

imposed on his family members.

Isabelle Grellet, a high school teacher who wanted to be able to perform the original version of the play with her students, collaborated with Forestier on this edition, helping him rewrite or redistribute certain passages to create better cohesion where verses or acts were removed. It was Grellet who encouraged Forestier to undertake this project, and indeed, the pedagogical and scholarly value of this reconstructed first version is clear. In addition to the exciting literary detective work on display, it provides anyone teaching or studying *Le Tartuffe* with a new understanding of the impact that censorship had on literary production in seventeenth-century France.

Sarah Ward Clavier. *Royalism, Religion and Revolution: Wales, 1640-1688*. Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2021. xii + 266 pp. Review by PHILIP SCHWYZER, UNIVERSITY OF EXETER.

In 1684, Bishop William Lloyd opened his *Historical Account of Church-Government* with a defiant assertion of Welsh staying-power. “We still live in that Country of which our Ancestors were the first Inhabitants. And tho we have been twice conquered since, yet we have still kept our grounds.” Lloyd went on to quote the words of the storied Old Man of Pencader, who informed an invading English king that though he might triumph temporarily, no other people than the Welsh and no other language would answer for Wales on the Day of Judgment. Although Lloyd acknowledged that many of the medieval legends of British origin associated with Geoffrey of Monmouth had been discredited, his vision of Welsh endurance is in accord with the sense of national consciousness and pride espoused by Welsh poets and antiquaries for centuries. As Sarah Ward Clavier argues in this illuminating study, Lloyd’s vision was rooted in the historical culture of the late seventeenth-century North-East Welsh gentry, and bolstered by evidence from manuscripts preserved in the impressive antiquarian collections of local worthies such as Thomas Mostyn. The gentry of North-East Wales still understood themselves in relation to a past far deeper and more alive than any to which their English counterparts could lay claim.

As Ward Clavier makes clear at the opening of this study, the Welsh gentry differed from the English not only in many of their ideals and attitudes but in their understanding of what made for gentility. “To consider the Welsh gentry without including those families of excellent pedigree but minimal financial power” would be to apply an English definition to a very different cultural situation. Whereas English gentlemen might take pride in their pedigrees and coats of arms, for the Welsh a family tree stretching back to the early Middle Ages and beyond was the very cornerstone of their status, preserving gentility even when lands and wealth had fled. Through their carefully-curated pedigrees, bolstered in the early modern period by an enthusiastic embrace of heraldry and historical portraiture, the Welsh gentry not only demonstrated the validity of their bloodlines but embedded themselves in a deeply-rooted cultural discourse. This deep relation to a living past, Ward Clavier argues, “is as true of the seventeenth-century Conways of Bodrhyddan or Mostyns of Mostyn as it was of a ninth-century Welsh king, and yet would be completely alien to an Englishman of either period.”

The Welsh gentleman’s pride in his familial past, even in the absence of any financial power in the present, had of course been the butt of English jokes (and English anxiety) for at least a century. The Welsh beggar Caradoc in Thomas Randolph’s comedy *Hey for Honesty, Down with Knavery* (1651) insists that “Her lice are petter a pedecree as the goodst of them all,” descended from the lice of Aeneas himself. Ward Clavier cites the parliamentarian satire *The Welsh Embassadour*, featuring one Griffith, “a Shentleman of Wales of fery ancient families,” whose ancestors were with Noah in the Ark. Members of the Welsh gentry were undoubtedly aware of the stereotype, and may even have collected examples of anti-Welsh satire. Yet, Ward Clavier argues, there is little evidence of a defensive or “emotional response” to such barbs before 1642, when the outbreak of Civil War unleashed a flood of pamphlets mocking the Welsh, who were overwhelmingly loyal to Charles I. Such smug parliamentarian satires may well have helped to confirm the Welsh gentry in their royalism (though it was never really in doubt), as well as exacerbating a sense of ethnic division from the English.

The emphasis placed on lineage and historical rootedness helps explain the complex attitude of the North-East Welsh gentry to the old faith (*yr hen ffydd*) of Catholicism. The majority of the gentry in this period adhered faithfully to the Church of England, not least in light of the argument that it constituted a restoration of the early Celtic Church, uncorrupted by the impurities of Rome. Such gentlemen might rail against the papacy and Roman superstition, and would stand firm against James II's attempts to introduce greater toleration of Catholics; yet in their dealings with their Catholic neighbours and relations, they displayed not only toleration but a degree of admiration for those who had remained faithful under persecution to their family traditions. In 1679, Thomas Mostyn wrote to his Catholic kinsman Edward Petre expressing disgust at the "horrid execrable & bloody" Popish Plot; yet in the same letter he acknowledged that he would "never advise any one to quitt his Religion for fear off ye laws nor esteem him for it." Mostyn was even instrumental in helping Petre, a suspect in the Plot, to conceal his assets and travel overseas. Such nuance and toleration were not extended in the same period to Protestant non-conformists, who, Ward Clavier writes, generally lacked kinship connections or historical ties to the gentry of the region, and were regarded instead as "a foreign element operating within local society."

Among its many strengths, Ward Clavier's study is notable for its attention to material culture alongside textual records: "objects, funerary monuments, and the built environment proudly portrayed the North-East Welsh gentry as they wished to be seen and remembered." The tribulations suffered by royalists in the Civil War and Interregnum, including the sequestering of estates and exiles beyond the seas as well as death in battle, were proudly recorded on their funeral monuments. The arms and armour they had borne in the wars were preserved and displayed for generations to come, as were the shot holes in the door of Gwysaney Hall, seat of the Davies family, which had been seized by parliamentary troops. By such material and visual means the Welsh gentry extended a culture of kinship, loyalty, and tradition into the future, while maintaining their unbroken connections with the past.

Focusing on a period that lies between the decline of bardic culture in the sixteenth century and the rise of non-conformity in the eighteenth, Ward Clavier's study illuminates an often neglected period of

Welsh social history. With their extensive and eclectic libraries, their interest in family and regional tradition, and even their eagerness, in some cases, to cultivate the last of the bards, seventeenth-century gentry families such as the Mostyns and the Wynns provided a bridge between the purported eclipse of native Welsh traditions in the preceding period and the Romantic 'revival' of those traditions in the next century. The significance of this book extends beyond the two counties of Denbighshire and Flintshire, and beyond the forty-eight year period on which it focuses. In *Royalism, Religion and Revolution*, Ward Clavier has provided a convincing new answer to Gwyn A. Williams' old question, "When was Wales?"