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Assessment of archaeological potential, with observations of engineers' testpits, Llandaff pound

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Abstract

The Llandaff Pound abuts the late 13th century Bishops' Castle, the fortified palace of the Bishops of Llandaff through the later medieval period. No direct evidence exists of any earlier occupation in this part of Llandaff, although the significant location at the junction of early routes makes this likely.

The history of the Llandaff Pound has been traced, as far as practicable, from its first cartographic representation in c.1610 and its first documentary evidence from 1717, when it was held by Thomas Thomas, through to a much more thoroughly documented history during the 19th and earliest 20th century. The pound probably continued in use until the 1930s, although it was encroached upon by public toilets. An initial plan for a urinal was proposed (and approved by the Llandaff & Dinas Powis RDC) in 1914 but does not appear to have been implemented. A larger block was constructed as a part of the reworking of The Green in c. 1924. Male access was from the west and female from the north, both from outside the pound. Cartographic evidence indicates the survival at this period of structures (a stable and a store) within the pound, probably first built in the 1880s. The facilities were redesigned in the 1980s (plans dated January 1985), with an extension to the NE to house disable toilets and a rest room, and the removal of the low-level access to the female toilets (with access now through the Pound, which was resurfaced).

Revision of the documentary evidence for the pound in the 19th century has demonstrated that from before 1844 (and possibly from 1829) and until after 1881 (but before 1889), the role of pound-keeper was held successive publicans (Elizabeth Locke, David Evans, Helen Jane Evans and John Moore) of the Red Lion Inn (now demolished, formerly on The Green where it partially encased the remains of the medieval bell tower). The history of the Red Lion has, therefore, also been investigated. The owner is given as Thos Mathews Esq on the 1776 Edwards Estate plan and the premises were listed on a draft sale catalogue of the Mathews estates in 1793, when it was leased to a Thomas Lott. A draft conveyance of 1807 represents the sale of the Red Lion (and other property) by Mark Wood, who had purchased the Mathews Estate, to John Wood snr.. The pub was then one of several lots sold to Evan Evans, a prominent doctor, following John Wood jnr's insolvency in 1823. It remained in the Evans family until at least the mid-1870s.

Edward Lewis was tenant landlord of the Red Lion from c. 1792 until his insolvency in 1827. He was a farmer (he leased part of the Gabalfa Estate, until c. 1822) and horse dealer, being related to Lewis Lewis who held the Three Elms at Whitchurch that provided stabling associated with Cardiff racecourse. He may have been succeeded by Thomas Dunne who left in 1829.. By 1831 Thomas Locke was landlord There is no documentary evidence linking any of these three to the Pound, but the Thomas' widow Elizabeth, who had the pub after his death in 1834 until hers in 1854, held the pound in 1844. Later, their daughter, Hellen Jane was landlord and pound-keeper (together with her husband, David Evans after their marriage in 1856 until his death in c.1862). She relinquished the tenancy in 1867, when it was taken by John Moore, who was pound keeper until injured by a gas explosion in 1881. Richard Williams became landlord after the accident (probably a sub-tenancy), but repeatedly violated licensing laws until the licence was withdrawn in 1884 and the pub closed. By 1889 the pound keeper was a member of the family of Shepstone, butchers, Llandaff High Street, and arrangement which probably lasted until the 1930s.

The pound-keepers prior to 1844 are not known with certainty, but it seems likely that the owner of the alehouse adjacent to the castle gate n 1841, William Evans, a publican and butcher may have been. The alehouse was demolished between 1841 and 1844. Evans married the widow of a Thomas Thomas, possibly suggesting a family link with the lease of the pound in 1717, also a Thomas Thomas.

The site is currently approximately level, at an elevation over 2m above that of the ground adjacent to Well Cottage to the northeast. The engineering test-pits along the line of the SW wall of the proposed extension showed, below the 1980s paved surface and its bedding (200mm), an up to 300mm layer of dark humic soil with 20th century material overlying at least 400mm of redeposited natural, cut by the foundation trench of the 1924 building. The relationship of the site to the castle strongly suggests that the ground level within the Pound has been raised since the medieval period, particularly towards the northeast side.

The curtain wall of the castle to the south of the site has been largely replaced by a narrow wall of post-medieval age. Close to the inclined junction of the two phases of wall is a straight join within what appears to be the later wall fabric, suggestive of the vertical edge of an opening, but only visible on the external face. It is currently unclear whether this is indicative of three phases of walling, or whether the opening is preserved within a small fragment of surviving medieval wall core. The narrow wall forms the boundary of a garden covering the area of the castle, to which a small gardeners cottage was appended, probably in the 19th century. It is unclear whether some of the 18th century engravings depict the castle without the later narrow wall.

Consideration of the documentary and test pit evidence suggests that the shallow archaeology within the pound is likely to be of 19th to 20th century date, with older deposits buried below one or more phases of levelling deposits and unlikely to be encountered within either the Community Excavation or any subsequent groundworks for development.

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Background

The disused public conveniences within the site of the former Llandaff pound are currently the subject of a conversion and extension project by the Llandaff 50+ (supported by the Welsh Government, Cardiff YMCA (1910) Trust, the National Lottery Community Fund and the Waterloo Foundation) to provide a 50+ community activity centre and heritage room. The project is currently the subject of Planning Application 19/01605/MNR.

The area concerned here will, in part, be the subject of a small community excavation in September 2019, during which the volume anticipated to be the footings and service trenches for the proposed extension will be pre-empted by hand-dug archaeological excavation. This report seeks to inform the planning of that excavation.

In order for their engineer investigate the nature of the footings of the existing structure and ground conditions in the area of the proposed extension, Llandaff 50+ commissioned the excavation of three small test pits to the rear (SE) of the block. These pits were also subsequently made available for inspection for archaeological purposes. This report details that inspection. This report does not constitute a formal Archaeological Field Evaluation, for the location of the pits and their excavation was driven entirely by other considerations.

Geological and geomorphological setting

The site lies on a low ridge separating the valleys of the Ely and Taff. The ridge is bounded to the NE by a steep bluff above the floodplain of the Taff. The Bishops' Castle lies on the crest of the bluff immediately southeast of the project site. The old road from Cardiff to Llandaff (and thence towards Llantrisant) followed this ridge from Canton Cross to Llandaff, passing just 25m SW of the site. In the area of this development the top of the ridge lies at approximately 29m aOD, with the floodplain below the bluff at approximately 15m aOD.

The Pound is abutted to the northwest by Cathedral Close (formerly Heol y Pound), which lies in a slight gully passing down the bluff.; this gully may have enhanced the natural defensibility of the castle on the N side. To the NE the site abuts the gardens of Well Cottage, which lie at a lower level below a retaining wall. The W end of the castle hall is now missing, with the ground falling steeply into the garden. The SE boundary of the grounds of Well Cottage is, as in the Pound, the post-medieval wall on the approximate lie of the north curtain.

The site is underlain by Triassic rocks. The marginal facies of the Mercia Mudstone Group crops out on the bluff (Young 2001), and over much of the ridge to the west. This facies comprises rocks formerly known as the "Dolomitic Conglomerate". Where fresh these rocks are hard, massive conglomerates, bearing boulders of dolomitised Carboniferous limestone. Near the edge of the bluff (particularly seen in the east quadrant of the walled garden,100m SE of the site) the conglomerates are deeply altered and degraded to a red gravelly material; the alignment of the bluff is close to the projected position of the Tongwynlais Fault, seen further north. Furthermore, over much of the areas of the Cathedral School campus the conglomerates are penetrated by fissures (presumably intensely weathered joints) trending 105-109° (grid) with fills of dark green-red clay. These clays are often stained black (probably by manganese oxides) along the contacts with the conglomerate. The fissures have sub-vertical sides, are 0.5–1.5m wide, and extend to at least 2m below surface. In some areas a similar manganiferous clay can be seen as a weathered mantle over the conglomerates. The detailed nature of the Triassic bedrock below the castle and Pound has not been recorded.

150m south of the development area, in the developments at 'The Lodge', the Triassic clays were observed to be penetrated by complex sub-vertical fissures filled with unconsolidated coarse sand (Young 2013). These are interpreted as periglacial features and indicative either of the development of ice wedges, subsequently filled by sand, in a humid periglacial environment, or of sand wedges formed in an arid periglacial environment; in either case possibly forming part of a system of polygonal cracking.

Archaeological and historical context

The site lies to the SE end of Llandaff Green, abutting the walls of Bishops Castle, at the head of Cathedral Close (centred on NG coordinates [315550, 178020]). The land division associated with the Public Toilets falls partly within the limits of the Bishops' Castle

Scheduled Monument (Monument GM073; NPRN 96079; Listed Building Grade 1, No. 13718). The development, and the community excavation area fall entirely outside, but immediately abut, the Scheduled Monument.

The supposedly medieval spring surround of 'St Teilo's well' (PRN 00150s; listed grade II) lies on the opposite side of Cathedral Close just below the site. Directly opposite the site lies the Grade II listed White House Cottage. Cathedral Close (formerly Heol y pound) is sunken below the natural ground level to its north (and potentially south); it is unclear if it is a sunken lane or whether lies along the northern margin of a natural gully.

This account of the archaeological context focus specifically on the immediate context of the site, for a discussion of the entire historic core of Llandaff is not appropriate here.

i. Prehistoric (up to approximately AD75):
prehistoric activity in the area is evidenced only by the occasional finds of residual worked flint during previous watching briefs with the Cathedral School Campus to the southeast of the site. None was closely dateable, and none was recovered from a prehistoric deposit. There are no known prehistoric sites within 0.5km of the site.

ii. The Roman period (AD75 – AD410):
there is likewise very little direct evidence. It has been commonly assumed that aspects of the local road system are of Roman origin. This includes the route from Canton Cross to Llandaff (passing through the Cathedral School grounds, alongside the SW side of the castle, just 25m SW of the site, and thence along Cathedral Green, Bridge Street and northwards towards Radyr. This has been interpreted as the likely line of a Roman road, following the ridge west of the Taff, to link Cardiff with the iron mines of Lesser Garth and perhaps (following approximately the line of the modern A4119) with the early fort at Caergwanaf with its iron production site. A second route, often interpreted as of Roman origin, leaves the Roman road between Cardiff and Cowbridge at Ely Bridge, following the line of Ely Road and High Street, to meet (and perhaps cross) the first route adjacent to the present site, possibly crossing the Taff and passing eastwards to join the Cardiff-Caerleon road. Such routes remain, however, entirely speculative and field evidence currently exists to support either; if these two are of Roman origin, then the lack of evidence for the Roman period at their crossing point in Llandaff is remarkable.

The sole physical evidence for the Roman period is provided solely by a single Roman coin recovered from spoil dump of the excavations across the line of the road within the Cathedral School campus undertaken by the Llandaff Society in 1984-5 (James and Lewis 1987, 21). There is no archaeological evidence for Roman occupation in Llandaff and no recorded sites within 0.5km of the site.

iii. The early medieval period (AD410 – AD1066):
there is abundant, if controversial. documentary evidence for activity in Llandaff, about which there is a substantial literature. Archaeological evidence for the period remains much more limited.

The site lies a short distance S of the later Cathedral which is believed to overlie the early medieval church (replaced in AD1120). The seat of a bishopric was probably established at Llandaff in the late 10th or 11th century, possibly under Bishop Joseph (1022-1045), and possibly replacing an earlier *clas* church. A late 10th to early 11th century cross, discovered built into the wall of the 'Dairy Well' in the 19th century is the sole surviving physical piece of evidence from this period from Llandaff. The well surround is unlikely to be contemporary with the cross, but a 12th-13th century origin is possible.

The 'Book of Llandaff' purports to include the charters of Llandaff extending back to the 6th century. The collection of charters is now generally accepted as a 12th century attempt to justify the holdings of the new see of Llandaff using both genuine charters of Llandaff and charters of the preceding Bishops of Teilo, the whole suitably edited to the needs of the 12th century See under Bishop Urban. The documents conceal rather than illuminate the true early history of the church in Llandaff.

iva. Medieval i (11th to mid-13th centuries):
the cathedral sought to exert its dominance over the church in southeast wales during this period. Redknap and Lewis (2007, 569) suggest that Joseph (died 1045) may have been the bishop who created the enlarged diocese, but that he was 'Bishop of Teilo' and the relics of Teilo may have become housed at Llandaff at that period. The following two bishops, Herwald and Urban, were both closely associated with, and probably related to, members of the *clas* at Llancarfan. Whether either Joseph or Herwald was ever known as Bishop of Llandaff appears unlikely, with that term first being used with certainty by Urban in 1119 (he had used the title bishop of Glamorgan in 1107; Crouch 1989, 11). Urban built a new Cathedral which was started in 1120 and he appropriated the cults of St Euddogwy (Oedoceus) and St Dyfrig to add status to the church of Teilo, as well as dedicating it to St Peter and St Paul, probably to curry papal favour in his disputes with the other Welsh dioceses. The 10th century cross, formerly embedded in the wall of the Dairy Well (75m southeast of the development; sometimes known as St Teilo's or St Oedeceus' Well and which also probably contained the Llandaff ivory diptych, Redknap 2014) may suggest the well head was part of a constructed landscape to encourage pilgrimage to the newly imported Saints' relics. No other earlier medieval remains are known from the immediate area, but the development area may have fallen within the constructed landscape.

Although it was once assumed that the castle was also have been initially constructed by Urban, limited archaeological excavation with the castle (Johns 1971), analysis of the its fabric (RCAHMW 2000) and the investigations to date within the area of the walled garden of Llandaff Court (Young 2001, 2019) have all failed to produce any evidence for the castle from before the third quarter of the 13th century.

ivb. Medieval ii (mid-13th to mid-14th centuries):
the immediate area is intimately associated with the Bishops' Castle. Although Urban began the great new church in 1120, accompanied by new dedications (Ss Peter & Paul to curry papal favour) and the acquisition of relics (those of Euddogwy and Dyfrig to try to establish the primacy of Llandaff in Wales), there is no evidence yet to support his construction of a Bishop's residence with a status to match. Excavations on the site of the Bishops' Castle (RCAHMW 2000) have

found no evidence for occupation there prior to the 3rd quarter of the 13th century.

The Bishops' Castle appears to represent a new development on a fresh site in the third quarter of the thirteenth century. The unusual plan of the castle, together with the ditched compound to its SE which forms part of the castle complex, but which contains industrial waste of the early fourteenth century, may suggest the castle to have been constructed in two phases. The initial phase probably included the impressive gatehouse of very similar style to contemporary parts of Caerphilly Castle and arguably by the same master mason. At Caerphilly a single gate (on the south barbican) employed angle spurs (with rounded towers) in the first work of 1268-1271, but such spurs on polygonal towers (as in the Bishops' Castle gateway) were ubiquitous in the third and fourth works of 1277-1282. Similar towers are known from Llanblethian (1307-1314), Ewenny (c.1300), and Llangibby (?1286-1314) castles. There is a particularly close parallel between Llandaff and the outer east gatehouse at Caerphilly, although externally Ewenny has the greatest similarity. These dates suggest construction of the gatehouse, one of the earlier sections of the castle, was undertaken under William de Braose (Bishop 1266-87). He was from a marcher family and the militaristic construction would be appropriate for someone of such a background. Construction of the castle may then have been interrupted during the vacancy in the See in the later 13th century (1287-1297; probably because of interference by Gilbert de Clare, Lord of Glamorgan, the competing power in the region; RCAHMW 2000) and perhaps eventually completed in the fourteenth century to a less grandiose design than originally intended.

It is assumed that the area of the current project was at least cleared and possibly quarried to create a scarp or perhaps even a ditch between the line of Cathedral Close and the north-western curtain wall.

Of a somewhat similar age to the castle is the medieval belfry (PRN 00147s, SM, NPRN 32796), which stands on the Green 100m northwest of the site. This was formerly partially encased in the post-medieval Red Lion Inn, that features in the discussion below.

ivc. Medieval iii (mid-14th to early 16th centuries):
between 1333 and 1419 the seat of the Bishops (progressively?) transferred from Llandaff to Mathern. Although it is commonly stated that the castle's abandonment as a residence by the Bishops in the fifteenth century was a result of attack during the Glyndŵr rebellion, there is no evidence that this was the case and is probably incorrect.

The Dairy Well was probably also the site of concealment of a 14th century ivory diptych (Redknap 2014) found in 1836. It is not known when the diptych was concealed there.

va. Early post medieval (mid-16th to mid-17th centuries).
The manor was granted to Sir George Mathew of Radyr in 1553. The castle probably continued to be used for administration of manorial activities after this date. Rice Meyrick (1578) stated that the castle was held by William Mathew, who kept it in repair. Work on the gatehouse, including new windows, suggests significant alteration in the 1580s (RCAHMW 2000).

The castle provided a strongpoint refuge for the inhabitants of Llandaff in a civil disturbance in 1596 and it appears to be intact in the Speed map of c.1610. The Hearth Tax listing of 1670 gives 'Lord Bishops Pallace' with 9 hearths, suggesting it was still largely intact at this date.

Following the relocation of the family of Mathews of Radyr to Ireland, George Mathew retained Llandaff castle and manor. By 1695 the castle appears to have been in the hands of John Miles of Llandaff who that year in his will stated that it should be rented for 20s. per annum to Philip Maddocks (Matthews 1901); by 1710 it was leased to Thomas Mathews of Fairwater, who then conveyed it by his will to his daughter Ann, specifically *'the lease of rents and profits from Castle & Arlls to Ann d of Thomas Mathews of Fairwater in his will 'for a certain term"* (Matthews 1901). It is unclear whether Miles was a leasee of the castle from the Mathews of Ireland, or whether he under-leased the property from the Mathews of Fairwater.

Speed's map of c.1610 also shows an enclosure abutting the castle to the north that is probably that identified as the pound in 1776. The location, at the head of the green where fairs were held and adjacent to the eastern gatehouse tower with its prison emphasises its manorial role.

vb. Later post medieval (mid-17th to mid-20th centuries):
the Castle and walled garden appear to have been held together as a single garden attached to Llandaff Court during this period. The first reference to this arrangement is in *Popish Register for the County of Glamorgan* of 1717 (Matthews 1901). Those properties owned by George Mathew Junr, of Landaff, and of Thurles in Ireland, included '*The Castle of Landaffe cum p'tin' & Land called Arles in ten' of Jane Mathews vid.*'

Jane Mathews was the widowed mother of the then Commodore (later Admiral) Thomas Mathews, who managed his estates while he was away serving with the navy (Mathews 1884). Her lease on the Castle probably dates from the period 1690-1717. After 1717 an increasingly frequent series of mentions of the lease of the castle may be found, suggesting the arrangement was long term, only ending with actual purchase of the property from the Romilly estate by the Church Commissioners in 1851.

Archaeological evidence from this period is mainly derived from recent interventions within the Cathedral School Campus and associated with the structural features of Llandaff court and its grounds, together with the backfill of the former Cardiff-Llandaff road, which had developed into a sunken lane. The excavation of a trial trench across the medieval moat in 2003 revealed evidence for well-preserved features (paths, spade-dug beds) within the garden deposits, but these have not been closely dated. When held by the Bishops, Llandaff Court (Bishops Court) was connected to the Cathedral via the walkway though the walled garden and castle (the path surviving today).

The earliest recognised documentation of the pound is the 1717 registration of properties owned by George Mathew Junr, of Landaff, and of Thurles in Ireland, which includes "*Part of the Com[m]on Pound, in ten' of Thos Thomas, joyning to the Castle Gate in Landaffe*". In addition, '*The Bellhouse & Garden & Backside in ten' of Morgan John*' suggests the location of the later Red Lion Inn property (1776: parcel 17; Tithe parcel

844) and/or the adjacent property (1776: parcel 16; Tithe parcels 846/847).

Browne Willis 'Survey of the Cathedral Church of Llandaff' (1719) states (p31) '*The Bishop's Castle stood, before it was demolish'd, South East of the Church: it was heretofore a very stately building, if we may judge by the Gate-House, which is still remaining... …The site of the Castle is now turn'd into a garden, which belongs to Thomas Matthew Esq. of the Court of Llandaff, (a House so call'd just adjoining) who is Tenant to a Descendant of the House of Aradir, now living in Ireland*.'

After the Speed map of 1610, there is no known cartographic representation until the Edwards estate plan (*A Book of Maps of the Estates of Thomas Edwards*, 1776), on which the pound is parcel 23, stated as belonging to Thomas Edwards Esq.. It is unlikely that this was freehold, since the pound later (in 1844) formed part of the Romilly manorial holdings. Parcel 22, to the north (the site of Well Cottage) is depicted as a garden (possibly belong to the Mathews' estate, but the formatting of the list makes this ownership uncertain). The 1776 map shows building outlines that differ slightly from those on the Tithe Map (1844), but the Red Lion corresponds to parcel 17 (House & Gardens, Thos Mathew Esq.).

At some period in the medieval or early post-medieval period the northern curtain wall of the castle either largely collapsed or was demolished, to be replaced by a much narrower wall. Browne Willis' description (see above) suggests that the dereliction had occurred before 1719. The replacement wall may be illustrated in an engraving of 1773 (Figure 3), but in both this image, and one of c. 1830 (Figure 5) it is possible the wall is incomplete and therefore the narrow wall bounding the pound dates to after 1830. This question is currently unresolved (but see discussion below). This picture shows the pub extending both from the front of the gatehouse and extending northwards (into what is now the alley area used for bin storage).

The area immediately to the southwest of the site, comprising the pavement adjacent to the N tower of the castle gatehouse and part of the roadway at the head of Cathedral Close, were occupied by a public house, supposedly *The Bush* (also apparently sometime *The Crown*), until some date between the date of the Gastineau drawing the engraving of which was published in 1830 (Figure 5) and 1844. If the identification of Wiiliam Evans publican resident at Llandaff Castle with his family with this alehouse is correct, then the alehouse was demolished between 1841 and 1844. William Evans had married, as second wife, the widow of a fellow butcher, Thomas Thomas (with both mentioned as butchers in the 1830 Pigot's directory). The families of Thomas, Evans, Crow and David are all intimately intermixed in the ownership of Llandaff alehouses and inns at least as far back as the 1750s. It appears likely that one of these butcher publicans held the pound, with the *Bush* alehouse from the 1820s.

A lease of 1784 of Llandaff Court by Thomas Mathews (of Llandaff Court) to John Price of Whitchurch, includes two walled gardens, a decayed castle gatehouse and a pound. The precise scope of this lease (GRO DMM/PR/210) requires further investigation. However, Thomas Mathews would have only been leasee of the castle, walled garden and pond/pound at this time, either directly from Mathews of Ireland, or indirectly from their assignees (perhaps Mathews of Leckwith).

The manor remained in the Mathews family (who were subsequently resident in Ireland) although practically in various local hands (it forms part of the subject of the will of Anthony Mathew of Leckwith in 1777 who left it to his nephews), until 1818, when Francis Mathew, Earl of Llandaff, conveyed it to Sir Samuel Romilly. The pound, however, was part of a package of manorial rights previously leased to the Reverend Powell Edwards. William Powell Edwards mortgaged properties including the manor pound (also Llandaff House, Precisely farm, Public House adj. Ely Bridge, dwelling house near the Bishop's Palace, cottages and houses and tolls of fairs at Ely and Llandaff) in 1850 (GRO DXGE96/235). The manor was later sold in 1852 to William Cartwright with the clause:

> *'And also all that pound, being the Lord's Pound of the Manor or Lordship of Llandaff, situate in the City of Llandaff, with the profits arising from the empounding of estrays within the said Manor (which said tolls and pickages of the said fairs at Llandaff and the said pound were with other hereditaments, by Lease dated 15 January 1808, demised by Francis Lord Landaff to the Reverend Powell Edwards from the date thereof for the lives of the said Powell Edwards, Thomas Williams Richards and Edward Windsor Richards at the yearly rent of 130l.)'*

By the time of the Tithe Map (the process of its creation was started in 1838, an opportunity to review the draft apportionment and map was made in the Red Lion in June 1843; the apportionment is dated 14th November 1844, the map 1846), the northern plot (925) now bears a house (now Well Cottage; occupied by Evan Hopkins, agricultural labourer in 1841, and part of the Revd Thomas' Llandaff Court Estate). This is presumably the 'messuage under the castle wall adjoining the pound' for which a lease and release confirmed Rev George Thomas' title from the heirs of Anthony Mathew of Leckwith in January 1837 and suggests Well Cottage predates 1837. The southern plot (924) continued as the pound. It was at that time still part of the Romilly estate but was in the occupation of Elizabeth Locke (d. 13/10/54).

Elizabeth Locke also leased stables on the opposite side of the Green (Tithe parcel 867), also (as the Red Lion) held from Edward Evans. She also held parcel 840 (ruins and gardens; attributed to the '*Treasurer's House*', NPRN 00151s) at the bottom of Cathedral Close (land now occupied by No. 6 Cathedral Close) and the small parcel 845 to the rear of the Red Lion, both from the Cathedral Chapter.

Her husband Thomas predeceased her (d. 22/10/1834; their burials were marked by a slab in the south side of the Cathedral churchyard, *Cardiff Records, vol 3, Memorial Inscriptions: Llandaff Cathedral*: "*Thomas Locke; ob. 1834, aet. 33. Also Elizabeth, his widow*"). A document in the GRO (D869/35) records a 'Locke' of the Red Lion in 1831. Thomas Locke's will records him as a victualler and Elizabeth Lock is recorded a publican in the 1841 census, more specifically of the Red Lion in the 1851 census, repeated in Wakefield's Directory of Cardiff in 1855, which after Elizabeth's death Helen Jane Evans (the daughter of Elizabeth) held it with her husband David Evans in the 1861 census (they married in Llandaff in 1856). David Evans disappears abruptly from newspaper articles in 1861 after the annual licence renewal. There is note of a brawl between a David Evans and James Parkman at the Red Lion in 1862 (but it is unclear if this was David Evans the landlord). All references to pub in newspapers from 1862 to 1866 refer to Mrs Evans as the landlady. No certain record of David Evans' death

has been traced, but burial of a David Evans was recorded on 7/8/1863 at Llandaff Cathedral.

Mrs Evans is recorded as owing the pound in 1865 (The Cardiff and Merthyr guardian, Glamorgan, Monmouth, and Brecon Gazette 30th November 1865).

In July 1866 newspaper adverts were placed (The Cardiff and Merthyr Guardian Glamorgan Monmouth and Brecon gazette 12th and 19th July 1867) by Charles Henry Evans (later described as 'Guardian for the owners of the Red Lion Inn, Llandaff' in March 1870, see discussion below) giving notice that the Red Lion would be re-let from 1st November 1867. The new landlord, John Moore, is also named as pound keeper on public notices issued from 1870-1880 (and probably from 1869). In around 1877 plans for rebuilding of the Red Lion were drawn up.

In the 1871 census Helen Jane Evans lived next door to the Maltsters Arms (and her occupation is still recorded as innkeeper). In 1881 she is recorded at 2 Landscape Passage (probably near the Heathcock). A Helen Jane Evans was buried at Llandaff cathedral on 22/11/1885.

The documentation of the holding of the pound by the publican of the Red Lion in 1844, 1865 and from 1869-1880 demonstrates the duality of pound use at this time. This period shows Elizabeth Locke, later her daughter Hel(l)en Evans and finally John Moore (all publicans of the Red Lion, leased from Evan Evans) also leasing the pound from the Romilly Estate, at a period when the Estate had leased the rights of the pound to Reverend Powell Edwards (Llandaff House estate).

The first edition 1:2500 OS of 1880 shows the pound as a simple enclosure with no internal structures.

Although John Moore and his family were still recorded as resident at the Red Lion in the 1881 census, he was in injured in gas explosion in March 1881 (Cardiff Times 5/3/1881) and appears to have then moved from the pub to St Andrews Crescent (1891 census). Richard Williams took the pub on behalf of John Moore, but there is no documentation of his operating the pound. Williams was convicted of numerous licensing violations, the pub closed in 1884 with the withdrawal of its license, and an attempt by John Moore to license it in his own name again in 1885 was refused. The building was used as a Hostel for Howells School for a while, before reverting to a private dwelling (as The Tower House) and being badly damaged by fire in 1889 (e.g see summary in The Tenby Observer of 25/7/1889).

There are no further public notices of impounded stock in the newspapers until 1889, when Wm. C Shepstone appears as pound keeper. No Wm. C Shepston(e) can be located in the census records, so it is possible that this is actually an error for 'Mrs C(aroline) Shepstone'.

Most of the remaining demesnes lands of the manor (mostly the 'wastes') were subsequently placed in into the public ownership of the Cardiff Corporation in 1885, but this does not appear to be the case with the pound.

The 1871 census shows Thomas Shepston (a. 37, butcher) with wife Caroline with children Lavinia, Esther, Edmund, Elizabeth, Caroline and Alfred at an un-numbered house in St Peter Street. The 1881 census shows Joseph Shepstone (butcher, a.50, born Sandford, Oxon.), with wife Caroline (a.44) and offspring Annie, Edmund (a.16, under gardener), Elizabeth, Alfred, Joseph and Sidney at an un-numbered property in High Street.

The 1891 census shows Edmund Shepstone (butcher; a. 26 born Llandaff), with wife Emily and children Edmund and Emily Maria at No 3 High Street. Caroline Shepstone (butcher; a. 51, born Caerphilly) with offspring Lavinia, Alfred, Joseph and Sydney (all born Llandaff), at another un-numbered property in the same road. Edmund is named on impoundment notices from 1893-1897 (although not all notices are styled to include the pound-keeper's name).

The South Wales Daily News 8th July 1896 records a decision by Llandaff Parish Council 'with regard to the improvement of the Pound and granting the District Council the use of a portion of it'. The first revision 1:2500 OS of 1901 shows new structures along the NW side of the pound (roofed towards the west and open in the east), an open structure in the east corner and a roofed structure in the middle of the west side. The creation of these structures may have been the subject of this improvement, perhaps with the building and division to the north side representing division of the area between the two councils.

The second revision OS of 1920 shows the structure in the northeast and a larger structure in the southeast, but neither of the previously-depicted roofed structures is shown. Plans (GRO RDC/S/2/1914/33) were drawn up in 1914 for the creation of a urinal within the pound, adjacent to its western wall. These plans allow interpretation of the two structures on the 1920 OS, for the one in the northeast is labelled store and the block against the curtain wall open shed to the west and stable to the east. Despite approval of the urinal plans in November 1914, it is not known if they were ever constructed.

The western part of the extant toilet block is believed to have been built c. 1924 at the same time as the construction of the War Memorial (which entailed clearance of the Green and demolition of the Tower House, the old Red Lion Inn). That block, probably along with the survival of the earlier 'store' to the east, is depicted on the third revision 1:2500 OS of 1940. Anecdotal evidence suggests that Shepstone butchers may have still been keepers of the pound until the 1930s. Continued use of the pound was apparently the rationale between the external access to both the gents and ladies toilets, involving steps up from Cathedral Close for the later rather than the simpler access through the area of the pound.

The cartographic evidence suggest that both the structures associated with the pound survived into the 1970s. The roof supports for the southern building still remain in the external face of the castle wall.

Topographic setting

he Pound occupies a small area of 240m^2 (15m NE-SW and 11m to 18m NW-SE), equivalent to just over 9 perches (as stated on the Tithe assessment).

Obstacles (trees, walls) mean that present GPS survey data for the pound is of rather poor quality. The following discussion relies on elevation values that will be improved during the future project.
The area is, however, relatively level and flat, with the lowest point in the area of the proposed extension, lying at approximately 28.1m aOD, with the intended floor level of the extension at approximately 28.35m.

Floor level is approximately 1.0m above road level (i.e. at 27.35m) at the west end and 2.4m at the north-east (i.e. at 25.9m). The north-east side of the pound is supported by a retaining wall to the rear of Well Cottage. Which therefore retains 2.4m at its northwest and decreasing southeast.

Ground level within the adjacent part of the castle interior is at approximately 29.0m to 29.1m, tentatively suggesting that the ground level is 0.4m above that of the pound immediately external to the wall. In the area of the Great Hall, the floor level was reported (RCAHMW 2000) to be 1.67m below modern ground (i.e. at approximately 27.3m, with walls preserved to approximately 1m above that level (i.e. 28.3m). The southwestern wall of the hall block lies on approximately the same line as the retaining wall behind Well Cottage. The floor level within the undercroft of the Great Hall therefore lies at approximately 1.4m above the floor level of Well Cottage.

This suggests that the floor level of the development lies at approximately 0.8m above the medieval floor level within the adjacent section of the castle, and that even the reduced level required for the footings (t 0.75m below finished floor) is still higher than the medieval floor levels inside the castle. It would seem extremely unlikely that in this area the medieval ground surface was higher than within the castle – the use of a natural fall in ground level on the line of the defences would seem likely, thus medieval deposits are likely to be deeply buried with the area of the extension, although probably raising rapidly towards the southwest (this is discussed further below).

The castle gateway shows no sign of having housed a drawbridge and it is uncertain whether the ditch present on the southwest side of the castle (as suggested by the low-level of the SE-facing embrasure and by the ditch continuing this line within the grounds of the Cathedral School, Young 2001) continued around to the entrance to the gatehouse. Similar evidence is lacking to the north because the lower floor of the tower housed the prison, so embrasures could not be provided. The embrasure on the upper floor of the tower could not provide enfilading fire along the curtain wall because of its angle.

The similarity of the gatehouse to the Outer East Gatehouse at Caerphilly (c. 1277-1283) is often remarked upon. The are some significant differences, most notably the lack of evidence for a drawbridge at Llandaff. In Caerphilly, the spurs continued downwards into the corners of a vertically-side rectangular platform dropping into the moat. A similar vertical face can be seen on the outer angle of the NE gateway tower, adjacent to the pound, but any similar change in orientation is below modern ground level on the other sides. The spurs are also very short at Llandaff, those at Caerphilly rising to approximately door-top height.

Test-pits: methods

The test pits were machine dug to examine ground conditions along the north-western side of the future extension. The pits were dug without archaeological supervision but were inspected soon afterwards. They extend to a maximum depth slightly greater than that of the design for the strip footing.

Test-pits: stratigraphic description

Surfacing
The area of the test trench showed a zone approximately 0.5m wide of concrete adjacent to the wall of the building (at this location, the wall was part of the 1924 block, close to its E corner). Further from the wall the surface was formed by concrete paving slabs. Both slabs and concrete overlay a bedding of sand and aggregate, which had slipped on the cut face.

Services
The sand component seemed dominant in the central section of the trench, perhaps representing a distinct fill, where the bedding overlaid the drainage pipe for the eastern extension to the building (added in 1985). The pipes were encased in concrete (as per the drainage specification drawing; County of South Glamorgan 1916/06 Mar 1985, numbered 1152/3). Further concrete lay north of the pipe broken by the machine. This is believed to conceal the foul drain, the broken pipe being the surface water drain.

Footings
The northwest end of the trench showed the concrete surface and underlying bedding abutting directly the wall of the 1924 section of the toilet block. Below this a cut [03] carried a concrete footing (not completely exposed) carrying the lower brick work of the wall (below ground surface the wall was of brick, with the stone block wall commencing at approximately ground level). The upper part of the foundation cut was filled with a soft dark brown deposit [02], quite distinct from the deposits below the cut ((07) and (06)).

Other deposits
The lower parts of the sections exposed either side of the central concrete-packed pipework were similar, but subtly different, so different context numbers were applied.

To the south, the cut for the pipes [04] intersected an upper dark layer (06) with abundant building debris (brick, slate and mortar fragments) as well as fragments of clinker, glass bottles, and sherds of both earthenware and ‘china’ pottery. None of the material recovered from this layer was certainly pre-20th century. This rested on a lower layer that appeared to be largely redeposited natural (09), comprising a red clay packed with stone fragments.

To the north of the pipework, the upper dark layer could be resolved into two: a lower dark layer formed largely of clinker fragments (07) and an upper dark layer (06) similar to equivalent deposits south of the pipes.

Below the dark deposits was a layer largely of redeposited natural red clay, bearing stone fragments and rotten calcareous debris, possibly mortar. In the southern part of the trench this deposit was a brighter red colour than to the north, so they were provisionally given different context numbers ((09) to the south and (08) to the north).

Discussion

Test pit evidence
The test pits revealed a fairly simple stratigraphy, with a lower deposit, apparently of redeposited natural, overlain by a dark deposit, in turn overlain by the makeup for the 1980s paving. The intended depth of footings for the extension suggests they may not reach the base of the redeposited material, if it continues as observed across the site.

Interpretation of the redeposited material is complicated by the lack of recovery of any dateable material from it. The overlying dark deposits produced scraps of 19th-20th century material (brick, tile, slate, pottery, glass, clinker; none certainly pre-20th century) and probably results from use of the pound area up until the paving of the area in the 1980s. This suggests that despite the observed foundation cut [03] for the c.1924 building, the dark deposits away from the building continued to be disturbed and/or accumulate through until the area was paved. One possibility is that close to the building the pre-1985 deposits were slightly truncated close to the building to allow level access once the area had been paved.

The redeposited natural of contexts (08) and (09) levelling deposits revealed below the pound could be attributed to a variety of origins and dating of this deposit is highly desirable and should be a major aim of the Community Excavation.

That the foundation cut for the 1924 building cut contexts (06) and (07) indicates that they are earlier. Context (06) suggests use of an area that had previously received a dump of clinker (context (07), perhaps to form a surface or path. Prior to development of the toilet block, OS mapping and the design of the proposed urinal suggest two successive structures on this side of the pound – the 1901 OS suggests there was a structures approximately corresponding to the area of the gents toilets, but possibly slightly wider, with a wall dividing the pound from its eastern corner parallel with the road back to the wall above well cottage; by 1914 this structure had gone to be replaced by a small store in the north corner of the pound.

A summary of the findings of C.N. Johns' excavation in the early 1970s suggest that the truncated walls of the hall block are covered by 1.06m of topsoil and that the floor of the basement was 1.67m below the modern surface. To the east of the hall the courtyard surface lay over a metre below the modern surface. It would thus appear that the medieval ground surface on the interior of the curtain wall above well cottage may be as much as 2m below the surface of the pound. The surface must slope downwards from the area of the gateway, where modern and medieval surfaces are broadly coincident and it is likely that the medieval ground surface was lower outside the castle compared with inside with a slope away from the wall. Current ground level in the Pound in the area of the test pit is approximately 1.8m above the level of the adjacent road. These figures taken together would suggest that in the area of the test pit the medieval ground surface would probably be 1-2m below present, or more if any form of ditch lay outside the northern curtain.

It would be unlikely that the ground level in the pound has been raised so much within the very recent past. The retaining wall to the rear of Well Cottage suggests that it was constructed on a site levelled by cut and fill, with the wall likely to be in place at the time. This would suggest that most of the raising of the ground level at the east end of the pound (though not necessarily all of it) had been achieved before the 1830s.

Archaeological potential
Investigation of the test pits suggests that the pound has a shallow buried topsoil with accumulation and disturbance up until 1985, but of which most accumulated before 1924. Towards the E corner this covers a deposit of clinker, potentially representing a surface outside the early 20th century 'store', or within the enclosure to the east of the 1890s building. No similar differentiation is suggested by the 1776 plan (which just shows the outline of the pound) or the 1880 map, which suggests a small structure (pigsty?) in the south corner.

That the clinker deposit rests directly on the redeposited natural may possibly suggest that deposition of the clinker followed rapidly after deposition of the red clays. The levelling event represented by the red clays might, following that logic, have been part of the 1896 alterations. If that is the case, then it is likely that it, in turn, overlies an earlier, pre-1830s levelling over the medieval slope.

In either case, it is extremely unlikely that medieval, or even early post-medieval, deposits would be encountered within the shallow depth of excavations entailed by the proposed development and community excavation.

Relationship between the pound and The Red Lion
The various lines of documentary evidence described above demonstrate that the landlord of the Red Lion was pound-keeper during a period from before 1844 to 1881. From before 1889 into the 20th century the pound was kept by members of the Shepstone family (butchers).

The first documented connection between the pub and pound is that Elizabeth Locke held the pound in 1844, but the passage of the role with the tenancy of the public house over some 50 years until its demise suggests a link. The documentary history for the Red Lion prior to Locke tenancy has been investigated, to determine whether there might have been a prior link with holding of the pound.

The Red Lion presumably corresponds to at least part of the holding of Morgan John in 1717 (see above), '*The Bellhouse & Garden & Backside'*. Morgan John has not yet been identified. The earliest certain evidence so far identified for the Red Lion is the Thomas Edwards estate plan of 1776 (the Red Lion corresponds to parcel 17 (House & Gardens, Thos Mathew Esq.). The property next appears in a notebook (GRO D351/1; attributed to 1793), which is described as a 'Survey of Estate Lands' but, as well as containing a list of lands and other properties with their calculated values, it contains short descriptions of each estate and thus appears to be a draft sale catalogue from the period when 'Captain' Thomas Mathews was considering the sale of his Llandaff Estate. The Red Lion is listed with a rent of £10, with a field with a rent of £6, let to Mr Thomas Lott(?). There is also a note concerning a 'barn or stable, let for £4-10-0. The next mention of the Red Lion is on Feb. 6th 1807, with a draft release by Mark Wood (then owner of Llandaff Court) to John Wood snr of Cardiff (NLW Lockwood Estate Records D 1/108) of '*a messuage and garden called the Red Lion in Llandaf in the tenure of Edward*

Lewis, victualler, a cottage adjoining in the tenure of William John, a barn and shed with a court behind, almost opposite the said Red Lion on the road from the Old Palace to Llantrisant, and a parcel of land (3a.) called Penhill Field, all in p. Llandaf, co. Glam. Consideration: £438'.

The 'House and premises called The Red Lion, Llandaff' were part of the property (listed in a lease and release of 1819, GRO DART/W/5) left by John Wood (snr) at his death in 1817. The property was held in trust, but later passed to John Wood (jnr). It was one of a number of properties (along with a malthouse in Shoemakers Street, alias Duke Street, and a house called the Three Horseshoes adj. Town Hall, in Cardiff) mortaged by Nicholl Wood in 1821 (GRO DART/W/11), but at some time before 1833 Messrs. Curtis had sold the property as part of the John Wood (jnr) bankruptcy proceedings (together with Penhill field and Canton Acre, Llandaff). Title to the property was probably the reason behind an assignment of 1826, copied in 1832 between (1) William Joseph Lockwood of Dews Hall, co. Essex, esq., (2) Sir William Curtis, bart, Abraham Wildey Robarts, esq., and William Curtis, esq., all of Lombard Street, London, bankers, and (3) Charles Stephens of Lombard Street, gent., of such hereditaments comprised in deeds of 30-31 Jan. 1800 and 10 Aug. 1821, as are also comprised in deeds of 5-6 Feb. 1807 and 31 March and 1 April 1826, including (among others) the m. and garden called the Red Lion in Llandaf, a barn and shed opposite it with a court behind, and a parcel of land (3a.) called Penhill Field, all in p. Llandaf, co. Glam., for the residue of terms of 600, 700 and 800 years' (NLW Lockwood Estate Records D 1/125).

It may be the sake of the freehold which prompted Thomas Dunn to leave the Red Lion (before 21/11/1829) and for Thomas Locke to become landlord (in or before 1831). Elizabeth Locke later held the Red Lion from Edward Evans and in 1870 Charles Henry Evans was described as 'Guardian for the owners of the Red Lion Inn'. This allows the identification of the Edward Evans who owned the Red Lion in 1844 as Edward Evans (snr) surgeon of Cardiff. He appears to have purchased the group of lots of ex-Mathews property from the sale of assets of John Wood jnr.His eldest son (Edward Evans Jnr, who amongst other jobs was District Surgeon for Llandaff) died in 1860 (his wife before him in 1856), before his father who died it would seem in the mid-1860s (it is probably his burial recorded for St Johns on 27/2/1866). It seems likely property was settled on the offspring of the oldest son, but in 1866 Edward Evans (jnr)'s offspring were approximately 22, 20, 19 and 16 years old, so the inheritance presumably was held by their guardian (Charles Henry Evans) until all of age. It was Charles Henry Evans who advertised for a new landlord to take the lease in 1867.

The tenant of the Red Lion prior to Thomas Locke may have been Thomas Dunne, who left the Red Lion to run the Kings Head at Usk in 1829 (Monmouthshire Merlin, 21/11/1829). Before Thomas Dunne, the landlord of the Red Lion had Edward Lewis, who had held it since c.1792. Edward Lewis came from a Whitchurch family who were long-time landlords of the Three Elms, Whitchurch. There was a close association between the Lewis family and the Cardiff racecourse on the Heath. Edward Lewis appears also to have been a tenant of part of the Gabalfa estate in the early 19th century (The Cambrian 21/8/1819). Edward appears to have thus been a farmer (possibly ending in 1822 with his advertised sale of possessions and farming effects), a publican and a horse dealer (not perhaps a very honest one given the adverts in the Cambrian of 4/11/1815, 20/4/1822, 27/8/1822, 25/3/1826 and 9/8/1828). The tenancy of the Red Lion was offered in 1824 (The Cambrian 22/5/1824) because Edward was then leaving in ill health, and his effects were later to be auctioned (The Cambrian 12/5/1827). In September 1827 he was imprisoned as a debtor (The Cambrian 22/9/1827) and a meeting called to determine disposal of his assets (The Cambrian 19/1/1828). His last advertisement for horses was in August 1828, when he was stated as of Llandaff, but the Red Lion was not given as the address (The Cambrian 9th and 16th August 1828). Despite this extensive documentation of Edward Lewis' interests, there is no reference to the pound.

The pre-1841 history of the ownership of the pound is even harder to trace. Thos Thomas had been pound keeper in 1717 (see above). This may possibly be the Thomas ap Thomas of Llandaff whose will of 20/3/1720 divided his property between two daughters Catherine and Alice, overseen by Philip David. Both Thomas Thomas and Philip David were sadlers, but Philip David, at least, appears to have also been an innkeeper. There is insufficient evidence at present to say much more, but it is possible Thomas Thomas was also a publican – and potentially running the alehouse adjacent to the pound. The link is speculative, but plausible.

Thomas Edwards, estate plan (1776) stated that the pound (parcel 23) belonged to Thomas Edwards Esq, presumably, as suggested above, leasehold, since in 1844 the pound still formed part of the Romilly manorial holdings

As mentioned above, a lease of 1784 of Llandaff Court by Thomas Mathews (of Llandaff Court) to John Price of Whitchurch, includes two walled gardens, a decayed castle gatehouse and, apparently, the pound (GRO DMM/PR/210). This requires further investigation to confirm it refers to the pound and not to rights to fish in the millpond or to a pond as abstracted by GRO. Thomas Mathews was leasee of the castle and walled garden at this time and possibly the pound also. The Thomas Edwards plan of only a few years earlier had recorded Edwards as the leasee and a few years later in 1793 no entry for the pound has been found in the draft Mathews sale catalogue.

In summary, exploration of the pre-1844 history of the pound suggests that until demolition of the 'Bush', the pound keeper was probably not associated with the Red Lion, but it is possible that the keepers were the publicans of the small alehouse adjacent to the pound, where they were also butchers. That two members of the Thomas family were associated with the pound at periods separated by a century, may suggest that relationship passed through the family, but further documentary and genealogical work would be required to demonstrate that conclusively. That possible family link was broken with the demolition of the alehouse in 1841x1844 and the pound became held by Elizabeth Locke at the closest inn, the Red Lion.

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Table 1: summary catalogue of contexts

Number	Type	Below	Above	Description
01	d	paving	02,05	Aggregate/sand bedding for paving and concrete
02	d	01	03	Dark brownish, poorly consolidated, fewer inclusions than (06)
03	c	02	06	Steep cut parallel to wall of building, confluent with margin of concrete footing. South side of footing trench.
04	c	05	06	Cut forming southern margin to concrete-filled service trench
05	s	01	04	Concrete mass parallel to building, broken section exposed pipe inside
06	d	03	07	Very dark deposit with abundant varied inclusions
07	d	06	08	Dark deposit dominated by lumps of clinker
08	d	07	BOE	Red-brown deposit, as (09) but darker (more mixed?)
09	d	06	BOE	Red redeposited clay-rich natural, bears stone fragments and degraded possible mortar

Figure 1: site plan, showing location of test-pits (red) in relation to the historic pound (yellow tone). North to top, marginal coordinates National Grid coordinates in metres.

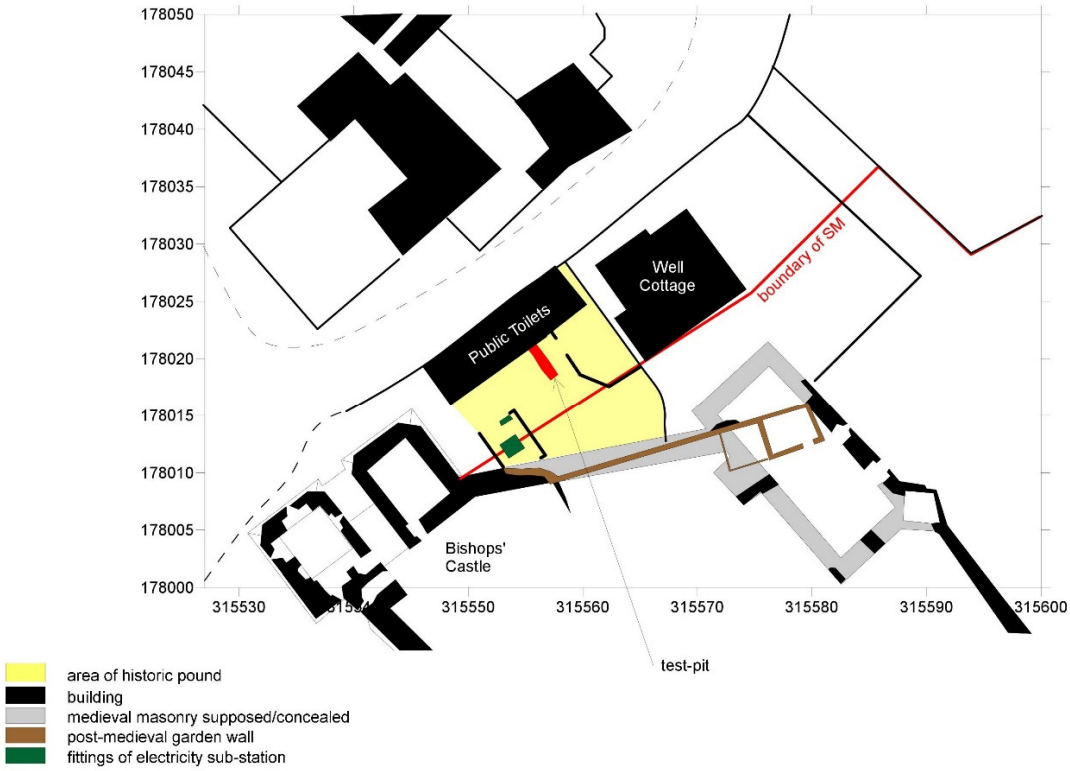


Figure 2: northwest-facing section of engineer's test-pits.

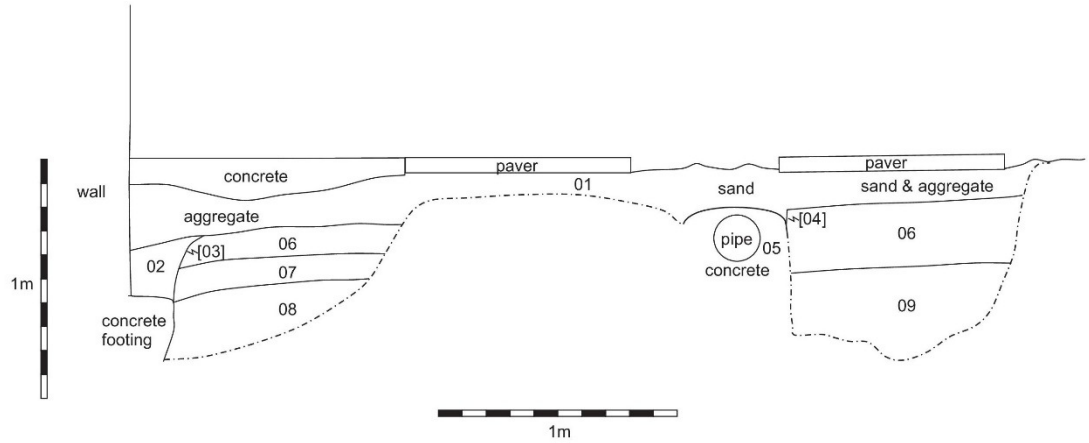
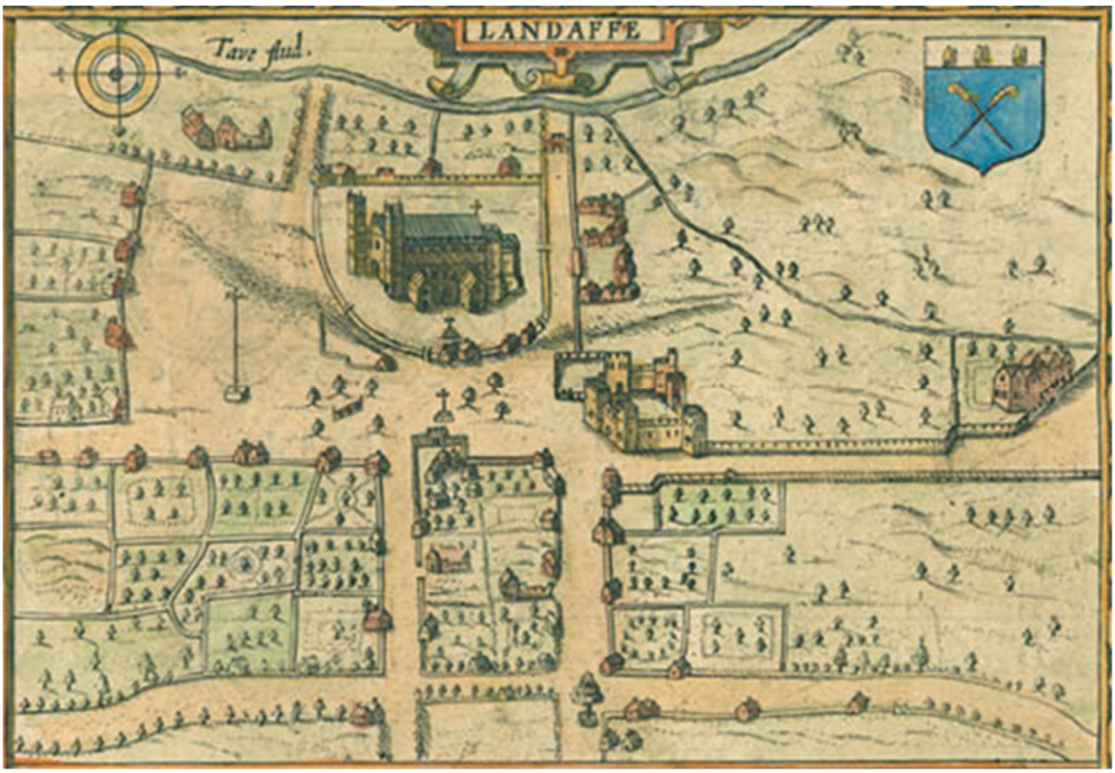


Figure 3: Speed's map of c.1610



Extract from Speed's map of Cardiff c.1610

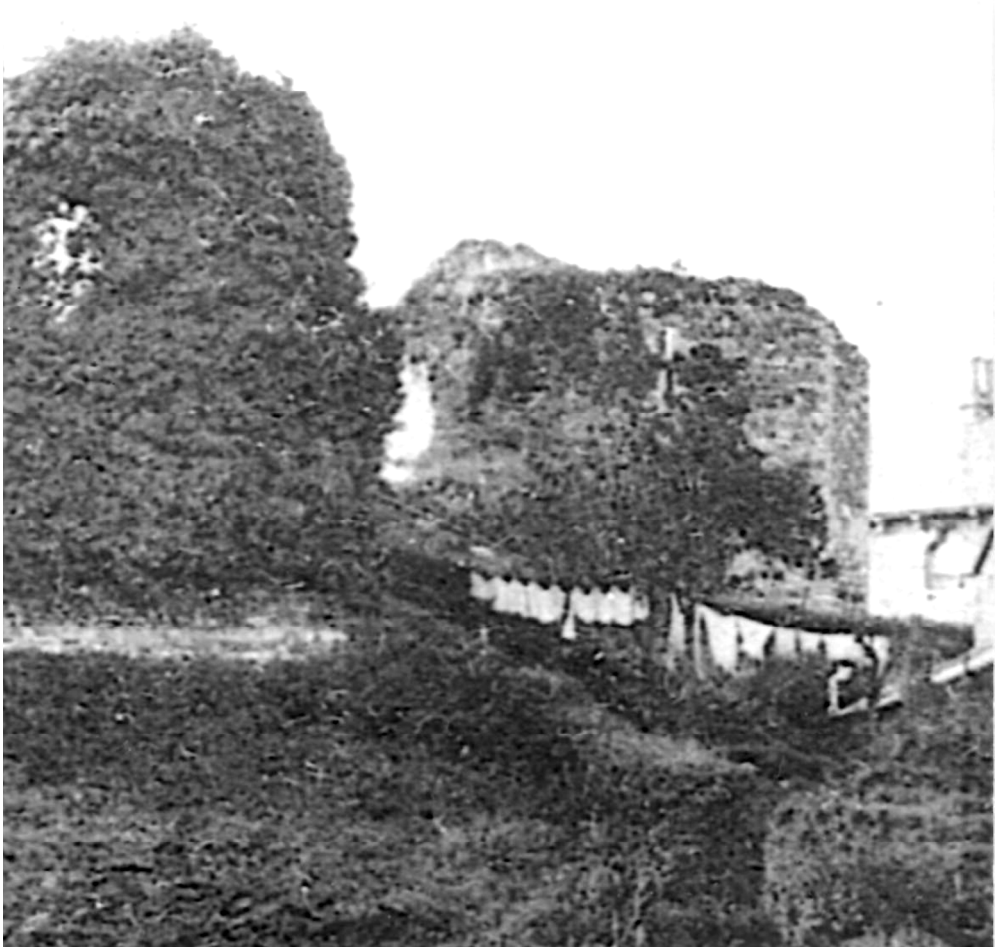
Figure 3: Drawn 1773, engraved R.B. Godfrey, 1775, The Bishops' Castle at Llandaff, Grose 1785 'Antiquities of England and Wales' vol. 7, NLW

Figure 4: Woolnoth engraving of a Gastineau drawing, published c.1823

Figure 5: Versions of an engraving by Henry Gastineau published 1830.

Figure 6: Frontispiece of Archaeologia Cambrensis No. V, 1847. Drawing by Anthony Salvin, engraved by Henry Shaw.

Figure 7: photograph 1907x1914 (with enlarged detail)



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