some fifteen households. Using the multiplier of 4.13 recommended by professional historians, that would postulate a total population of between 60 and 70. The neighbouring parishes of Burton, Freystrop, Johnston and Rosemarket had 36, 12, 13, and 32 households respectively. At the time, Wales had an estimated population of 225,000, Pembrokeshire just over 20,000, and Haverfordwest, the largest town in South Wales after Carmarthen and Brecon, about 1400. Even allowing that in the sixteenth century some communities with populations of a few hundred were sometimes regarded as towns, the parish of 'Langome', with an acreage in excess of 1,700, was sparsely populated. Only five of the twenty eight parishes in the hundred of Roose had fewer inhabitants. The impression is not of a village, but of a few clusters of dwellings, perhaps forming a couple of hamlets.

THE ELIZABETHAN CHALICE (1574/1575)

By restoring communion in both kinds, in the bread and the wine, to the laity, the Anglican settlement made it very desirable for each church to possess a larger vessel for the Eucharist. The typical Elizabethan chalice has the shape of an inverted bell, with a trumpet-shaped stem, and a circular and plain base. It is usually topped with a domed paten cover, with a small stem or knob which served as a handle for carrying purposes. The parish church at 'Langome' acquired such a vessel, which is now one of its most prized possessions. But the familiar assertion that it was presented with it in 1559, at the time of the coronation of Elizabeth I, cannot be vindicated. In 1905, J.T. Evans discovered that there were 59 of these chalices in Pembrokeshire, 37 with paten covers, and that the majority were dated either 1574 or 1575. With the exception of 9, they were all imprinted with the mark of the silversmith, whose identity and place of residence have never been discovered, in the form of four oval-shaped objects. The Langome chalice, which has a paten cover, is 6 1/4 ins high, with a bowl diameter of 3 1/8 ins, and weighs 12ozs 8dwts. Within the lower band on the bowl, there is an inscription ' - Pocylvm; Ecclesia + De +Langom' which is followed by a



A typical Elizabethan chalice and paten

spray of foliage. Underneath the 'R.B.P' and 'R.N' have been roughly scratched. The bowl has been rudely repaired by the insertion of a heavy band of silver around the base. The paten cover is 3½ins in diameter, 1½ins high and 12ozs in weight, and 'Langom Cup' has been engraved on the foot of the handle. On the reverse side, there is another inscription 'Cup repaired Dec. 24th, 1832, Haverfordwest, R. Pratt, Coventry, 1832' and again 'R.N.'. Miss Elizabeth Morgan recalled that on another occasion, earlier this century, two members of the church were detailed to take the chalice to London for further repair. Although its position precludes careful scrutiny, the church bell is reputed to be Elizabethan. It has a Latin inscription which translates into 'Holy Trinity One God, Have Mercy On Us.'

OTHER ELIZABETHAN RECTORS

A committed Protestant, Bishop Davies made strenuous efforts to raise the spiritual standards of the diocese by improving the quality of the preaching. Graduate clergy were comparatively rare, and talented and effective preachers were at a premium. According to one estimate there were only nine in the whole diocese. Most of the clergy were either 'simply learned' or 'meanly learned', and were incapable of delivering a sermon even at the expected rate of once a quarter. As part of his campaign to recruit a task force of preaching clergy, the bishop succeeded in coaxing Griffith Toye, the son of Humphrey, the London and Carmarthen printer, into the diocese. A graduate of Oxbridge - B.A. in 1571 and M.A. in 1574 - Toye was presented to St. Florence in 1577, and for the four years after 1583, he was rector of 'Langome'. Since his income was far in excess of many of the other incumbents, it is difficult to resist the conclusion that financial inducements were dangled in front of him. For all that, he gained a reputation for sound learning and for clerical professionalism. The precise order of Toye's successors cannot be delineated with any confidence. Francis Green leaves a blank between 1583 and 1611, and the church Roll party fills the hiatus with the rectorship (1601-1611) of Richard Lloyd, who was followed by Richard Bathoe. The difficulty is created by the evidence of Lewys Dwmm, Deputy Herald of Wales and the Marches, that the rector in 1588 was Richard Bathoe. Though no particular significance attaches to it, it is possible that Bathoe was rector more than once, perhaps on an interim or unofficial basis in the first instance. Clerical dynasties, some of whose members virtually monopolised certain livings, were not uncommon in the St. David's diocese. Some other details provided by Lewys Dwmm demonstrate that the rectorship of Langome was for too long in the possession of one kinship for it to be accidental. Richard Bathoe was the son of John, the

first Elizabethan rector, and his wife was the grand-daughter of Humphrey, the father of Griffith Toye. Thus, during the 66 years from 1561 to 1627, which covers almost the entire reigns of Elizabethan I and James I, it seems that only two - Henry Bennett and Richard Lloyd - of the five rectors were not related.

FRACAS AT PEMBROKE (1602)

In a society without a paid and professional police force, there were not infrequent breaches of the public peace by both groups and individuals. Even clergymen, recruited by a patronage system which took little account of personal qualities, did not always practise the pacific habits and Christian forbearance of their twentieth century counterparts. In 1602, after the execution of the Earl of Essex, who had lands at Lamphey, for his attempted coup against Queen Elizabeth, Richard Bathoe made a formal complaint to the Court of Star Chamber. He alleged that on a duty visit to Pembroke, he was severely set upon and roundly beaten by an armed gang of men and a party of women because of some unguarded comments on the late Earl and his treason. The ladies stoutly denied the charge of assault, and counter-alleged that Bathoe was 'a common haunter of alm houses and wintaverns', 'a card and dice player and an all night dancer', and that during the previous twelve months, armed with a sword and pistol, he had ridden up and down the county of Pembroke and through the towns of Pembroke and Haverfordwest, shouting out 'challenges and provocations'. They continued their essay in character assassination by impugning Bathoe's professional competence. He lacked education, was incapable of reading English well, and was 'a man on oppinion of most men not worthy the function he termeth himself, if he be of any such function'. If he was a clergyman, he was a lamentably indifferent one!! In all fairness to Bathoe, these swinging charges ought not to be uncritically accepted as an accurate character reference. The defendants were self-evidently Puritans, and people of that outlook were inclined to resort to the language of hyperbole, and to denounce moderate indulgence in drink and high spirits as outrageous symptoms of depravity. Moreover, the circumstances of the case obliged the women to respond with a counter-charge that was as strong as they could make it. Apparently, Bathoe was an Irishman at the time when the number of people of that nation entering and travelling across the county was causing resentment among the natives. Extra venom could have been imparted to the remarks about Bathoe by xenophobic dislike of 'a foreigner'.

INDUSTRIES AND OCCUPATIONS

The overwhelming majority of the population of 'Langome' were engaged in agriculture, in the sowing and harvesting of wheat, oats and barley and in tending the few under-nourished animals that could be reared. The laborious working day extended from dawn to dusk, from 6 a.m. to 6 p.m., in summer and winter, with one hour break at noon. For several centuries, the landscape experienced gradual transformation as the system of unhedged large fields, in which the peasants had their scattered strips, was gradually replaced by compact and hedged farm units. However, the process of enclosure took place at different rates in different parts of the country. There was certainly localities in Pembrokeshire in which it was taking place, but George Owen described Roose, the hundred in which 'Langome' was situated, as 'a champion (open and unenclosed) and plain country without much wood or enclosures'. There were woods for the collecting of fuel, and of timber for building purposes at Benton, Knapp, and Nash, but there is no direct evidence of the degree of enclosure.

Apart from the land, there was little in the way of industry in the parish. George Owen (1603) referred to the plentiful availability of coal in the Freystrop area, and with the subsequent history of the parish in mind, it is tempting to conclude that the pits strayed across the boundary into Hook. The obstacle raised by the Coffin (Cuffern) Fault and the small population of the parish during the second half of the sixteenth century make that unlikely. However, Owen did cite Langome as one of the points on the Cleddau where oysters were dredged, 'with a kind of iron made with bars, having a piece of horse or bullock skin sewn to it like a bag insuch sort as that it, being fastened to a rope's end, is cast into the bottom of Milford (the Cleddau) at eight or ten fathoms deep, and is dragged at a boat's end by two rowers which row up and down the channel'. When the bag was full, it was pulled into the boat, and the contents were tipped out. The boatmen rowed to a selected spot at high water, and once thrown overboard, the oysters settled into beds, in which they were kept alive and fresh by the movement of the tide. Thereafter, they were transported by sea to Bristol and to the Forest of Dean, and from there to parts of Somerset, Gloucestershire, Wiltshire, Worcestershire, and Salop. Other quantities were dispatched by land to Carmarthenshire, Cardiganshire, Breconshire, Radnorshire, Montgomeryshire, Monmouthshire and Herefordshire. Generations of Llangwm natives will be interested in another piece of information conveyed by Owen. 'The shrimp (prawn) is also an inhabitant, and taken upon every spring tide from the beginning of May till harvest, and these are most delicate and sweet meat'. Village 'prawning' has a long history!

The parish of 'Langome' was only six miles from the walled and gated

town of Haverfordwest - 'the best built, the most civil and quickest occupied town in South Wales'. A wealthy township with prospering trade links with Bristol, from which 90% of the incoming coastal vessels came, the latter was the main marketing centre not only for Roose, but for the whole county. It held a weekly market, but the impoverished people of 'Langome' could not have afforded the victuals on offer - beef, mutton, pork, bacon, veal, goose, capon, kid, coney and turkey. Even the fish, which was a Haverfordwest speciality, would have been beyond their reach. Some surely would have attended the great annual fair held on St. Thomas' Day, 7th July, or the May Fair which was established after 1610. 'Langome' men do appear on surviving muster rolls, and at least twice a year, there were general musters of those belonging to the trained bands at Haverfordwest.

QUALITY OF ELIZABETHAN LIFE

Until relatively recently, historians were very prone extravagantly to eulogise Queen Elizabeth and to invest her reign with a halo of romance. The truth is that for the majority of the 4.15 million in England and Wales, life was, to repeat Hobbes' succinct pronouncement, 'nasty, brutish and short'. The national average expectation of life was 32 years of age, and two-thirds of the population in any area of reasonable size hovered perilously on or below the poverty line. The 60/70 inhabitants of the parish of Langome were continually involved in a desperate struggle for survival. The Statute of Artificers or Apprentices (1563) laid it down that the wages of labourers were annually to be fixed by the justices of the peace, the main agents of local government. Since they were recruited from among the land-owning gentry, it was hardly surprising that they resisted wage claims fuelled by 'The Tudor Price Revolution'. Farm labourers were hired on yearly contracts, and could not change their jobs without certificates from their former employers. Men not otherwise employed could be compelled to work on the land, and women between 12 and 40 years of age without visible means of support, could be forced to enter domestic service. Single farm servants frequently slept in service rooms in a farm house, or in lofts above stables or cow-sheds. The welfare state was centuries away, and even though the government did legislate for the social condition of the people, that legislation conferred responsibility for the poor on the parish. After 1563, justices of the peace were empowered to impose compulsory poor rates, and an act of 1572 instructed them to compose lists of the poor, to appoint overseers to be responsible for the collection of the taxes, and to carry out assessments of the resources required for the sustaining of the poor. The Act of 1576 authorised the establishment of 'houses of correction' for the idle poor,

and 'houses of industry', with provided materials, for those who wanted to work. The Poor Laws of 1598, and 1601, drew previous legislation together in a framework of provision which was to last until the nineteenth century. Historians have often assumed that these measures were only activated at times of local crisis, but Pembrokeshire was exceptional among the Welsh counties in discharging its responsibilities in this respect. Though it is not definitely known whether compulsory poor-rates were levied in the parish of 'Langome' before the eighteenth century, there is no obvious reason why they should not have been.

STUART LLANGOM

THE PHILIPPS AND CORBETS OF GREAT NASH

The virtually impenetrable mists of time which have obscured the relationship of the Nash family with the Great Nash estate have been cleared sufficiently to expose that of their successors in considerable detail. Alban Philipps' appointment to the one year office of Sheriff of the county (1621) advertised his standing among the greater gentry by making him, in George Owen's judgment, 'the chiefest man in account within the shire, and the prince's lieutenant'. Before he assumed the office, he had to undertake the long and demanding journey amid the natural squalor of December to Ludlow to be sworn in by the President of the Council or by one of the Welsh judges. Because the sheriff was the chief channel of communication between the Privy Council and the Council in the Marches and the government's chief agents in Pembrokeshire, the office was of the bed-of-nails variety. The complex and varied duties involved acting as the chief executive officer to the justices of the peace, the active supervision of the several courts of law, and major responsibility for the conduct of parliamentary elections, for the county gaol, and for the collection and payment to the Exchequer of revenues and profits due to the Crown. The sheriff was obliged to pay fees upon entering and relinquishing the office, to hire assistants at his own expense, and was expected to provide lavish entertainment for judges and prestigious visitors to the county. He was even required to purchase clothing and accoutrements for himself and the retinue which attended him on ceremonial occasions. The financial obligations were so numerous and substantial that several sheriffs were driven into serious debt.

Alban Philipps did not suffer that indignity, but he was the object of very public criticism for dereliction of duty by a high profile neighbour: James I's daughter, Elizabeth, had married the German prince Frederick, the Elector of the Palatinate and the head of the Protestant Evangelical Union. Against his father-in-law's advice, Frederick accepted the throne

of Bohemia when the latter rebelled against the Catholic Emperor Ferdinand (Aug. 1619). His acceptance launched the Thirty Years War, in the first phase of which Catholic Imperial and Spanish forces triumphed at White Mountain (Nov. 1620) near Prague; and Frederick was not only denied Bohemia, but deprived of the Palatinate as well. Very much committed to the role of *Rex Pacificus*, James I hoped to recover the Palatinate for his son-in-law by diplomatic means, by the marriage of his son Charles to the Catholic Infanta of Spain. But Protestants in England and Wales pressed for more positive military action, and in Pembrokeshire, money was raised for that purpose. Inspite of his Catholic wife, the daughter of Robert Ashfield of Chesham, Sir James Perrot (1571-1637) of Haroldston, the M.P. for Haverfordwest, had made a reputation for himself as a hard-line hawkish Puritan, and an uncompromising opponent of the Papacy and of Catholic Spain. In the parliament of 1621, in which he made over 90 speeches, he lambasted those sheriffs who, having levied contributions for the relief of the Palatinate, showed no disposition to use them for the declared purpose. Among the offenders, he cited Alban Philipps of Great Nash.

The latter was dead by 1636, and his son John outlived him by only five years. But John had a son, another Alban, by his wife Joan, the daughter of Alban Stepney of Prendergast, and he became the heir on his father's death (1641). When he died in 1651, his uncle Thomas, who had taken as his first wife Winifred, the widow of Thomas Cooper of Martletwy, transferred to Nash, presumably to assist with the management of the estate. This Alban left a childless widow Dorothy, the daughter of William Laugharne of Llwyngorras, North Pembrokeshire, whom he married some time before April 1648. Dorothy changed the family name at Great Nash when, in 1655, she married Thomas Corbet of Ynysmaengwyn, Merionethshire. Thomas was succeeded at Great Nash by their son Erasmus Corbet, who died intestate in 1695. At that time, he was of Henllys, Nevern, because his wife Ann was the widow first of Thomas Jones of Rhosygilwen and secondly of William Owen of Penpedwast. Erasmus left two daughters, John and Dorothy as co-heiresses.

THE FARM OF THOMAS EYNON (1631)

The suspicion that the Great Nash estate might not have included all the land in the parish has been justified by the discovery, in a published catalogue of documents, of a relevant legal minute.

'Messuage in the parish of Llangom in occupation of Thomas Eynon, the lands of Lewis Powell of Lamphey,

outlawed in London Monday next before the feast of St. George the Martyr. 6 Charles I at the suit of Edward Scarborough in a place of debt - and seised by Sir Richard Philipps, the sheriff. 30th March 8 Charles I'.

Lewis Powell was a member of the Greenhill, Pwllcrochan, family who were influential figures in the Pembroke area. After an expensive legal education, he had served as mayor of Pembroke, and M.P. for Pembroke boroughs in the 1620s. Among his properties was a farm at 'Llangom', of which the tenant was a certain Thomas Eynon. Powell's financial situation deteriorated to such an extent that he was obliged to resort to borrowing. During 1630/31, his creditor, Edward Scarborough sued him for debt, and his lands were seized by the then sheriff of Pembrokeshire, Sir Richard Philipps. It was not until April 1634 that he was formally 'outlawed', and Thomas Eynon was probably instructed to pay his rent in future to Edward Scarborough. Apparently, Powell's position did not improve. On his death in 1636, he left £2,000 to his widow, Frances, and her daughter, Lucy, but they soon found themselves under siege from importunate creditors. The above extract is of exceptional interest in another respect. In Thomas Eynon it supplies, apart from the gentry and the clergy, the first full name of a resident of the parish to be unearthed.

PURITANS AND ARMINIANS

In the overwhelming majority of the parishes in England and Wales, the reign of James I (1603 - 1625) was a period of relative tranquillity in religious matters. After depriving 90 irreconcilable malcontents among the clergy, the king, who had been reared as a Calvinist in Scotland, displayed considerable tact in avoiding giving offence either to Puritan or Arminian elements in the Anglican church. Thomas Pritchard, the son of a Pembrokeshire clergyman, who had previously held the benefices of Letterston (1620) and Nevern (1625) before becoming rector (1628) of 'Llangom', surely perceived the change which took place in the political and ecclesiastical temperature during Charles I's period of personal government (1629 - 1640). In alliance with Archbishop William Laud, a former Bishop of St. David's and rector of Rudbaxton, Charles, who lacked his father's discretion, insensitively pursued Arminian High Church policies which threatened the Anglican - Puritan consensus which had sustained the Elizabethan and Jacobean church. Generally speaking, Puritans were 'the hottest type of Protestants' - members of the Church of England who wanted it reformed in a more Protestant direction. Their theology strongly endorsed the great Reformation doctrines of

Predestination and Justification by Faith, and they set great store by the reading of Scripture, and the proclamation of the Gospel by educated clergy in sermon - orientated services. Convinced that the sabbath should be devoted to worship and to religious education, they strongly campaigned against Sunday sports, pastimes and festivities. In provocative and challenging contrast, Arminianism rejected Predestination in favour of free will and salvation by good works, laid great stress on liturgical sacramentalism, especially upon transforming the communion table into a railed altar at the east end of the church, and favoured Declarations of Sports which permitted secular activities and amusements. The suspicion gained ground, and not only among hypersensitive Puritans, that Arminianism was crypto - papalism, and that there was a high-level conspiracy to undo the Protestant Reformation and to restore the Catholic Mass. It is difficult to assess the reaction, even among the clergy, in the parishes of Pembrokeshire. Undoubtedly, there were Puritan parsons who resented and resisted the changes without making an impact on the records. The single exception was Edward Philipps, the rector of Amroth, who, in 1638, gallantly raised the Puritan flag in the far west by refusing to read the re-issued Book of Sports from the pulpit.

PREACHING TO CROMWELL'S MEN AT PEMBROKE (1648)

It was Edward's son, Peregrine, whose career mirrored to a remarkable degree those national religious vicissitudes which took place over some fifty years. Born in 1623, he was educated first at 'the public school' (Grammar School) at Haverfordwest, then by Sir Edward Harley, chaplain at Brampton Bryan in Herefordshire, and lastly by Dr. W. Thomas, later bishop of St. David's. The outbreak (Oct. 1642) of the First Civil War obliged him to abandon his advanced studies at Oxford University, but did not thwart his settled intention to enter the Anglican priesthood. After twelve months serving as curate to his uncle, Dr. Collins, at Kidwelly, he returned to his native Pembrokeshire when he was presented to the living of Llangwm with Freystrop (1643). His zestful commitment, demonstrated in a regular routine of three sermons each Sunday, and his transparent oratorical talents quickly attracted the attention of those members of the gentry whose possession of advowsons enabled them to accelerate the progress of a promising clergyman. Pluralism was common, almost mandatory, and through the good offices of Sir Hugh Owen, Bart, Sir Roger Lort, Bart, and Sir John Meyrick, Peregrine was further preferred first to the incumbency of Monkton, and afterwards to St. Mary's, Pembroke, with Cosheston. He personally experienced many of the perils which attended Cromwell's famous six-

week siege (May to July, 1648) of Pembroke Castle, and was greatly honoured when the Parliamentary General invited him to preach before his officers at one of the Pembroke churches. He so impressed the military congregation that he received another invitation - to board the men-at-war at anchor in the Haven, and to bless each one of them before they embarked on their Irish campaign. In view of the apparent affinity between the rector and the future Protector, the familiar tradition that the parish church at Llangwm was substantially vandalised by his men has to be treated with scepticism. However, it is not incredibly unlikely that troops billeted at Burton could have committed acts of sacrilege during bouts of off-duty indiscipline. Over a hundred years ago, J.T. Rees ventured the opinion that Peregrine Phillips 'probably resided at Monkton, below the castle', but earlier this century, Dr Thomas Richards, the great authority on Welsh Puritanism, found proof that, in 1650, the Collector of Pembrokeshire paid him £6 for the repair of the Parsonage House at Llangwm. This piece of evidence, the first reference to the rector's residence which has been discovered, does not prove beyond all doubt that Peregrine Phillips permanently resided in the Llangwm parish. But it surely makes it likely that he did.

THE INQUISITION (1650) AND THE UNION WITH ROSEMARKET PARISH (1656)

The execution of Charles I (January 1649) presaged not only the abolition of the monarchy, but also the abandonment of the episcopal system of church government. Some memorable attempts in the first part of the twentieth century to depict Oliver Cromwell as a proto-Fascist military dictator were gross perversions of historical truth. He was certainly no democrat but he was unusually tolerant of religious diversity, and the Commonwealth (1649-1653) and Protectorate (1653-1658) governments genuinely sought a means of accommodating revolutionary radicalism with conservative traditionalism in the interest of liberty and order. Within a loose framework of state control, which for the very first time allowed clergy and parishioners to take the initiative in determining the form of worship, the intention was to promote 'the godly reformation'. The aim of the Propagation Act (1650-1653) was quite unambiguous - 'the Better Propagation and Preaching of the Gospel in Wales'. It authorised the appointment of Approvers who were to advise the Commissioners on the appointment of 'godly and painful men' for the preaching of the Word. Peregrine Phillips was a member of a committee charged with the task of inquiring into the conduct of ministers and into their qualifications for holding the sacred office. Of an eirenic and

conciliatory disposition, he exercised a gracious and moderating influence upon deliberations, and because of his kindly sensitivity several clergymen with Episcopalian convictions were not removed from their livings. The Llangwm and Freystrop parishes were subject to an investigation into their viability as an ecclesiastical unit in an inquisition which was carried out on Oct. 2nd, 1656 at Haverfordwest. The survey, of which there is a surviving copy in Lambeth Palace library, did not prompt immediate action, but almost six years later, on July 10th, 1656, the union of the parishes of Llangwm, Freystrop and Rosemarket was approved by the government.

PROVIDENTIAL ESCAPE AT FREYSTROP

The epitome of the Cromwellian cleric, Peregrine Phillips revelled in the degree of licensed freedom. As a 'good and painful' minister, he redoubled his evangelical labours, preaching in almost every church, both English and Welsh, in the county, and before the justices at the Assizes at Cardigan, Haverfordwest and Carmarthen. His parishioners clearly responded to his example and leadership, and one of them, Moses Longman, variously described as a gentleman and a yeoman, was an incorrigible admirer of the rector's brand of Christianity. It is probable that on some occasions Peregrine took some of his people to Haverfordwest to attend the open-air meetings of some Independent worshippers. On one other occasion, the dynamic rector had an experience which convinced many of his admirers that Providence had a special affection for him. When riding homeward late at night, both he and his horse plunged into a deep coal-pit at Freystrop, and were firmly wedged in the narrow mouth a few feet from the surface. He was eventually rescued by the proprietor Captain Longman, a personal friend, who was apprised of his perilous predicament by an un-named deaf woman and her alert grandson. The story might appear to be comically far-fetched, but during the next few hundred years several other people were to claim to have had similar hair-raising escapes in the pit-infested Freystrop/Hook area. Their motives may have been as much economic and social as those of conscience, but during this period of religious experimentation (1654-1662), three Llangwm men are known to have emigrated - THOMAS MORRIS and THOMAS WATERS to Barbados, and THOMAS MEREDITH to Virginia.

DEPRIVATION OF RECTOR (1662)

The rectorship of the least forgettable of the incumbents of Llangwm parish was wrecked by yet another volte face at national level. After the death of the Protector Oliver Cromwell (Sept. 1658), the régime which he had sustained crumbled under his inadequate son Richard, 'Tumbledown Dick'. The Restoration (1660) was accompanied by the enforcement by the state of narrow, dogmatic species of Anglicanism. In the form of the punitive Clarendon Code (1661-1665), misleadingly named after Charles II's chancellor, the Cavalier Parliament provided the legislative means to eradicate religious non-conformity. The intensity of the persecution varied from place to place, and from time to time, but it was sufficient to deter all but a few hundred in a Pembrokeshire population of around 30,000 from embracing dissent. Few were inclined to run the risk of heavy fines, whipping, imprisonment or transportation. The Act of Uniformity (1662) required all clergymen to swear on oath that they would not conduct services which were not in accordance with the Prayer Book, and peremptorily insisted that they should do so by St. Bartholomew's Day, August 24th. The choice of the particular date was vindictive for it was intended to deny non-conforming clergy their Michaelmas tithes before they were deprived. For all his personal amiability, Peregrine Phillips was a man of strong convictions. When he refused to give the prescribed undertaking, he became one of the 2,000 clergymen in England and Wales who were expelled from their livings in that Great Ejection which was to be an emotive subject with Non-conformists until the twentieth century. The Five Mile Act (1665) ensured that he never came within that distance of his former sphere of labour.

Peregrine was fortunate in that he was not without friends influential enough to ignore official disapproval. Though considerable attempts were made to persuade him to conform, he took up residence at Dredgeman Hill Farm, near Haverfordwest, the property of Sir Herbert Perrot of Haroldston, the heir, but not the son, of the staunchly Puritan Sir James. During the next few years, he converted the premises into an Independent house church, and by 1665, he was leader and accredited pastor of the Green Meeting, that congregation on St. Thomas's Green which was to develop into Albany Congregational (now United Reformed) Church. In that capacity, he was assisted until 1672 by Rev. John Huntley, the deprived rector of Llanstandwell and Nolton who had returned to his trade of felt-maker or hatter. On two occasions, in 1663 and 1669, they were both brought before the Court of Great Sessions and charged with holding unlawful conventicles. Peregrine Phillips was possessed of uncommon dialectical skills, and during the early years after his ejection, he took part in a public disputation at Carmarthen with Dr. Reynolds over the ceremonies and discipline of the Anglican church. At

times, the government found it expedient to relax the pressure of persecution. Under the terms of the Declaration of Indulgence (1672), Phillips was licensed to conduct services in his own house and in that of Richard Meyler of Haverfordwest. But dissenters could never be sure that reluctant concessions made for tactical reasons would not be revoked. Even though the Toleration Act of 1689 allowed them to worship in specifically registered buildings, they were still liable to prosecution if they strayed beyond these limits. As late as 1691, Peregrine Phillips had two of his gentlemen backers, Moses Longman of Llangwm and Marcus Bolton of Steynton, were indicted for 'meeting under colour or religion'.

For over 25 years, this former rector of Llangwm ministered with undiminished vigour, conducting services at Dredgeman Hill on Sunday mornings and at the Green Meeting in the evenings. Under his leadership, branch churches were established at Treffgarne Owen and Nolton, with the Green Meeting operating as the 'Mother Church'. He continued to conduct public services to the last, and preached twice on the Sunday before his death, which took place on 17th September, 1691, in his 68th year. He is reputed to have been buried near the pulpit in Haroldston Church. Widely respected for his learning, integrity and preaching and pastoral gifts, Peregrine Phillips was one of the three chief leaders of Nonconformity in Pembrokeshire during the second half of the seventeenth century. If Rev. William Jones of the Baptist congregation of Rhydwilym deserves the accolade of 'the paterfamilias of West Wales Baptists', Peregrine Phillips was palpably the founding father of West Wales Congregationalists.

FIRST LIST OF PARISH NAMES (1670)

The Hearth Tax returns for 1670 are especially valuable in that they provide the first comprehensive list of Llangwm parish names ever likely to be discovered. Levied between 1662 and 1687, the tax was charged at a rate of 2 shillings a hearth on all dwellings worth more than 20 shillings a year. The Llangwm returns divide the 72 householders into two categories, the first of which contains the 30 'persons lyable' with the individual number of hearths:-

HENRY PUREFOY, clerk (the rector) (4);	THOMAS DAVID (1);
NICHOLAS EYNON (3);	RICHARD RICKERD (2);
RICHARD REALY (1);	RICHARD EYNON (1);
WILLIAM GUDRIE (2);	THOMAS EYNON (1);
WILLIAM GUDRIDGE (1);	THOMAS BROWN (1);
ANNE NEVELL (1);	HENRY MEYTHY (1);
RICHARD MYTHY (2);	

THOMAS MEYTHY (2);
 ALBAN MORROW (1);
 JANE MEREDETH (2);
 GRIFFITH GUDRICH (2);
 MOSES LONGMAN (6);
 THOMAS CORBET, Esquire (6);
 MARGARET MOORE (1);
 JOHN JONES (3);
 JOHN MEREDETH (1);
 ELIZABETH EDWARD (1).

The second category consists of those 42 single householders certified as too poor to be liable to the tax:-

MARGARET MORE,
 GRIFFITH GUDRICH,
 HENRY NASH,
 HENRY WILLIAM,
 JOHN GRIFFITH
 RICHARD RICHARD
 JOHN WILKIN,
 PHILLIP WEB,
 ELIZABETH WILBERT,
 THOMAS LEWIS,
 RINALD BROWNING,
 KATHERINE PILKIN,
 RICHARD EYNON,
 JOHN REES,
 JOHN POYER,
 ELLINOR BATEN,
 RICHARD WILLIAM,
 ALBAN MORROW,
 JERVICE HOPKIN
 MORGAN PROTHERO,
 RICE KELLY

DOROTHY EYNON,
 JOAN ALLEN,
 HENRY COLLING,
 OWEN GRIFFITH,
 THOMAS PONER
 OWEN DAVID
 OWEN JAMES,
 OWEN COLLIN,
 WILLIAM GODRICH,
 JOHN MOROW,
 LEWIS LAWRENCE,
 STEPHEN GRIFFITH,
 JOHN AP JOHN,
 THOMAS WEB,
 ELIZABETH EDWARD,
 MEGRIAM KELLY,
 JOHN HOBB,
 THOMAS KETHIN,
 DENIS KINGLOW,
 ANN HOBB,
 RICHARD PICKARD.

THE NATURE OF THE NAMES

Some of the names are obviously different spelling versions of the same surname, and where two identical full names appear in the two categories, the most credible explanation is that they are those of father and son. However, the first reaction to the above uncovered list is almost certainly one of surprise at the sheer unfamiliarity of so many of the surnames. Meythy, Meredeth, Wathan, Hopkin, Kethin, Eynon, Griffith

and Prothero are self evidently Welsh. But such other surnames as Realy, Rickerd, Webb(e), Morrow, Tasker, Filkin, Colling, Poyer, Wilbert, Browning, Pilkin, Hobb, Hopkin, Kinglow, and Pickard have never been borne by residents of the parish in living memory. The reader would almost be entitled to conclude that the names belong to the inhabitants of another area! A few of the names - Jones, John, Davis, Brown(e), Gudrich (Goodridge), Griffith(s), and Allen - are familiar, but there is a conspicuous absence of those Palmers, Brocks, Skyrmes, Cales and Follands which were to proliferate during the 19th and early 20th Centuries. Natives will find it difficult to digest the fact that three hundred years ago the most common name in the parish was EYNON, which appears six times in the Hearth Returns compared with the five times of Goodridge and Griffith(s).

THE EXTENT OF THE POVERTY

The second most striking feature of the returns is the degree of poverty they reveal. Not surprisingly, the most substantial members of the community were Thomas Corbet of Great Nash, the previously mentioned Moses Longman, and the rector Rev. Henry Purefoy. It seems that a few of the others - Nicholas Eynon, John Jones, Richard Rickerd, William Gudri (Goodridge?), Richard and Thomas Myth, Thomas Meredeth, Thomas Davis, Richard Eynon and Owen Wathan - were by the standards of their day, farmers of some substance. But the glaring truth is that 42 of the 72 householders, 58% of the total, were certified paupers. Even allowing for the perfunctory methods of assessment and the inclination, out of sheer self interest, of potential tax-payers to minimise their resources, the proportion is arrestingly high. However, the comparison ought to be made with other parts of England and Wales at the time. During the 1690s, the herald and genealogist Gregory King conducted a national survey which was based on the data of the Hearth Tax returns. His results, still highly regarded and much used by historians, demonstrated that over half of the population did not have sufficient income to live on, and were either in serious want or reliant on poor relief. The poverty of the age was structural - it was built in to an economic system in which low productivity, under-employment and seasonal unemployment combined to produce a low output per head. Three-quarters of the population of England and Wales lived in villages and rural parishes, earning their living by agriculture or in occupations directly related to agriculture. In such circumstances, they were very vulnerable to natural calamities, to harvest failures, to dearths of several kinds, and to periodic outbreaks of pestilence. The probability is that in Llangwm, as in so many of the Welsh parishes, more people experienced pauperism, the

most extreme form of poverty, than in the rural parishes of England. Poverty was so much the dominant social concern that it was quite often the object of benefaction, even from sources outside a parish. Rev. Dr. Thomas Pritchard, Peregrine Phillips' predecessor as rector, left a bequest to Llangwm in 1646, and Thomas Roch of Butter Hill, St Ishmaels, similarly remembered the Llangwm poor in 1707.

THE POPULATION RISE

The comparison of the 15 households in the Bishop's Census (1563) with the 72 households in the Hearth Tax Returns (1670) confirms that within just over a hundred years, the population of the Llangwm parish quintupled, rising from 60/70 to around 300. By the second date, it exceeded that of the neighbouring parishes - Burton (65 households), Freystrop (28), Johnston (8), and Rosemarket (50) - and was the third highest, after Steynton and Camrose, of the rural parishes of the hundred of Roose. During the nineteenth century, when the Industrial Revolution was in full swing, population increases of such a proportion were not to be unusual. But a quintupling of the inhabitants of a parish in pre-industrial society was so exceptional as to demand an explanation. The most likely reason is the expansion of mining in the Hook area, an hypothesis given further credibility by the more than doubling of the population of Freystrop during the same period. The trouble is that so far because of the low level of literacy, no documentary evidence of such mining has been discovered before the second half of the eighteenth century. Even so, it would be remarkable if, during the seventeenth century, there was no coal-mining on the outcrop of the Timber vein on the ridge above the Western Cleddau, on the Timber and Tumbling veins in Nash Wood, or of the Low vein west of Sprinkle Pill. Wherever there is woodland around Hook, there is usually some indication of bell pits and crop working, and there is a tradition which predicates the origins of the industry in the district to the thirteenth century.

FIRST SCHOOL (1674/1675)

After the controversy which attended the deprivation of Peregrine Phillips had subsided, the parish church entered a more tranquil phase with the rectorship (1663-1671) of Rev. Henry Purefoy, the clerk who completed the Hearth Tax inventory, who was awarded a licence to preach. The parish basked in reflected glory when his successor, Rev. John Lloyd, B.A., reached the top of the diocesan tree with his preferment as Bishop of St. Davids. In fact, this took place 13 years after he had left the parish. Llangwm was one of those parishes which

benefited, admittedly to a very limited degree, from Thomas Gouge's Welsh Trust, which was unusual among the educational enterprises of the time in that it sought to serve both Anglicans and dissenters. The Trust was most active in English speaking South Pembs., where it enjoyed the support of such members of the gentry as Sir Hugh Owen of Orielton and Sir Erasmus Philipps of Picton Castle. In 1675, there were 14 Trust schools in Pembrokeshire, with the largest, catering for 60 pupils, at Haverfordwest. A list for 1674/75 makes it clear that there were Trust schools at Freystrop and 'Langham', with 10 pupils each. It is probable that the rector at the time, Rev. David Lloyd, M.A., was involved in the project and that since there was little active dissent in the parish, the school was held under the auspices of the church. Inspite of the ludicrously small number of pupils, it is very tempting to regard this as the first recognisable school in the history of the parish. After 1681, the more strict enforcement of laws against dissenters and the death of Gouge undermined the Trust. But it is likely that many of the schools survived to be taken over by the S.P.C.K. after 1700.

HANOVERIAN LANGHUM / LLANGWM

THE OWENS (and BARLOWS) of GREAT NASH

Before the surprisingly untroubled succession (1714) of the German Hanoverian George I to the English throne, the Great Nash estate moved into the orbit of one of the four leading gentry families in South Pembrokeshire. Joan (1686-1764), one of the co-heiresses of Erasmus Corbet and his wife Ann (née Mathias) married John Vaughan of Trecwn, while the other daughter, Dorothy, took as her first husband Charles Owen, the son of Sir Hugh, the second baronet of Orielton, Pembroke. Mayor of Pembroke in 1702, Charles settled at his wife's home at Great Nash, but his occupation was comparatively brief. Sheriff of the County in 1714, he died two years later, at thirty years of age. His remains were interred in the lady chapel of the parish church, an event recorded on a still decipherable floor tablet now partly obscured by a sitting wood floor. His widow, who died in 1723, married secondly Rev. David Lewis, a member of the Henllan family, who was the perpetual curate of Reynalton. Charles and Dorothy had four sons and daughter, and it was one of the former, Wyrriott (1704 - 1755) who inherited Great Nash. Educated at Oxford University, Grays and Lincoln's Inn, he took a step which was to have long-term repercussions for the Nash estate, when on 7th, Dec. 1725, he married Ann, the daughter of John Barlow of Lawrenny. Curiously enough, they also had four sons and a daughter. Wyrriott served as Sheriff of the County (1735) but on his death, he was buried at Bristol. The second son, Charles, of Wyrriott and Ann, who was

a lieutenant Colonel in the First Regiment of Foot, succeeded to Great Nash. In 1748, he had married Grace Carthew, later the wife of Thomas Bullard Shreyer of Jamaica, by whom he had one son who became the heir to Great Nash. (1757). Educated at Eton and Christ's, Cambridge, this Wyriott was governor of Milford from 1776 until his death in 1780. There is more than a possibility that he experienced considerable, even acute, financial problems. It is recorded in a will of the period that George Meares of West Pennar was owed £2,500 by Wyriott Owen Esq. of Great Nash.

This second Wyriott, who latterly seems to have lived at Roch, was the last real Owen of Great Nash. He was bachelor, and after his death, Llangwm, unlike neighbouring Burton which had gentry seats at West Williamston and Dumpledale (Ashdale after the 1840s), never again had a resident gentry family. The Great Nash estate reverted to Orielton, to Wyriott's uncle, Sir Hugh Owen, the long serving M.P. (1774-1809) for Pembroke boroughs. Soon after the death of his first wife, Emma, in 1788, Sir Hugh adopted his mother's name of Barlow to inherit the Lawrenny estate. On 24th, August 1797, he married secondly Ann, the daughter of Philip Champion de Créspigny, M.P. (1780-1784) for Aldeburgh, Suffolk. She was the Lady Ann Barlow whose name was to appear on so many deeds and documents in the parish of Llangwm after her husband's death. Throughout the eighteenth century, the Owens of Orielton, through the cadet branch at Great Nash, completely dominated the Llangwm scene. Their land and mining interests determined the nature and fortunes of the local economy, and the parish made an almost involuntary contribution to the Owen's virtual monopoly of the parliamentary seat of Pembroke boroughs, one of the three Pembrokeshire seats. In strict electoral terms, since they resided in the hundred of Roose, the small number of Llangwm parishioners eligible to vote by the property qualification were county electors. As such, they did not have a legal right to vote in the Pembroke boroughs constituency, which consisted of the boroughs of Pembroke, Tenby and Wiston. However, the burgess rolls of Pembroke demonstrate that the Owens drew their supporting burgesses from a wide area, mostly from parishes in which they had a property interest. Since Llangwm was one of the latter, it was inevitably drawn, especially at times when an electoral contest loomed, into the orbit of Pembroke boroughs. In 1715, there were three Llangwm electors - Charles Owen Esq., Richard Eynon and William Cousins - and they all endorsed the Owens candidate. In 1768, the Llangwm electors were John Llewellyn of Llangwm Mill, John Mithey, David Phillips of East Hook, Richard Knethell of Haverfordwest, who voted in the right of his East Hook property, and Caesar Mathias who voted as of Little Milford, Freystrop. It is possible that there were a few more electors - by the turn of the century they amounted to sixteen - but

there is little doubt that they supported the Owes cause. Significantly, it was to the Llangwm parish that Orielton turned for recruitment purposes when its political supremacy, never completely assured, was under threat. It could confidently rely upon the overwhelming backing of its candidature by the Llangwm 'black hundred', presumably a reference to the miners of Hook.

S.P.C.K. SCHOOLS (1700)

It is relatively well known that the vital role in the establishment of S.P.C.K. schools in Pembrokeshire was played by the saintly and philanthropic Sir John Philipps (1666 - 1737) of Picton, and his two clerical henchmen, Edmund Meyrick, treasurer of St. David's cathedral, and John Pember, the rector of Prendergast. What the minutes of the Society make clear is that a lesser, but not negligible, part was played by Rev. Arnold Bowen M.A., the rector (1694 - 1705) of Llangwm.

EXTRACT 60

'Mr Arnold Bowen of Llangwm, Pembs, March 4th 1699 - 1700. They have drawn up a scheme for taking Subscriptions for Schools, whereunto most of the Justices subscribed at their Quarter Sessions, and that the roll was sent out into the several Parishes; and hopes that the school may be erected in the most convenient places of the County, and that Sir John Philipps, his presence is much wanting to provide it, doubts not of success if the next Diocesan (bishop) patronises their designs'.

EXTRACT 151

'Mr Bowen of Langum, Pembs to Mr Chamberlayne, August 1700. That they have formed themselves into a Society for some Clergy with many of the leading and principal Gentry of the county, chosen their treasurer, and lodged the small stock of money in his hands. That Sir John Philipps, his Interest and Example has given great influence to effect it.,.

Such evidence, which casts the Rev. Bowen in the role of minute secretary of the Pembrokeshire S.P.C.K. group, makes it highly likely that he was committed to advancing the educational interests of his own

parishioners. S.P.C.K schools were entirely Anglican, and were often financed by collections at Holy Communion, and this particular rector would surely have given his attention to the tiny Trust School which already existed.

THE CIRCULATING CHARITY SCHOOLS (1742 - 1743)

Those natives of the parish who in their secondary schooldays were obliged to study the Welsh Circulating Schools as part of their School Certificate course will be surprised to learn that those same schools extended to the Llangwm parish. Founded by a Welsh country vicar, Griffith Jones (1683 - 1761) of Llandowror, they are now widely recalled as perhaps the most remarkable experiment in mass religious education undertaken anywhere in Great Britain during the eighteenth century. More concerned with saving souls than with improving minds, the schools had a very definite objective - to teach ordinary people to read the Bible and the Book of Common Prayer, and to understand elementary Christian doctrine. For all his idealism in matters of faith, their founder was pragmatic enough to appreciate that, with the limited resources available, a crash course in reading was all that could be attempted. There was no expenditure on buildings, and in most instances, the parish church, a vestry, or even a loft or outbuilding was utilised as a classroom. The schools were usually conducted 'at such times or seasons of the year' as the poor 'could best spare from the stress of their several employments', which in almost all parishes was between September and May. Instruction was free, and though the main emphasis was placed on the teaching of children, adults were encouraged to attend, and in most schools, they accounted for two-thirds of the pupils. Run on the proverbial shoe-string, these schools were so successful that, according to a conservative estimate, they taught 200,000 Welsh people to read within 25 years. Most of them were situated in South West Wales, and the overwhelming majority taught in Welsh. 'The Welsh Piety', the annual report, identifies Llangwm as one of the few parishes - Jeffreyston and Rosemarket were others - in which the tuition was in English. During 1742/43, the Llangwm Charity School was attended by 133 pupils from across the age spectrum. It was often the practice for teachers, recruited and trained by Griffith Jones, to move into the parish for the winter school sessions and then to depart to new pastures. In the case of Llangwm, it is likely that the Oxford-educated rector, Rev Charles Bowen, conducted the the classes. His remuneration would have been a niggardly two guineas a quarter.

THE VISITS OF THE METHODIST LEADER, HOWELL HARRIS (1748 and 1750)

The eighteenth century Calvinistic Methodist Revival, surely the best remembered phenomenon in modern Welsh history, certainly had an impact upon Pembrokeshire, where Howell Davies, from his successive homes at Llys-y-frân, Park, near Whitland, and Prendergast, was especially active. At this stage, Methodism was a reform movement within the Established Church which sought to offset the empty formalism and perfunctory practice of much contemporary religion by generating evangelical fervour and encouraging personal commitment. Because the right to preach was restricted by bishop's licence, the Methodists often resorted to field preaching, in which their histrionic sermons sometimes provoked their hearers into ecstasies. On two of his 31 preaching tours of Pembrokeshire, Howell Harris, one of the 'Big Three' leaders of Welsh Calvinistic Methodism, visited the Llangwm parish. His diary merely records that in 1748 he discoursed, but the reference to his 1750 visit is much more detailed.

20th, February. ' - then I went to Llangwm (from Haverfordwest), seven or ten miles, with Mr Sparks. I discoursed here on 'This is a faithful saying and worthy of all men to be received'. Mr. Owens of Nash son hearing me. Cutting to pride. When I had done, I was sent for to Nash, one of the finest houses in the county, a great gent, and waiting on the Lord.'

21st, February. Nash.

'Last night before the gent and his lady I had much freedom to speak of my persecution in the county, Sir Watkin etc. (I) was brought up to be a clergyman, was at Oxford, and had I gone on - - - I had a vast freedom to speak of the nature, glory and infirmity of our lord's sufferings. Mr. Owens took it all in love, and all the time near the Lord, full of love to 11 p.m. I went hence to dear Mr Langman, two miles hence, and passing Llangwm Ferry, I had a view of the riches of the Lord, the majesty, glory etc. I spoke very convincing and plain to the boatmen'.

Many Anglican clergymen, accustomed to formal discipline and to a prescribed liturgy, regarded Methodism with suspicion and distaste. They harboured a fastidious dislike of exhibitionist 'enthusiasm', and were

prone to deplore 'the tumultuous and disorderly zeal' which attended Methodist gatherings. Since there is no mention of the local incumbent, Rev. Charles Bowen, in Harris's diary, it is reasonable to conclude that the rector shared that outlook, and that the hospitality of the parish church pulpit was not extended to the visiting Methodist leader, who was obliged to resort to the vulgar practice of preaching in the open air. Sensitive of the slight, Harris was more than embarrassed when he was overheard, and befriended, by Charles, the son of Wyrriott Owen of Great Nash. To counteract so much slander and misrepresentation, he was at considerable pains to demonstrate his impeccable clerical credentials to his Great Nash hosts. Technically, the Methodists were not dissenters, and were therefore excluded from the privileges conferred by the Toleration Act of 1689. Unfortunately for them, this made them vulnerable to various kinds of harassment, to the 'persecution' referred to by Harris in the second extract. Evidently, the Owens of Great Nash were among those gentry families in the county, who, although loyal to the Established Church, were not unsympathetic to Methodism.

GUILDFORD (1763) and ENCLOSURES (1769)

There were in Llangwm parish, a number of yeomen, substantial men below the rank of the gentry, who were the tenants of considerable farms. On December 21st, 1763, one of them, Oliver Wilkin, leased Guildford from Hugh Bowen of Upton, the owner of the West Williamston estate in the parish of Burton. By this time, those open fields and commons which had dominated the landscape of medieval Pembrokeshire had largely been enclosed. The process accelerated during the next half century when extra incentive to adopt the fourfold Norfolk rotation and the new scientific techniques of stock-breeding was provided by the increasing population and the prospect of greater profits. Much of the enclosure followed a pattern familiar in other parts of England and Wales - it was carried out, by due process of law and Act of Parliament, either by the lord of the manor, or by the commoners acting collectively with lords consent. It was often expensive and sometimes controversial, and where it involved the hedging of common and waste land, it further impoverished the peasantry by depriving them of turf and wood for fuel, and of grazing for their livestock. By the 1790s, the enclosure movement had substantially achieved its objective in Pembrokeshire, but in some parts of Roose, relics of the old medieval open-field system persisted at least until the 1770s. The university historian Michael Howells (1971) discovered that part of the Llangwm parish was still an open field in 1769, and that neighbouring Freystrop had some open fields five years later.

The lot of the majority of the population of the outdoor farm labourers, indoor farm servants and wage-earning cottagers, continued to be scarcely tolerable. Living in cottages, which, according to one contemporary, were 'a sort of extempore erections of dirt and clay called clam' (clom), and to another 'miserable mud hovels', they toiled from 6 a.m. to 6 p.m., with half an hour for breakfast and an hour for dinner. Their frugal diet consisted of barley bread, cheese, potatoes, porridge and oatmeal flummery, supplemented, in the case of a river-side village like Llangwm with fish. In South Pembrokeshire, outdoor farm labourers usually received 8d a day in winter and 10d a day in summer, but some employers paid 8d throughout the year, with a cottage and garden provided. Some farm labourers were, to a certain degree, protected from the full rigors of the market by such perquisites as board and lodge.

PARISH POOR HOUSE (1768) and MURDER (1770)

There is incontrovertible evidence that pauperism, violence and crime were endemic in Pembrokeshire society during this period. Anxious to reduce the amount spent on poor relief, and fearful of the threat the public order posed by wandering vagrants, the authorities strictly enforced the settlements laws, even to the extent of forcibly restoring individuals and families to their original places of residence. In several instances, such restoration involved protracted and degrading wrangling in the courts. On 12th, April, 1743, the Court of Quarter Sessions confirmed the order of two Justices for the removal of a certain John Williams and his daughter from Llangwm to Steynton parish upon an appeal from the latter, and instructed the churchwardens and overseers of Steynton to pay the legal cost of their Llangwm counterparts. Responsibility for the poor, whose numbers escalated during the second half of the eighteenth century rested with the Parish Vestry, which administered the distribution of relief, mostly to the aged, the indigent married, and to widows with families. Often, the outdoor relief was in the form of the payment of regular, or occasional, weekly allowances of around 3 shillings, contributions towards house rents, the purchase of potatoes and seeds for planting, and the reimbursement of people to look after those unable to care for themselves. If the parish overseers failed to provide adequate relief, they could be ordered to do so, either by the Justices of the Peace or by the Court of Quarter Sessions.

Some parishes took their responsibilities seriously, and set up almshouses, not to be confused with Victorian workhouses, in which the poor were installed. As the church register demonstrates, Llangwm was among them.

'Parish of Langhum / At Vestry or meeting of the land-holders and inhabitants of the Said Parish held the 4th day of April, 1768, it was ordered and agreed upon as follows -

First for the better Relief and regulation of the poor of the Said Parish, it is ordered that the Churchwardens and overseers of the Poor of the Said Parish do with all convenient speed contract and agree for a poor House Somewhere in the Said parish of Llangwm for Lodging of the poor of the Said Parish, and also do construct and agree with some proper person from time to time to take care to look after all such poor as shall be ordered Relief from the Said Parish, and also to provide good meat and drink for such poor as aforesaid.

(signed) Caesar Mathias, John Mithey,
David Phillips, John Cozzins,
George Sanday, George Summons,
John Morris, John Griffiths."

Unfortunately, the same register does not satisfy natural curiosity over the implementation of the resolution and the precise location of the 'Poor House'.

Natural indiscipline and the coarsening and demoralising effects of poverty created levels of cruelty and brutality which have never been experienced in the twentieth century village. Though the outcome is not known, an unnamed cooper was sent for trial for the alleged murder of William Stephens at Llangwm on 10th June, 1770. Records are fragmentary, and rural communities have frequently shown a disposition to conceal their most heinous misdemeanours, but this crime appears to enjoy the dubious distinction of being the only one of its kind in the history of the parish. Theft, prompted as much by social protest as by greed, was so common as to be a normal part of parish life. In 1801, Dr. John Philipps, the incumbent of the neighbouring parish of Burton, the squire of Williamston, and the chairman of the County Quarter Sessions, declared that the certainty of their being stolen effectively deterred farmers from following his example of planting readily edible crops. In the previous year, thieves had stolen £50 worth of his turnips and sold them at Milford at three for 1d !!

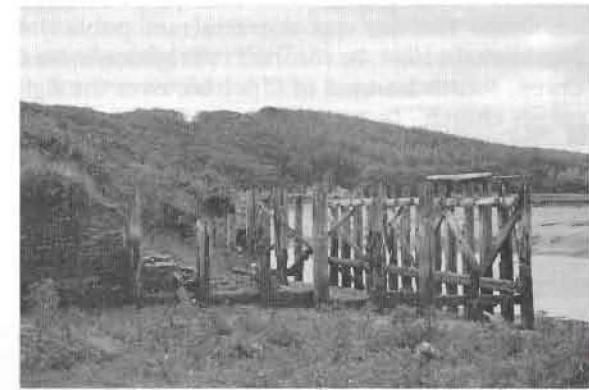
HOOK PERSONALITIES

Apart from the gentry and the rectors, for much of the second half of the eighteenth century several of the leading personalities of the parish resided in the Hook district. After 1743, the two chief tenants were Caesar Mathias senior (d. 1779) and David Phillips (d. 1780), who leased land, in West Hook and East Hook respectively, from the absentee Thomas Powell of Drinkstone Park in Suffolk. Both men were churchwardens at Llangwm parish church, and their names figure prominently among the signatories of the 1768 Vestry resolution for a Poor House. In 1768, David Phillips was one of the three voters from the parish in the parliamentary election and Caesar

Mathias, whose brother was Isaac of Millin, Boulston, was one of the five Land Tax (1769) commissioners for the parish. Even more distinguished as a public personality was Caesar Mathias Junior. In 1753, the year before he married Alice Leach of Loveston, he was granted a 99 year lease, at £20 a

year, of the Little Milford estate by the absentee Sir John Pakington of Westwood Park, Worcester, to whom it had passed in 1700 by marriage from the Perrots of Haroldston. Sadly, he lost his eldest son, yet another Caesar, when on 6th July, 1762, at the tender age of six years ten months, he was killed in 'a sad accident' at Freystrop. Caesar jnr.'s public profile was further enhanced by his occupation of the prestigious offices of Mayor of Pembroke (1767) and High Sheriff (1774) of the County. It was probably after his father's death that he transferred to West Hook farmhouse and thereafter, to promote his mining interests, he played the leading rôle in the construction of Hook Quay (1791), a project completed four years before his own death. Thomas George, the local agent for Harcourt Powell and Sir Hugh Owen of Orielton, reported that

'- the Lower Hook Quay, built by Mr. Mathias, is said on account of its bad formation to have sunk after finished about seven feet and cost some hundreds of pounds.'



The ruins on the Western Cleddau at Hook of the quay built by Caesar Mathias Jnr. in 1791

The achievements of Caesar's other son surpassed even those of his father and grandfather. (Sir) Henry Mathias (1756-1832) of Fernhill, was Mayor of Haverfordwest (1806) and High Sheriff of the County (1816, and in the latter year he was knighted on presenting an address to the Prince Regent on the occasion of the latter's daughter's marriage. Sir Henry, who married Catherine Jones of Llanina, was buried at St. Mary's Church, Haverfordwest. Another Hook personality was Richard Knethell, a trained attorney and manager or 'collector and steward' of the Great Nash estate. At the request of the Wogan gentry family, after 1766, he served as the clerk to the borough of Wiston, and on August 19th, of the same year he was made a freeman of that borough. A well-to-do member of the professional classes, he so strongly entertained gentry ambitions that he was not reluctant publicly to challenge his social superiors. In 1784, he resorted to litigation in his dispute with Sir William Owen, fourth Baronet of Orielton, over the right to a pew in Llangwm parish church. In his will he made provision for a kinswoman Mary Knethell of Hook Quay, but he bequeathed his Hook property to another relative, Thomas Williams of Pope Hill.

DEDICATION TO SAINT JEROME (1786)

It was during the second half of the eighteenth century that the parish church was formally dedicated to St. Jerome, one of the Early Fathers of the Christian Church. In taking this step, its leaders were following the example of Llangwm in Monmouthshire (Gwent) and Llangwm in Denbighshire (Clwyd), whose parish churches were both dedicated to that saint. In the case of the Monmouthshire Llangwm, the present St. Jerome's church dates back to the middle of the thirteenth century, but there was a smaller monastic building on the site for several of the preceding centuries. In the case of the Denbighshire Llangwm, the Report of the Royal Commission of Ancient Monuments (1925) implies that the church was



The Church banner dedicated to St. Jerome.

re-dedicated in the name of St. Jerome in 1747, the year in which it was rebuilt. During recent years, the increasing public awareness of the three Llangwms with their St. Jerome's churches, has activated the quest for an explanation. Perhaps, the most likely one is that the Rev. James Higgon, the rector who wrote the Welsh spelling of the parish name in the church register, knew of the other two, and deemed it appropriate that since his parish shared the same name with them it should also share the same saint. The other possible explanation derives from the putative origins and early history of the site of the parish church. St. Jerome (340-420) was chiefly revered as the outstanding Biblical scholar of his age, and as the translator of the Vulgate, the Latin version of the Bible. But he was also recalled as a zealous advocate of the monastic life, and was highly regarded in contemplative circles. If the rector was convinced that Llangwm parish church stood on the site of a Celtic monastic community, a 'llan', the choice of St. Jerome would not have been eccentric.

HOOK COLLIERY

It was also during the second half of the eighteenth century that coal-mining at Hook developed into a very significant element in the economy of the parish. In South Pembrokeshire, most of the coalfield was in the ownership of a small number of landowners, who saw no incompatibility between agricultural and mineral exploitation, and who were very alert to every opportunity to augment the income from their estates. Sometimes, the landowners were directly involved in the mining operations, but it was more common for them to grant leases of several acres to an entrepreneur, often a neighbouring landowner, who would manage the enterprise, hire the workmen, and conduct the marketing transactions. The primitive lease which obtained at this time apportioned the proceeds of the coal and culm produced between the lessor and the lessee, on the basis of $\frac{1}{3}$ rd to the former, $\frac{2}{3}$ rds to the latter. At Hook, most of the land was owned by the Owens of Orielton, who leased the colliery sites to J. Harcourt Powell, the Suffolk - based landowner who held estates at Greenhill (Lamphey). The use of the singular 'colliery' does not imply one pit, and at Hook, as in most mining districts of the county, the works were scattered over a considerable area. Though Pembrokeshire collieries were small compared with many in other parts of Britain, that at Hook was large by Pembrokeshire standards. In June 1786, it employed 81 people, 27 of whom were women. Many more were employed in the sinking of the pits, the driving of the levels, the timbering of the workings, and in the transporting of the coal by cart and water. It is also very likely that a number were engaged by small-scale private undertakings, whose records have not survived.

Alterations in field boundaries and the later construction of roads have created difficulties with the interpretation of old maps. But the location of the main pits in the Hook district can be identified with considerable confidence. By 1756, Caesar Mathias jnr. was exporting coal from the Freystrop colliery from the quay near Little Milford House. There were workings at Southdown, near the site of the last Hook colliery, and in the vicinity of Furzy Hill. The principal pit sunk during the 1780s was the Green Pit in West Hook, but probably the most active were the Aurora and Beam Pits in East Hook. Although the late Harcourt Roberts was convinced that none of the shafts was more than 60 yards deep, there was one which is reputed to have reached 80 yards. The depth was largely determined by the level of the adits, the nearly horizontal passages from the surface, which drained the workings, often towards the Western Cleddau, or, in other instances, towards such streams as Nash Lake. The most important of these levels was the Stumpy Adit, which with its several feeder adits, drained the Little Milford colliery. Mining techniques had not changed very much since they had been described by George Owen (1603) during the Tudor period. The coal was still hoisted to the surface in barrels by a windlass, a horizontal drum supported on vertical posts and turned by a crank, usually known as the 'drake and beam'. It was transported from the pitheads in carts drawn by bullocks. There was at least one instance of enlightened innovation. Soon after 1805, on the recommendation of the colliery surveyor Edward Martin of Morriston, a tramroad, probably the first of its kind in Pembrokeshire, was constructed from the Freystrop colliery to the Little Milford Quay.

WAGES AND PROFITS

In the year beginning October 1785, the wages paid to the 65/90 colliery labourers of both sexes at Hook varied from 6d to 9d a day, with men usually earning approximately twice as much as women. On average, those men earned between £9 & £10 a year, and since many of them paid between £5 & £6 a year in rent for their cottages and gardens, they only had £3/4 a year to meet household running expenses which were prone to inflation by rising food prices. For the affluent owners, Hook colliery was only one of their several sources of income. At the end of the accounting year 1785/86, the profit available for distribution between J. Harcourt Powell and Sir Hugh Owen was £390.17.1½, of which the former's two-thirds share was £253.9.3 and the latter's £137.7.10½. However, at least occasionally, Orielton's profits from the Hook operation was much more than that. For the year from 10th October, 1787, it amounted to £525.11.6. This, together with their profits from their other collieries at Landshipping and Cresswell Quay, gave the Owens a total mining profit

of £1,544.1.0, compared with £7,552.2.5 from the rentals of the their estates in Caenarvonshire, Anglesey, Carmarthenshire and Pembrokeshire. While the Hook colliers struggled desperately on a meagre £10 a year, Sir Hugh Owen enjoyed a lifestyle serviced by an income of over £9,000.

THOMAS GEORGE

The most interesting personality thrown up by the mining industry at Hook during this period was the upwardly mobile Thomas George. At first he received a salary of £20 per annum for unspecified duties, some of which involved the transport of coal and timber. It was after his appointment in 1787, as the sole agent at Hook for both John Harcourt Powell and Sir Hugh Owen that his salary was doubled, and his prospects were steadily advanced by increasing acknowledgement of his professional competence and practical expertise. He gave advice on the construction of the ballast quay at Hook (1791) and he was almost certainly involved, in 1792, in a meeting of local colliery agents for determining the price of coal. In 1800, John Colby of Ffynone sought his advice in the development of his White Bone Colliery at Amroth, and four years later, he visited Swansea and Llanelli to inspect steam engines with a view to purchasing a model suitable for use in the Owen collieries. Displaying that entrepreneurial flair which exponents of the enterprise culture of the 1980s would have loudly commended, he subsequently became a proprietor himself when he leased Nash colliery from Sir Hugh Barlow (formerly Sir Hugh Owen). Although Nash was a smaller colliery than that at nearby Hook, in 1806/7, Thomas George's two-thirds share of the proceeds was worth £115.18.9½. His lease for three lives of the two hundred and fifteen acre Great Nash farm in 1811 was to make him the founder of one of Llangwm's most notable farming dynasties. For a time, his family were dissenters, who periodically crossed the Cleddau to Molleston, near Templeton, to worship at the pioneering Baptist Chapel. Perhaps it was their improving status which convinced them of the virtue of conformity, and later prompted the switching of their allegiance to Llangwm parish church. Occupying a site which was formerly a gentry seat, they were certainly to enjoy unusual prestige among the agricultural community.

Like Landshipping, where the quay was reconstructed in 1801, and Cresswell Quay, Hook was strategically situated on the banks of the Cleddau for the export trade. In 1785, some 5,728 tons of coal and culm were shipped from Hook alone. Most of it was dispatched to the ports of North West Wales, and to London to supply the breweries. Since the carting of coal to places of shipment played havoc with the roads and tracks, the coal trade was most active during the Summer months, and there were considerable seasonal fluctuations in employment.

A VISITOR TO HOOK (1791)

Caesar Mathias jnr. of West Hook farmhouse had a sister Sarah who had married Nicholas Morgan of Haverfordwest. They had a son Caesar - yet another! - who entered the church and became a canon of Ely cathedral, Cambridgeshire. Rev. Caesar's wife, Mary, paid an extended visit to Pembrokeshire in the course of which she wrote some 62 letters to friends, which were published under the title of "A Tour to Milford Haven, 1791". Three of these letters, written in September from Hook where she was staying with her husband's uncle Caesar, convey vivid first-hand impressions of the locality. Mrs. Morgan was evidently a lady of genteel refinement and of highly nervous disposition, whose previously cloistered existence had not equipped her to cope with crude realities of life in a mining community. There was so much she encountered that filled her with apprehension.

'Our journey to this place was attended with many alarms to me, the roads being infinitely worse than I ever saw or could conceive.'

West Hook farmhouse did not afford her the comfort of security. According to her, it

'has been split from top to bottom by a coalmine worked under it. I believe that there are none of the walls which have not had a chasm (crack) made in them, and some of them very large ones indeed. As the family were one day sitting at dinner in the hall, they thought they perceived the pavement move under the table. By and by, the stones, with which the hall was laid, began to rise up one by one, then two or three together, until at length, they perfectly jumped about. Had they not been well acquainted with the cause of this strange exhibition, they certainly would have believed that there was witchcraft in it.'

At one time, the Mathias family had seriously considered abandoning the property, but decided against such an extreme course when the mine became worked out, and they were reassured by a surveyor that 30 of the 40 fathoms under the foundation were of solid rock. Even so, the visiting Mrs. Morgan was not entirely convinced.

'There are still remaining visible marks of the breaches in the wall, particularly in the parlour where we usually sit, for they have not yet repaired the paper hanging. In the wall of the garden, there are chasms in which you may lay your arm.'

The environment outside was no more inviting,

'We are hemmed in on all sides by coal-pits, not only those that are now working, but a great many that have been worked out, and the latter are extremely dangerous. They are often left open, and suffered to be overgrown with weeds and brambles; so that unless you are acquainted with their situation, you may fall in and perish, before any assistance can be had. Several fatal accidents have been near to happening by this careless manner of leaving the old pits.'

No doubt impishly reacting to his guest's frightened fascination with gruesome disaster, Caesar Mathias related the tale of how some 57 years previously his grandfather and grandmother riding on horseback from Haverfordwest strayed from the path and plunged into a pit. They were only saved by the grandfather's prompt action in grabbing a tree with one hand and clasping his wife with the other arm. The hapless horse had fallen to its death. Though she firmly declined the invitation to descend into a mine, Mrs. Morgan did visit the temporary structures near the pits.

'I ventured to crawl into a miner's hut, for you cannot enter any other way than on your hands and knees; when in you can only just stand upright near the middle of it, where there is a large fire of this country coals which are different from ours. They emit a steam that is intolerable in a close place, such as I am now describing, where there is only an aperture at the top by way of chimney. Though they eat in the huts, yet saw I no culinary utensils, no household furniture, not even a bench of turf around the hovel to sit down upon. The miners sit on their hams, as the Indians do.'

Comparing the huts with wigwams, Mrs Morgan explained that the miners did not live in them, but used them as places in which to eat their meals, to rest from their toil, and to shelter from the elements.



West Hook Farmhouse, the home of Caesar Mathias, senior and junior

This Hook visitor was deterred from walking the road down to the river by the almost ceaseless traffic of coal carts drawn by teams of snorting and straining bullocks.

'It is extremely frightful to encounter the branchy horns of the prodigious beasts every minute; for though they are in harness, and in perfect subjection to their drivers, and in themselves are as gentle as doves, yet it is impossible to divest oneself of apprehension, when passing animals of such vast parts, and within an inch of their immense horns.'

The observant Mrs. Morgan described, in some detail, the use the natives made of the culm, which they mixed with clay, and moulded into round, and sometimes elongated, lumps called 'balls'. The latter were laid in rows, one upon the other, in the fireplace, and strangers often mistook them for roasting potatoes. They burned for a great while, required little attention, and emitted no smoke.

'They are not bright and flaring as the Newcastle coals, but they burn with a much more equal heat. I saw them only in the summer - a remarkable pleasant and cleanly firing.'

Deeply grateful to her husband's Hook relatives for their overwhelming hospitality, Mrs. Morgan showed a gourmet's discrimination in extolling the quality of the fare at Caesar Mathias' table.

'I assure you that the fish here are extremely good. Salmon, lobsters, oysters and several other kinds generally appear twice a day at table, besides Welsh mutton, Welsh ale and excellent wine.'

The lobsters were 'of prodigious size', and they were not nearly as coarse as large lobsters were in England. One day Caesar Mathias was walking along the rocks when he rather nonchalantly drew a 3 $\frac{3}{4}$ lb specimen from a hole in the cliff. Mrs. Morgan was surely rather gullible to have believed such a yarn!

NAMES AND OCCUPATIONS OF PARISH MENFOLK (1794)

To beat off the Campbell challenge to the Pembroke parliamentary seat, the Owens launched a recruitment drive of burgess electors in the Llangwm parish. The anticipated contest did not, in fact, take place but the surviving admission list of 29th, December, 1794 does make very revealing reading.

WILLIAM JAMES, innkeeper;
WILLIAM JAMES of East Hook, farmer;
JAMES JAMES of East Hook, farmer;
JOHN ALLEN of East Hook, collier;
OWEN THOMAS of East Hook, collier;
WILLIAM THOMAS of East Hook, collier;
THOMAS PHILLIPS of East Hook, collier;
WILLIAM BROCK of East Hook, collier;
RICHARD JENKINS of East Hook, collier;
JOHN BROCK, of East Hook, collier;
JOHN YEO, of East Hook, collier;
GELLY LLEWHELLIN, of East Hook, collier;
JOHN YOUNG, of East Hook, collier;
JOHN PAGE, of East Hook, collier;
THOMAS PHILLIPS, of East Hook, collier;
JAMES STREATON, of East Hook, collier;
JOHN WILLIAMS of East Hook, carpenter;
WILLIAM WILLIAMS of East Hook, shoemaker;
DAVID MORGAN of Hook, farmer;
JOHN HUGH of Hook, collier;
(illegible) HIRE of Hook, collier;
DAVID CANTON, collier;
DAVID JOHN, collier;
ISAAC JOHN, collier;
ARTHUR JONES, collier;
WILLIAM ALLEN, collier;
ERASMUS EDWARDS, collier;
JOHN JAMES, collier;
JOHN PHILLIPS, collier;
JOHN THOMAS, collier;
THOMAS ROGERS, mariner;
MORINE HOLINBERRY Esq;
JOHN THOMAS, corvisor;
THOMAS SUMMONS, farmer;
HENRY WILKIN, farmer;

WILLIAM THOMAS, collier;
JOHN WILLIAMS, carpenter;
JOHN EYNON, collier;
WILLIAM HOWELL, collier;
PHILLIP PHILLIPS, collier;
WILLIAM LLEWELLIN, miller;
RICHARD ROGERS, tailor;
EVAN PETERS, farmer;
DAVID JENKINS of Black Tar, collier;
WILLIAM JENKINS of Coffin (Barn), collier;
JOHN HAVARD of Coffin, collier;
WILLIAM COZENS, Little Nash, farmer;
GEORGE JOHN, collier;
ABRAHAM JAMES of Hook, labourer;
MARK REES of Hook, collier;
WILLIAM RICHARDS of Hook, mariner;
SAMUEL EDWARDS, servant;
HENRY LEWIS, fisherman;
JOHN JENKINS, collier;
EVAN BOWEN, mason;
BENJAMIN WATTS, fisherman;
HENRY PHILLIPS, collier;
THOMAS JOHN, collier;
HENRY PHILLIPS jnr, collier;
JOSEPH WARLOW, collier;
THOMAS GRIFFITHS, collier;
THOMAS JOHN, collier;
JOHN ALLEN, collier;
RICHARD LEWIS, fisherman;
THOMAS DAVIES, blacksmith;
WILLIAM BEVAN, collier;
THOMAS LLOYD, collier;
ARTHUR GRIFFITHS, boatman;
THOMAS ROBERTS, fisherman;
ABSALOM FOLLAND, collier;
ISSAC HURLOW, collier;
WILLIAM DAVIES, collier;
JOHN JAMES, collier;
WILLIAM THOMAS, collier;
THOMAS GUDRISH, collier;
MORRIS DAVIES, fisherman;
JOHN PALMER, fisherman;
JOHN EVANS, carpenter;
WILLIAM WATTS, collier;

WILLIAM PERKIN, dredger;
WILLIAM PHILLIPS, carpenter;
LEWIS PICTON, collier;
THOMAS GRIFFITHS jnr., collier;
WILLIAM MILES, shipwright;
HENRY THOMAS, collier;
GEORGE JAMES, labourer;
JOHN EDWARDS, carpenter;
GEORGE EVANS, labourer;
JAMES JONES, carpenter;
THOMAS JONES, dredger;
WILLIAM MERRYMAN, dredger;
(JOHN PALMER of Burton, fisherman);
JAMES NASH, collier;
JOHN EVANS, labourer;
DAVID RICHARD, fisherman;
JAMES GRUNNA, carpenter;
WILLIAM LLEWELLIN, collier;
WILLIAM LAWRENCE, labourer;
JAMES COUZINS, tailor.

This list of 99 names seems to have included most of the menfolk in the Llangwm parish, as in a further recruitment of the 23rd of March, 1795, there were only two from Llangwm - WILLIAM WILLIAMS, carpenter, and ROBERT RANDELL, mariner. There were none in a further drive of the 13th July, 1795. The list has immediate relevance in that it discloses a considerable number of parish surnames which were to figure prominently in the life of the Llangwm-Hook district for the next two hundred years. In a few cases, it gives some indication of the original place of residence of families associated with other parts of the parish in more recent times. Beyond that, it offers concrete occupational data which support a few rather surprising conclusions. In view of the parish's historical links with fishing, it is rather unexpected that in 1794, there were only eight fishermen, three mariners, three dredgers and one boatman. The fact that over fifty of the menfolk were colliers, and the likelihood that the five carpenters and the one shipwright were at least occasionally engaged in tasks connected with the pits, is proof positive that the coalmines were the main employers of labour in the Llangwm parish at the time. Another surprising feature is the muted appearance of agriculture in the list. Though six farmers are named, not one of the five labourers is designated 'farm labourer'. The probability is that fishing and farmwork were for many part-time, extra-curricular activities, seasonally practised to supplement inadequate wages.

THE MARCH OF THE HOOK COLLIERS ON HAVERFORDWEST (1795)

During the early part of the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars (1793-1815), the neurotic authorities feared that the egalitarian doctrines of the French Revolution would provoke a riotous response among disaffected elements in Pembrokeshire. In the event, those outbursts of disorder which did occur were motivated more by hunger than by radical ideology. The colliers at Hook received approximately the same wage rates as farm labourers, with the vital difference that they did not enjoy similar perquisites. The sumptuous food which titillated the fastidious palate of the somewhat sybaritic Mrs. Morgan was certainly not available to them. They deeply resented the sharp practice of many small farmers who deliberately created price-raising artificial shortages by withholding supplies of grain, and the provocative action of corn dealers who exported food at times of dearth in the county. On August 18th, 1795, accompanied by many of their womenfolk, the colliers mentioned in the electoral list marched on Haverfordwest to make their public protest. Chanting

‘One and All, One and All’

they made their way to Quay Street, where fighting broke out when they attempted to seize a butter-laden sloop bound for Bristol. Thwarted in their intention to confiscate all the corn in the market, the colliers reluctantly dispersed after the reading of the Riot Act. For the next week, the county town was placed under the watchful surveillance of Thomas Knox and the Fishguard Fencibles.

LANDLORDS AND TENANTS (1786-1802)

The Land Tax returns after 1786 supply considerable supplementary detail which elucidates the land situation in the Llangwm parish at this time. In addition to confirming that the proprietor of Hook was Sir Hugh Owen (later Barlow) and its leasing to J. Harcourt Powell, they expose another leading personality in David Morgan, the tenant for at least 15/16 years of both West Hook and Hook Wood. Coffin (Barn), was owned and occupied first by Richard, and then by Thomas, Wright. The neighbouring New Inn was occupied by Thomas Jenkins until 1797, but thereafter it was rented from Thomas Wright by that Thomas George who was to found the Great Nash farming family. At little Nash, the tenant was Elizabeth Cousins, described as a widow, and transparently an early member of the well-known Freystrop family. Among Sir Hughs Owens' tenants in his 'Langum lands' were John Mithey, Joseph Lloyd, William Rees, Thomas Roberch (Roberts), Thomas Griffiths, George Summons,

the most substantial of all, John Lloyd, James Lewis, Isaac Hurlay, John Morris, William, and later Harry, Wilkin, John Griffiths, William, and later Thomas, Llewellyn, of Llangwm Mill, Thomas James and Absalom Folland. The precise farms and small-holdings, apart from the Mill, are not specified, but in 1797, Knapp was occupied by a certain Lieutenant Hollingsberry. Part of Guildford, probably the Port Lion/Butter Hill strip, belonged to the Williamston estate of Rev. Dr John Philipps, the nephew of Morgan Bowen of Upton, and the rector (1780-1814) of the Burton parish. For some 33 years the tenant was Oliver Wilkin, but after 1796, it was that Michael Randall, 'a farmer of Butter Hill', whose name was to appear on the 1834 deeds of the first Galilee Baptist Chapel, now the site of a carpark near Guildford Bridge. The greater part of Guildford, where the tenant was Peter Jones, belonged to the Owens of Orielton. Though the returns do not divulge acreages, several of the assessments - 14/2d and 5/3d for David Morgan, £1:1:0 for George Summons, and £1:2:5 for Peter Jones (out of a parish total of £18:2:3 in 1786) - strongly imply that some of these farms and holdings were quite extensive. The proprietors and tenants mentioned constituted the ruling élite in a parish of some 500 inhabitants.

PARISH SURNAMES

Such surnames as BROWN, JONES, JOHN and ALLEN have been in the parish for over three hundred years, at least since the Hearth Tax returns of 1670. Inspite of their susceptibility to the ageing process, the registers of the parish church are sufficiently decipherable to confirm the continuance of these families during the eighteenth century. There was a FRANCIS BROWN who was buried in April 1738, and there was a MARY BROWN who married John Smythe on Feb. 10th, 1737. There was a JOHN JONES, the son of John, who was born in Dec. 1747, and a MARY JONES who married Thomas Evans in January of that year. Later, on Feb. 17th, 1767, a certain THOMAS JONES married Janet Davies. There was a JAMES JOHN who married JANET JONES in September 1745, and had three children - Dorothy (1747), Richard (1752), and Anne (1754). DAVID JOHN, probably the collier of the same name who appears in the electoral list of 1794, married Martha Hugh(es) on April 9th, 1774. The ALLEN family feature in the records with the baptism, on 6th, July 1733 of Katherine and Elinor, the daughters of WILLIAM ALLEN. On the 20th January, 1772, another William Allen married Alice Edwards.

The eighteenth century also witnessed the appearance for the first time of surnames which have been borne by residents of the parish for between 220 and 270 years. The CHILDS entered the records on August

25th, 1716, with the christening of MARY, the daughter of JOHN CHILDS (d.1752). There was a WILLIAM CHILDS who had a daughter Mary (1747), and sons John (1751) and William (1754). In 1727, WILLIAM LLEWELLING (LLEWHELLIN) the son of John and his wife Sara, was baptised. LEWIS LLEWELLING married Catherine Hugh(es) on 30th November, 1765. William and his wife Dorothy had three children - Elizabeth (1766), John (1767) and Anne (1768). The FOLLAND family were first mentioned on August 15th, 1738, with the burial of Margaret; and the CALES with the baptism in 1748 of George, the son of Arthur. The BROCK family made its débüt in the records with the marriage, in July 1761, of John with twenty-one year old Mary Webb, a member of a family that can be traced back to 1670. The electoral list of 1794 makes it crystal clear that originally the Brocks lived in East Hook, and that the menfolk were colliers. A later church register is equally explicit that, at the time of their deaths at 85 years (Feb. 1820) and 87 years (March 1822) respectively, Mary and John resided at Hook Bridge. This period also saw the arrival of one of the most prolific of Llangwm families. On 23rd December, 1765, JOHN PALMER of St. Mary's Pembroke, married Anne Jones of Burton at Burton parish church, and came to live in Guildford. During the next twelve years, they had four children - Mary (1766), Anne (1769), John (1772), and William (1777). Their son John married Martha Roberts of Llangwm at Llangwm parish church on 25th, November, 1792, and from their seven or eight children practically all the Llangwm Palmers were to be descended. They multiplied so rapidly that less than a century later (1871), there were to be no fewer than 67 Palmers in the village.

The SKYRME family seem to make their first appearance with the marriage of WILLIAM and the widow Mary Smith on 7th January, 1777, in a ceremony conducted by Rev. John Jordan, the rector of Llanstadwell. Unlike the majority of marriage partners, including Mary, William actually signed the register himself, and one of the witnesses of the union was Caesar Mathias of Hook. Sad to relate, the demographic transformation which has taken place during the last twenty years has either obliterated or severely reduced surnames which, for so long, were synonymous with the village. For the first time for over three hundred years, there are no natives with surnames Brown or Allen, and for the first time for 250 years, no natives with surnames of Cale, or Llewellyn. The representatives of once fecund Llangwm families - Palmer, John - have dramatically plummeted to lower single figures.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

In addition to the many sources mentioned in the text, the following were consulted :-

- Pembrokeshire County History - Vol 3 (1987)
- J. Guy - Tudor England (1988)
- D. Starkey - The Reign of Henry VIII - Personalities and Politics (1985)
- G. Williams - Welsh Reformation Essays (1967)
- D. M. Palliser - The Age of Elizabeth (1983)
- J. J. Scarisbrick - The English Reformation and the English People (1984)
- C. Haigh - The English Reformation Revised (1987)
- H. A. Lloyd - The Gentry of South West Wales 1540-1640 (1968)
- G. D. Owen - Elizabethan Wales (1962)
- G. Jones - The Gentry and the Elizabethan State (1977)
- Pembrokeshire Historian - Vols 3 & 5
- E. & K. Howells - Pembrokeshire Life - 1572 - 1842 (1972)
- D. Miles - The Sheriffs of the County of Pembroke (undated)
- A. L. Beier - The Problem of the Poor in Tudor and early Stuart England (1983)
- B. Coward - The Stuart Age (1980)
- A. H. Aylmer - The Interregnum and the Quest for Settlement (1972)
- J. T. Rees - History of Protestant Nonconformity in Wales (1883)
- J. R. Phillips - Memoirs of the Ancient Family of the Owens of Orielton (1886)
- M. Clement - Correspondence and Minutes of S.C.P.K. Relating to Wales, 1699-1748 (1952)
- T. Beynon - Howell Harris' Visit to Pembrokeshire (1966)
- Coleman Deeds - National Library of Wales
- Eaton Evans & Williams MS - National Library of Wales
- Pembroke Burgess Rolls - C.R.O. Haverfordwest
- Owen & Colby MS - National Library of Wales
- C. Gittins - Pioneers of Welsh Education (1962)
- C. Hassall - A General View of the Agriculture in the County of Pembroke (1794)
- Various wills and deeds at St. Catherine's House, London.

