

THE TRANSACTIONS
OF THE
RADNORSHIRE SOCIETY

VOL. LXXVI

2006

ISSN 0306-848X

Edited by Dr RWD Fenn, FSA, FRHistS, FLS and
Mr ACW Fenn, BA (Keele), MA (Leicester).

©The contents of this Volume are copyright and may not be reproduced in any form or by any means without the consent of the copyright holders. Enquiries should be addressed to the Radnorshire Society.

Set in 10pt Monotype Times New Roman and printed by the Gomer Press, Llandysul, Ceredigion.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Committee and Officers 2006–2007	4
The Seventy-Sixth Annual Report	6
Statement of Accounts	25
Delia Mary Dillwyn-Venables-Llewelyn	26
Robert Mervyn Deakins BSc 1920–2006	31

ARTICLES

Letters from the Front: Ninety Years On <i>David H Williams</i>	32
A Survey of Floor-Tiles in the Churches of Radnorshire <i>MAV Gill</i>	66
Concerning Some Early Radnorshire Bell-Ringers <i>MAV Gill</i>	76
Two Arthurian Sites in <i>Historia Brittonum</i> <i>Andrew Breeze</i>	88
Seed-time of Genius: Shelley in Radnorshire <i>Joan Rees</i>	98
The Radnorshire Cottagers Controversy <i>Keith Parker</i>	111
A Report on the Excavation at Scottleton Street, Presteigne <i>Stephen Priestley and Neil Shurety</i>	129
‘A Resort of the Common People in Great Troops’ <i>Siân Lewis</i>	144
Index	168

THE RADNORSHIRE SOCIETY

Founded 1930

COMMITTEE AND OFFICERS

President:

The Revd Dr RWD Fenn, FSA, FRHistS, FLS

Vice-Presidents:

Miss Joy Ashton	Mr SA Jones
Mr Alwyn Batley	Mr MH Statham
Mrs A Goodwin	Lady Delia Venables-Llewelyn

Executive Committee:

Mrs N Baird-Murray	Mr E Kinsey-Pugh, MBE
Ms E Fleming-Williams	Mrs J Lewis
Ms G Guy	Mrs M Oakley
Mrs RL Jones	Mr K Parker
Mrs RM Jones	Mr D Peter
Mr D Hawkins	Mr J Powis

The Revd GN Rees

Honorary Secretary:

Mrs Sadie Cole, Pool House, Discoed, Presteigne, Powys, LD8 2NW
Telephone: 01547 560318
Email: sadie.cole@virgin.net

Honorary Treasurer:

Mr Tom Idris Jones, Trederwen, Llanfihangel Brynpabuan,
Builth Wells, Powys, LD2 3SE
Telephone: 01597 860223

Honorary Excursion Organiser:

Mrs Norma Baird-Murray, Nant-y-Groes, Llanyre,
Llandrindod Wells, Powys, LD1 5DY
Telephone: 01597 822937

Honorary Librarians:

Mr John Barker,
6 Court Meadow,
Pembroke,
Herefordshire, HR6 9EW
Telephone: 01544 388708

Mr G Ridyard,
14 Pentrosfa Road,
Llandrindod Wells,
Powys, LDI 5NL
Telephone: 01597 825324

Honorary Editors:

The Revd Dr RWD Fenn, FSA, FRHistS, FLS
and

Mr ACW Fenn, MA
9 Victoria Road, Kington, Herefordshire, HR5 3BX
Telephones: 01544 230018 / 01782 623666
Email: fenn@sinclair.kc3ltd.co.uk
Email: acwfenn@hotmail.com

Honorary Auditor:

Mr Stephen Roderick

THE SEVENTY-SIXTH ANNUAL REPORT

THE PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN: it is, as always, with great pleasure that I welcome you again to the annual general meeting of our Society, this time to its seventy-sixth meeting and the fifth occasion upon which I have had the honour of addressing you as your President.

It has in several ways been a year of fulfilment for our Society and it was a special moment of fulfilment for a good number of our members to attend the opening of our refurbished Museum with which there has always been a close association. Indeed, the Museum was the labour ward wherein our Society was born in 1930.

Though every Victorian and Edwardian spa town, worthy of the name, especially one which claimed to be the Buxton of Wales, aspired to the acquisition of a library and museum wherein the visitor could imbibe culture after a session with the healing waters, Llandrindod's museum, as distinct from the library, was, however, more the result of necessity than the contemporary municipal museums movement.

The library was built to the designs of the Llandrindod architect and surveyor Alec Millward and opened in July 1911. The adjoining museum opened for business in 1914 and became the home of the artefacts discovered during the first excavations on the Roman fort at Castell Collen.

The discovery in 1929 of an early thirteenth-century log boat in the Ithon presented the museum with serious problems over the boat's accommodation after its conservation in Cardiff. Eventually a radical, almost archaeological, solution was adopted, involving a hole being made in a first floor wall to give the boat access to its new home in the museum's upper gallery. In recent years your executive has had the privilege of meeting in solemn enclave around that boat for its quarterly meetings.

Museums of course were once seen as the holiday maker's a refuge on rainy afternoons or as the last resort of bored school children in the summer holidays, seldom welcoming and never user friendly. But all that has changed at Llandrindod, where, for example, disability is now no disability and access to the contents of the museum has been improved in every sense of that word. This means that there are now regular handling sessions where in one can actually touch and handle selected objects in the museum's collection. And how important this is and what great pleasure it gives to a Society such as ours that our children can handle artefacts which

take them only one stage removed from Julius Frontinus and the Roman Legions.

Or if we are older and consider our interests more sophisticated, then we can gaze upon, though probably not touch, the museum's Sheelah-nagig and be confronted by the Dark Ages and Pre-Christian Celtic belief, the real thing, if you like, as opposed the modern Glastonbury froth. So then our refurbished museum is a place to meet our ancestors and for communion with the past, be it at one extreme, the Dark Ages, or the Romans, or more recently our great grandparents, in photographs with their motor cars lined up outside Tom Norton's Garage, or ploughing the Radnorshire hills with a team of horses.

And if you live in Powys, this experience of the past, but one stage removed, is all free, though it has cost a fortune in money, time, dedication, and imagination. And here we should remember with some pride Mrs Julia Patterson and her immensely generous legacy to the museum, for Colonel and Mrs Patterson were both early members of the Radnorshire Society. And we should remember, too, the scholarly Christopher Newman, the county librarian, who edited our *Transactions* for many years with meticulous care, and Alec Millward, the building's original architect.

The connection between the Society and preserving the county's archaeology and history continues. In a few minutes time Mr Tom Idris Jones our indefatigable treasurer, will present us with a very satisfactory statement of accounts. This has enabled the executive on your behalf to make a grant of £500 to Mrs Anna Page, who recently took her post-graduate diploma in Archive Administration whilst working here at Llandrindod in the County Archives as a trainee archivist. Mrs Page hopes to take her MSc at Aberystwyth by distance learning and this will involve her in writing a substantial dissertation and she has chosen as her subject of research 'Radnorshire Quarter Sessions 1773–1873: Continuity and Change'. We look forward to its publication in due course in the *Transactions*.

Finally, whilst looking at the Society's academic activities over the past year, mention must be made of the Field Section's enterprising decision to undertake a survey of the lost houses of Radnorshire. We are very grateful to Bob Silvester, of the Clwyd and Powys Archaeological Trust and a member of our executive, for his initiative in this important enterprise which has aroused considerable interest and enthusiasm which I hope will stay the course.

It is time now for me to embark upon the Presidential litany of gratitude to the various officers of the Society for all their faithful service over the past year. The fact it does sound the same year by year is as much a tribute to their consistent loyalty as it is an admission of my own lack of

imagination. My sincerity, however, is not in dispute.

Sadie Cole, our secretary, continues to handle the Society's correspondence and to organise our lecture programme, and to do this with renewed and most welcome nimbleness of limb.

Our thanks are due too, to, our treasurer, Mr Tom Idris Jones, for keeping the books in good order and, as you have already heard, in continuing to consolidate our financial position which Mr Stephen Roderick kindly continues to audit.

Thanks, to our librarians, Messrs Barker and Ridyard, we continue to have a very good, well maintained, and ever growing library, specializing in local history. Mrs Baird-Murray, continues to sit in the Society's Library waiting, *expectans expectavi*, to attend to the needs of readers, and the outings she organises, ably helped by her sister Margaret Oakley, are understandably, on account of the care that is put into their organisation, immensely popular.

Our joint editor continues to discharge his duties with the utmost diligence and volume seventy-six of our *Transactions* will arrive on your doormat in the near future, that is if we can once again summon together that band of helpers who put the volumes into envelopes, stick on the labels, and in many cases, organise their delivery, thereby saving our funds a very substantial sum of money.

Ruth Jones has continued to keep the minutes of the quarterly meetings of your executive committee, The Society's Field Section, represented at Executive Meetings by Anne Goodwin, still continues to represent the Society's youth and, and vigour, and we acknowledge our debt to Messrs Adams and Pegg, the Curators of the Museum who have not forgotten us in what has been for them a very important year.

Many of you will be saddened to hear of the death of Frank Rose after a long illness. He served on the Executive Committee for some time and was famed in his day as an organiser of trips and excursions for our Society's members.

Lastly I want to thank the executive committee for their regular attendance and generous support, and where would your President be without the continuing wisdom, guidance, and kindness of Joy Ashton and Alwyn Batley for whom, as all will know, the year has been one of great sadness and loss.

Ladies and gentlemen, thank you very much, and we will now proceed with the rest of the Agenda.

THE SECRETARY'S REPORT

We have had the usual quarterly meetings of the Executive Committee which oversees the day to day running of the Society. These meetings are regularly attended by the majority of the Committee. This year three of our meetings were held at the Hotel Metropole whilst the Radnorshire Museum underwent a major overhaul. We have now returned to the Museum for which we are indebted to co-operation of the Joint Curators.

Amongst the topics discussed was concern for the County's historic bridges, digitalisation of the Society's *Transactions*, the purchase of a computer for use in the library, on this latter point it was decided that unfortunately the small amount of use of this facility did not warrant such a purchase at this time also a watching brief is held in relation to planning applications within the county so that we may be aware of any development which might have a bearing on its heritage, one matter of concern in particular was damage being done to the Monks Trod and the possibility of a Traffic Restriction Order being placed upon the area.

There had only been three lectures this year Mr Edward Parry — Bill Britnell of CPAT spoke on Radnorshire's historic landscape following the AGM and in April the Revd Geraint Hughes spoke at Crossgates to a large audience on some Radnorshire Diaries in June we had our first joint lecture with the Radnorshire Museum when Tim Porter spoke to an extremely interested audience on Giraldu Cambrensis at Presteigne.

In addition to these activities I attended the AGM of the CPAT and at Easter Mrs Anne Goodwin and myself attended a conference organised by the CAA dealing with the future of local and county historical societies. This was a very valuable experience and giving an insight into the of the activities of similar societies.

The website continues to promote the Society and has generated a number of both membership applications and more general enquiries about family and local history. Our thanks for this facility is due to Ms Emma Brown.

It is perhaps indicative of the healthy state of the Society that my work as Hon. Secretary seems to increase on an almost annual basis. This however is not a subject of concern due to the ever present support afforded by fellow officers and committee members always ready to give help and advice when called upon for which my heartfelt thanks are due.

Sadie Cole

THE EDITORS' REPORT

One of the many pleasures that editing our journal provides is the opportunity to introduce new contributors who share our own enthusiasm for Radnorshire and her history. This year we present three papers by authors new to the *Transactions* linked by the theme of making the inaccessible, accessible.

Firstly, we would like to welcome Siân Lewis who we believe, with some certainty, to be the youngest ever contributor to the *Transactions*. Ms Lewis is a recent history graduate who, as part of her degree, was required to produce a dissertation on a subject of her choice. The usual fate of such a work is to languish, neglected and unread, in the bowels of the university library so it is in the spirit of liberation that we reproduce her dissertation here. We hope that it will also encourage younger Radnorians to take up research with a view to publication.

In January 2005 Border Archaeology undertook the excavation of an area of undeveloped pasture off Scottleton Street, Presteigne in advance of residential development. This revealed the remains of a domestic building probably dating from the late fifteenth century, which was then destroyed by fire at some point during the seventeenth century and was subsequently rebuilt on a larger scale in the eighteenth century. Finds from the site included a large number of animal bones, clay tobacco pipes, sword pommels and fragments of chain mail.

It can on occasion appear that archaeologists reveal the past only to conceal it again either by back-filling their trenches to preserve the site or, as in this case, to allow developers to build upon it. At the same time recording their investigations in unobtainable reports or difficult to find journals. Fortunately for us, Stephen Priestley and Neil Shurety of Border Archaeology have made available their report on the excavations at Scottleton Street, Presteigne to act as a permanent record of their findings.

Obscurity, of course, need not be confined to the printed word — the spoken word too may be lost. Each year the Society arranges a series of lectures throughout the county, but these lectures are unfortunately lost to those members who, for one reason or another, are unable to attend. So we take this opportunity to preserve the text of a talk delivered by Professor Joan Rees at John Beddoes School, Presteigne in April 2005 on Shelley and his connections with Radnorshire.

An additional pleasure for your editors is to welcome back four former contributors both from within the county and from further afield. Indeed, it is rather flattering to think that a university in Spain should notice our little journal.

There are few names more shrouded in mystery than that of Arthur and many parts of these isles claim some sort of connection, whether real or imagined, with the British *dux bellorum*. So it is understandable that in his paper on Arthurian place-names Dr Breeze should voice his concern that his subject matter might be thought to be beyond the remit of our Society. We beg to differ and feel that he is unduly apologetic, for Carn Gafallt lies within the boundaries of the medieval territory of Rhwng Gwy a Hafren — the land between the Wye and Severn — from whose core Radnorshire was carved under the 1536 Act of Union.

Those of you who enjoy hill-walking will no doubt have stumbled upon, at one time or another, the remains of a former *tŷ un nos*, otherwise known locally as a ‘morning surprise’. The story behind these squatter dwellings was documented by WH Howse in an account that appeared nearly sixty years ago. The subject is due for reassessment and Keith Parker continues his series on nineteenth-century parliamentary history by taking a revisionist look at the Radnorshire cottagers controversy.

Social history of another kind is vividly brought to life through a collection of letters written by Brigadier-General Horatio James Evans to his wife in Rhaeadr whilst serving in France during the Great War. Here, in extracts selected by David Williams, we have the authentic voice of a Radnorshire man in the early twentieth century. Surrounded by the horrors of life in the trenches we hear of his concerns for the men serving under him, his affection for his horse and the joy that news of the birth of his son brings to him.

Finally, this volume sees the conclusion of Margaret Gill’s comprehensive, some might say epic, series on the floor-tiles of Radnorshire churches. This has been a painstakingly researched study, sumptuously illustrated throughout with her own technical drawings.

Notes on Contributors

BORDER ARCHAEOLOGY was established in 1997 by NEIL SHURETY, Dip.-M.GM.Inst.M, as an independent archaeological contracting company based in Leominster. It has an extensive record of work undertaken across southern England, Wales and the Marches, including major excavations at Brecon, Hay-on-Wye, Southampton and Winchester. GEORGE CHILDREN, MA, AIFA, (General Manager) studied archaeology and anthropology at Cambridge and has an extensive record of published work relating to the prehistoric archaeology of Wales and the Marches. STEPHEN PRIESTLEY, MA, (Research Manager) studied history at Cambridge before working as a historic buildings researcher for Historic Royal Palaces, English Heritage and Cadw.

DR ANDREW BREEZE (b. 1954), FSA, FRHistS, was educated at Sir Roger Manwood's Grammar School, Sandwich, and the universities of Oxford and Cambridge. Married with six children, he has taught since 1987 at the University of Navarre, Pamplona. He is the author of *Medieval Welsh Literature* (Dublin, 1997) and *The Mary of the Celts* (Leominster, 2008), and co-author with Professor Richard Coates of *Celtic Voices, English Places* (Stamford, 2000). His *The Origins of the 'Four Branches of the Mabinogi'* will be published by Gracewing Press in 2009.

DR MARGARET AV GILL, BA, Ph.D. After taking a degree in ancient history and archaeology, she became an authority on the Mediterranean bronze age, writing many papers on Minoan/Mycenaean glyptic art, and later published the small finds from the Byzantine excavations at Sarachane and Amorium. While serving as deputy director of the city museums of Newcastle-upon-Tyne and keeper of applied art at the Laing Art Gallery, she produced articles on Newcastle and York silver, Tyneside pottery and the Beilby/Bewick engraving workshop. She was then appointed curator of Tunbridge Wells museum and art gallery. Since retiring to Glasbury-on-Wye, she has interested herself in local church history and botany, and is currently working on botanical illustrations for the Marcher Apple Network's *A Welsh Marches Pomona*. Her publications include: *A Handbook of Newcastle Silver* (1978), *A Directory of Newcastle Goldsmiths* (1980), *Royal Tunbridge Wells in Old Picture Postcards* (1983), *Tunbridge Ware* (1985), *Amorium Reports, Finds I: The Glass* (2002), and *A Survey of the Ceramic Tiles in the Churches of Radnorshire* (2005).

SIÂN LEWIS, BA, was born in Llandrindod Wells and grew up in Cross-gates. She attended Llandrindod High School leaving in 2003 to study history at Cardiff University. Whilst there she developed a keen interest in Welsh history. She graduated in 2006 and now works in Cardiff Law School as an administrator. She returns to mid-Wales on frequent occasions to visit friends and family who all still live in the area.

KEITH PARKER was born in Kington where he attended Lady Hawkins Grammar School. He later graduated from the universities of Birmingham and London in History and Economics respectively. After National Service he trained as a teacher and subsequently taught history at Handsworth Grammar School, Presteigne Grammar School and John Beddoes School eventually serving as Deputy Headmaster. He lectured for some years on local history for the Extra-Mural Department of the University of Wales, Aberystwyth and for the Workers' Educational Association. In 1990 he took early retirement in order to devote more time to research and writing. His publications include *A History of Presteigne* (1997) and *Radnorshire from Civil War to Restoration* (2000). A regular contributor to the *Transac-*

tions of the Radnorshire Society and the Woolhope Naturalist's Field Club his current research interests include the attempt to unionize farm workers on the Radnorshire–Herefordshire border in the 1870s and the parliamentary history of Radnorshire.

JOAN REES, MA (London), Ph.D (Birmingham), is a fellow of the Royal Society of Literature and Emeritus Professor of English Literature, University of Birmingham. She is author of nine books, five of them on Elizabethan and Jacobean literature, four on nineteenth-century literature. She has lived in Wales for twenty-three years.

DAVID H WILLIAMS studied historical geography at Trinity College, Cambridge, graduating in 1956, and later was awarded a doctorate there for his published works regarding the Cistercian Order. For a time he acted as guest-master at Caldey Abbey. His other interests (he is a retired Anglican priest) include sigillography. In his Cistercian quest, Dr Fenn led him to the Penralley papers, which Dr Williams scheduled and are now in the care of the National Library of Wales. The study of these papers led him to publish, in our journal, biographies of Capt. Horatio James, RN, the Revd Jonah Bowen, BD, Mr Stephen Williams, FSA, FRI, BA, and of General Horatio Evans and members of his family.

RWD Fenn

ACW Fenn

THE LIBRARIANS' REPORT

The library enjoyed a period of steady growth during the year, with some twenty-two books and pamphlets being added to the collections. Of these, seven were donated by members and, as in previous years, such contributions in support of the library by the membership are gratefully acknowledged. In addition, thanks are due to the Kilvert Society for enabling the library to fill gaps in its holdings of *Kilvertiana* at minimal cost.

Books purchased for the Library covered a wide range of relevant topics from *Castles in Wales and the Marches* edited by the late lamented Richard Avent to *Joseph Murray Ince ... Painter of Presteigne*, a pioneering study by one of our lecturers, Margaret Turner. Special mention might be made of two superbly illustrated works acquired during the year. Dr Charles Kightly (a Member of the Society) has assembled an astonishing and beautiful pictorial record of material for his book *Living Rooms: Interior Decoration in Wales 400–1960* and Richard Wheeler in *Medieval Church Screens of the Southern Marches* does full justice to a feature for which Radnorshire churches are deservedly well-known, particularly, of course, near-by Llananno.

A full list of additions to the Library in 2006 is appended.

- COATES, Constance Evelyn [Eva]: *The Diary of Miss Eva Coates: A Record of Life in Llandrindod Wells 1912–1940* (2005).
- CREIGHTON, Oliver H and HIGHAM, Robert A: *Medieval Town Walls: An Archaeology and Social History of Urban Defence* (2005).
- GIBBON, Edward: *The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* (2nd edn., 1781, vol. ii only).
- GRICE, Frederick: *Who's Who in Kilvert's Diary* (1977).
- HOWELLS, William Henry: *Good Men and True: The Lives and Tales of the Shepherds of Mid Wales* (2005).
- HOWSE, William Henry: *Radnorshire: Corrections and Additions by the Author* (1949).
- HUGHES, Geraint, Revd: *The Severn Arms Hotel Penybont: 250th Anniversary 1755–2005* (2005).
- INCE, Joseph Murray: *Bicentenary Exhibition 15th July to 3rd September 2006* (2006).
- INGRAM Geoffrey CS and SALMON, H Morrey: *A Hand List of the Birds of Radnorshire* (1955).
- KENYON, John R and AVENT, Richard: *Castles in Wales and the Marches* (1987).
- KIGHTLY, Charles: *Living Rooms: Interior Decoration in Wales 400–1960* (2005).
- KILVERT, Francis: *Extracts from the Unpublished Parts of Kilvert's Diary Produced for the Descendants of the Revd RL and Mrs Bevan of Hay Castle* (1981).
- KILVERT, Francis: *Kilvert's Cornish Holiday* (1984).
- KILVERT SOCIETY: *Miscellany 2: A Companion to Kilvert Studies* (n.d.).
- PEATE, Iorwerth, C: *The Welsh House: A Study in Folk Culture* (2004).
- PRICE, Carolyn M: *Memories of New Radnor 1939–1949* (2005).
- REES, Revd Wynford: *The Story of Llanfihangel Helygen Church and Parish* (2005).
- ROBERTS, Graham and ROBERTS, Wendy: *A History of St David's Church, Howey on the Occasion of its Centenary 1905–2005* (2005).
- STEPHENS, Meic: *A Semester in Zion* (2003).
- TURNER, Margaret Newman: *Joseph Murray Ince 1806–1859: The Painter of Presteigne* (2006).

WHEELER, Richard: *The Medieval Church Screens of the Southern Marches* (2006).

WILLIAMS RM: *A Glimpse of Beautiful Mid Wales* (2006).

JR Barker
Joint Librarian

I can only report that this has been an uneventful year for me. At this time I usually ask members to let me have any old photographs, ephemera or manuscript material relevant to the county that they can spare to add to our collections. At the last AGM, Tony Carr, a member, gave me two paper files of EJ Cole's manuscript notes to add to our existing collection of his material — a very welcome contribution. Otherwise my year has been wholly routine in terms of library work.

GW Ridyard
Joint Librarian

THE EXCURSIONS ORGANISER'S REPORT

Our first excursion was Wednesday 7 June. Forty members and friends of the Society visited Aston Hall and Soho House Birmingham.

Sir Thomas Holte, 1st Baronet and Squire of Aston built Aston Hall between 1618 and 1635. Sir Thomas was head of a prominent Warwickshire family who lived at Aston Hall for nearly two hundred years. Located on a hill near the River Tame, Aston Hall was one of the largest and most ambitious houses of its day in Warwickshire, and it remains one of the finest examples of Jacobean architecture in the country.

Our main interest in the house was the local connection with James Watt, the famous engineer who first bought Doldowlod a farm in the Upper Wye Valley in 1803 and over a number of years built up a large estate in Radnorshire. It was James Watt junior who built Doldowlod Hall as we know it today and it was James Watt junior who leased Aston Hall.

James Watt, the engineer, had two sons — James junior and Gregory and one daughter Margaret. James junior lived until 1848 but neither he nor Gregory married or had children. We had with us on our excursion to Aston Hall, Guy Gibson Watt and his mother Marcia, Guy is descended from Margaret; James Watt junior is his great-great-great-uncle!

James Watt senior lived with his family at Handsworth close to the Soho factory owned by Boulton, Watt & Sons. Both sons of Boulton and Watt

became partners in the company in 1794. They were both very successful and wealthy businessmen. It was not surprising that James Watt junior needed a large house and so in the early nineteenth century he leased Aston Hall. He did a great deal of entertaining, both private and public, the house was filled with Watt's friends and business associates. It also bought him a measure of prestige, and in 1829 he was High Sheriff of Warwickshire. The young Princess Victoria, taken on a tour by her mother of the 'manufactories' of her future kingdom was to dine at Aston Hall in 1830.

Throughout its 400 year history Aston Hall has survived cannon attacks, accommodated King Charles I on his way to the battle of Edge Hill and for thirty years was the home of James Watt junior. To day the house is furnished with much memorabilia, fine paintings, textiles, furniture and metalwork, which reflects the history of the house and the lives of the people who lived there. After a picnic lunch in the grounds of Aston Hall we moved on to Soho House.

Soho House was the home of Matthew Boulton, business partner of James Watt senior. In 1761 needing a site to build his new Manufactory, Boulton paid £1000 for the lease of Soho Mill, the house and lands. Up to the end of his long life Matthew Boulton (1728–1809) spent much time thought and money improving the modest house. In 1790 he had it extensively re-designed by the architect James Wyatt. He brought in top designers to transform the interior and transform the house into a fashionable gentlemen's residence where he could entertain distinguished guests in style. Over the years he created a substantial landscape park surrounding his house and manufactory. Here the guides told us about the fascinating life of this remarkable man in the place where he met with the greatest thinkers and scientists of his age.

The Lunar Society, one of the eighteenth century's foremost philosophical societies met at Soho House. They were a very select band with wide ranging interests and the most outstanding minds of the period. They were a group of fourteen including Boulton, James Watt, Erasmus Darwin, Josiah Wedgwood and Joseph Priestley they would meet in one another's homes to discuss a wide variety of subjects from advances in science to the abolition of slavery. This lively exchange of ideas and discussion inspired many discoveries. Called the Lunar Society because they would always meet on or near the night of the full moon so they would have better light by which to travel home. Soho House was just one of their meeting places where Boulton was a hospitable host and kept a good table.

Soho House reflects the inventiveness of its owner. It had an early form of under floor central heating, as well as a steam bath and flushing toilets. The steam bath was said to be 8'3" long, 5'6" wide and 5'6" deep it had to

be filled from a well by the bucketful, and then a nearby boiler was lit and steam was piped into the water to heat it. I wonder how often it was used!

Our second excursion was Wednesday 12 July. Forty-three members and friends of the Society visited Cyfarthfa Castle Museum, Merthyr Tydfil and the Llanciaiach Fawr Manor House.

The Ironmaster William Crawshay commissioned Cyfarthfa Castle in 1824. This grand castellated mansion overlooked his immensely successful ironworks and has been called 'the most impressive monument of the Industrial Iron Age in south Wales'.

We were met by the Curator of the Museum and given a slide show showing the history of the Crawshay family and the Cyfarthfa Ironworks. Anthony Bacon founded the Ironworks in 1765. He leased the land close to the River Taff and took advantage of the abundance of raw materials available in the area. Ironstone, limestone and coal could all be found. The Ironworks became renowned under the skilful management of the Crawshay family. Richard the first of the Crawshays became a business partner with Anthony Bacon and on his death inherited Bacon's Cyfarthfa House. Richard was one of the most successful industrialists of his time, passing a business and estate valued at well over a million pounds on to his son. It was not until 1820 when William Crawshay planned Cyfarthfa Castle. Father (also William) and son entered into many bitter debates about the sense of constructing such an extravagant house. William the second won and the Castle designed by Richard Lugar and costing £30,000, was reputedly built within one year. Covering an acre the Castle was a mini community, with its own dairy, brew house and icehouse, stables and coach houses. It had extensive cellars, and huge glasshouses. William and his son Richard grew prize-winning tender fruits such as pineapples. The museum now uses a pineapple as its official logo. The huge Guest Keen and Nettlefold steel production company bought out the Crawshays in 1902, they closed down the works in 1910. Also in 1910 William Thomas Crawshay sold the Castle to the County Borough for £15,000.

After the talk we were free to wander and view the memorabilia in the Castle. Starting in the basement galleries the exhibition told the story of the early settlers in the Merthyr area — the Roman occupation the farming history of the area, the development of the iron industry, the political history of the town, a reconstructed coal mine and a reconstructed Williamstown cottage. Up the stairs and you enter the many rooms of the Castle full of family and Merthyr pictures and memorabilia.

Back to the coach and we moved on to Llancaiach Fawr Manor House. Before commencing the tour we had a free hour to sit in the sun and enjoy a picnic in the formal garden.

The peaceful setting of Llancaiach Fawr Manor, surrounded by its walled garden, gives no clue to the violence of its early years or to the living history it portrays.

Built in 1530 on the site of an earlier medieval dwelling in the heart of historic Rhymney Valley. The house was constructed for the Pritchard family when 'gentle birth' was no guarantee of security. The thick stone walls enabled the Manor to be easily defended during the turbulent reigns of the Tudor kings and queens. By the time the Stuarts came to the throne the Pritchard family had prospered and in 1628 the house was altered and extended to demonstrate their growing affluence and prosperity.

The Manor House has been restored to the way it would have been when it was the home of Colonel Pritchard his wife Mary and two daughters Jane and Mary. Some of its features exist from an earlier period but in most respects the restorations have helped to recreate the home of a prosperous gentry family of the seventeenth century.

Dressed in period costume and speaking seventeenth-century English the household servants guided us around the house to show how it was run in 1645. They told of their lives, how the family lived, the gossip of the day, customs, traditions, folklore and other matters important to ordinary people over 350 years ago.

A major talking point was the turmoil of the Civil War. Since the outbreak of war in 1642 there had been staunch commitment by the family and servants to the Royalist cause but by the beginning of 1645 things were not going well and over the months support began to wane. King Charles the first on a rallying tour through south Wales on the 5 August stopped for lunch at Llancaiach, but he failed to rekindle enthusiasm and as Autumn approached the Colonel and his household change their allegiance to support Parliament.

The head dairymaid commenced the tour in the servants' hall. Servants easily outnumbered the family they worked for and many of them lived in the Manor. At the time of Colonel Pritchard's ownership, probably about fifteen servants lived in, with another fifteen employed as out-workers. Our dairymaid shared with us the gossip about the other servants and made us laugh with some of her stories. She told us in some detail of the food they ate. Meat formed a major part of the diet and as well as dishes which are still familiar, people also ate thrushes, sparrows, crows, gulls and many other birds. You may like to know she advised us all to eat red meat to improve our blood and when making a crow pie you must leave the legs on the bird sticking out of the pastry. This makes it easier for the diners to hold while gnawing at the meat!

Originally there was only one entrance to the house. All visitors were

first admitted to that entry where they would wait to be taken to the family rooms above. We were taken upstairs by the housekeeper where we were shown the master's bed chamber and the mistress's bedroom chamber, the children's room, the panelled parlour where the family would spend their time together and there was also a latrine tower. The house staff in their costumes came out to say 'goodbye' to us, and we all agreed it had been a fascinating tour of an interesting house and the history of the Pritchard family.

Finally my thanks to all my helpers especially my sister Marjorie Oakley and our treasurer Tom Jones.

Norma Baird-Murray
Excursions Organiser

THE FIELD SECTION REPORT

The Field Section has had another successful and well attended year. The annual quiz at the Severn Arms, with Anne Goodwin setting the questions, was won by Tom Jones's team, and at the Committee meeting held at Upper House, Kinnerton, the theme for the year was set as 'Places of Worship'.

Dai Hawkins brought out an excellent newsletter in January and the annual lunch was held at the Metropole Hotel in February as this was our thirtieth year. Our guest speaker was Roger Pye, one of our founder members, who outlined the beginnings of the group.

In April we visited the Abbey ruins at Abbey Cwm-hir, where Emlyn Pugh reminisced about the George VI Coronation festivities held there when he was a boy. We also visited the unusual church and then travelled to Cwmteuddwr where Brian Lawrence told us about the three churches that had been on that site.

In May, in the Hundred of Colwyn, we visited the three small, secluded churches at Rhiwlen, Cregrina and Llanbadarn-y-garreg. Some who had lived in the county all their lives had never been to see any of them before!

The well attended midsummer picnic in June was held at a very suitable place — the Four Stones, Walton, by kind permission of Anne and Colin Goodwin. In July Geoff Ridyard led us to Llanbedr Painscastle, the burial place of the solitary vicar, the Revd John Price, described by Kilvert. Llowes church was also visited.

On 6 August the Section visited Kinnerton, Cascob and Discoed churches and the site of Ednol church. I was sorry to miss this event and hope to write a booklet about Kinnerton and Ednol chapel of ease as a result of my research for the afternoon.

In September the churches of Llanbister, Llananno and Llanbadarn Fynydd were visited with John Powis and Isobel Forbath leading the group. The churches still have their treasures despite much rebuilding by the Victorians. We were welcomed at Maesyrhelm chapel on the same afternoon by Bill and Joan Watson and after hearing about the chapel's history enjoyed Welsh cakes in the school room!

In October Sadie Cole told us about Pilleth church and took us to Zion chapel at the top of its hill near Bleddfa. We were welcomed by Mrs Gittoes. We sang a hymn and made a collection to help this little place continue. We also visited Bleddfa and Llangynllo churches and concluded the afternoon with an ample tea, kindly provided by Mr and Mrs Stuart Deakins.

There was an extra event on 1 September at St John's Hall, Llandrindod and our President and other members of the Executive Committee were welcomed. Bob Silvester of CPAT spoke to the meeting about the possibility of taking part in a special project to record the houses, cottages and holdings that have disappeared from the county. Many are still remembered and they can be traced using old OS maps, tithe maps, census returns and estate maps etc.

Our AGM was held at St John's Hall on 20 October when our officers and committee remained the same, with the addition of Isobel Forbath. We enjoyed a talk and excellent collection of slides on 'The churches and chapels of Radnorshire' by one of our Vice Presidents, Mr Alwyn Batley, thus bringing to a very suitable end to our year of 'Places of Worship'.

I must really thank all who have helped during this year, all those who led events and took great trouble researching the different places of worship and for the hospitality given by various members at the end of the afternoons. Special thanks go to our treasurer, Joy Ashton, our indefatigable secretary who keeps us all on our toes with her enthusiasm.

We look forward to our quiz in November and to our next newsletter!

Ruth L Jones
Chairman

POWYS COUNTY ARCHIVES OFFICE

In 2006 Powys County Council underwent an internal reorganisation. Powys Library, Information and Archives service now forms part of a new Recreation, Culture and Countryside grouping, reporting to Paul Griffiths as Head of Service. This brings the Library and Archive services back into a cultural grouping with the Museum service, which will no doubt enhance

and encourage cross domain working. Prior to reorganisation the Archives service operated in parallel with the Modern Records section in which the Council's own records were stored. The County Archives and Modern Records was overseen by the former County Archivist. As part of the 2006 reorganisation, Modern Records, renamed Information Management, was split from the Archives service and now forms part of the County Council's Information and Communications Technology (ICT) service.

Gordon Reid, formerly the County Archivist, departed from Powys Archives at the end of 2005 to take up a post with the South West Museums, Libraries and Archives Council, the regional development agency for museums, libraries and archives, covering the South West of England. Catherine Richards, formerly Archives Manager is now County Archivist, and Anna Page, who completed the distance learning diploma course in Archives at the University of Wales Aberystwyth in 2006, was appointed Assistant Archivist.

Throughout the year approximately 1200 visitors used the Archives service, with around the same number making enquiries by letter or email. In addition, over 150 hours of research was undertaken as part of our paid Research Service. Powys Archives now has the facility to receive payment for this service via the Powys County Council online payments webpage, which has greatly encouraged users from overseas.

All archive services in Wales undertook the PSQG (Public Services Quality Group) visitor survey in February and March 2006, following a successful series of grant applications made by Powys Archives to CyMAL on behalf of all Welsh archive services. The survey, carried out across England, Scotland and Wales and Northern Ireland, is now an established part of the evidence gathering landscape and provides invaluable support for archives at the local, regional and national level. Results indicate that the majority of people think that Archive Services make a valid contribution to society by preserving our culture and heritage, strengthening family and community identity, and providing opportunities for learning. The report itself runs to around 170 pages but a summary of the most interesting statistics follows. Percentages from services in Wales, and from across Britain (England, Wales, Scotland, Northern Ireland and the Channel Islands) are recorded here for comparison purposes. In Powys 100% of visitors thought the quality and appropriateness of staff's advice was good or very good (97.6% Wales; 95.5% national average); 40.5% rated the overall service as very good (65.9% Wales; 43.7% national average); 39% thought addressing our opening hours was one of the most important areas to improve (21.5% Wales; 15.5% national average); 39% wanted an improvement to the visitor facilities (14.2% Wales; 11.8% national average); 95.6% travelled to Powys

Archives by car, motorbike or taxi (75.2% Wales; 36% national average); 47.8% record this as their first visit to Powys Archives (27.7% Wales; 18.1% national average); 36.4% of our users are male (54% Wales, 52% national average); 63.6% of our users are female (46% Wales; 48% national average).

The Friends of Powys Archives has a membership of over 220 individuals, families or societies. Our quarterly newsletter, *Almanac*, continues to go to all Friends, Council Members, libraries and secondary schools. This year a small number of Friends have also transcribed and indexed several school log books from digital images. Additional to last year, Angela Jones from Guernsey has completed the transcription of Gladestry school log book, dating from 1925–1940, and has completed the transcription of Newchurch school log book, 1936–1954. Dorothy Baynham from Llandrindod has transcribed the Llanbister school log books, 1901–1952. Beth Williams, volunteer at the Archives has listed and indexed Llandrindod Wells building control plans dating from the end of the nineteenth century. This huge task has taken many hours of work, and will greatly aid researchers' use of this collection.

Powys Archives continues to hold regular local studies meetings with staff from Powys Library Service to discuss ongoing projects, and to consider ways in which to promote both services by working collaboratively. 2006 has been a particularly active year for local studies following the appointment of Judy McCallum to catalogue the material held in Newtown and Llandrindod libraries, and also the local studies collection at Powys Archives. Chris Price continues to tackle the local studies material at Brecon library. Both Judy and Chris are currently adding local studies stock to the library cataloguing system Dynix. This is an ongoing project overseen by Catherine Richards, County Archivist and Doreen Hall, Bibliographic Services Librarian.

Another Teacher Placement Day was held by Powys Archives in February 2006. Again this was organised in partnership with Careers Wales. In April we had our first visit by a school, requested by a teacher who attended one of our placement days. Fourteen 11 year old pupils from Gladestry school came to the Archives to research family and house history for school projects.

From March 2006 Powys Archives, along with other local authority archive services, was given free access, via external grant funding from CyMAL (Museums, Archives and Libraries Wales), to the Ancestry.com website. This hugely popular website with sources such as the British census returns, 1841–1901, and births, marriages and deaths from 1837, is usually accessed by paying a subscription fee. In 2007 this free access was extended for another year until March 2008, and, in addition to archives, it was also

made available in all museums and libraries in Wales.

Finally, Powys Archives decided not to hold an Open Day in 2006, which would have taken place in September. Instead it was decided to organise another promotional event for the Autumn and this took the form of a 2007 calendar. The images used are photographs taken by PB Abery and C Selwyn and reproduced with kind permission of Mrs Evelyn Carr and Mr John Selwyn. These photographs, now in the care of the Archives Service depict wonderful scenes of salmon fishing in and around the River Wye in the 1930s, with the front cover of the calendar featuring a delightful image of an unidentified girl feeding a baby badger. Additional images which feature include Master Phillip Pawson of Sudan, on holiday at Aberedw, with his first Wye Salmon; a gang of men netting the River Irfon at Llangamarch Wells for coarse fish in 1932; and a photograph of 'Instruments of Death' — spears and gaffs that were used as evidence in salmon poaching cases at Llandrindod Wells in 1931, when twenty defendants appeared, and fines varying from ten shillings to three pounds were inflicted. PB Abery came to Builth Wells in 1898 from Folkestone in Kent, and became a noted and popular local photographer. He owned a photography studio in the town and was the official photographer for the Birmingham Water Works at the Elan Valley. C Selwyn was related to the Selwyns who owned two shops in Llandrindod Wells. The first being a stationer's shop and the second, their main outlet, where you could buy fishing tackle and a licence to fish in the Ithon.

Powys Archives 2005–2006 Annual Report was published in April. This summarises the work undertaken by staff and a full list of accessions received. Details of accessions received during 2006 with particular reference to Radnorshire are as follows:

Public and Official Records

Parochial records from Llanyre, Llanfihangel Helygen, Newbridge-on-Wye and Cwmbach Llechryd; Records relating to Pencerrig NP School and Llanafan Fawr VP School, 1725–2006 [Acc 1678]

Parochial records for Llanyre, Radnorshire, 1868–1987 [Acc 1672]

Llanbister Community Council: Minutes, accounts and correspondence relating to the Williams, Meredith and Ddol educational charities, 1910–1997 [Acc 1716]

Non-Official Records

Photographs of salmon fishing at Aberedw and Builth Wells, by PB Abery of Builth Wells and C Selwyn of Llandrindod Wells, early 1930s [Acc 1660]

Memorabilia of the Batts family of Hay-on-Wye and Howey; title deeds, photographs, letters, concert programmes from Hay, Brecon and Llandrindod Wells; school records of JS Batts from Christ College, Brecon. 1836–c.1985 [Acc 1708]

Three postcards of Glasbury-on-Wye [Acc 1719]

Prescription book from WW Johnson, chemist of Llandrindod Wells, 1860–1987 [Acc 1704]

Scrapbook, compiled by Commander Bray, 1901–1972: apprentice indenture, photographs of the family, and of colleagues aboard merchant navy sailing ships, birth and marriage certificates, newspaper cuttings [Acc 1723]

Minutes and correspondence from New Radnor Charities, 1832–1982 [Acc 1730]

Records relating to a planning application for a vacuum pyrolysis wood burning Power Station at Newbridge-on-Wye, 1997–2002 [Acc 1679]

Buildings of architectural interest in Radnorshire, 1952–1974; Definitive map statements, 1971; Special Community Review, 1976; Electoral registers 1976–1996 [Acc 1692]

Two plans of Bryn Haul, Cwmbach Llechryd, 1914; Sheet of headed paper for Bryn Haul, and one with embossed address [Acc 1694]

Farming diaries of William Austin Weale of Holly Farm, Howey, some written in Italian, 1940–1948. Final year practical geology notebook, c.1932 [Acc 1695]

Copy of a framed photograph of Thomas Lant, Radnorshire quarry owner and philanthropist, c.1940 [Acc 1731]

Log book from Llanbister CP School, Radnorshire, 1952–1997 [Acc 1724]

Catherine Richards
County Archivist

RADNORSHIRE SOCIETY BALANCE SHEET FOR THE YEAR ENDED 30 SEPTEMBER 2006

INCOME		2004/5	
Members' subscriptions	5,105-00		
Part subscriptions/donations	<u>269-75</u>	5,374-75	5,361
Grants (Welsh Church Act)		500-00	500
Sales		145-50	424
Gift Aid Scheme		774-23	747
Building Society interest		567-79	478
Monies from excursions		1,330-00	1,266
75th Anniversary Lunch costs recovered		<u>1,290-00</u>	nil
<u>TOTAL INCOME</u>		<u>9,982-27</u>	<u>8,776</u>

EXPENDITURE			
Printing of <i>Transactions</i> for 2004		3,156-00	2,867
Purchase of books for library		223-74	365
Insurances		277-50	278
Hire of rooms. Meetings, lectures	113-12		
Library	<u>75-00</u>	188-12	356
Lecturer's fees etc.		75-00	60
Donation (Community Arts Rhaeadr and District)		25-00	nil
Membership of other societies		62-50	103
Cost of excursions		1,230-60	1,195
Cost of 75th anniversary lunch		1,325-00	nil
Administration costs			
Printing etc.	172-50		
Stationery	19-73		
AGM advert	43-50		
Flowers	25-00		
Fees for conference	60-00		
Librarians' expenses	38-02		
Treasurer's expenses	51-72		
Secretary's expenses	<u>541-76</u>	952-23	1,337
<u>TOTAL EXPENDITURE</u>		<u>7,515-69</u>	<u>6,561</u>

NET INCOME		2,466-58	2,215
Balances as at 30.09.05	Bank	383-29	
	Building Society	<u>16,725-80</u>	17,109-09
Add Net Income for 2005/6		2,466-58	2,215
Balances as at 30.09.06	Bank	75-67	
	Building Society	19,500-00	<u>19,575-67</u>
			<u>17,109</u>

LIABILITIES OF THE RADNORSHIRE SOCIETY

Estimated cost of printing the *Transactions* for 2005 £3,200.

Audited and found correct
Stephen Roderick
1.11.06

Tom Idris Jones
(Hon. Treasurer)

DELIA MARY DILLWYN-VENABLES-LLEWELYN 2 AUGUST 1910–29 NOVEMBER 2006

The Earl St Aldwyn

ANYONE WHO HAD THE GOOD FORTUNE to meet Delia Dillwyn-Venables-Llewelyn never forgot her. She had the most engaging personality that made everyone from six months to sixty years feel that they were the most important person in her life and equally importantly she always remembered what she had said the last time she had seen you!

She came into the world in London on 2 August 1910, the daughter of Michael Hugh Hicks-Beach and his wife Marjorie Dent-Brocklehurst. Her grandfather was Michael Hicks-Beach, 1st Earl St Aldwyn who had been Chancellor of the Exchequer from 1885–1886 and again from 1895–1902. She spent her early life at Manor Farm House, Coln St Aldwyns, Gloucestershire and at the tender age of five lost both her parents and her grand-father in a six-week period in March–April 1916, her mother of typhoid in Egypt, her father, serving in the Royal Gloucestershire Hussars at the Battle of Katia in Sinai, a month later, and her grandfather of natural causes at the age of seventy-nine.

She had two very strong-willed grandmothers who were unable to agree as to who should bring up her and her brother, with the result that every six months a family caravan moved between Sudeley Castle and Coln St Aldwyns. This was no mean feat, involving a protracted train journey with her nanny from Fairford to Winchcombe or vice-versa, changing not just train but also station in Cheltenham, during which time the groom, ponies and any hangers-on would trot over the hill, usually arriving well in advance.

Despite this apparently certain recipe for psychological disaster she was the best balanced and most level-headed person I have ever known, far from cold or indifferent but always master of her emotions. She was never sent to school, but was educated by a succession of governesses at home, and became a noteworthy horsewoman, following the VWH side-saddle with memorable panache.

Having sworn for years that she would never marry a fat soldier, she duly married Sir Michael Dillwyn-Venables-Llewelyn, who was a well built Guards officer, in 1934.

Mary and John arrived in 1936 and 38 but soon the Second World War took Mike off to Egypt. Intrepid as ever Delia acquired a small red-brick villa in Llandrindod Wells where the family lived out the war, usually with a governess/child minder. Petrol rationing in no way impeded Delia's need



Lady Delia Mary Dillwyn-Venables-Llewelyn.

to get around and she would regularly cycle over to visit her in-laws at Llysddinam whenever she could.

At this time she started to get involved with local organizations, firstly the Land Army, which subsequently turned into a life long commitment. Among the many she actively helped were the District Nurses, the Women's Royal Voluntary Services, Llandrindod Museum, the Kilvert Society, the Elizabeth Finn Trust (also known as the Distressed Gentlefolk's Aid Association) the Radnor Association for the Blind, the Friends of Llandrindod Hospital, and, of course, the WI, but members of the Radnorshire Society will best remember her as their President. On top of all these she was always at the side of her husband in his duties with the Royal Welsh Guards and later as Lord Lieutenant of Radnorshire, when her looks and elegance were a huge asset.

After the war, the family lived near Presteigne for some years before returning to Llysddinam on the death of her father-in-law. Before the family could move in though, she very rightly insisted that the house be totally remodelled, at the time it had over thirty bedrooms and a vast and far from elegant three-storey Victorian wing which had to be wholly demolished. To complicate matters money was extremely short and several distinguished architects retired hurt before she found one who had imagination and flair to match her own.

Then there was the garden, perhaps the greatest and most enduring of her interests. She developed her skill and knowledge to remarkable levels, knowing the Latin names of an incredible variety of plants and even more to the point, knowing exactly what would or would not grow in this part of the world and what would look good in the context of the Victorian layout she had inherited. She spent hours weeding, planting and planning and the house and garden now stand as an enduring memorial to her taste, skill and sheer hard work.

Salmon fishing in the Wye quickly became another passion and she loved the wildlife and scenery of mid-Wales, and so naturally involved herself with many countryside conservation organizations such as the Nature Trusts, Wye Foundation and the Fishery Owners Association.

Friends and family were of huge importance to her — to the very end of her days she hated to miss a party and insisted that any one coming to see her should be suitably refreshed; it was impossible for the family to go through to her part of the house in the evening and get away without at least one drink, usually two. Indeed, a notable achievement of hers was to drink the whole county of Powys dry of Dubonnet only a few short months ago, to the extent that emergency supplies had to be smuggled across the border from England!



Lady Delia and the Hon. Anne Bromley Martin.

After Mike had passed away she developed a passion for travel and with various different friends went on several trips all over the world and at one point even had an apartment in Florida.

However, one of the hardest parts of so long and active a life was to see so many friends and relations go before her, but her sheer courage and strength in the face of these repeated blows was extraordinary. Only last year a particularly close friend, Barbara Scott of Fairford, died. She and Delia had first met being pushed around Coln St Aldwyns together in their prams and they had kept up a close friendship for no less than 95 years, but still, although it was easily apparent that the hurt was profound, her reaction was as dignified and controlled as ever.

Hysteria was not a word in Delia's lexicon; far from converting a crisis into a drama she had an inherent ability to calm people and events so that dramas simply did not dare to occur around her. Latterly she took a wicked delight in her ability to put down the presumptuous with but a single look or phrase; she could indeed play the grande dame when occasion demanded but friends of any age from a few weeks up found her wonderfully engaging, sympathetic and fascinating company with an extraordinary power of recollection which she never lost. Her social skills and local knowledge were exemplary, if any of the family had a tricky social problem or simply wanted to know who was related to whom, the answer always the same: Ask Grandma! In business she was firm, far-sighted and co-operative, but above all fair.

The later part of her life was blighted by increasing physical frailty caused largely by a cracked vertebra in her neck sustained falling from a horse some forty years ago. Osteoporosis made an operation inadvisable but even this did not defeat her. Unable any longer to walk around the garden and woods, she bought herself a quad bike, no less, and dressed in an old mac, motorcycling gauntlets and the riding hat last used in the 1950s, and preceded by a yapping terrier on a long string, she terrorized the lanes and drove around the house for several more years.

Then she was reduced to an electric buggy, but even this she tried to corner too fast and managed to tip over to the consternation of the family. I will never forget her quizzical, piercing and mischievous eyes which could see straight through any flimflam coupled with that wonderful sense of humour. Much as she would hate to admit it she was an extremely loveable person, but it was courage, integrity, honesty and warmth that were the cornerstones of her character.

She was an example to all who knew her and her passing truly does leave us all significantly poorer.

May God bless her and ensure that she rests in peace.

ROBERT MERVYN DEAKINS BSC 1920–2006

Anne Goodwin

THE DEATH OF ‘BOB’ DEAKINS on 23 December 2006 was sudden and unexpected — especially for those members who enjoyed his company at the Society’s AGM in November. Despite the fact that he was recovering from a broken leg he was so delighted to be able to attend the AGM and to receive news of his forthcoming article in the *Transactions* on agriculture in Radnorshire.

Bob came from an old Radnorshire farming family — living his early life at Llancoch Farm near Llangynllo, where he grew up with five brothers and a sister. He went to Llangynllo village school 1926–1932, later to Llandrindod Grammar School 1932–1938 (where he excelled at sport) and then to the University of Wales, Aberystwyth from where he graduated in 1942 with an Honours degree in Agricultural Botany.

On leaving Aberystwyth he joined the Radnorshire County Agricultural Executive, part of the nation-wide war-time effort to make British agriculture more productive. This work involved ensuring that farmers used the latest seeds and fertilisation technology to increase the yields from their land.

After the War he joined the newly formed National Agricultural Advisory Service and worked in Shardlow in Derbyshire, Kent, Bristol and later became the Chief Agronomist for the East Midlands. He loved the countryside — his knowledge and enthusiasm contributed to the drive to improve British agriculture after the Second World War. He wrote shortly before his death ‘The sight of so many verdant hill tops in one’s own county, speckled with sheep instead of bracken, gladdens the heart every time one sees it’. He had seen from first-hand knowledge the struggle of agricultural communities to survive in the earlier years of the twentieth century. He was made an Honorary Life Member of the British Grassland Society in 2006.

Bob had worked in many areas but he remained a proud son of Radnorshire — his love and knowledge of the county and its people remained with him throughout his life — his vision for the future contributed to advances in modern agriculture. Members of the Field Section will particularly miss his integrity, his honesty of opinion and his willingness to share his knowledge with others.

His final years were spent in Wellington in Herefordshire but he was buried in Heyop churchyard in Radnorshire. We send our condolences to Audrey, Gwyneth and his family.

LETTERS FROM THE FRONT: NINETY YEARS ON

David H Williams

AMONGST THE PENRALLEY PAPERS deposited at the National Library of Wales,¹ are two batches of letters written in France during the Great War. They were sent home to his wife at Penralley, Rhaeadr, by Brigadier-General Horatio James Evans, commanding 115th Infantry Brigade, part of the 38th (Welsh) Division (Fig. 1). A brief account of General Evans's life appeared in volume 73 of this journal. The letters date from two periods when Horatio was serving with the British Expeditionary Force: 14 March 1916 to 30 May that year, and from 5 December 1917 to 27 January 1919. Unfortunately, no letters survive for the time of his heaviest involvement, the Battle for Mametz Wood in July 1916, when he was wounded both in an arm and in the head.

All Horatio's letters home commence without the ascription of 'Dear Ethelwyn', which one might have expected. They all conclude with a suffix, 'ever your devoted husband, Toby' (Fig. 2). The omission of his wife's name, and the use of a nickname by way of signature, cannot have related to security considerations, for her name appears on each envelope, and he wrote at the conclusion of each letter, 'Horatio J. Evans'.

Security did have its part to play. Each envelope is stamped with a censor's number, and all the letters were written in pencil — presumably so that any offending material could be easily erased (Fig. 3). Indeed, the general wrote to his wife:

I can tell you very little my darling, for I am always anxious to avoid anything which could possibly be of use to the other side if it got into the wrong hands ... There has been a certain amount of trouble lately owing to things being put in letters which ought not to have been. All this secrecy is very irksome but still very necessary (*30 March 1916*).² ... I haven't much to tell. One's tongue or rather pencil is tied on matters military (*14 April 1916*).³

The consequence is that the first series of letters are able to tell us very little about the activities of the brigade which General Evans commanded from 13 February 1915 to 28 August 1916, nor of the progress of the 38th Division of which he took temporary command from 24 March to 2 April and from 21 April to 4 May in 1916.



Fig. 1. Horatio in his uniform as a brigadier-general.
(*NLW, Penralley Paper 1007*).

all in good time. All my love dear heart
And a fond embrace.
your devoted husband.
Horatio E. Evans. Tober.

Fig. 2. A typical conclusion to one of the letters.

On His Majesty's Service.

Mr. Evans.
Penrally.
Rhayader.
Radnorshire

H. Evans

FIELD CENSOR
2472 PASSED

FIELD POST OFFICE
16 AP 16

Fig. 3. A typical letter home, with the censor's stamp.

What is noteworthy, is that from 14 March 1916 (when he returned to France after a week's leave) until 30 May that year (when he appears to have been granted further leave), the general wrote home to his beloved second wife almost every day. These quite lengthy letters were often written when he could snatch the time, and at all hours. He once wrote home:

I ought to date it 9.4.16., of which day it is now 1.20.am. (8 April 1916).⁴

The need for secrecy means that no named locations are given, after his initial letter written from the Royal Pavilion Hotel, Folkestone, en route back to France. (The brigade diary does, however, enable several of its headquarters locations to be traced, Fig. 4).⁵ After an initial delay, Horatio reached France on 15 March:

Here I am at the end of my journey, and once more with my brigade. When once started from Folkestone, I had a quite comfortable journey. On arrival this side, I saw from the boat facing me a big black board saying there were cars for myself amongst others, so had nothing to do but walk off the ship, step into the car and away (14 [for 15/16] March 1916).⁶

The general's location changed frequently (as the letters reflect), as his brigade moved position. Further, the brigade was periodically moved 'into the line' and then, for a period of respite, out of it. So, Horatio wrote, a few days before the brigade moved on 23 March to 'near Locon'; a position known only as F10b71:

Tomorrow, I shall have a long day out as I am going to have a look at the place we shall shortly be moving to. It is a pretty lively sector, and I want to know as much as I can of it before going in (19 March 1916).⁷

Later, on a day when his brigade was involved in fighting near Givenchy church, Horatio wrote:

After two more nights here, we shall move back for eight days, and so the old round goes on (7 April 1916).⁸

Then, shortly before a move from F10b71 to Laventie, Horatio wrote:

I shall be going off in the morning to spy on the land in the place we shall be moving to in three days time, so I shall have a good long ride (11 April 1916).⁹

It wasn't always straightforward:

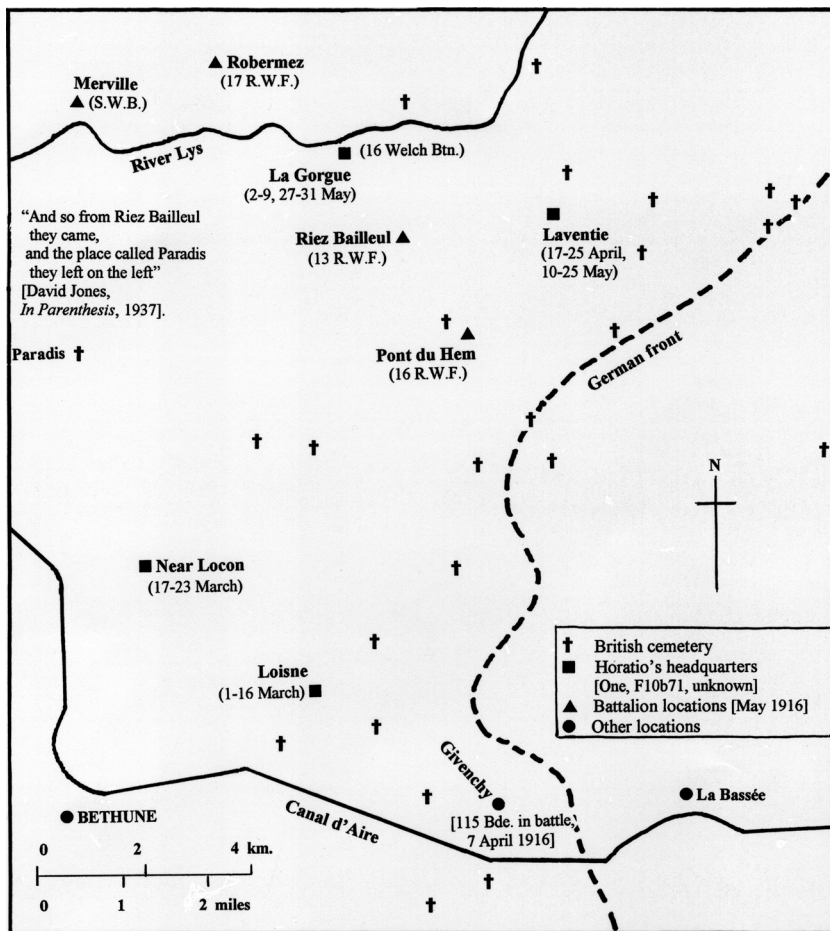


Fig. 3. The British Sector: late spring 1916.

Today, I am busy wrestling with march tables for our move tomorrow. Its rather difficult business getting scattered units into order of march in proper order, etc. ... (13 April 1916).¹⁰ ... Next week we go up into the line again ... I am off to see what my units are doing in the way of training (6 May 1916).¹¹ ... We are now preparing to move up into the line again. We shall I supposed be there 16 days, then out again for a week (7 May 1916).¹²

The move was seemingly from La Gorgue back to Laventie.

Despite the secrecy obviously required as to the precise locations where the brigade was based at any given time, there are some tantalising clues; all pointing to a Flanders location:

Some of the roads are drying out quite nicely, though one road I came along was very muddy and full of holes (*17 March 1916*).¹³

And, whilst probably stationed at La Gorgue:

My room overlooks a pumping station, but the perpetual beat of the engine does not seem to disturb me (*5 April 1916*).¹⁴

Then, whilst based at Laventie:

I hope never live in a flat country like this. It most uninteresting (*24 April 1916*).¹⁵

And, whilst at divisional headquarters, possibly near La Gorgue:

This is, in ordinary time, a busy industrial neighbourhood, as well as agricultural. Linen, I think they make. Here in a series of small towns along one main road they still carry on ... I fancy I am billeted on a bottling merchant. There are always a good number of carts and wagons in the yard at the back constantly taking off loads of beer (*1 May 1916*).¹⁶

The next day, Horatio's car broke down whilst returning to divisional headquarters from visiting his brigade:

I had to telephone for another. I spent the time listening to the band which was playing in the Town Square (*2 May 1916*).¹⁷

Back with his brigade at La Gorgue:

I have been out on Dolly [Horatio's favourite horse] all morning, and we had a little canter on some soft ground along the banks of the canal (*5 May 1916*).¹⁸

Throughout this period, the brigade was very close to enemy action, either 'in the line' or without it:

The guns are going, and I am a little tired (*14 March 1916*).¹⁹ ... I was up the line today, having a look at the crater formed by a mine the Bosch blew up early this morning. There is a good deal of mining going on here, and one never knows where one is with the beastly things (*3 April 1916*).²⁰ ... It is now 1.20.am. I am sitting up waiting for a raid we are trying to bring off on the Bosch lines. The moon prevented an earlier start (*8 April 1916*).²¹

Nothing doing here as they say, except the usual boom of the guns, smell of the dead Bosch in the trenches, etc. (*16 May 1916*).²² ... The night is very still, and one hears the machine guns going very plainly. It rather gets on one's nerves. They are going like anything now, and one feels one wants to be in the line to see what is going on (*17 May 1916*).²³

General Evans was mindful of the lower ranks:

I think the men want a rest for they have had a long time in the trenches, though being in rest means that they still have a good deal of work, but they have not the constant strain of being under continuous shell or rifle fire (*17 March 1916*).²⁴ ... It started snowing last night, and the ground is now covered with it, and it is still snowing ... I feel grieved for my men when we have such weather. Its all very well for me, comfortably housed and fed, but I can't help thinking of the discomfort the lower ranks have to suffer (*24 March 1915*).²⁵

The Great War was the first major conflict in which aeroplanes played an important rôle:

There were a lot of Bosch planes about today. I notice they generally fly much higher than ours (*31 March 1916*).²⁶ ... Aeroplanes are flying about, and the anti-aircraft guns firing at them, but this is a very usual occurrence when the weather is favourable for flying (*16 April 1916*).²⁷ ... The Bosch aeroplanes were moving about a good deal this morning, and his artillery has been very active, so at last I turned on the heavies which quieted him (*21 April 1916*).²⁸

The Bosch expended a good deal of ammunition at our aircraft, but did no damage. It is very pretty to se all the shells bursting in the air, and making little smoke clouds which stand out against the blue sky, but it is not nice to be anywhere near, one never knows where the bits may come to when returning to mother earth (*25 April 1916*).²⁹

Horatio was, however, not happy with a briefing he attended:

In the afternoon I went to a lecture with slides by a member of the Flying Corps, but as the slides did not show properly, and the fellow was most indifferent as a lecturer, it was rather an afternoon thrown away (*24 May 1916*).³⁰

The warfare of those days presented a strange picture: machine guns, aircraft, staff cars, but also an equestrian side. After moving from Loigne to a location near Locon, Horatio wrote again of his favourite mount, Dolly, but did not say what mishap had befallen the horse:

Today, I have been all round my billets to see that they have settled in fairly comfortably. It was a fairly long ride but a beautiful day so I quite enjoyed it, and Dolly did too I think, though she cast half a shoe on her way home so I had to go easy. Her knees are all right again, and the hair has come in again, the only sign being some white hairs (*17 March 1916*).³¹

Expecting a move to a location given once again only as F10b71 in the brigade diary, Horatio commented:

I had a long day and did not get back until 6.30.p.m. I started off after breakfast on horseback to visit the new line my Brigade shortly takes up, returned in a car to Divisional Headquarters for a conference (*20 March 1916*).³² ... I had a long day with two of my Battalions generally inspecting them and their billets, so Dolly was out practically all day (*21 March 1916*).³³

Horatio was fond of Dolly, who appears to have been taken out to France from Rhæadr; this mention of her also is the first allusion of the financial stringency which Horatio feared after the war, misgiving which in a limited measure was borne out:

I don't know dear whether you will be able to ride Dolly again. Even if she gets through this war it is doubtful we shall be able to keep a horse, though I should like to secure her so that she may have a good old age (*3 April 1916*).³⁴ ... I rode Dolly; she was going and is looking very well (*10 April 1916*).³⁵ ... If I did come home, I am afraid I should have to leave both horses out here ... though I should try to get Dolly back (*18 May 1916*).³⁶

And Horatio was pleased with a new groom:

I have changed my groom once more, and this time got a very decent young fellow; my last one, though a good worker, was a very low class sort of fellow (23 May 1961).³⁷

Horatio's frequent inspections involved much more than pleasant horse riding, especially in the inclement weather (rain and snow) of late March that year:³⁸

I was tramping about trenches all day ... I was wearing gum boots up to my thighs for the trenches are very wet, and I found with them I did not mind floundering about in the mud and slush (27 March 1916).³⁹ ... Have been wading about most of the day round waterlogged trenches, which makes it heavy going (28 March 1916).⁴⁰ ... It is hard work walking in gum boots up to one's thighs through muddy trenches (29 March 1916).⁴¹ I have spent most of the day reconnoitring the ground, jumping into old trenches when I find I am in too good a view of the Bosch (10 May 1916).⁴² ... I haven't been down the line today. I was looking at a new machine gun company this morning (21 May 1916).⁴³

Considering his age (almost fifty-seven years old), the cold and the need to be about in all weathers, it is not surprising that Horatio suffered for weeks from a severe sore throat, perhaps not helped by his liking for a cigarette. How did the men fare in such conditions, (the letters do not say).

I am a little under the weather with a bad sore throat. It was jolly cold yesterday on parade whilst the Corps Commander was looking at two battalions, and sauntering slowly after him for two hours did not improve it (5 April 1916).⁴⁴ ... My throat is better after using the spray the doctor lent me (7 April 1916).⁴⁵ I am not smoking so much now, and my throat is getting better (16 April 1916).⁴⁶

Horatio asks his wife to send out some more blackcurrant lozenges:

They are grateful and comforting to the throat (28 April 1916).⁴⁷

Horatio thought that there were better things to do in battlefield conditions than insist on 'spit and polish', and he resented criticism of his brigade's standards, even though he acknowledged that not all his subordinates were top-notch:

The Army Commander inspected one of the battalions today ... these inspections mean a good deal of waste of time (*11 April 1916*).⁴⁸ I am glad to get back to my own Brigade ... I am reorganising things even here, and I am afraid doing a good deal of finding fault (*11 April 1916*).⁴⁹ On another report fault is found with my transport. This is again a case of eye wash. They want the axle heads all polished as if in peace, and chains brightly burnished. The first essential out here is fitness of men and horses, cleanliness and suppleness of harness, and cleanliness of wagons (*8 April 1916*).⁵⁰

Horatio was not afraid to speak his mind:

After dinner spent most of the time writing a letter of protest to the Division for censure given to my brigade on a report, one which I had not been asked whether I had anything to say or not ... I have put up with a good deal of this sort of thing before ... [but] not this time, even if there was neglect on the part of some of my units (*8 April 1916*).⁵¹ I am sending to Divisional Headquarters a pretty strong letter of protest which may bring the wrath of that august assembly about my ears. Not that I should mind about that at all (*11 April 1916*).⁵² ... It is uphill work when instead of getting assistance from Divisional Headquarters, one is always being interfered with and spied upon (*13 April 1916*).⁵³

The next day, whilst at Loisne, Horatio returns to this theme:

I told you the Divisional people have been picking holes in my Brigade all round. The other day I was told the transport hadn't enough high polished to please them, etc. Well, today, I receive a copy of the report made by the vet[erinary surgeon] of 1st Army. It finds fault with some of the units, but it goes on to say that the animals of 13 R.W.F. [Royal Welsh Fusiliers] and the whole of 115th Brigade [Horatio's command] were in excellent condition ... It puts my back up when the local conditions and circumstances are not borne in mind, and when there is feeling that instead of being helpful, they try to find fault for the sake of glorifying themselves (*14 April 1916*).⁵⁴

Horatio, a soldier now with thirty-five years experience, was plainly frustrated and he says why:

As to getting command of a Division ... I could do it a good deal better than a good many who are now in that position ... This is a grouse

at the jobbery that goes on, and the extraordinary appointments made which really sickens me with the army (26 March 1916).⁵⁵ ... I have always been a keen soldier, studied my profession ... and have managed to carry those under me with me, at any rate up to the present (3 April 1916).⁵⁶ ... I am a disappointed man because of all the energy I have tried to put in to my work, only to find myself superseded again and again by men with less experience and knowledge than I have (18 April 1916).⁵⁷ ... I am afraid, being a disappointed man from a professional point of view, I have bitter feelings which I ought to restrain (29 April 1916).⁵⁸

Horatio also comments upon the broader military and political aspects of the war:

We've got to thoroughly smash the Hun, and if we can do that this year, we shall be lucky. It can only be done if the action of the different *entente* forces are well directed and co-ordinated (2 April 1916).⁵⁹ ... It is lamentable to think that the fate of our country is in the hands of such as our present politicians (22 April 1916).⁶⁰ ... I really believe, little as I admired his politics before the war, that Lloyd George, if he became premier would push things through and be more likely than anyone else to get the war finished successfully (29 April 1916).⁶¹

And he refers to conscription:

Compulsion has come at last, but what criminal folly it has been to delay its introduction all these months. Had it been introduced at the beginning of the war, we should have had all other recruits now being brought in trained by this time, and ready to fill casualties (7 May 1916).⁶²

In his letters home, several other military personnel find mention; a few of whom his wife had met:

X left a short time before I arrived on leave on medical grounds, I am glad he has gone as he was far from fit and the change may do him good ... Wood was much pleased with the wrist watch (14 March 1916).⁶³ ... Collard is not in my brigade but in the 114th (30 March 1916).⁶⁴ ... Bridgford was made a Brigadier, and as far as I know is still out here (2 April 1916).⁶⁵ I saw Major Mainwaring when at divisional headquarters. He did not say anything about an addition to his family

(7 April 1916).⁶⁶ I knew General Tanner, and saw his death in the paper some time ago. I used to see him at the Regimental dinner sometimes. He retired after commanding 1st Battalion in which I was also under him (10 April 1916).⁶⁷ Major Rees told me this morning that he heard last night that he had a little daughter (28 April 1916).⁶⁸ You will be sorry to hear Colonel Gaskell was badly wounded last night (16 May 1916).⁶⁹ [He later died].⁷⁰

Horatio elaborates on certain other individuals:

I think the discharged soldier you mention is probably old Z. He has a squeaky voice and must be pretty old now ... if he comes give him half-a-crown and some food for the sake of old times. He was in my company when I joined. He was never anything more than a full private. I don't know how he manages to track me down. He found me out at Colwyn Bay if you remember. (30 March 1916).⁷¹ ... The 5th Reserve Battalion, the King's Liverpool Regiment, is commanded by a fellow named Y. He was many years in the regiment with me. Don't have anything to do with him. The adjutant of the battalion is my old sergeant-major named Charters, but I don't suppose their headquarters are at Rhayader (10 May 1916).⁷²

He makes several references to Colonel Burne, who had obviously retired to Rhaeadr or its neighbourhood, and to whom his wife took some daffodils (3 April 1916).⁷³

I am glad to hear Colonel Burne is progressing. It must be a terrible thing to be a cripple, and not able to speak distinctly (31 March 1916).⁷⁴ It was a nice change for Colonel Burne to get up to Penrally (5 April 1916).⁷⁵ I am sorry to hear about Colonel Burne. It must be a terribly anxious time for his wife (20 April 1916).⁷⁶

Horatio makes frequent reference to his constantly changing billets:

Our present quarters are nothing like as good as those we have just left, but they are not bad for active service. My bedroom is small, and the mess room and office rather restricted, nor are there any comfortable chairs (17 March 1916).⁷⁷ My room having no stove or other heating is somewhat cold and dreary (22 April 1916).⁷⁸ I have much better quarters here and quite a nice garden at the back to go into. Strawberries in flower, asparagus, peas, lettuce, etc. all coming up (5 May

1916).⁷⁹ I am in the same place, but a different house, I was here early in the year, and I think you had a post-card and a photo.⁸⁰ [The latter do not seem to have survived].

He tells a little of communal mess life for the officers:

The mess here [at HQ, 38th Division] is better than my Brigade mess, but nothing at all out of the way. When I get back to the Brigade I am going to try and improve matters there, and have things in a little better order, and try to improve the tone of the mess. The language at times is awful, *X* and *Y* being the two worst offenders, and it grates on one's nerves (28 March 1916).⁸¹ After dinner, I generally leave the mess room and come to my room. In fact, except at meals, I very seldom see the staff (1 April 1916).⁸² The mess is certainly better of late for I have spoken rather strongly about it, and have had it reorganised. I have also drafted regular rules for office procedure (11 April 1916).⁸³ When I came back I got an enormous mess bill. It worked out at about 8 francs a day which was ridiculous (16 April 1916).⁸⁴ My chief trouble at present is my torches. They don't seem to act, and only make the darkness worse coming back from mess (25 April 1916).⁸⁵

Supplementing his mess diet, Horatio enjoyed the food parcels sent out by his wife and shared their contents with his colleagues:

Fortnum and Masons' things turned up ... and I had some sandwiches from the pressed beef to take with me, but I didn't eat them after all, but the others who also had some said they were good (20 March 1916).⁸⁶ The cakes have arrived ... I had some of the rock cakes in my pocket today (3 April 1916).⁸⁷ Everyone found the cornflour cake very good, as also the seed cake, both of which have disappeared (14 April 1916).⁸⁸ I received your last parcel containing cake, biscuits, etc, etc. These are going fast (16 April 1916).⁸⁹ Will you, when you are next in Town, get me a couple of boxes of cigarettes and send out. I shall be running short soon as other people appreciate my cigarettes (17 March 1916).⁹⁰ I received my lighter uniform from Hawkes this afternoon. I shall feel quite spick and span when I put it on. What about sending me out some cigarettes. I have been buying locally, though cheaper they are not so nice (16 May 1916).⁹¹

Despite the restrictive conditions imposed by a battlefield, there was a certain amount of socialising:

Last night I dined with the brigade which was relieving us. They gave quite a good dinner (*17 March 1916*).⁹² The Corps Commander was very genial and pleasant last night, and gave me quite a good dinner. I took two commanding officers with me. I went in for everything, and drank white wine and a glass of port (*14 April 1916*).⁹³ I have just returned from dining out can you believe it. Veal⁹⁴ and I were dining close by with my Artillery group commander. They took 20 francs out of me by way at *vingt-et-un* after dinner (*19 May 1916*).⁹⁵ We are going to have a dinner party tomorrow night. I have asked my Artillery Group Commander and his staff officer (*23 May 1916*).⁹⁶

The letters tell something of Horatio's spirituality, for he was a committed churchman, even if in the battlefield an irregular attender:

Our fate is in God's hands. He puts before us certain duties to be done, and mine I must strive to carry on to the best of my ability, without running any undue risks, but prepared to face danger when my duty calls for it (*14 March 1916*); [written shortly before his return to France].⁹⁷ There is a Higher Power who watches over us all (*18 May 1916*).⁹⁸ Active service is rather inclined to make one a bit of a heathen. I always feel that something is wanting if I do not go to a service on a Sunday, yet here I seldom do so (*26 March 1916*).⁹⁹ It is Sunday, and I am afraid I did not go to Church. Indeed, I shall be glad when the time arrives for going regularly to one's own church (*16 April 1916*).¹⁰⁰

The following Sunday, however, Easter Day, and stationed near Locon, he did so:

I went to Church this morning, and stayed to Communion after (*23 April 1916*).¹⁰¹ A happy Easter to you my darling. One hardly seems to realise the different Church festivals out here (*20 April 1916*).¹⁰²

He agreed to subscribe to a fund to maintain the curate back home in Rhaeadr:

I quite think £2 will be enough for the Curate's augmentation fund. If everyone else did the same, in proportion to their means, £90 ought easily to be raised (*21 April 1916*).¹⁰³ As to the curate I think £4.4.0. is quite enough, but you could not have done less I think after Mr Roberts coming (*22 April 1916*).¹⁰⁴

Of course, there were Church Parades:

This morning we had the Army Commander to Church Parade, and he afterwards distributed medals ... the Corps Commander and two other Divisional Generals [were] there, also besides glittering staffs, so we have quite a gathering ... We had a very good sermon preached by Revd. Blackburne, one of the best known army chaplains (*30 April 1916*).¹⁰⁵

The next Sunday, 7 May, Horatio went to church again,¹⁰⁶ but when Dr Randall Davidson came out to visit the troops, Horatio declined an invitation to meet him, though not out of any disrespect:

I have been bidden to meet the Archbishop of Canterbury on the 20th May, but as my brigade will be in the line, I shall not go (*10 May 1916*).¹⁰⁷

Throughout these months, in the background of Horatio's mind, given his age, was his immediate future:

As to getting a Division, they go by age, not one's physical capacity and energy, and that would put me out of course (*26 March 1916*).¹⁰⁸ It is war, and one has to try and do one's bit, otherwise I would have been out of 38th Division long ago (*11 April 1916*).¹⁰⁹ I hear they are clearing out more Brigadiers on account of age, so I shouldn't be at all surprised to find that I am given the order of the boot on the same account (*13 April 1916*).¹¹⁰ In a little more than six weeks now, I ought to be shelved for age (*23 April 1916*).¹¹¹ C.M.G., not P.M.G., is Companion of the Order of St Michael and St George. It is an order given to all sorts of people, civilians, etc., and I wouldn't thank-you for it (*28 April 1916*).¹¹² [In fact, Horatio did receive this decoration on his final demobilisation in 1919].

Horatio felt that, on account of his age, he might be moved from France to a training post at home; this was not to be, nor was it his wish to accept a return to his substantive rank of colonel though he had to, but at the end of his military service in 1919 he was upgraded once again to the rank of brigadier-general, and henceforth known in Rhaeadr as General Evans:

In these parlous times, I don't think they will shelve me, though I will be over age in a month's time; they want all the officers they can get (*12 May 1916*).¹¹³ I do not propose to take on anything else with a lower rank than I now hold, unless I am absolutely compelled to do

so (12 May 1916).¹¹⁴ I don't at all know whether they are going to relegate me to a reserve brigade at home or some other job (26 May 1916).¹¹⁵

Horatio had fears of post-war financial stringency, which in part at least were well-founded:

I had a letter from Walter today¹¹⁶ ... He is a moneyed man, I am not (25 March 1916).¹¹⁷ People will have to realise that we are poor, and that with all the taxation, we will not be able to subscribe but little to all the numerous local objects (6 April 1916).¹¹⁸ It won't do for people to think that because Aunt Maria,¹¹⁹ gave certain amounts to different objects that we are going to continue to do so (22 April 1916).¹²⁰ I don't know what we shall do with all the silver we have [following the sale of his father's effects], but it is an asset if hard times come (17 May 1916).¹²¹

Referring to his wife's assumed pregnancy, it appears that they hoped for a boy, and had already decided for him the name of Peter.¹²² Horatio was worried about nursing home costs, but glad that his wife had asked his elder sister, Margaretta, to be a godparent:

Never you mind darling, if Peter is coming it is alright and it begins to look as if there is something in it. Till you are fully certain you must not do anything at all reckless (8 April 1916).¹²³ I hope we shall be able to do Peter under £100; of course if you go to a nursing home it will add to the cost (26 April 1916).¹²⁴ I am glad you asked her [Gretta] to be godmother (17 May 1916).¹²⁵

The greater part of most letters deals with affairs back home in Rhaeadr. He comments on the sale of his late father's effects at Preston Capes Rectory,¹²⁶ and he hoped to be able to buy Penralley — jointly owned by himself and his brothers and sisters.¹²⁷ He mentions the grandfather clock¹²⁸ and the gardens there,¹²⁹ as well as his collection of *Archaeologia Cambrensis*.¹³⁰ He refers to some of his possessions, including 'an old Koran I picked up in Afghanistan, and some Afghan knives and pistols'.¹³¹ He mentions other members of the family, like his author-brother, Frank¹³² and his brother-in-law, Eric Rootham.¹³³

Of great interest are his comments upon the local topography:

Gwynllyn lake is very deep in parts, but it is nice wild country there ... the road is the old coaching road to Aberystwyth, and at the top of the

hill is the artillery camp (*13 April 1916*).¹³⁴ I was much amused at your account of your tea in the cottage by Gwynllyn (*16 April 1916*).¹³⁵ The road you mention eventually leads round at the back of woodland, and you can get over on to the Builth Road by going along the railway close to a farm (*16 April 1916*).¹³⁶ Gwardoloe bridge is alright although it does shake. I generally used to have a good shake when I got to the middle of it (*17 April 1916*).¹³⁷ The plant at the [Rhaeadr] gas works is not good, and the gas for years used sometimes to smell (*30 April 1916*).¹³⁸

The Battle for Mametz Wood (Figs. 5, 6, 7).

Unfortunately, none of Horatio's letters survive for this the last, and perhaps the bloodiest, battle of his military career. This may be because Horatio's son, the late Cdr. Peter Bowen Evans, RN gave them to one of the several authors researching a book on the battle for Mametz Wood. The battle has been exhaustively described elsewhere,¹³⁹ and therefore the ensuing paragraphs deal solely with some reflections on Horatio's part in it.

It was a cruel battle when 38th Division were detailed on 5 July 1916 to try to reclaim Mametz Wood, south of Bazentin-le-Petit and close to the Somme. Holed up in the wood was the Lehr Regiment of the Prussian Army. After advances and retreats, the wood was successfully taken but only with four thousand dead on the British side, 38th Division losing one-third of its infantry strength. Having visited the site last year, I wondered why instead of trying to storm the wood the British did not attempt to surround it and lay siege to it.¹⁴⁰ Field Marshal Haig, however, pressed on by the French, ordered the bloody onslaught. When the first efforts failed Haig was furious, and relieved Major-General Ivor Phillips, in charge of 115th Infantry Brigade (of which 38th Division formed part) of his command. Horatio had never thought highly of Phillips, who was replaced by Major-General HE Watts.¹⁴¹ No one ever blamed Horatio with the initial failure and the great loss of life; his advice was repeatedly ignored by both major-generals. Already over fifty-seven years old, he was not relieved of his command, but continued with his brigade until 28 August.

With regard to the first endeavour to take Mametz Wood on 7 July, Colin Hughes, who had access to his private papers, wrote that Horatio said:

I spoke my mind about the whole business. Difficult to judge on the spot they said. As if the whole trouble hadn't arisen because some-one found it so easy to judge when he was six miles away, and had never seen the country and couldn't read a map. You mark my words, they'll

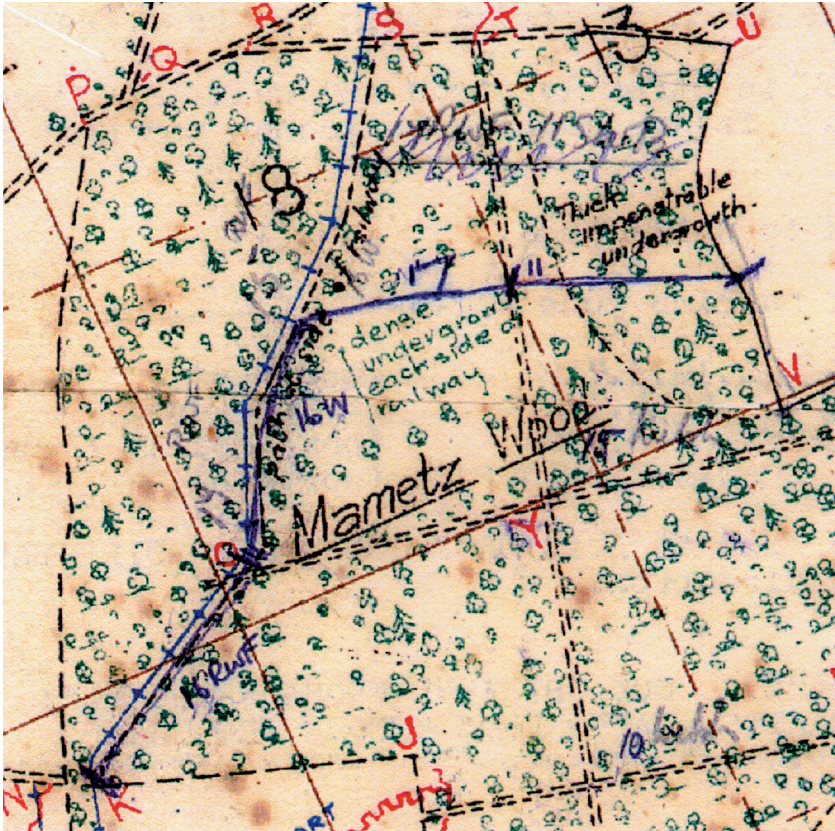


Fig. 5. A portion of Horatio's personal map of Mametz Wood.
(NLW, Penrally Paper 984a).

send me home because of this. ... They want butchers not brigadiers ... They'll remember now that I told them before we began, that the attack could not succeed unless the machine guns were masked.¹⁴²

Wyn Griffith, who became Horatio's brigade-major in the heat of battle, when Capt. Veal was wounded, wrote of that day:

The General was cursing his orders. He said that 'only a madman could have issued them', and that 'this is sheer lunacy. I've tried all day to stop it. We could creep up to the edge of the wood by night and rush it in the morning, but they won't listen to me ... It breaks my heart to see all this'.¹⁴³

Horatio later, from memory, wrote his own account of the early stages of the battle, telling how his ideas were countermanded by divisional headquarters, humbly suggesting that he himself could in retrospect have handled certain situations better, and telling how he delayed one attack on the Wood ordered by higher authority in order to avoid very heavy casualties and certain failure:

It appears to me now that the dispositions were all cut and dried by Divisional Headquarters and ... that I was a mere figurehead. ... I should have demurred ... I was aghast when I read the Divisional orders.¹⁴⁴

When 115th Infantry Brigade resumed their part in the battle for the wood on 11 July, Renshaw tells that:

At 7.30.am. orders were sent to Horatio to clear the remainder of the wood, but after a personal reconnaissance in which he and his staff officers were wounded, he suggested that the wiser course would be to strengthen out and consolidate the front. Again, his advice was ignored. At 10.40.am. Maj.-Gen. Watts replied by directing him to clear the wood entirely of the enemy, this was mostly achieved though Horatio sustained wounds to an arm and his head, and was weakened through loss of blood.¹⁴⁵

Capt. Eddie Williams, an officer of the Cardiff City contingent within 115th Brigade, told how:

As we marched off from Happy Valley on July 12th, Brigadier-General Evans of Rhayader, looking haggard and worn and with his face all bandaged owing to shrapnel wounds, was standing at the cross-roads to watch us march by. It must have been a sad sight for him to see his smart brigade, comprising the Cardiff City 10th Gwents, 11th South Wales Borderers, and the 17th Royal Welch Fusiliers, so depleted.¹⁴⁶

Taylor, Horatio's Brigade Signalling Officer, said of him:

The truth about the Brigadier is that he's got too much sense. He was soldiering when some of the fellows above him were still playing marbles.¹⁴⁷



Fig. 6. Mametz Wood today, the Royal Welsh Fusiliers monument in foreground.



Fig. 7. Inside Mametz Wood today, shells lying on the ground.

More than a decade later, Capt. Wyn Griffith wrote to Horatio:

A war book of mine is being published. I feel sure that it will interest you, for you play a very large part in it. Not by name of course. It has given me an opportunity of expressing some of my intense admiration for your courage and wisdom, at a time when wisdom was scarce (*19 December 1930*).¹⁴⁸

And, after the book was published:

Something of the kind had to be done if the world were to know that one man kept his head when Division, Corps, Army and GHQ lost theirs ... there is nothing inevitable about stupidity, and I felt it was time that Wales should know all you did to prevent her sons from being sacrificed to idiocy (*11 March 1931*).¹⁴⁹

When in late August 1916, Horatio was forced to retire it was not to his liking. He pressed the War Office to be allowed command of 115th Brigade once again, but the reply was that 'the general feeling is that you are too old'.¹⁵⁰ Several tributes came his way, amongst them was a letter from one Tim Harrington writing to Horatio from the Headquarters of the 2nd Army (*16 August 1916*) wrote: 'I think it is an infernal shame you didn't get the Division'. The 16th Battalion of the Welsh Regiment wrote (*1 September 1916*) that: One could desire no better leader. Your splendid example of ignoring danger had a heartening effect upon us all'.¹⁵¹

Back to France (Fig. 8).

After nearly a year of frustration, Horatio was offered on 8 June 1917 a post as a commander of Third Army troops in France, in the lower rank of colonel. The varied rôles of his men included traffic duties and control of prisoner-of-war camps, the provision of education courses to fit officers and men for return to civilian life, and the promotion of a scheme to push the sale of war savings certificates. In August 1918, General Byng, Commander of the British Third Army, wrote to Horatio congratulating him on the savings scheme raising £32,652 (roughly £900,000 in today's values).¹⁵² In a testimonial afforded Horatio in 1920, a military acquaintance wrote: 'You were Commandant of Third Army Troops with a ration strength of 25,000, and your show worked without a hitch'. Horatio finally retired on 18 March 1919, and was granted again the rank of brigadier-general.¹⁵³ He does not appear to have been consulted, nor asked for a donation, when a memorial tablet to the fallen of 38th Division was erected in Mametz Church in November 1924.¹⁵⁴



Fig. 8. Horatio (temporarily a full colonel again) with French and other officers, somewhere in 1917–1919. (*NLW, Penralley Paper 990a*).

Unfortunately, only a few of Horatio's letters survive for this period. The earliest tells something of his activities:

I was at one of the prisoner-of-war camps today about their mid-day meal, and saw black bread and all sorts of things. It seems to me they can't be as badly off in Germany as is made out (*5 December 1917*).¹⁵⁵ I really haven't much to do except be on the spot and try to put right all sorts of miscellaneous people who are constantly turning up ... I have managed to trace most of my units without a telephone ... This would not have happened if my instructions to bring the instrument along had been carried out, but after my arrival here I found that they had left it behind for the signals people to dismantle — a usual procedure but under the circumstances a stupid thing to do ... [but] there is no doubt it is wonderful what has been accomplished with our improvised armies (*30 March 1918*).¹⁵⁶ I had a bit of exercise yesterday afternoon, walking around the outskirts of the village with a view to tactical dispositions if necessary (*1 April 1918*).¹⁵⁷ I have been away all day dispensing justice (*23 May 1918*).¹⁵⁸

Horatio still hankered after action in the front line, and clearly felt still attached to his old brigade:

I must say that I would much prefer being up than back, but age is against me, and if I can be of any use here I must be content (*31 March 1918*).¹⁵⁹ I fancy the man who succeeded me and only lasted three months is once more in command ... I don't fancy they will much appreciate this (*10 April 1918*).¹⁶⁰ I see another man is to command 38th Division. As far as I can make out the fellow who succeeded Phillips was licked by a mad dog and has to go to Paris for treatment; I don't know whether there was any other reason (*26 May 1918*).¹⁶¹

He refers to his educational duties:

Two big schemes require a lot of consideration — one forming educational classes to fit officers and men more for return to civilian life. The other a scheme for purchasing the sale of savings certificates (*24 May 1918*).¹⁶² The education schemes I have not yet tackled. It's a big job and there are many difficulties in the way, one of them is to instil enthusiasm regarding it into unit commanders (*25 May 1918*).¹⁶³

The location of Horatio's headquarters is again never revealed; though on one occasion he notes that he had moved from a village 'to a small country town', seemingly some way from the front, for he wrote:

I fancy one won't have Bosch aeroplanes over one each night (*9 April 1918*).¹⁶⁴ Its market day here today, so the town is quite full (*10 April 1918*).¹⁶⁵

In his earlier location:

There was a good deal of gunning going on all through the night, and again this morning ... I shall be on the move tomorrow, so may not be able to get off a letter ... One is much better off than the fellows in the fighting line ... A Bosch aeroplane has just gone over. I wonder where bound for? (*7 April 1918*).¹⁶⁶

And he refers to the general progress of the war, not without a tinge of disappointment:

With a lifelong experience in a profession to which I have been devoted, I cannot at times help noticing the weaknesses I think the Huns

primary intentions have been frustrated, but I think he is out for a fight to the finish (30 March 1918).¹⁶⁷ The Bosch has got more than he bargained for, and his future action is not clear (31 March 1918).¹⁶⁸ Our aircraft have been doing wonderfully good work, though much handicapped by the weather which is now improving (1 April 1918).¹⁶⁹ I suppose the long range gun is a fact, but I should say it is not one that can be moved or alter the direction of its line of fire much. I sometimes wonder whether it is not a gun which the Bosch has somehow or other smuggled into France and hidden behind our lines, but this is hardly probable as it would soon be discovered (4 April 1918).¹⁷⁰ The Hun is getting more active again, but we are pretty well holding our own (6 April 1918).¹⁷¹ The Bosch has made a big push in an unexpected place ... but I have doubt as to whether this is his real effort (28 May 1918).¹⁷²

Horatio looked to the future, and he commented on the immediate post-War situation back in Britain:

I often think of the gigantic problems this war and after bring forward, and what a changed world it will be (7 April 1918). As an old soldier, I don't at all approve of the way the soldiers are demonstrating at home. Its not my idea of discipline and General Fielding took to my mind quite the right line, but things are altogether very different to what they were before the war, and the handling of demobilisation is not free from mistakes (12 January 1919).¹⁷³

As for his own future, and financial prospects:

I shall be able to take up county matters. So far I have heard nothing about being put on the bench, but I hope this may come (6 April 1918).¹⁷⁴ (Horatio was, in fact, appointed as a J.P.) I find my uniform is wearing fast, but I don't want to get any new, and I say out here that when my uniform is worn out, I shall wear out and return to civilian life (19 April 1918).¹⁷⁵ My club now wants members in France to pay [from the next year] full subscription instead of the reduced one of £1-5-0. I shall have to consider whether I will give up the club altogether or not. Though I don't use the club much it seems a pity to give it up after being a member all these years, and it does give one an opportunity of meeting old military friends, but £10 is £10, and our ship has not come home yet (26 May 1918).¹⁷⁶

£10 in 1918 was equivalent to about £260 today,¹⁷⁷ and, worse still, Horatio had to think of selling some 'old family things situated [financially] as we are' (27 May 1918).¹⁷⁸

Religion continued to play a part in Horatio's life. He wrote on Easter day 1918:

I went to Holy Communion in a barn here this morning. I should have liked to be with you in our own parish church (31 March 1918).¹⁷⁹ I did not go to church yesterday, as I was busy in the office. I felt quite a culprit (27 May 1918).¹⁸⁰ I went to Church last night, but I must say the fellow who takes the service bores me. I don't know why the Assistant Chaplain General here never seems to take the service. He gives a much better heart to heart talk (27 January 1919).¹⁸¹

As for creature comforts:

The fellow who runs our scratch mess is a great man for foraging, he is evidently fond of his food and carries about a cookery book with him, so we don't do so badly; but there are a lot of Americans here who have run up the price of everything (30 March 1918).¹⁸² We even had the luxury of a boiled fowl on Sunday which cost the large sum of 14 francs, so you see things are by no means cheap out here (2 April 1918).¹⁸³ *The Times* comes irregularly (9 April 1918).¹⁸⁴ Here we have had nothing but marmalade since I returned [from leave] (27 January 1919).¹⁸⁵

Peter's birth brought Horatio happiness:

Well darling, the mail is in and I have your letter containing the snapshots. They are very good and quite the nicest Easter egg I could have had ... He is a bright broth' of a boy, and it is so nice to see him quite happy with the animals around him (30 March 1918).¹⁸⁶ He must learn some Welch (24 May 1918).¹⁸⁷ Sorry the thunderstorm upset Peter, so that you had a bad night (26 May 1918).¹⁸⁸

Two months before his final demobilisation, Horatio wrote on 12 January 1919:

I am busy now with confidential reports. They even report on an old dug out like me, and the following are the remarks made on mine, for we all have to see our reports whether good or bad — a new procedure.¹⁸⁹



Fig. 9. Colonel HJ Evans at the time of his appointment in 1915 to command 115th Infantry Brigade.

Horatio's report was indeed very good:

An excellent officer of wide experience. A very good administrator and disciplinarian. Has performed most valuable service throughout the war and deserves well of his country ... recommended for advancement.

Horatio commented, 'Not bad is it?' — but little in the way of due recognition and 'advancement' ever came.

NOTES

1. By Rhaeadr Museum. The letters now collectively form Penralley Papers no. 987. I am grateful to its former Curator, Mr Bryan Lawrence, for permission to reproduce certain illustrations.

2. P 987/17.

3. P 987/31.

4. P 987/26.

5. TNA PRO WO 95/2560.

6. P 987/2.

7. P 987/6, cf. P 987/7.

8. P 987/25.

9. P 987/29.

10. P 987/30.

11. P 987/52.

12. P 987/53.

13. P 987/4.

14. P 987/23.

15. P 987/41.

16. P 987/48.

17. P 987/49.

18. P 987/51.

19. P 987/2.

20. P 987/22, cf. 21.

21. P 987/26.
22. P 987/61.
23. P 987/62.
24. P 987/3.
25. P 987/11.
26. P 987/18.
27. P 987/32.
28. P 987/38.
29. P 987/42.
30. P 987/67.
31. P 987/4.
32. P 987/7.
33. P 987/8.
34. P 987/21.
35. P 987/27.
36. P 987/63.
37. P 987/68.
38. P 987/9, 11.
39. P 987/14.
40. P 987/15.
41. P 987/16.
42. P 987/55.
43. P 987/66.
44. P 987/23.
45. P 987/25.
46. P 987/33.
47. P 987/45.
48. P 987/29.
49. P 987/28.
50. P 987/26.
51. P 987/26.
52. P 987/28.

53. P 987/30.

54. P 987/31.

55. P 987/13.

56. P 987/22.

57. P 987/35.

58. P 987/46.

59. P 987/20.

60. P 987/39.

61. P 987/65.

62. P 987/53.

63. P 987/2.

64. P 987/17, cf. 49.

65. P 987/20; RJ Bridgford, CMG, DSO, formerly of the Manchester Regt., transferred to the Shropshire Light Infantry in 1914; served several years in Egypt prior to World War I.

66. P 987/25.

67. P 987/27; Maj.-Gen. Edward Tanner, CB; commanded the 1st Battalion the King's (Liverpool) Regt., at the storming of Peiwar Khotal, in which Horatio led the colour party, during the 1878–80 Afghan campaign. Died 8 March 1916.

68. P 987/68.

69. P 987/61.

70. P 987/68; Col. Frank Hill Gaskell, Welsh Regt., from Cardiff, died in action 17 May 1916, aged 37; buried Merville Communal Cemetery. Like Horatio, he had served in South Africa.

71. P 987/17; Horatio and his brigade had been stationed at Colwyn Bay before being sent to France.

72. P 987/55.

73. P 987/21.

74. P 987/18.

75. P 987/23.

76. P 987/37.

77. P 987/3–4.

78. P 987/39.

79. P 987/51.

- 80. P 987/55.
- 81. P 987/15.
- 82. P 987/19.
- 83. P 987/29.
- 84. P 987/32.
- 85. P 987/42.
- 86. P 987/7.
- 87. P 987/22.
- 88. P 987/31.
- 89. P 987/32.
- 90. P 987/3.
- 91. P 987/61.
- 92. P 987/4.
- 93. P 987/31.
- 94. Capt. CL Veal, Welch Regt., Horatio's brigade-major until wounded on 11 July 1916.
- 95. P 987/64; the *Oxford English Dictionary* defines it as 'a round game of cards in which the object is to make the number twenty-one or as near this as possible without exceeding it'.
- 96. P 987/68.
- 97. P 987/1.
- 98. P 987/63.
- 99. P 987/13.
- 100. P 987/33.
- 101. P 987/40.
- 102. P 987/37.
- 103. P 987/38.
- 104. P 987/39.
- 105. P 987/47; the Revd Jacob Blackbourne, CF 1896–1919, twice mentioned in despatches, after the war became Vicar of Acle, Norfolk.
- 106. P 987/53.
- 107. P 987/55.
- 108. P 987/13.

- 109. P 987/28.
- 110. P 987/30.
- 111. P 987/40.
- 112. P 987/45.
- 113. P 987/57.
- 114. P 987/58, cf. 63.
- 115. P 987/70.
- 116. Walter Bowen Evans, of Trecastle, Breconshire; Horatio's middle brother.
- 117. P 987/12.
- 118. P 987/24.
- 119. Mrs Maria Williams, of Penralley; widow of Stephen William Williams. In another letter, Horatio mentions that she used 'periodically to visit the tenants', as at Dolfallen, 'and have a good gossip' (P 987/51).
- 120. P 987/39.
- 121. P 987/62.
- 122. Cdr. Peter Bowen Evans, RN; died 1988.
- 123. P 987/26.
- 124. P 987/43.
- 125. P 987/57.
- 126. P 987/5, 10–12, 44, 50, 59.
- 127. P 987/44, 55–56, 60; cf. 13, 46, 51.
- 128. P 987/17.
- 129. P 987/18.
- 130. P 987/62.
- 131. P 987/44.
- 132. P 987/10–11, 60.
- 133. P 987/42, 56.
- 134. P 987/30.
- 135. P 987/32.
- 136. P 987/33.
- 137. P 987/34; the footbridge was sited at NGR: SN 966687. A metal replacement was washed away in floods in 1967.
- 138. P 987/47.

139. In book form: Colin Hughes, *Mametz* (Gerrards Cross, Orion Press, 1982; 2nd edn. 1990); Michael Renshaw, *Mametz Wood* (Barnsley, 1999) and, especially, LI Wyn Griffith, *Up to Mametz* (Norwich, 1988 reprint); the battle also finds mention in more general works on the Battle of the Somme. The brigade diary for 1916 also contains a contemporaneous account of the battle [TNA PRO WO 95/2560 (including a bound booklet for July 1916).] Much further information occurs in National Library of Wales sources, especially René Hague MS 1 (Papers of Capt. David Jones, who died in the battle, whose grave is unknown, but whose name is on the Thiepval Memorial), NLW, MSS 21830 *passim* (where it is pointed out that the Wood was the scene of another battle on 25 August 1918); 22431, ff. 1–60; 23269, ff. 98–161 (including papers of Private David Jones, who served in 113th Brigade, was wounded at Mametz but survived. He based his book, *In Parenthesis* (London, Faber and Faber, 1937) on his experiences there). [I am grateful to Mr Cyril Evans of the Library for drawing my attention to these sources]. NLW Ex 1675 collates several sources regarding the action in Mametz Wood. In addition, there are numerous articles, photographs and reminiscences regarding Mametz to be found on the internet, and at the time a fairly detailed account was published in the *Western Mail* 14 July 1916, p. 5.

140. A pincer movement had been entertained, but rejected because of ‘the resistance which came from the green stronghold itself’, *Western Mail*, 14 July 1916, p. 5.

141. Hughes points out that not all the blame could be placed on Phillips, because he was carrying out the directives of Lt-Gen. Horne at XV Corps headquarters: Hughes (1982), p. 129.

142. Hughes (1982), p. 79.

143. Griffith, *Up to Mametz*, p. 224.

144. I am very grateful to Mr Colin Hughes for drawing my attention to this document, and to Mr P Crocker, Curator of the Royal Welch Fusiliers Museum, Caernarfon Castle, for making a copy available to me.

145. Renshaw, *Mametz Wood*, p. 122; *Western Mail*, 24 July 1916, p. 3 mentions Horatio as having been wounded, and gives an account of his military career and family history. Emlyn Davies, who fought at Mametz Wood later recalled, though getting Horatio’s name slightly wrong, that ‘the Brigade was ordered to clear the wood entirely of the enemy. Brigadier Horace S Evans determined to accomplish this end by surprise at the point of the bayonet, without preliminary bombardment’, *Taffy Went to War*, (Knutsford, 1975), p. 33.

146. In an anniversary article in the *Western Mail*, quoted in NLW MS 23269E, p. 159.

147. Griffith, *Up to Mametz*, p. 218.

148. P 1004.

149. P 1004.

150. P 986.

151. P 742.

152. P 991.

153. P 997.

154. NLW, Welsh Army Corps, C 108; though Maj.-Gen. Ivor Phillips sent a £5 donation, but also had no part in planning the memorial.

155. P 987/76.

156. P 987/77.

157. P 987/79.

158. P 987/87.

159. P 987/78.

160. P 987/85.

161. P 987/90.

162. P 987/88.

163. P 987/89.

164. P 987/84.

165. P 987/85.

166. P 987/85.

167. P 987/77.

168. P 987/78.

169. P 987/79.

170. P 987/81.

171. P 987/82.

172. P 987/92.

173. P 987/93.

174. P 987/82.

175. P 987/86.

176. P 987/90.

177. Bank of England, *Equivalent Contemporary Values of the Pound: A Historical Series, 1270 to 2004*.

178. P 987/91.

179. P 987/78.

180. P 987/91.

181. P 987/94.

182. P 987/77.

183. P 987/80.

184. P 987/84.

185. P 987/94.

186. P 987/77.

187. P 987/88.

188. P 987/90.

189. P 987/93.

A SURVEY OF FLOOR-TILES IN THE CHURCHES OF RADNORSHIRE

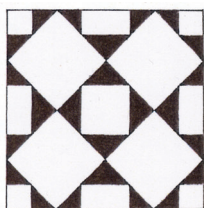
MAV Gill

APPENDIX 1: DOMESTIC FLOOR-TILES IN GLASBURY, ALL SAINTS

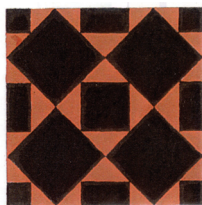
ONE GROUP OF PATTERN TILES was omitted from the main study, as they were neither of a type intended to be used in churches nor for the most part were they laid with any intention that they should be seen. For a discussion of how in 1882 domestic tiles came to be laid in a corridor round the side and back of the organ in All Saints church, Glasbury and inside the organ well itself, see MAV Gill, 'A survey of floor-tiles in the churches of Radnorshire', *Transactions of the Radnorshire Society*, 73 (2003), pp. 96–7, and 'Victorian floor tiles from the parish churches of the Wye Valley Group', *Transactions*, 68 (1998), pp. 80–82, 91–93 for a more detailed description of the tiles then visible. Since the writing of both these articles, linoleum covering part of the vestry (that was originally the corridor behind the organ) has been removed to reveal the tiles beneath; I have had an opportunity also to draw such tiles inside the organ case as are not permanently hidden by the blower and a metal insulation sheet on which the organ stands.

Leftovers from a local builder's earlier commissions, the tiles are all 6-inch, predominantly of a domestic character (apart from D14 and D28), unglazed and in a variety of colours (Colour plates D1–28). Apart from the selection of red and buff colouring for those nearest the chancel and the edging of the first panel (D13) with black (6×2 ") at the entrance, no attempt was made to arrange the tiles aesthetically; various numbers of each pattern were merely laid in blocks as they came to hand, regardless of the overall effect. Inside the organ case, the tiles are more miscellaneous with sometimes only one example of each pattern occurring (D6, D15, D24 and D28 are only partly visible) and the arrangement is more haphazard.

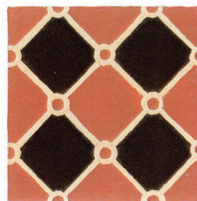
Among the newly studied tiles, most interesting are D19, which is the centre tile for a nine-tile set, of which D17 and D18 comprise the corner and side tiles (see Gill, 'Victorian floor tiles', p. 81, Fig. 25c), and D23–D25 which seem to belong to a set of forty-nine tiles composed of thirteen patterns (including three mirror images) that would have covered an area 42-inches square (Fig. 1). While D14 was probably surplus from a domestic commission, in pattern and colouring it is from Godwin's antique series designed for use in ecclesiastical contexts.



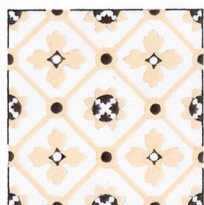
D1a



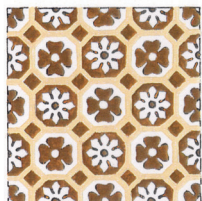
D1b



D2



D3



D4



D5a



D5b



D5c



D6



D7



D8



D9

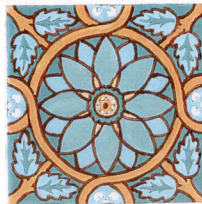
Colour plate (1) Domestic 6-inch floor-tiles:
Glasbury All Saints organ chamber D1-9.



D10



D11a



D11b



D12a



D12b



D12c



D12d



D12e



D13



D14



D15



D16

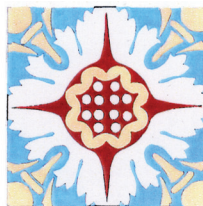
Colour plate (2) Domestic 6-inch floor-tiles:
Glasbury All Saints organ chamber D10–16.



D17



D18



D19



D20



D21



D22



D23



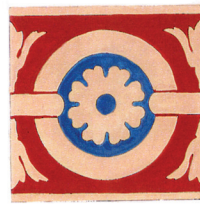
D24



D25



D26



D27



D28

Colour plate (3) Domestic 6-inch floor-tiles:
Glasbury All Saints organ chamber D17–28.

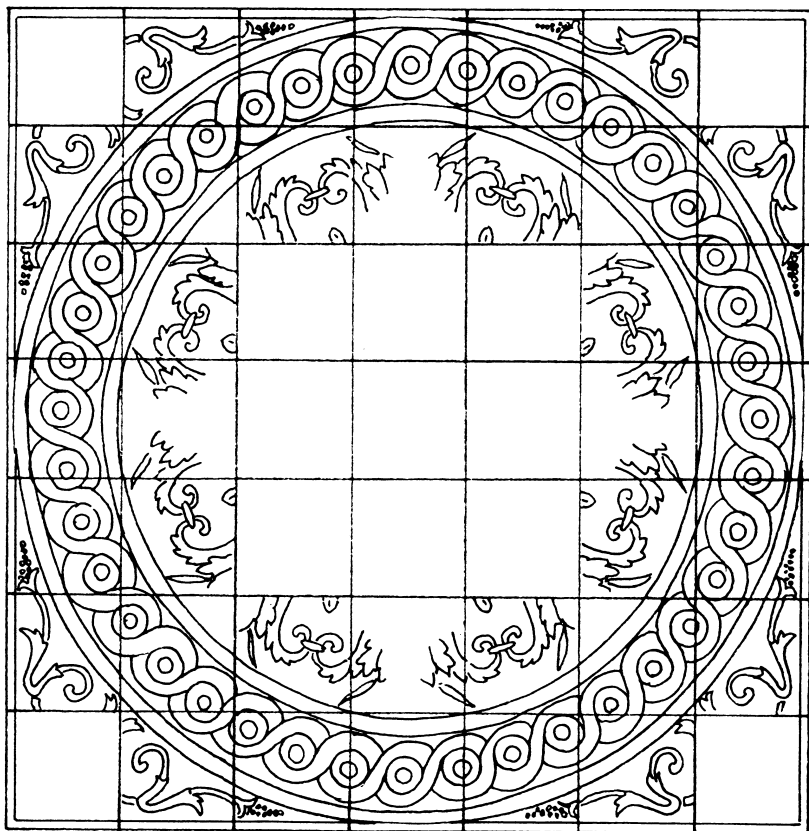


Fig. 1. Glasbury, All Saints: diagram showing the position of D23–D25 in forty-nine tile set.

One tile, broken and unused (D12, preserved amongst the debris inside the organ case), and another inadvertently laid upside down (D2) bear the characteristic Godwin ‘target’ mark. Others of the tiles have patterns known to have been produced by the same manufactory, and it seems probable that the builder obtained the majority of his tiles from the Withington factory of W Godwin (& Son) of Lugwardine. However, D3 and D11 may have been made at Linthorpe Art Pottery.[†]

[†] The Linthorpe Art Pottery (Linthorpe Village, Middlesborough, 1879–1889) was started by John Harrison (and ceased at his death) at the suggestion of Christopher Dresser, who was Art Superintendent for the first two or three years.

APPENDIX 2: MURAL TILES

ABBAY CWMHIR: ST MARY

Mural tiles are scarce in the churches of Radnorshire, the earliest being in Abbey Cwmhir. After the rebuilding of the church in 1866, a report of the re-opening ceremony notes that ‘the sacrarium and apsidal wall are laid with diapered tiles from Godwin’s well-known Lugwardine manufactory’.

The dado round the apsidal wall of the sanctuary is decorated with a geometric arrangement of plain tiles (Fig. 2): seven rows of cream and dove-grey hexagons ($3\frac{1}{2}$ " across) interset with black equilateral triangles (2" sides), the dove hexagons forming a series of touching lozenges framing groups of four cream tiles, with groups of three in the triangles between. The panel is outlined with bands of green, red and black ($6 \times 1\frac{1}{2}$ " horizontal; $4 \times 1\frac{1}{2}$ " vertical), and has a skirting of fawn (6×2 "). While the hexagonal and skirting tiles have a smooth unglazed finish, all the black, red and green tiles are highly glazed.

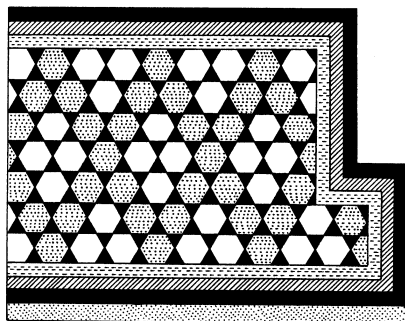


Fig. 2. Abbey Cwmhir: arrangement of mural tiles in sanctuary.

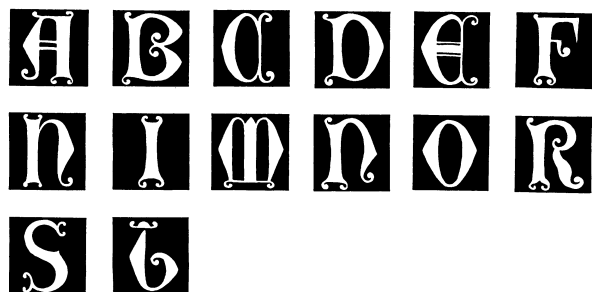
LLANDRINDOD: HOLY TRINITY

A description of the new church at Llandrindod in an account of the opening ceremony in 1871 mentions that ‘the wall at the back of the altar is laid with encaustic tiles of an appropriate and elegant pattern from the Lugwardine tile works’. This is the only evidence for mural tiles in the building, and they probably survived until the entire east end was demolished in 1909–10 in order to construct a larger chancel.

LLOWES: ST MEILIG

A strip of highly glazed majolica tiling with the inscription ‘THIS DO IN REMEMBRANCE OF ME’ under the east window of Llowes church (Fig. 3),

and a skirting of chocolate tiles along the north and south walls are all that remain of the mural tiles that once adorned the sanctuary and were probably manufactured by W Godwin & Son of Lugwardine. For details of their donation by Charles Beavan in memory of his father in 1891 and their removal forty years later, see Gill, 'Victorian floor tiles', pp. 85–86.



G D I S D O I N R E M E M B R A N C E O F M C

Fig. 3. Llowes: 3-inch alphabet tiles forming inscription under east window.

The sepia photograph of the 1890s showing the interior of the church soon after the tiles had been installed has now been transferred to the parish archive. A closer scrutiny of the minute and blurred details suggests that the border pattern of alternating crowns and rosettes (Fig. 4A) that extended along the upper edge of the tiling on each wall, continuing from the side walls across the east end above the altar, and outlining panels either side of the east window may have been a polychrome version of a Godwin design; and what appear to be pelleted bands forming the lattices in the various panels were in fact bands of tiny rosettes. On the panels either side of the east window (Fig. 4B), the Tudor rose at the centre and medallions with fleurs-de-lys and trefoils in the corners of the lozenges are recognisable as popular Godwin designs, but the details of the curvilinear pattern on the side tiles is uncertain. The east wall beneath the window was divided into panels under the crown and rosette border strip, with the centre area behind the altar being plain and five panels of alternate design either side (Fig. 4C). The narrower panel comprised fleurs-de-lys tiles with smaller plain and pattern tiles filling the angles; the wider had a rosette lattice, but the remaining details are indistinct, although there appears in the photograph to be a Tudor rose at the centre of each lozenge and arrangements of plain and pattern tiles in the triangles. The same arrangement of alternat-

ing panels occurred under the monuments on the north wall, and probably on the south wall but modified to accommodate the window. Details of the tiles on the jambs either side of the east window (Fig. 4D) are even more difficult to discern; they appear to consist of a rosetted lattice framing arrangements of plain and pattern tiles with fleurs-de-lys at the centres.

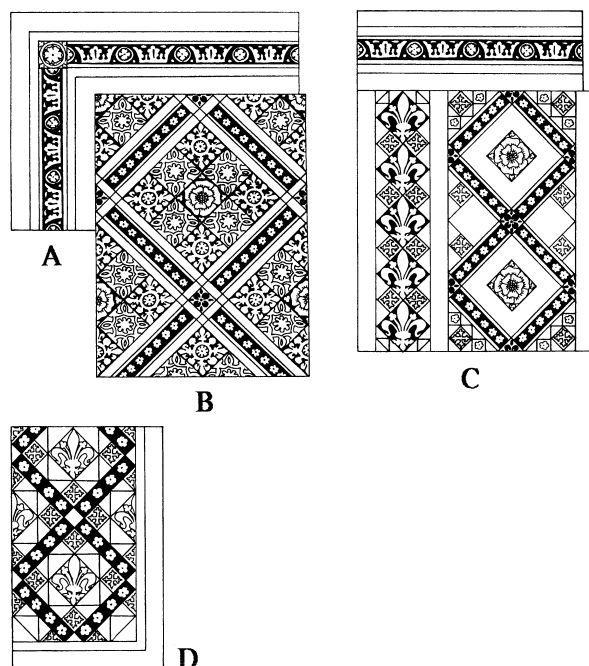


Fig. 4. Llowes: mural tiles formerly in sanctuary A–D.

RHAYADER: ST CLEMENT

No documentary evidence regarding the installation of the tiled dado at the east end of the chancel in St Clement's church seems to have survived, but the initials SMJ on alphabet tiles (Colour plate 4) set in the lower corner either side imply that the mural decoration was donated by or in memory of Sarah Margarett James, mother-in-law of the local architect Stephen Williams. She died on 29 September 1889, and the style of the tiles and their arrangement suggests that they date from this time rather than earlier.

The centre of the east wall which would have been concealed by the altar is without any form of decoration; either side are identical panels of tiling (Colour plate 4), using plain glazed tiles and a variety of polychrome pattern tiles with moulded designs and majolica glaze, mostly set lozengewise.

In the middle of each panel is a lozenge of M6 ($6 \times 3''$) with M4 ($3''$) at the corners, and M1 ($6''$) the most ornate of the pattern tiles set lozengewise at its centre within an Oxford-frame of pink ($6 \times 1\frac{1}{2}''$ and $1\frac{1}{2}''$) with triangular pattern tiles M3 ($4''$) along the sides and white squares and half-squares ($1\frac{1}{2}''$) filling the spaces between, surrounded by an interrupted band of dark green ($3 \times 1\frac{1}{2}''$, $1\frac{1}{2}''$ and half-squares). The lozenge is set within a square panel edged with a narrow band of pale green ($4 \times 1''$) with M2 ($6''$) filling the background. Either side are narrow vertical panels of M5 ($2\frac{1}{2}''$) with pink half-squares ($2\frac{1}{2}''$) between bands of M6 and a strip of pale green ($6 \times 2\frac{1}{2}''$) along the outer edge; above and below is a border of M6, with M7 ($6 \times 2''$) and a narrow strip of chocolate ($6 \times 1\frac{1}{4}''$) along the upper edge and a band of dark green ($6 \times 2''$) along the lower with alphabet tiles ($2''$) forming the initials SMJ in the outer corner.

APPENDIX 3: MEMORIAL TILE IN LLOWES, ST MEILIG

High on the south wall of the nave in Llowes church directly above a stone memorial tablet to members of the Beavan family, is a single ceramic tile: a rectangular plaque ($8\frac{1}{4} \times 6''$) bearing the two-line inscription in gothic script, 'Hugh Beavan Esq./ Ob. 1837. Aet. 76.' (Colour plate 4). The tile is unglazed, having a black ground with lettering, foliate motif and border in buff with touches of red.

There is no documentary evidence as to when and by whom this memorial tile was manufactured. Although tiles were rarely used for church memorials in the first half of the nineteenth century, circumstantial evidence points to a contemporary rather than a later date. Two other Beavan family memorials pre-date the rebuilding of the church in the 1850s, both inscribed marble tablets with carved stone surrounds, one erected in 1838/9 commemorating the death of Hugh Beavan himself and of his eldest son who had died some eighteen months later, the other erected in 1842/3 following the deaths of two younger sons (additional inscriptions being added to both monuments at later dates). When the church was rebuilt, the memorials were returned to the walls, that of Hugh Beavan and his eldest son to the sanctuary, that of his younger sons to the nave with the ceramic plaque set immediately above. The plaque would seem to have been made in 1837 soon after the death of Hugh Beavan, as it is inconceivable that this simple tile with its brief inscription could post-date the marble tablet commemorating the death of the same man. Although memorial tiles are not listed in catalogues until a somewhat later date, this may be one of the earliest examples made by Henry Minton.



M3



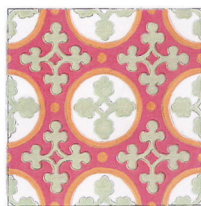
M4



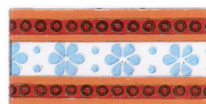
M5



M1



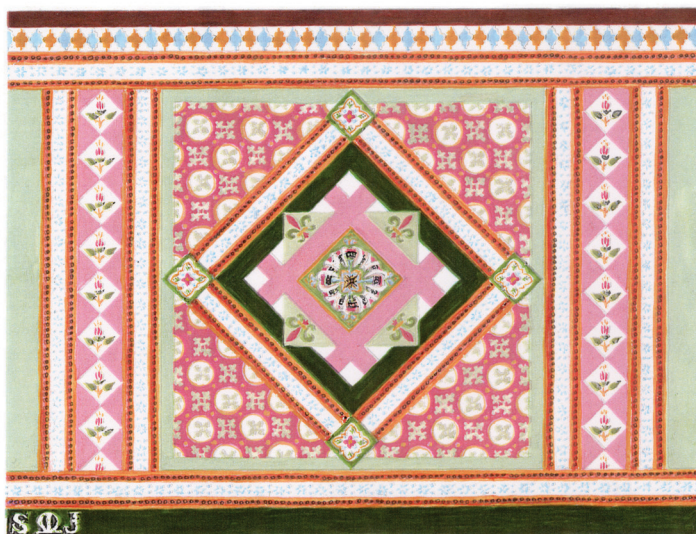
M2



M6



M7



Colour plate (4) Mural tiles: memorial plaque, Llowes nave;
tiles and tile arrangement, Rhayader sanctuary M1-7.

CONCERNING SOME EARLY RADNORSHIRE BELL-RINGERS: EVIDENCE FROM THE CHURCHES OF THE WYE VALLEY GROUP

MAV Gill

INTRODUCTION¹

AROUND THE TIME OF THE REFORMATION, the modern method of ringing church bells gradually evolved, but before modern technology improved the swinging mechanisms for sounding bells, bell ringing was a strenuous activity for the participation only of the athletic and physically fit. Elizabeth I is said to have been: 'pleased very much by this exercise considering it as a sign of the health of the people'.² In the course of the seventeenth century, coinciding with improvements in design, hanging and tuning of bells, it became a popular and fashionable form of recreation unrelated to any ecclesiastical function. In rural areas there were rustic practitioners, who received payment for ringing on special occasions, as well as pleasure ringers from amongst the squirearchy, who rang solely for sport.

Many church towers contained only one to three bells, which tended to be swung (i.e. chimed) rather than rung. However, if hung appropriately, three or more bells could be rung in various sequences; and the larger the number of bells, the greater the number of changes were possible without repetition. The order might be varied either by someone calling out the individual changes (call-changing) or from memory according to a set method (change-ringing). The latter practice seems to have developed during the seventeenth century.³ Its spread in part was brought about by the publication of gentlemen's reference books.⁴ Learning a method and ringing from memory was an additional challenge, contributing to the fascination and satisfaction of change-ringing. While a certain amount of pleasure might be derived from ringing on four bells, five were regarded by many as the minimum; and many towers owe the augmentation of their bells to rings of five or more to the influence of such enthusiasts.

GLASBURY-ON-WYE: ST PETER'S

There is little direct evidence of change-ringing on bells in the churches of the Wye Valley group before the end of the nineteenth century. However, two cases that came before the Consistory Court for the Archdeanery of Brecon strongly suggest the presence of gentlemen bell-ringers (who

would undoubtedly have practised call-changing and perhaps some form of method-ringing) in this area at a considerably earlier date — the first towards the end of the seventeenth century. On 30 June 1685, similar depositions were made individually against Charles Lloyd of Maesllwch, his heir and four other gentlemen in the parish of Glasbury, by the curate Lewis Jones.⁵ The charge was that:

Sometime the last summer this deponent saw the articulate Charles Lloyd w[i]th Mr Lewis Lloyd Phillip William J[un]yor Thomas Christopher & James Price and W[illia]m Walker in an after noone come into the body of the Parish Church of Glasbury in an indigent manner w[i]th Their hatts on and there they did drink Ale or Beer but w[h]ch this deponent knows not but saw Mr Rogers the Vicar tast it & spit it out againe, & he did heare the Articulate Charles Lloyd & others confesse that they did drink there. This depon[en]t being then in the Chancell at a distance from them cannot certainly depose that he saw them pay for their Ale but believing they did pay for the Ale in the said Church w[h]ch they drank there, and they stayd Drinking there in th[a]t indecent manner about half an houre as this depon[en]t believes; and this deponent further saith that one Phillip W[illia]m who was of the company was coming towards the Chancell w[i]th a jug (as he believes) in one hand & a glass in tother to this depon[en]t to have him this deponent drink also but Mr Rogers the Vicar hinderd him to goe to the Chancell & told him & the company that that was not a place w[h]ch they were in for them to drink in & he believes gave them other reproofes for it, but notw[i]th standing they stayd after & continued drinking as he believes till their drink was done.

This case poses several questions. Why did this company of gentlemen assemble in the church on a summer afternoon, rather than in an alehouse or at one of their own residences? Why were they drinking in the nave? Where did the ale come from? Why was it believed to be paid for? The most likely scenario is that these six gentlemen had just finished ringing the church bells (against which the curate could have no complaint). Although in 1685 Glasbury tower possessed only four bells and the six gentlemen would have taken turns at ringing, the activity would nevertheless have been thirsty work. They would have brought a certain amount of beer with them to consume in the ringing chamber, but if the day were particularly hot this may have proved inadequate. Alternatively, if Glasbury tower had a set of rules for ringers, there may have been forfeits to pay in the form of additional jugs of beer.⁶ Towards the end of the session, one of their number

not ringing at the time wandered across the churchyard to the neighbouring tavern and ordered more ale or beer to be brought into the church to quench their thirst; hence the presence of the jug and glasses, and the assumption by the deponent that the drink was paid for. Since the gentlemen had come down from the ringing chamber in the tower and were on their way out through the church⁷ (albeit pausing half-an-hour or so for refreshment), they had naturally donned their hats and saw no reason to doff them.⁸ During the Commonwealth period it had been customary for men to wear hats indoors, but by 1685 this was no longer considered correct; hence the curate's indignation at the gentlemen's casual demeanour in the Lord's house. The apparent lack of respect may reflect the attitude towards the Anglican church of at least two of the company, who were dissenters. A few years later a house built on land owned by Charles Lloyd was licensed as a meetinghouse for dissenters,⁹ which in turn was bequeathed by Lewis Lloyd to be made use of for 'that purpose so long as Liberty for Protestant Dissenters should continue'.¹⁰

The earliest documentary evidence for the existence of bells in the tower of St Peter's is to be found in the abstracts of churchwardens' presentments at the beginning of the eighteenth century. Although dating from nearly twenty years after the charges made against Charles Lloyd and company, the bells had evidently been used for some years since the bell ropes were reported as 'in decay' (1704). By 1708 one of the bells was cracked. Presumably the remainder continued to be rung until 1714, when the churchwardens reported: 'Two of the bells cracked and the other two out of repaire together with the roopes'. They were still out of repair in 1718, after which they are not mentioned again until towards the end of the century.¹¹ It would seem that not only were the bells recast in 1718–19 (probably by the local bell-founder Henry Williams) but their number was also augmented at this time to five. This decision and a later one in 1792–93 further to augment the bells to a ring of six were no doubt influenced by bell-ringers amongst the local gentry, continuing in the tradition of Charles Lloyd and friends. They may also have financed the augmentations.

CLYRO: ST MICHAEL & ALL ANGELS'

At nearby Clyro, the earliest reference to the bells occurs also in the churchwardens' presentments of 1704. The second bell is said to be 'cracked ... and the bell in Bettws Chapell also crackt'. Succeeding entries are similar until April 1708 when: 'ye second bell of Clyrow & ye bell of Bettws Chappell to be cracked & ought to be new casted'.¹² Later in the same year

they were indeed recast.¹³ In Clyro it would appear that there had originally been four bells; now all four were melted down to make five new bells. Of these, only the second and fourth still exist, the second bearing the inscription and founder's mark¹⁴ cast in relief: 'CABALVA : AND : LLOYNEY OF VS FOUR MADE FIVE H W 1708'. The initials are those of the bell-founder Henry Williams; Cabalva and Lloyney are the names of local houses. At this time, Cabalva was the residence of Edward Howarth and Lloyney the residence of Thomas Griffith, at whose expense the bells were presumably recast.¹⁵ Edward Howarth¹⁶ was a contemporary of Lewis Lloyd. They were well acquainted, Edward's eldest son Humphrey marrying Lewis's only daughter Theodosia. Conceivably, the two men had rung together at Glasbury. With the cracking of one of the four Glasbury bells in 1708 and the bells in his own parish church in need of repair, Howarth may have decided to pay for the recasting of the Clyro bells. He took this opportunity to augment the ring, for the greater the number of bells the more complex and challenging were the possibilities in change-ringing. There was no problem about finding a bell-founder, since Henry Williams was one of his own tenants in the neighbouring village of Llowes.

The later history of Clyro bells is outlined in the visitation returns.¹⁷ In 1804, the answer to the question as to whether the bells were in good order was: 'All except ... one Bell'. From 1845 and for the next forty years two were reported cracked, in 1883 the bells being noted as: '3 in good Repair & 2 not Used'; shortly afterwards a third bell broke. At a vestry meeting on 13 April 1887 the subject of their restoration was broached,¹⁸ but while all 'were of one mind as to the desirability of having the bells restored', some 'were afraid of expense, and doubted the possibility of getting up the money in these bad times', until it was pointed out that it was 'highly desirable to mark the Jubilee year of Queen Victoria's reign in this Parish by having the three broken bells recast & rehung'. Initially the firm of Mears & Stainbank was asked whether 'in the event of the Committee accepting a tender from them, they were in a position to have the bells recast, replaced and ready to ring by the 20th day of June next',¹⁹ but they telegraphed their inability to undertake the work. John Warner & Sons of London were then approached, but their tender of £106. 2s. *od.* was considered too high. However, since an estimate submitted by Taylor of Loughborough for the same work was even larger, Warner's tender was accepted ('subject to a deduction of 5 per cent'). The damaged bells were duly recast, and all five bells were re-hung and rung for the first time on 24 June 1887 to commemorate the Golden Jubilee.²⁰

Although three of the eighteenth century bells were recast, the wordings of their original inscriptions were preserved, incised on the new bells.

In addition to the names of the vicar and churchwardens of 1887, part of the inscription on the tenor bell still reads: 'T.BEVAN, O.PRICE, CHURCHWARDENS, IN GLORIAM DEI SONO 1708'.²¹ In 1708 Thomas Beavan of Betws and Oliver Prees of Comberaver (Cwm yr Avor) were churchwardens of Clyro, and John Barnett was vicar. Unless (and this is unlikely) it was accidentally omitted when the earlier inscriptions were transcribed, the vicar's name did not appear on any of the 1708 bells. A possible explanation might be that he objected to the recasting and augmentation of the bells. The two undamaged bells were quite sufficient to summon the faithful to worship (even if by custom each bell had its own particular use), but four or five rung in sport for the gratification of the local gentry at any hour of any day in the middle of the village could well have met with his disapproval. However, too much should not be read into this omission; of some twenty-nine bells by Henry Williams recorded, only two bear the name of the incumbent compared with sixteen inscribed with churchwarden's names or initials.²² At this time, churchwardens were elected by the vestry of ratepayers; they made the decisions as to what should be done to the fabric of the church and how it should be paid for. The practice of recording their names on the bells reflected that responsibility.

LLOWES: ST MEILIG'S

The vicar of Clyro was also vicar of Llowes. On 18 December 1708 John Barnett (vicar), Griffith Williams (churchwarden), and the majority of the inhabitants of Llowes made a deposition before the Consistory Court for the Archdeanery of Brecon:²³

... That in the Tower of Steeple of the said parish Church of Llowes there are now & for the time whereof the memory of man is not to the Contrary; there have bin three tuneable Bells which were and still are whole and in good order; that the said Edward Howorth Thomas Howorth Thomas Powell and Thomas Griffith and Walter Price Combining together how to spoile and destroy the said three Ancient Bells and to put the Inhabitants of the said p[ar]ish to an unnecessary Charge have upon the Eleaventh day of December instant privily mett together in the night time in an Alehouse and there have or att Least p[ro]fessed that they have agreed with one Henry Williams of the said p[ar]ish a p[re]tended Bellfounder and a Tenn[an]t of the said Edward Howorth to break the S[ai]d Antient Bells and to make five New Bells thereof for which they Agreed that the said Henry Williams

should be payd or allowed by the s[ai]d Edward Howorth out of his rent the Sume of three score pounds to be rated and raised upon the Inhabitants of the said p[ar]ish which doeings will not only be a great p[re]judice to the Inhabitants of the said p[ar]ish in Destroying of the said Antient Bells but alsoe raiseing of Such an unnecessary rate and tax upon them unless prevented by the aid of this venerable Court. Wherefore these Allegants humbly pray the Aid and Assistance of this ven[er]able Court by a Device under Seale to Inhibitt and forbid the said Edward Howorth Henry Williams Thomas Howorth Thomas Griffith Thomas Powell and Walter Price from Inter medling with the said bells or assessing and raseing any Tax for that purpose upon these Allegants until they have the Injucon and Speciall Order of this Ven[er]able Cofur[t] for that purpose and the Consent of the Major p[ar]te of the Inhabitants of the said p[ar]ish.

Several questions are also posed by this case. Who were the five men? Why were there five of them? How did they come to be conspiring together at nighttime in an alehouse? What is known about the so-called bell-founder? From the wording of the deposition, Edward Howarth was obviously a landowner, since Henry Williams is described as his tenant. He is certainly Edward Howarth²⁴ of Cabalva (two and a half miles northeast of Clyro) with property in the parishes of both Clyro and Llowes; though not directly named in the inscriptions on the Clyro bells, he was joint patron for the recasting and augmentation of the Clyro bells earlier in the year. Thomas Howarth does not appear in any local parish record but is probably to be identified as Edward's brother. There are references to a Thomas Powell of Brunent (half a mile northeast of Llowes) and a Thomas Powell of Traveley (one mile northwest of Llowes), who are possibly the same man or father and son and would have been living in the area at the time of the deposition.²⁵ Thomas Griffith resided at Lloyney (one mile northwest of Clyro).²⁶ As for Walter Price, although there was a man of that name living in Llowes at the time, he was a smith by trade.²⁷ As the other conspirators were from the gentry, the man named in the deposition is more likely to have been Walter Price of Clyro who was brought before the Consistory Court in 1709 for non-payment of the church rate.²⁸

The subject of the deposition was the proposed recasting of the bells in order to augment them to a ring of five. The five gentlemen named were obviously bell-ringers who wished to indulge further in their sport. In view of Clyro's bells having so recently been recast, it seems strange that they should want to tamper with those of Llowes. They may merely have been seeking an alternative venue to add variety to their activities, but possibly

(with Clyro church being situated in the middle of the village) they may have become aware of a certain antagonism on the part of the villagers and their vicar against the clangour of the bells for hours on end.

The meeting in an alehouse privily and at night may not have been quite so conspiratorial as it sounds. One can imagine the scenario. The five gentlemen had been change-ringing on the five bells at Clyro until late into the December afternoon. Aware of local hostility (angry voices penetrating the darkness), one of their number came up with the idea of augmenting the bells of the neighbouring church. To discuss the possibility they withdrew to an alehouse in Llowes, where they were sure of finding Henry Williams.

Henry Williams called himself a bell-founder, and there is substantial evidence that he plied this trade (though this would not have been his sole means of livelihood).²⁹ Twenty-nine bells are attributed to him in the churches of Breconshire (17), Radnorshire (8), Herefordshire (2) and Cardiganshire (2). The latter from Llanwenog are the earliest (dated 1677); apart from these and one at Mansell Gamage dated 1693, all the other known bells by Henry Williams were cast between 1701 and 1719. There were probably two generations of bell-founders of the same name, the elder being responsible for the three seventeenth century bells, the younger for the remainder. The deposition of 1708 describes Williams as a tenant of Edward Howarth and living in Llowes. By 1720 he was in Glasbury, charged by the churchwardens for non-payment of the church rate.³⁰ He had probably moved some years earlier, as the Madley churchwardens' accounts for the year 1715 include payments to a bell-founder for casting the 'little Bell', for three journeys to Glasbury and for the carriage of the sanctus bell.³¹ In his will dated 22 May 1721, he describes himself as Henry Williams of the parish of Glasbury 'being sick of body but of Good & perfect mind & memory', and refers to his rights and title to lands leased from Sir Edward Williams of Gwernyfed.³² Following his death on 8 March 1721/2,³³ the value of his personal estate, goods, cattle and chattels was assessed at £19. 14s. 6d. In the inventory, 'His instruments for bells' were valued at one pound, while 'His wearing apparell', '1 Cow & Calfe 2 heifers & one old mare', and 'His implements of husbandry' were each assessed at the same sum.

The problem with the scheme to augment the bells of Llowes church was the outrageous expectation that the parish would cover the cost, in order that the local gentry might indulge their pleasure; to the majority of the inhabitants of Llowes, there was no obvious benefit. As a result of their objections, the ancient bells were saved from the machinations of the gentlemen ringers. Sadly these early bells no longer exist. The deposition is the earliest reference to the existence of the 'three tuneable Bells' in the

tower, which had been there 'for the time whereof the memory of man is not to the Contrary'. At that date they were still 'whole and in good order'. However, by 1719 the 'clapper to the great bell' was wanting, but was presumably replaced. Then from 1725 to 1727, in 1741, 1770 and again regularly between 1785 and 1789 (when it is sometimes specified as the tenor bell) the churchwardens' presentments note one of the bells as being 'out of order' or cracked.³⁴ Although in a visitation return for 1813 the bells are said to be 'kept in good order',³⁵ it is probable that for much of the eighteenth century and the first half of the nineteenth century only the two smaller bells were able to be rung. This may account for Jonathan Williams's description of Llowes church (written in about 1818), as having 'a low square tower containing two bells'.³⁶ By 1845 the bells were 'not all entire',³⁷ while the 1851 return specifies: 'Two bells are not in repair'.³⁸

Between 1853 and 1855 Llowes church was completely rebuilt, apart from the lower stages of the tower. Thomas Nicholson of Hereford was first employed to design the new church; in the estimated cost, he allowed fifty pounds in extra expenses for 'recasting Bells';³⁹ then his plan was abandoned and another 'altogether superior to the former one' was adopted. In the new specification by Messrs WJ & AH Worthington of London, instructions to the carpenter and joiner provide for: 'hoisting and fixing No 5 Bells in Tower', and to the smith for: 'The 3 present old bells to be sent to Bristol to be recast and two new ones to be provided with all proper appendages and fixed in the tower'. The work, if done, was to be an extra upon the contract.⁴⁰ The work was not done, so for a while Llowes retained its three ancient bells, of which only one could be sounded. On 4 January 1858, the subject of the bells was brought up at a vestry meeting, when the vicar was requested to correspond with Messrs. Burncastle to ascertain on what terms they were prepared to supply new bells, taking the old in exchange. On 22 February it was resolved that a rate of sixpence in the pound should be made to pay for the recasting of the bells, and at a further meeting on 17 April it was decided to accept the tender of Mr A Bowen of the Phoenix Bell Foundry, Clerkenwell.⁴¹ On this occasion the ancient bells were recast and re-hung, each of the three bells now in the tower bearing the inscription: 'BOWEN FOUNDERS LONDON 1858'.⁴²

For many years the new bells were rung in the proper manner, but sometime around the turn of the century they were clappered: the wheels were wedged to hold the bells stationary and ropes were attached directly to the clappers' flights so that instead of being swung, the bells were chimed. In 1908 Mrs Edith J Vulliamy gave a chiming tower clock in memory of her aunt and uncle (Elizabeth and Samuel Beavan of Brynrydd). According to the specification from John Smith & Sons of Derby, the hammer for

striking the tenor bell on the hour was to be mounted in an iron framework, 'so bolted to the bell frame that the ringing of the bells would not be interfered with'. At the same time, the vicar made enquiries about the cost of chiming apparatus for all the bells; the horrified clock manufacturer accompanied his quotation with the admonition that: 'it is a most dangerous thing to chime the bells by the clappers, the bells remaining stationary as you say is now done'. If continued, this practice would have weakened and eventually cracked the bells. The clock was installed; and on the same day chiming ball-hammers operated by levers on the ground floor were provided for each of the bells. The redundant wheels and other ringing gear still remain in the bell chamber.⁴³

NOTES

1. For general accounts of the history of bell-ringing and change-ringing, see: HB Walters, *Church Bells of England* (Oxford, 1912); E Morris, *The History and Art of Change-Ringing* (London, 1931) and J Sanderson (ed), *Change-Ringing: The History of an English Art*, 1, *Its Development up to 1699* (Central Council of Church Bell Ringers, 1987).
2. From the diary of Frederick Gershow, who accompanied Philip Julius Duke of Stettin-Pomerania on his journey through England in 1602, quoted by Morris, *History of Change-Ringing*, p. 26.
3. Probably beginning about 1610.
4. Such as: John White, *A Rich Cabinet with Variety of Inventions; Unlock'd and Opened, for the Recreation of Ingenious Spirits at their Vacant Hours. Compiled by JW a Lover of Artificial Conclusions. The Third Edition with many additions* (5th edition London, 1677) and R Howlett, *The School of Recreation* (London, 1684), which both contain chapters on change-ringing cribbed from Richard Duckworth, *Tintinnologia: or the Art of Ringing* (London, 1668) and Fabian Stedman, *Campanologia: or the Art of Ringing Improved* (London, 1677).
5. National Library of Wales, SD/CCB(G) 86.
6. For some towers these have survived, such as the rules at Tong in Shropshire set into verse by George Harrison in 1694, which begin: 'If that to Ring you doe come here/ You must ring well with hand and eare,/ keep stroake of time and goe not out;/ Or else you forfeit out of doubt./ Our law is so concluded here;/ for every fault a jugg of beer'. For a complete transcript, see Walters, *Church Bells*, p. 94.
7. Although St Peter's church was completely rebuilt in 1837, the present arrangement of the doorways at the base of the tower probably reflects that of the earlier building, one leading out through the west wall and another opposite giving access to the nave.

8. Undoubtedly they would have removed their hats for ringing. Apart from the fact that the wearing of hat or spur whilst ringing is often specifically listed amongst offences in tower rules, the wide brim of a seventeenth century hat would be liable to snag on the rope and thus interfere with the ringing.

9. National Library of Wales, Add MSS 384D. No.163, 'A Certificate for ye New Meetinge House in Maesyronnen' issued at the Presteigne quarter session 13 April 1697.

10. Maesyronnen Chapel archive, indenture dated 19 July 1731 citing the will of Lewis Lloyd dated 27 March 1714. Lloyd died in London but was buried at Glasbury on 2 September 1717 (Glasbury parish register).

11. National Library of Wales, SD/CCB/55. For further details of St Peter's bells, see: MAV Gill, 'Parish church of St Cynidr & St Peter at Glasbury-on-Wye: bells and bell-frames', *Transactions of the Radnorshire Society*, 71 (2001), pp. 61–65.

12. National Library of Wales, SD/CCB/55.

13. It may safely be assumed that the single bell at Betws Clyro was recast at this time and by Henry Williams, since there is no further mention of the bell among the needs of the chapel noted in the churchwardens' presentments. In Frederick R Kempson's specification for the chapel's rebuilding and restoration dated March 1877, the architect stipulated that: 'The turret is to be reconstructed as at present ... and the present bell is to be hung in the same' (National Library of Wales, St David's Diocese, SD/F/36). As there is no access to the bell-cote, the bell cannot be examined; since its use has always been limited, the present bell is in all likelihood that of 1708.

14. Gill, 'Bells and bell-frames', p. 60 fig. 1.

15. JT Evans, *The Church Plate of Radnorshire* (Stow-on-the-Wold, 1910), p. 20, is probably correct in associating the recasting of Clyro bells with Thomas Griffith of Lloyney as well as Edward Howarth, but there is another possibility. On Emanuel Bowen's *A New and Accurate map of South Wales* (1729), while Cabalva is noted as belonging to Sir Humphrey Howarth (eldest son of Edward), Lloyney is the residence of Probert Howarth of Lloyney, Glasbury (youngest son of Edward). This is a different Lloyney, situated south of the river in the parish of Glasbury. Unfortunately it is not known whether this was owned in 1708 by another member of the Howarth family (perhaps Edward's brother Thomas). If this were the case, Clyro bells may have been recast at the expense of two branches of the same family rather than two different families.

16. Howarth had served as churchwarden many years earlier. An entry at the beginning of the earliest parish register for Clyro records the institution of John Barnett as vicar on 28 August 1688 with Edward Howarth and his father-in-law John Probert named as churchwardens.

17. National Library of Wales, SD/QA/184–241.

18. Clyro parish archive, *Vestry Minute Book Clyro Parish* 1851.

19. Clyro parish archive, *Clyro Church Accounts 1852*, meetings of bell restoration committee April–June 1887.
20. Dating from this time are a set of ringers' boards for the method: Plain Bob Minimus. It comprises five rectangular boards ($6 \times 9\frac{1}{2} \times \frac{3}{4}$ "), sawn from an old plank of wood and painted white with lettering in black. Each is headed with the name of the bell and has four columns of six figures below to remind the ringer which bell he should follow and when he should lead. The treble is instructed to plain hunt and the tenor to cover at the back, while the courses of the inside bells (second, third and fourth) incorporate a cycle of dodging down, making long fourths, dodging up and making seconds. It is one of the simplest methods, appropriate for a band of comparative beginners. The reverse of the treble board is inscribed: B PALMER/ 1887. Benjamin Palmer (later one of the church sidesmen) probably both made the boards and was one of the ringers, perhaps on the treble bell.
21. For details of the Clyro bells, see F Sharpe, *The Church Bells of Radnorshire* (Brackley, 1947), pp. 22–23.
22. F Sharpe, *The Church Bells of Herefordshire*, 5 (Brackley, 1975), p. 741.
23. National Library of Wales, SD/CCB(G) 336.
24. He was buried 22 August 1709 (Clyro parish register).
25. Llowes parish register records the burial of Thomas Powell of Brunent 21 January 1726/7; and a tomb slab mounted on the exterior wall of Llowes church is that of Elianor 'daughter of Thomas Powell of Traveley in the aforesaid Parish gent.', who died 4 June 1749 aged 24.
26. He was buried 4 January 1709/0 (Llowes parish register). In the manuscript version of his *A General History of the County of Radnorshire* (Hereford Record Office), Jonathan Williams transcribes the inscription of his memorial tablet over the chancel-door of the old church as: 'Infra jacet corpus Thomae Griffith filii Thomae Griffith de Llwyney, armigeri. Obiit primo die Januarii 1709, aetat. 33. Resurgam'.
27. Entry in Llowes parish register: 'Walter preic smeeth was burid the 9 day of may in the year 1710'.
28. National Library of Wales, SD/CCB(G) 339: 10 March 1708/9 Thomas Beavan and Oliver Prees churchwardens of Clyro versus Walter Price of Clyro, gentleman. There is also an entry in Clyro parish register for the baptism of 'Walter son of Walter Price gent & Elizabeth his wife' on 29 April 1704.
29. Sharpe, *Church Bells of Herefordshire*, 5, pp. 741–747; Gill, 'Bells and bell-frames', pp. 59–61.
30. National Library of Wales, SD/CCB(G) 465: 5 May 1720.
31. F Sharpe, *The Church Bells of Herefordshire*, 3 (Brackley, 1970) p. 329.
32. National Library of Wales, BR/1721/53 will proved 12 March 1722. For transcript see Sharpe, *Church Bells of Herefordshire*, 5, pp. 744–45).

33. He was buried 10 March 1722 (Glasbury parish register).
34. National Library of Wales, SD/CCB/55–57.
35. National Library of Wales, SD/QA/191.
36. Jonathan Williams, 'History of Radnorshire', *Archaeologia Cambrensis*, 3rd ser., 4 (1858) p. 533.
37. National Library of Wales, SD/QA/203.
38. National Library of Wales, SD/QA/207.
39. Lambeth Palace, *Incorporated Church Building Society*, 04444 schedule dated 31 January 1852.
40. Llowes parish archive, specification dated February 1853, pp. 11–12.
41. National Library of Wales, *Parochial Records*: Llowes No.7 *Vestry Minutes & Churchwardens Accs. 1851 to 1902*.
42. For details of the Llowes bells, see Sharpe, *Church Bells of Radnorshire*, p. 56.
43. Llowes parish archive, correspondence re. installation of tower clock.

TWO ARTHURIAN SITES IN *HISTORIA BRITTONUM*

Andrew Breeze

RADNORSHIRE AND ITS ENVIRONS, rich in old traditions, have few older than those of King Arthur. They appear in chapter 73 of the ninth-century miscellany *Historia Brittonum* (formerly attributed to Nennius), which runs as follows:

There is another wonder in the country called Builth. There is a heap of stones there, and one of the stones placed on top of the pile has the footprint of a dog on it. When he hunted Twrch Trwyth, Cafal (the warrior Arthur's hound) impressed his footprint on the stone, and Arthur later brought together the pile of stones, under the stone in which was his dog's footprint, and it is called Carn Cafal. Men come and take the stone in their hands for the space of a day and a night, and on the morrow it is found upon the stone pile.

There is another wonder in the country called Ergyng. There is a tomb there by a spring, called Llygad Amr; the name of the man who is buried in the tomb was Amr. He was a son of the warrior Arthur, and he killed him there and buried him. Men come to measure the tomb, and it is sometimes six feet long, sometimes nine, sometimes twelve, sometimes fifteen. At whatever measure you measure it on one occasion, you never find it again of the same measure, and I have tried it myself.¹

So the region's wandering stones and a grave that stretched and shrank were amongst the wonders of Wales in about the year 800. Unlike many Arthurian localities they can be pin-pointed. The first is on Carn Gafallt ('Corn Gafallt' of official maps), a hill between Rhaeadr and the Elan Valley reservoirs. The other is at the source of the river Gamber seven miles south of Hereford (and so now in England). The stones are the ancient cairns 1300 feet up on Carn Gafallt (SN 9464), while the grave lay north of Gamber Head (SO 4929), near the village of Much Birch. Neither, it is true, was in Radnorshire. Carn Gafallt was in the northernmost tip of Breconshire, facing Radnorshire across the Elan. Gamber Head became part of Herefordshire (and thus England) only in 1536, even though Ergyng or Archenfield was thoroughly Welsh and had speakers of Welsh up to the eighteenth century. Nevertheless, a Radnorshire journal perhaps allows

legitimate discussion of both, particularly since Builth and the Rhaeadr area had the same ruler (called Ffernfael) at the time *Historia Brittonum* was put together, as its compiler mentions in chapter 49.

If so, comment may begin with Lady Guest, first translator of the *Mabinogion* and exemplar of Victorian energy and confidence. She actually climbed Carn Gafallt, admired the stones, and published an illustration of one of them in her edition of the tales.² Fifty years later Sir John Rhŷs put discussion into more academic form with an account of Carn Gafallt's name.³ Sir John Lloyd, concerned with history and not legend, was silent on the *mirabilia*, but described most manuscripts of *Historia Brittonum* as deriving from a transcript by a man interested in the upper Wye, who mentioned Ffernfael as the local ruler.⁴ Hence a link with the Radnorshire area. It may just be that the writer moved to Severnside or the lower Wye from that region. If so, his knowledge of the remote hilltop cairns of Carn Gafallt and the supposed footprint in them (remains of a fossil?) would be less unusual.

The great philologist Sir Ifor Williams made two points on the stories of Carn Cafall in Builth and Arthur's son Amir (as he called him). He called them obvious attempts to explain place-names, of a type common in the *Four Branches of the Mabinogi* (by a twelfth-century writer familiar with west Gwynedd and north Dyfed) and many other early narratives. Quoting the words *ut scriptores ante me scripsere scripsi* 'I have written as writers have written before me' from one version of *Historia Brittonum*, Williams suggested that a text of the marvels of Britain, including these of Arthur, existed with repute in the eighth century.⁵ This last suggestion has not been much noticed, though it would put these Arthurian traditions back long before 829 or 830 when the main recension of *Historia Brittonum* was made.

On the river *Amr* or Gamber, Kenneth Jackson of Edinburgh rejected the etymology proposed by Ekwall and Förster, calling its derivation 'quite uncertain' and perhaps not Celtic at all.⁶ Though Jackson was right in doubting Ekwall and Förster's etymology, he was too sceptical in seeing the form as non-Celtic. If *Amr* were not Celtic, it would hardly occur as a Welsh personal name in the *Book of Llandaff* and elsewhere (as discussed below). So there is reason to accept this hydronym as deriving from a Celtic personal name, as with many Welsh rivers, and not vice versa.

Rachel Bromwich, who has consistently argued for Arthur as a hero of the 'Old North' (what is now northern England and southern Scotland), commented on Carn Gafallt from that point of view. She thought it remarkable that Arthur's activities were localized in Radnorshire (*sic*) as early as the ninth century, when the story of his pursuit of the boar

Troyt was already known.⁷ Jackson made further observations here. He identified Carn Cabal as a cairn in Breconshire, its topmost stone bearing the footprint of Arthur's dog Cabal, made while hunting the pig Troit. On the marvellous tomb of Arthur's son Amr, besides the source of the Amr, Jackson noted that the son is known otherwise only from a mention in the *Mabinogion* romance of Geraint, but the river Amr is the Gamber of Herefordshire. He added that the first of these 'local legends' shows that the tale of Arthur's boar-hunt existed by about 800. He also pointed out that the readings *Troynt* and *Anir* in the text of *Historia Brittonum* in London, British Library, MS Harley 3859 are corrupt; and that neither of the stories is history.⁸

Jackson made comments of another kind elsewhere, when adding to the folktales listed in Ifor Williams's article cited above. Though he did not refer to it by name, the story of how Arthur killed his son has equivalents in stories that Jackson did mention: a ninth- or tenth-century Irish one of Cú Chulainn, the Persian narrative of Sohrab and Rustem, a non-Homeric poem on Odysseus and Telegonus (his son by Circe), the Old High German *Hildebrandslied*, and many others. As for Carn Gafallt, Jackson described the motif here as paralleled by ones of footprints made by the Devil, saints, or other supernatural or wonderful beings in local legends in so many parts of the world that it surely began independently in different places.⁹

On the standard archaeological and historical map for the period, Carn Cabal and Amr appear with those Old Welsh spellings.¹⁰ This leads naturally to Professor Alcock, an archaeologist. He looked on the *mirabilia* with a cold eye. He described the material in this part of *Historia Brittonum* as 'overwhelmingly of a fabulous, non-factual nature'. He located Carn Cabal as above Builth Wells, referred to Arthur's son as 'Anir', and concluded that 'it is on the whole pointless to attempt rationalization of these marvels. For our purpose, the most important conclusion is that Arthur's name was being attached to fabulous tales at least as early as the ninth century.'¹¹ Sir Idris Foster, in a rare publication, explained 'Corn Gafallt' of the maps as a dialect form of 'Carn Gafallt' and mentioned a similar tradition at Garreg y March, near Llanfachreth (SH 7522), Gwynedd.¹² In her edition of the Welsh triads, Rachel Bromwich notes that traditions of Arthur were by the ninth century localized in Radnorshire (*sic*) and Herefordshire, though she thinks it strange that we hear almost nothing elsewhere of his son Amr.¹³

An account of *Troit* published in 1978 has been passed over by writers in Britain, since it had the misfortune to appear in Paris. It occurs in the entry by Vendryes for *troit*'s Old and Middle Irish cognate *triath*, 'lord, chief, king; boar'. If it seems odd that 'pig' should be a term of honour for a Celtic ruler, we should remember that boars were central to Celtic mythology, so

that 'boar' for the Celts had some of the associations which 'lion' has for us. Our negative associations of 'pig' would be the result of Jewish tradition. Vendryes hence commented, 'Il paraît difficile de ne pas voir dans *triath* un ancien nom du porc mâle, appliquée comme épithète flatteuse au roi.' The existence of Old Irish *triath*, from Common Celtic **treto-* (with long *e*), proves beyond doubt that the form in *Historia Brittonum* is Old Welsh *Troit* and not the corrupt variants *Terit* or *Troynt*.¹⁴ Since *triath* and *troit* are archaic words, they imply the legendary hunt of a magic boar may go back far indeed, to the days of Celtic paganism.

Brynley Roberts provides detailed discussion of the passage.¹⁵ He points out that lists of natural wonders are an old literary genre, beginning with Solinus in the early third century, who lifted almost all his material (without acknowledgement) from first-century writings by the elder Pliny and Pomponius Mela. The *Collectanea* of Solinus were popular medieval reading. Roberts observes that, of the *mirabilia* of *Historia Brittonum*, from an original text redacted in 829 or 830, numbers five to fourteen are in south-east Wales (except for the last, Crug Mawr near Cardigan). So he thinks the collection existed previous to the compilation of *Historia Brittonum* (here echoing Ifor Williams, though for different reasons). He notes further that these south-eastern wonders are described differently from the others in Scotland, Anglesey, Ireland, and so on. They are narratives in their own right with a strong folklore element, having a background more popular than that of the other wonders. They are also full of circumstantial detail. The author repeatedly says he has seen these marvels with his own eyes. Roberts concludes from this that the ninth-century redactor of *Historia Brittonum* came from south-east Wales.

Roberts goes on to a full account of Carn Cabal and Llygad Amr. *Carn* is the feminine noun 'cairn, tumulus', but also the masculine one 'hoof'. *Cabal*, a loan from Latin *caballus*, is Old Welsh for 'horse' (giving Modern Welsh *cafall*). It is clear that an original meaning 'horse's cairn' was reinterpreted as 'horse's hoof'. But *Cabal* was also the name of Arthur's giant hound, as in the *Mabinogion* tale of Culhwch and Olwen. It was thus natural for the stone to be drawn into the Arthurian orbit as the place where Arthur's hound left a paw-print while chasing a magic boar. If so, the Arthurian associations of the place would be secondary. Roberts cites a further link proposed long ago by RJ Thomas. Some fifteen miles west of Carn Gafallt is Rhos y Gafallt (SN 7670), in north Ceredigion. Near it are Maen Arthur (SN 7272) and Llys Arthur. That was also an area of early Arthurian tradition, and Roberts thinks Rhos y Gafallt may have had another legend of a removed stone which persistently returned to its place.¹⁶

On Llygad Amr and its unmeasurable grave, Roberts says this. *Amr*,

attested as *Amhyr*, *Amir* and *Amyr* in the twelfth-century *Book of Llandaff*, is the river Gamber, Herefordshire. Its source is Gamber Head, on the parish boundary of Llanwarne and Much Birch, and immediately by the main road from Monmouth to Hereford. The sole reference to Amr son of Arthur is in the *Mabinogion* tale of Geraint, where he is Amhar, who serves his father as a chamberlain. Roberts observes that the two *mirabilia* raise similar questions. Both originated as folklore explanations of topographic features. The Arthurian elements seem later accretions. They show that by the ninth century Arthur had attracted folklore motifs and local legends to his name, and are of interest as the first of these that can be dated. He closes with the remark that, although they may reflect the knowledge of his own district by the redactor of *Historia Brittonum*, we need not think that south-east Wales had any special role in the development of the Arthurian legend.

Rachel Bromwich and Simon Evans have also discussed the first of the *mirabilia*. They point out that the name of the boar hunted by Arthur was *Trwyd*, since Old Welsh *Troit* appears in four manuscripts of the passage in *Historia Brittonum* and must be the right reading. *Trwyth* in 'Culhwch and Olwen' is due to scribal error, the mistake being easy to make because the Old Welsh word (cognate with Modern Irish *triath* 'king; boar') was obsolete by the Middle Welsh period. They note that *Carn Cabal* survives to this day as the name of Carn Gafallt near Rhaeadr. They consider the tradition was an old one even by the early ninth century, since *carn* can mean 'horse's hoof' but never means 'dog's paw'. Time must have passed for Carn Cabal to be associated with a hound and not a horse. They also think the author of 'Culhwch and Olwen' knew the *mirabilia* in *Historia Brittonum*, which link Arthur with the pursuit across south Wales of a giant boar, especially since the author gives *Cafall* as the name of Arthur's dog.¹⁷

The two *mirabilia* have had attention from Oliver Padel. He emphasizes that they are the earliest evidence for Arthur that can be dated securely, to 829 or 830. Of the first of them the reference is clearly to one of three pre-historic cairns on Carn Gafallt's southern edge. Mentioning Lady Guest's illustration of one cairn, he adds that he could not find it when visiting the site on 20 February 1993. The passage shows that the *porcus Troit* chased by Arthur (who is now no historical figure but a hero of supernatural legend) is the same as the great boar *Twrch Trwyth* of the eleventh-century tale 'Culhwch and Olwen'. The core of that story hence existed at least two centuries before it was written down in its present form.

On Llygad Amr he says two things. Although a tradition of Arthur's slaying his offspring is not otherwise known, it parallels tales of a father's killing his unrecognized son in other languages, including Irish. On its loca-

tion, he observes that the usual identification is Gamber Head, the 'grave' being the vanished tumulus at Wormelow Tump (SO 4930), situated on a Roman road (now the A466) at what is still a crossroads and was formerly the meeting-place of Wormelow hundred. Yet a more recent suggestion puts it at the head of the river Garren (SO 4425) some five miles southwest, with a possible long barrow on nearby moorland. He comments that the narratives from Builth and Archenfield are usually taken to show how a supposedly historical general of the sixth century became a folklore figure of wonder-tales (much as did Alexander the Great or Roland). But that assumes Arthur *was* a historical figure to begin with: a view for which no reasonable scholar now thinks there is any evidence.¹⁸

In her study of narrative in the *Mabinogion*, Professor Sioned Davies cites the Carn Gafallt episode as ninth-century evidence for these tales.¹⁹ Siân Echard of Vancouver notes the two *mirabilia* as chronicle responses to Arthur.²⁰ Padel's short account of them in a recent book is significant for locating Llygad Amr at the source of the Gamber. He silently (and wisely) drops any mention of the Garren.²¹

There is a detailed account of the two places in an ambitious study of Arthur by Dr Nicholas Higham of Manchester, who is strong on politics and incompetent on philology. He makes the astounding claim that *Trwyth/Troynt* means 'decoction' (it also means 'liquor, solution, tincture, essence, fruit squash; lye, urine; lather, suds, soapy water'). A strange name for a boar, even a magic one. Consultation of a Welsh dictionary shows what has happened. Dr Higham has misled himself. Modern Welsh *trwyth* does mean these things; but the boar's original name was, in modern spelling, not *Trwyth* but *Trwyd*, a quite different word. Dr Higham is the unwitting victim of medieval scribal corruption. Let us go on. He states of Llygad Amr that '*Llygad* is "an eye" (Modern Welsh), and is apparently used here as a metaphor for the spring (as the source of tears/water).' This is correct. But he then goes wrong by saying, '*Amr*, however, is a term with a closely related meaning: Modern and Old Welsh *amrant* translates as "eyelid" (as in the *Gododdin*), and Modern Welsh *amrantiad* as "wink". The spring was, therefore, called "Eye Eye", so metaphorically "Fountain Spring".'²² Of this absurd suggestion one need say merely that *amrant* can have no possible link with the early forms *Amr*, *Amhyr*, *Amir* and *Amyr* given for the Gamber, as Dr Higham could have learnt from any Celticist.

Most recently, the two *mirabilia* are noted in passing by Sioned Davies of Cardiff and Dr Lloyd-Morgan of the National Library of Wales. The first comments that allusions by medieval bards point to traditions of Twrch Trwyth all over Wales.²³ The second mentions the tale of Carn Gafallt as material in a Latin text that casts light on vernacular narrative otherwise

lost.²⁴ Cabal and Trwyth now both figure in notes to Professor Davies's (excellent) World's Classics translation of the *Mabinogion*.²⁵

So comment has been varied. To all the above a note may be added on the etymology of *Amr*. Jackson's view that this was not Celtic can be rejected for the simple reason that it occurs as an Old Welsh personal name as late as the eleventh century (though this seems not to have been noticed in this context). In the time of William the Conqueror a Jacob son of *Amhyr* was ordained at Sellack, near Ross-on-Wye.²⁶ Now, it is far more likely that a river would be called after a person than a person after a river, as can be shown by many rivers in Wales.²⁷ Perhaps *Amhyr* and its variants were popular Christian names in Archenfield. In any case the river-name *Amr*, and the later belief that the mound of Wormelow Tump was the tomb of someone called that, can be seen as having a normal folklore explanation. As for the etymology of *Amhyr*, the final element may relate to British-Latin *Porius* (found on an inscription of about 500 at Trawsfynydd, near Ffestiniog) which gave Welsh *Pŷr*, familiar from Manorbier and Ynys Bŷr (Caldy Island) in Pembrokeshire.²⁸ But, whether *Amhyr* and *Pŷr* are related or not, there is still no need to see the former as non-Celtic.

What can we gather from the above? More than may be thought. Leslie Alcock regarded the *mirabilia* negatively, dismissing them as 'fabulous tales' of which nothing useful could be said. Yet even fables exist in historical contexts (like other discourse), and these two seem to allow seven main conclusions.

First, the listing of wonders (Celtic or not) is a literary genre that comes from the ancient Latin culture of the Mediterranean. This part of *Historia Brittonum* is hence closer to classical civilization than we might expect.

Second, the legends may be much older than the ninth century, when we find them written down. The redactor's comment on sources used perhaps indicates a written original of the eighth century, as Ifor Williams observed; and, as regards Carn Gafallt, time would be needed before that for the confusion of hound and horse to occur, as Bromwich and Evans inferred.

Third, the supposed 'relocation' of Arthur's exploits in Builth and Archenfield can be seen in a new light. Rachel Bromwich, taking Arthur as an originally Northern hero, saw the process as resembling that for other figures who were certainly of the 'Old North', like Taliesin or Llywarch Hen, but who were later absorbed into purely Welsh tradition. If, however, one regards Arthur as a non-historical figure, there should be no surprise in finding places in south-east Wales associated with him. According to that model, Arthur was the hero of the entire British world, so one would naturally find places linked with him from Lothian to Brittany.

Fourth, the motifs of the marvellous footprint and son slain in ignorance

can be seen as international themes, and not particularly Celtic.

Fifth, the hunting of a magic boar can, in contrast, be seen as something very Celtic indeed. It accords with archaeological and other evidence from the Continent for the cult of pigs amongst the Celts, who considered pork as the food of heroes.²⁹ This point is underlined by Old Welsh *troit* 'boar', an archaism exactly cognate with Old Irish *triath* 'ruler; boar', which was used by court poets as a term to praise Irish lords and kings. Carn Gafallt thus has a whiff of paganism. It suggests links with the ancient Celtic world, shown elsewhere by figures of Gaulish and Celtiberian boars (the work of skilful craftsmen) to be seen in French museums.³⁰

Sixth, the central part of the *mirabilia* can be accepted as the work of an enthusiastic clerical antiquarian and traveller (a pioneer of archaeological field-work) who was active in south-east Wales, and may even have come from the Radnorshire area (in which case he would be a precursor of the industrious and dedicated members of today's Radnorshire Society).

Seventh, we can be sure the supposed grave of Amr lay just north of Gamber Head, and not by the source of the Garren. Gamber Head and Wormelow Tump, by a Roman road, were easy to get to (as the Garren's source was not), while the name *Amr* tallies with that of the Gamber, not the Garren. It is perverse to locate Amr's grave at a site other than the traditional one. It is also likely that the river was called after a man of that name; he died and was forgotten; and folklore initiated a reverse process, inventing the tragic death of a son of Arthur to account for the name of the river.

In short, analysis can be used to extract a surprising amount from these unpromising scraps of British tradition. The implications of this are wide-ranging, cheering, and optimistic. Future consideration of the totality of evidence will inevitably deepen our understanding of Welsh history and tradition, especially for the early Christian period. Here an exercise on these might begin with the *Mabinogion* as discussed in recent publications; where objective consideration will lead to some truly remarkable results as regards the processes of modern Celtic scholarship.³¹

NOTES

1. *British History and The Welsh Annals*, ed. John Morris (Chichester, 1980), p. 42.
2. *The Mabinogion from the Llyfr Coch o Hergest*, tr. Charlotte Guest (London, 1849), vol. ii, p. 360.
3. John Rhys, *Celtic Folklore, Welsh and Manx* (Oxford, 1901), pp. 538–40.
4. JE Lloyd, *A History of Wales* (London, 1911), p. 224.

5. Ifor Williams, 'Hen Chwedlau', *Transactions of the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion: Sessions 1946-1947*, p. 38.
6. KH Jackson, *Language and History in Early Britain* (Edinburgh, 1953), pp. 509-10.
7. Rachel Bromwich, 'The character of the early Welsh tradition', in Nora Chadwick (ed.), *Studies in Early British History* (Cambridge, 1954), pp. 124-5.
8. KH Jackson, 'The Arthur of history', in RS Loomis (ed.), *Arthurian Literature in the Middle Ages* (Oxford, 1959), p. 1.
9. KH Jackson, *The International Popular Tale and Early Welsh Tradition* (Cardiff, 1961), pp. 70-1, 117.
10. *Map of Britain in the Dark Ages* (2nd edn., Southampton, 1966).
11. Leslie Alcock, *Arthur's Britain* (London, 1971), p. 41.
12. Idris Foster, 'Culhwch ac Olwen', in Geraint Bowen (ed.), *Y Traddodiad Rhyddiaith yn yr Oesau Canol* (Llandysul, 1974), p. 77.
13. *Trioedd Ynys Prydain*, ed. Rachel Bromwich (2nd edn., Cardiff, 1978), pp. 275, 416-17, 555.
14. Joseph Vendryes, *Lexique étymologique de l'irlandais ancien: Lettres T-U* (Paris, 1978), T-142.
15. BF Roberts, 'Culhwch ac Olwen, the Triads, Saints' Lives', in BF Roberts et al. (eds.), *The Arthur of the Welsh* (Cardiff, 1991), pp. 73-95.
16. RJ Thomas, 'Cysylltiad Arthur â gogledd Ceredigion', *Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies*, 8 (1935-7), pp. 124-5; Roberts, 'Culhwch ac Olwen', p. 91.
17. *Culhwch and Olwen*, ed. Rachel Bromwich and D Simon Evans (Cardiff, 1992), pp. lxxv-vii, 131, 153-4.
18. OJ Padel, 'The nature of Arthur', *Cambrian Medieval Celtic Studies*, 27 (1994), pp. 1-31; cf. AC Breeze, 'The battle of Camlan and Camelford, Cornwall', *Arthuriana*, 15/3 (2005), pp. 75-90.
19. Sioned Davies, *Crefft y Cyfarwydd* (Caerdydd, 1995), p. 233, n. 4.
20. Siân Echard, *Arthurian Literature in the Latin Tradition* (Cambridge, 1998), p. 69, n. 7.
21. OJ Padel, *Arthur in Medieval Welsh Literature* (Cardiff, 2000), pp. 7-9.
22. NJ Higham, *King Arthur: Myth-Making and History* (London, 2002), pp. 87-90.
23. Sioned Davies, 'Acting Culhwch ac Olwen', in Ceridwen Lloyd-Morgan (ed.), *Arthurian Literature 21: Celtic Arthurian Material* (Cambridge, 2004), p. 31, n. 10.
24. Ceridwen Lloyd-Morgan, 'Narratives and non-narratives', in Ceridwen Lloyd-Morgan (ed.), *Arthurian Literature 21: Celtic Arthurian Material*, pp. 133-4, n. 62.
25. *The Mabinogion*, tr. Sioned Davies (Oxford, 2007), pp. 257, 270.

26. J Conway Davies, *Episcopal Acts and Cognate Documents Relating to Welsh Dioceses 1066–1272* (Cardiff, 1946–8), p. 610.
27. Cf. RJ Thomas, *Enwau Afonydd a Nentydd Cymru* (Caerdydd, 1938), pp. 37, 38, 43, 49, 62.
28. Jackson, *Language and History in Early Britain*, p. 598.
29. KH Jackson, *The Oldest Irish Tradition* (Cambridge, 1964), pp. 21–2, 37–8.
30. Proinsias Mac Cana, *Celtic Mythology* (London, 1970), pp. 50, 53, 55, 112.
31. Andrew Breeze, *Medieval Welsh Literature* (Dublin, 1997); contributions by Thomas Charles-Edwards, Ceri Lloyd-Morgan, Patrick Sims-Williams, and others in Bernhard Maier and Stefan Zimmer (eds), *150 Jahre 'Mabinogion': Deutsch–Walisische Kulturbeziehungen* (Tübingen, 2001).

SEED-TIME OF GENIUS: SHELLEY IN RADNORSHIRE

Joan Rees

SHELLEY WAS BORN IN 1792, son of a Sussex squire. His grandfather, Sir Bysshe Shelley, by dint of wealthy marriages and fortunate inheritances had acquired considerable wealth and valuable estates, mainly in Sussex, but he also held extensive property in Radnorshire. The family connection with Radnorshire goes back to at least 1746 but it was always a matter of landownership, not personal interest, and it is unlikely that Sir Bysshe himself ever set foot there or indeed ever crossed Offa's Dyke. In 1784 he became High Sheriff by virtue of his holdings as later did his son, Timothy, the poet's father. He was probably the biggest landowner in the county and it may have been his lucrative acquisitions which persuaded his brother-in-law, Thomas Grove, a Wiltshire farmer, that it would be a good idea for him also to invest in Radnorshire and in 1792, the year of the poet's birth, Grove bought from John Johnes of Hafod an estate of some 10,000 acres in the Elan Valley about six miles from Rhaeadr. There he built a house, Cwm Elan, intending to use it as a summer residence and seeing in it scope for farming development but within a few years he passed it on to his son, another Thomas, who in his turn became High Sheriff in 1809 and spent his summers in the house. It was this Thomas who brought his cousin, Percy Bysshe, to Radnorshire when in 1811 he invited him to spend July there. Shelley at this time was not quite nineteen, Thomas nearly ten years older

Altogether Shelley spent three periods in the Elan Valley in 1811 and 1812, none of them of more than a month or two's duration, but his contact with Radnorshire, though brief in time, was long in consequences. The brevity of this contact may seem to make it an unsuitable subject for a lecture but appearances are, as usual, deceptive and in fact these months in the Elan Valley were in many respects crucial in Shelley's life and development as a poet. I am tempted to say they were explosive, scattering débris over the rest of his short life of just under thirty years.

The Cwm Elan house, where in July 1811 he stayed as a guest of Thomas Grove and his wife, was described as 'a neat and elegant mansion' standing in a narrow valley down which the Claerwen ran to meet the Elan. Alder, birch, oak and mountain ash clothed the mountains between which the river ran and which grew more boisterous as it neared the house; but there was a wooden bridge which crossed it and led on to the lawns of Cwm Elan

where the Groves family sought to impose a cultivated order on the natural wilderness. Shelley had already heard enticing accounts of the beauties of the area from Thomas's young sister, Harriet, and he gladly accepted the invitation to visit. He stayed for about a month and was duly impressed by the scenery. 'This country of Wales is an enchantment', he wrote to a friend, and again, 'rocks piled on each other to tremendous heights, rivers formed into cataracts by their projections, and valleys clothed with woods, present an appearance of enchantment'. He may have been remembering the little river and its waterfalls when he wrote his great poem 'Mont Blanc' of 1816 in which he speaks of the sound of waters:

Such as a feeble brook will oft assume
In the wild woods, among the mountains lone,
Where waterfalls around it leap for ever,
Where woods and winds contend...

Waterfalls particularly appealed to him and, back in London after his visit to Wales, he talked rapturously of them and would walk round the room gesticulating as he tried to evoke the effect. His enthusiasm is not surprising. The image of a natural force dropping down with its accumulated energy and disturbing or even transforming the level below had a potent appeal to his imagination. It is a theme which in one form or another recurs throughout his poetry and his life.

While he was at Cwm Elan he went to church once, when the preacher's Welsh struck him as what he calls a 'singular' sound and he was amused to see a christening performed out of a broken old slop-basin. But while all this had its charms and the countryside was undoubtedly wonderful, other aspects of the visit were less happy. Thomas and his wife, worthy as they were, were of a stolid and stuffer temperament than that of their young guest and, as he confided to correspondents, he was bored to death in their company. He amused himself with sailing a small wooden boat about a foot long in the mountain streams and would run along the bank with a stick to guide it and save it from shipwreck. In more studious hours he read Erasmus Darwin who was among the first to formulate a theory of evolution two generations before his grandson, Charles, presented the world with the evidence for natural selection. Though he climbed the rocks and explored the landscape, Shelley appears not to have discovered Nantgwyllt at this time, though it stood in the same valley as Cwm Elan about a mile and a half away. It was a house which he was later to covet as his home. When he came back to Radnorshire in 1812 and first discovered it, he fell completely in love with it and desperately wanted to buy the lease and settle

there permanently. In spite of repeated efforts over the next two years he never succeeded in achieving this and in 1814 he left Wales never to return. These bare facts which would seem to be of minimal importance, relating to a brief and insignificant episode, conceal in fact, as I have already suggested, a turbulent history and mark a crucial period in Shelley's short life.

'Fair seed-time had my soul,' Wordsworth said, thinking of his young life among the mountains and lakes of Cumbria, but Shelley's seed-time, the years when his gifts and his character were maturing, was sown with much pain to himself and to others and brought forth some bitter herbs among its crop. In 1822, just short of his thirtieth birthday, he would die, drowned off the coast of Italy. By then, though like Keats his genius was unrecognised in his day, he had written poems which put him among the great names of English literature. Nantgwyllt and the Elan Valley did not themselves bring great poems from him but his experiences there, good and bad, fed the sources from which the great poems would come.

In quality of mind and manner Shelley was always exceptional and in appearance also he stood out from the ordinary. He never sat for a professional artist and the Curran portrait shown here was never finished. Trevelyan, who knew Shelley well at the end of his life, describes it in its unfinished state as 'flat and inanimate'. It evidently gives an inadequate idea of the impression made by his physical presence. He was tall but stooping, blue-eyed, fair-complexioned and with long light hair. This may make him sound effeminate but according to Thomas Hogg, an intimate friend of many years, in person the effect of his appearance was extremely powerful. His features 'breathed an animation, a force and enthusiasm and a vivid and preternatural intelligence' and though his voice could become shrill when he was excited it was otherwise low and soft, clear, distinct and expressive. Certainly he impressed Lord Byron, who greatly admired him, and he was evidently attractive to women.

It was not his physical appearance, however, but his unconventional individuality which, from boyhood on, made difficulty in his relations with the conventional world of his time. Among the common run of schoolboys he was likely to have a rough reception but his eccentricities were more or less accommodated at Sion House, his first school, though his eagerness always to give practical application to the ideas which fermented in his mind led him in the course of science experiments to blow the lid off his desk and inadvertently to poison the headmaster's pigs. He fared worse at Eton where he was unmercifully bullied but in 1810 he went up to University College, Oxford, with hope of the richer intellectual life and more congenial company that he anticipated there. In the event Oxford was a disaster and when cousin Thomas invited him to Cwm Elan in 1811 the invita-

tion was in the nature of a rescue operation for Shelley had just suffered a devastating blow. On 24 March, he had been to his utter dismay expelled from Oxford for writing and disseminating a tract called 'The Necessity of Atheism' in which he argued that there is no proof of the existence of God. (The era of Richard Dawkins was some two hundred years in the future). To ultra-Conservative Oxford of Shelley's day and indeed to the whole political establishment, in a period when the French Revolution was a living memory and the threat of Napoleon still a reality, such ideas subversive of the role of church and state were not to be tolerated even if they came from a very young man who presented himself as only wishing to enter into reasonable debate. Shelley circulated his pamphlet to Bishops and Heads of Colleges and urged them to correct any deficiency they found in his reasoning or to offer any proofs which he had been unable to discern for himself but the open-minded discussion he called for was, hardly surprisingly, out of the question and he received nothing but abuse and threats. That he should have thought it would be otherwise and was as shocked as he was by his summary expulsion points to a simplicity in his otherwise complex mind which it took him painful years to shake off.

Such notions of a nineteen year old may seem both naïve and arrogant but the thought he gave to his analysis of all the things he considered to be wrong was far from naïve and as for arrogance, it was with some humility that he offered his thoughts and his conclusions for correction. He always wanted people to engage with him and to enter as deeply as he did himself into the supremely important matters with which from very early days he was unweariedly occupied. He could never understand that people did not *think*, as he complained of poor Thomas Grove and his wife, and it shocked and grieved him that they did not. He himself read deeply and thought deeply and was impelled by a fervent desire to do good in the world, 'good' being defined as persuading his fellow-men to throw off the outworn and mistaken ideas of the past which denied them the full expression of their humanity. Further development of his ideas convinced him that the history of nations and individuals was a story of enslavement to false doctrines either secular or, as in this instance, religious.

Just as he tried to persuade Oxford, and through Oxford the wider world, that the teachings of the church rested on a basic error, so later he would argue that that error is at the root of all tyranny in all times and countries. The shackles which had kept men (and women) from their full development in thought and action had to be thrown off so that a better world and a purer society might result and it was his duty to do all that he could to bring this about. He learned from bitter experience that this was not the simple matter that he thought it was in his earliest years. Putting the case

for wholesale reform, however cogently argued, was just not going to be enough. He enlarged and refined his ideas as years went by and he learned much from bitter experience but the basic propositions remained the same and he never stopped trying to open hearts and minds to the truth as he saw it. He had expected a free air of intellectual enquiry at Oxford. He could scarcely believe the rejection that followed and the blow to his hopes and prospects that it entailed. I may add that University College which so summarily dismissed him has since put up a statue to him.

It was at this low ebb that he came first to Radnorshire and walked along the banks of the river and climbed among the trees and the rocks that piled precipitously on the banks and formed dramatic projections in the river. Cwm Elan had originally had some appeal for him through the enthusiasm of sixteen-year old Harriet, John Grove's sister, and in the Easter holidays of 1810 when they spent some time together he had fallen in love with her. She seemed to reciprocate his feelings but at the end of the Autumn term, when he returned home, she sent him word that any understanding between them was at an end since neither she nor her family could countenance the religious scepticism which he had freely communicated to her in his letters. A year later she married a clergyman's nephew.

So ended the first of the intense attachments which Shelley developed when he thought that in some young woman he had found the soul-mate who would be so far in sympathy with all he felt and thought that the two of them would merge into one agency for love and truth and the regeneration of the world. The disillusion was very damaging. Added to the Oxford rejection which followed, it cut away the basis on which with all the ardour and force of heart and mind he had been constructing his vision of the world and his role in it.

This was the mood in which he passed his weeks in Cwm Elan and the 'most divine scenery' could not heal wounds that had cut him to the quick. After a few weeks he went back to London and towards the end of August, barely nineteen, he married another Harriet, the sixteen year old Harriet Westbrook. She was a friend of his sisters through whom he got to know her. He had been attracted by her and she for her part had been overwhelmed by Shelley and the free-thinking ideas which he scattered whenever he found an audience. When her father insisted on her return to a school where she was by now unhappy, she threw herself on Shelley's protection and he felt he could do no other than marry her.

His relations with his own father were never good and after the Oxford débâcle they had become catastrophic. Timothy Shelley, later Sir Timothy, had his virtues but was unintellectual and insensitive and constitutionally incapable of any kind of rapport with his son. A Whig Member

of Parliament himself, he expected his heir to take over the seat on attaining his majority, an idea so improbable that it never had the slightest chance of fulfilment. Perhaps he should not be blamed too harshly for his misunderstanding and consequent mishandling of his son for Shelley was exceptional even among difficult teenagers but by trying to bully him into conformity with his own standards of suitable behaviour he alienated the young man completely. When, shortly after his return to London from Wales, Shelley eloped with Harriet Westbrook and married her on 28 August in Edinburgh, this was the last straw. Not only had Shelley, barely nineteen years of age, assumed the responsibility of a wife when he had no money and no profession to support even himself but the young woman was not of a class which Shelley's father could accept as suitable to his heir.

Harriet herself seems to have been charming. She was pretty and well-educated: her letters are certainly well written. Timothy's response was to cut off Shelley's allowance. This was not the first time and would not be the last. Since Shelley was entirely dependent on his father till he came of age he was left virtually destitute, dependent on loans from friends and relations and whoever could be prevailed on to lend to him. This situation was to recur but this time, after recriminations and haggling, father and son came to an accommodation and, with money once more available, in February 1812 Shelley and Harriet set off for Ireland.

This was not a delayed honeymoon trip as with ordinary folks it might be but a move inspired, like all his moves, by what Shelley saw as his compelling duty which was to spread enlightenment through the world so that the bonds of ignorance and superstition and overweening power could be cast off. He had tried to deliver his message to Oxford and Oxford had repudiated it. Now he would go straight to the people, make public addresses and write pamphlets and distribute them by any means available, including throwing them down from his hotel balcony to passers by whom he judged apt for persuasion or putting them in bottles for the sea to float them wherever wind and tide would carry them. As a means of disseminating ideas it hardly compares with the internet but Shelley could not be faulted for lack of effort in his endeavour to impress upon the Irish the way to freedom and fulfilment. He was carrying through the implications of his previous campaigns, as when he resisted bullying at Eton and rejected religious orthodoxy at Oxford, and this time he had specific practical measures to promote: repudiation of the Act of Union with England and Catholic emancipation; but the Irish proved no more grateful for his care for their spiritual and material welfare than Oxford and England had been. So after two months he left and took himself back to Wales.

Shelley's ambition to convert societies wholesale had been proved un-

realistic but he had not lost hope. He thought now of gathering together a small community of like-minded souls who would sustain each other in mutual love and intellectual stimulus and, from this nucleus, enlightenment and good practice would spread outwards further and further and be the leaven which would raise the whole society to a higher and better plane. From Ireland he landed at Aberystwyth and made his way down the coast, looking everywhere for a suitable house where his community of the elect could be set up. The landlord of the Red Lion in Rhaeadr told him that a house at Nantgwyllt was available for sale and, when Shelley saw it, it seemed to him the perfect place to realise his dreams.

Nantgwyllt, or in English 'wild brook', was an old manor house of the Lewis family, standing half a mile south of the junction of the Elan and Claerwen streams. As Shelley describes it, it was 'embosomed in the solitude of mountains, woods and rivers, silent, solitary, old'. According to the more matter-of-fact Penguin *The Buildings of Wales* volume, it was a low stone house with 18 bays, a pedimental gable and a staircase of massive oak. It had seven bedrooms. 'How many amiable beings may not be destined to occupy them!' Shelley exclaimed as he thought of his community of idealistic propagandists. He was scarcely less pleased that there was a ghost which the servants had frequently seen, though he had tongue in cheek when he added: 'We have several witches in our neighbourhood, and are quite stocked with fairies and hobgoblins of every description'. Shelley sought always as boy and man for the spiritual and the ethereal under the show of things but fairies and hobgoblins were not in his line. More serious is his welcome of mountains and rocks which seemed to form a barrier round the quiet valley — 'which the tumult of the world may never overleap', he added, but of course he intended that his ideas and his proselytising *should* 'overleap' all barriers. He was pleased with what he called 'the guileless habits of the Welsh' but disappointed that they were 'all very apathetical on the subject of politics'. No doubt ways could be found of stirring them up and meanwhile: 'Give me Nantgwyllt, fix me in this spot, so retired, so lovely, so fit for the seclusion of those who think and feel. Fate, I ask no more!'

All this time he wrote, as he had done from boyhood. While he was still at school he published two novels in the then popular Gothic mood and, round about the time he went up to Oxford, followed them with two volumes of verse of equally little except curiosity value. At Nantgwyllt, however, in the glow of early married life he wrote a poem for Harriet, 'Retrospect', contrasting the mood in which he revelled in the environment then with what it had been on his previous visit to Cwm Elan and he worked on a long poem called 'Queen Mab', a panoramic survey of the

world, listing its ills and its disasters and their derivation from individual failure and the rule of tyrants. The root of all, of course, he ascribed to the perversions of religious belief. Yet underneath and through all, he argued, there exists a force of necessity which moves through the whole of nature and drives it towards ultimate fulfilment of a law of love. Then tyranny and falsehood will be defeated and the 'germs of misery' which afflict the human heart will be dispelled. Man has only to will to cooperate with this force for the world to be transformed. It is the duty of those who feel and understand all this to stand up and proclaim the truth and at last, inevitably, hearts and minds will be converted and paradise will be born on earth.

These are the ideas which have been brewing from the beginning but they now gain extensive statement with the power of a considerable imagination and fluency of expression behind them. To make the points even more explicitly, the poem is accompanied by a weighty body of notes which offer at large the fruits of all his reading and thinking up to that time including an exhortation to vegetarianism. No one will claim that 'Queen Mab' is a great poem but it is the product of wide-ranging and vigorous thought and it has its moments of stirring eloquence as, for example, in these lines execrating, as usual, the mighty:

Power, like a desolating pestilence,
Pollutes whate'er it touches; and obedience
Bane of all genius, virtue, freedom, truth,
Makes slaves of men and, of the human frame
A mechanized automaton.

He later came to think of this early work with some embarrassment but from 1821 onwards 'Queen Mab' was constantly reprinted and became one of the most respected texts in the Radical working-class movement, 'The Chartists' Bible'. It was in fact the poem with the most popular appeal of his life.

One source of the ideas which were streaming through Shelley's mind at this time was William Godwin's *Political Justice*, a book published in 1793, which once upon a time seemed to set the world on fire. Godwin's argument was that all forms of government are corrupt and corrupting for they keep men in a state of perpetual dependence and, by inhibiting the free play of thought, condemn them to ignorance. Man should be free, each to reach his fullest state of development unimpeded by prescribed law and custom. Godwin preached the abolition of government and advocated a free society in which all external authority should be overthrown, together with

customs imposed and enforced by law, such as the institution of marriage. Free love was a necessary part of freedom, he argued, a proposition which Shelley from the first endorsed though in fact he himself would contract two marriages, one of which would be to Godwin's own daughter, Mary. In January 1812 he discovered to his surprise and delight that Godwin was still alive and he immediately entered into correspondence and later into close acquaintance with him.

It was in these employments and these excitements of mind and emotion that he passed his days in Nantgwyllt, all the time refreshing himself with the beauties of the surroundings to which he was most delicately sensitive. He was a countryman by birth and always an acute and appreciative observer of the beauties and subtleties of nature. His poetry abounds in evidence of this. His 'Ode to the West Wind', written in 1819 in the fullness of his mature powers, is probably the best-known example, a brilliant, profound invocation of a natural phenomenon to which he brought not only a highly polished skill in verse construction but an accurate knowledge of his subject. Like others of his poems which were once thought to be charming but meaningless effusions, the 'Ode to the West Wind' is now recognised to be scientifically accurate and even to incorporate advanced scientific thinking. 'Ode to a Skylark' is similarly a familiar piece with the same brilliance of execution and the same poignantly penetrating feeling. 'More popular poets', Mrs Shelley wrote, clothe the ideal with familiar and sensible imagery', that is, imagery relating to the senses, but 'Shelley loved to idealise the real — to gift the mechanism of the material universe with a soul and a voice, and to bestow such also on the most delicate and abstract emotions of the mind'. The resulting conjunction of the most intimate knowledge of the natural world with a sense of a spirit moving through all things, human and non-human alike, imparts their special quality to these and other poems which take their inspiration from phenomena of the natural world. He was a superb lyric poet with a wonderful eye for image and ear for music, all of which were at the service of intense thought and passionate feeling.

These are poems written in Shelley's maturity but the seeds of them, both their superbly refined skill and their emotional tenor, were sown in those months in Cwm Elan and Nantgwyllt, Nantgwyllt in particular taking a very strong grip on his affections. He very much wanted to lease it and to settle down there, nurturing his community of like-minded souls and following the gentlemanly pursuit of farmer, a suitable way of life for one who would enter into considerable wealth when he came of age. The rub lay in the fact that in 1812 he was still a minor and consequently unable to enter into an agreement on his own account.

The property at Nantgwyllt consisted, as well as the house, of 130 acres

of arable land and 70 of woodland or hillside and the whole was available at £98 a year. It seemed to him not only a very desirable home but also a financially viable project if only he could raise the required money and he appealed to his father to lend him or stand surety for £500 so that he could make the deal. His father refused and so did the father of a friend who had previously lent him money. In 1812 he cast about widely and vigorously for help in raising the money and concluding the deal but nothing would avail and he and Harriet had to leave the house. They spent two more weeks as guests of the Groves at Cwm Elan and then they moved on.

This was not quite the end of the story nor was it the end of Shelley's Welsh activities for a few months later he was engaging himself with efforts to raise money for repair of the sea-embankment at Tremadoc. Local prejudice and the shifty behaviour of the builder brought that crusade to an end, a disheartening experience which helped to persuade Shelley that the arena of direct action on the political scene, whether local or national, was not for him. His natural bent and his gifts lay elsewhere and his power to rouse and to reform lay, if anywhere, in his pen. Then Nantgwyllt came back to his mind once more as the ideal spot to settle in and in 1813 and as late as November 1814 he was still hoping that the house would be his. He kept trying but, although he was now of age, his father still controlled the money and as his son still obstinately refused to tailor his way of life and his opinions to what Sir Timothy thought fit, so the father for his part obstinately refused to fund him. As a result Shelley was desperately short of money, even in danger of being arrested for debt, and it was not till the death of his grandfather in January 1815 that the situation eased and a settlement was reached between father and son. The situation was by then, however, radically changed. The marriage to Harriet was at an end and it was as an ideal home for himself and Mary Godwin that he now coveted Nantgwyllt.

Throughout the Nantgwyllt period he had been corresponding with Godwin and in 1812 he met him and his family in London. The family, of miscellaneous parentage, included Mary, daughter of Mary Wollstonecraft, famous as a promoter of women's rights, and with Mary in July 1814 Shelley eloped for the second time in three years. In November that year he was still trying to get possession of Nantgwyllt but in vain. Nothing came of his efforts. Two years later, after the death of Harriet he married Mary and in 1818 they both left for Italy where he lived for the remaining four years of his life. It was there that Mary, stimulated by the company of Shelley and Byron, wrote *Frankenstein* and it was in Italy that Shelley wrote the poems which put him among the greatest in English literature. As for Nantgwyllt, it now lies under the water of the Elan reservoir but Cwm

Elan, sold by Thomas Groves in 1815, had been knocked down before the waters came in. In 1937 the water level in the Caban Coch reservoir fell to 55 ft. below its highest point and the remains of the manor house at Nantgwyllt were exposed. In 1947 another record drought again caused the water level to drop dramatically and the remains were once more visible. Only the garden walls and a pile of rubble remained to mark the spot.

It is very easy in speaking of Shelley and his youthful years to make fun of him — to mock. In the summer of 1822, the obituarist of the *Courier*, a leading Tory newspaper, thought it proper to make a grim jest: ‘Shelley, the writer of some infidel poetry, has been drowned: now he knows whether there is a God or no’.

It is the common fate of those who stand up against the prevailing beliefs and practices of their society to be scoffed at and treated in some degree or other as outcasts. Their notions are absurd and unrealistic to their sensible neighbours who appeal to experience and cite the accommodations that practical day-to-day living requires. Probably the best known comment on Shelley is Matthew Arnold’s rhetorical dismissal of him as ‘a beautiful but ineffectual angel beating in the void his luminous wings in vain’ but this has not been the view of later criticism. A recent account has praised him, very justly as I believe, for his continued intellectual force and for his tenacity and consistency of principle which he maintained in the midst of personal distress and in the face of discouragement and outright hostility. In the work of his maturity the structure of Shelley’s ideas remained the same as it had been when among the romantic mountains of the Elan Valley he thought and wrote, passionately though crudely. The passion remained but what had been callow becomes refined by wider experience and profounder thought. Shelley was largely undervalued and disregarded in his day but his name and his work live on, giving a special voice to aspirations for a better world and a distinctive light and colouring to the natural world of trees and rivers and mountains and flowers which he loved and endowed with spirit as well as form.

I have mentioned some but there are, in fact, many aspects to Shelley. He is, for example, capable of the most sharply honed satire as when he castigates the men he held primarily responsible for the Peterloo Massacre, the event in 1816 when soldiers turned their guns on a peaceable assembly of protesters in Manchester:

As I lay asleep in Italy
There came a voice from over the sea
And with great power it forth led me
To walk in the visions of poesy.

I met Murder on the way—
He had a mask like Castlereagh—
Very smooth he looked, yet grim;
Seven blood-hounds followed him:

All were fat; and well they might
Be in admirable plight,
For one by one, and two by two,
He tossed them human heats to chew
Which from his wide cloak he drew.

Next came Fraud, and he had on,
Like Eldon, an ermined gown;
His big tears, for he wept well,
Turned to mill-stones as they fell.

And the little children, who
Round his feet played to and fro,
Thinking every tear a gem,
Had their brains knocked out by them.

There is also a robustly comic parody of one of Wordsworth's most thick-ankled poems, 'Peter Bell the Third' — 'thick-ankled' was a description somebody applied to Wordsworth in his less agile poetic moments. Shelley was a great admirer of Wordsworth but, like many others, he deplored the loss of his ideals and his best poetic gifts in his later years. He made, besides, several forays into drama and in one, *The Cenci*, he produced a play of passion and acute psychological insight which is of great interest to read, if not to produce on stage. (I once saw one of the very few performances it has ever received). I will finish with reference to poems of another kind which incorporate the revolutionary ideas of the Nantgwyllt days but set them now in a context darkened by disappointment, though still alive with hope that effort of the human will can reclaim the world from misery and despair. In 'Prometheus Unbound', a dramatic poem written in 1818/1819, Shelley builds on Aeschylus's drama 'Prometheus Bound' but reinterprets it according to the ideas which have been with him since boyhood, in which a powerful sense of the evils of the world has been countered by a duty to oppose it by any means he can. Now he sees that it is not political but moral revolution which is required. Jupiter, the malevolent tyrant, can only be overthrown when Prometheus by a supreme moral effort releases the power

of love through which the whole world can be transformed. 'Prometheus Unbound' is a moral drama of cosmic proportions, its message spelt out in a last speech:

To suffer woes which Hope thinks infinite;
 To forgive wrongs darker than death or night;
 To defy Power which seems omnipotent;
 To love, and bear; to hope till Hope creates
 From its own wreck the thing it contemplates;
 Neither to change, nor falter, nor repent;
 This, like thy glory, Titan is to be
 Good great and joyous, beautiful and free;
 This is alone Life, Joy, Empire, and Victory.

Two years later he wrote another poetic drama, inspired this time by the Greek uprising against Turkish overlordship which he sees as one of those revolts against oppression which have kept the spirit of freedom alive. He exults in a new dawn but ends with weariness at the seemingly endless struggle:

Oh, cease! Must hate and death return?
 Cease! Must men kill and die?
 Cease! Drain not to is dregs the urn
 Of bitter prophecy.
 The world is weary of the past,
 Oh, might it die or rest at last!

His early youth was marked by buoyant confidence that men needed only to have the errors of history pointed out to them for a new and purer world to be ushered in but this confidence had weakened under the weight of renewed disappointments and he was looking now for other guides than those which had inspired him in earlier days. How much further the ideas he was nurturing in those months would have taken him, who can say? His turbulent, passionately lived years give us poetry of hope and despair, of love and of aspiration, a poetry which incorporates the analytical energies of a deeply engaged intelligence and also the delicacy of a sensitive and feeling soul. He comes a long way from Cwm Elan and Nantgwyllt. They have sunk out of sight but those vanished houses and their setting claim our memory still for the vibrant presence in them once of a young man who went on to become one of the greatest poets in the annals of English literature.

THE RADNORSHIRE COTTAGERS CONTROVERSY

Keith Parker

THIS STUDY SEEKS TO EXPLORE in detail the issues raised by the Radnorshire Cottagers controversy since they are much more complex than WH Howses's brief and partisan account in his *Radnorshire* might suggest, nor were they resolved by 1840 as he implies.¹

The sale of the Crown manors in Radnorshire

Following the survey of Crown lands and the thirteen Crown manors in the county by Morris Sayce in 1821, the Commissioners of Woods and Forests decided to dispose of these assets. In these manors one of the most valuable assets of the Crown as lord of the manor was its interest in the commons through its 'right of soil', initially reckoned to be one-twentieth of the area of the common, though later valued at one-fourteenth or one-twelfth.

The administration of the manors by the fifth earl of Oxford in his capacity as steward of the Lordship of Cantref Maelienydd had been very lax and with little attempt made since the early 1790s to halt encroachments, substantial acreages of common land had been appropriated to private use in some manors, as Table 1 demonstrates. In 1822 Oxford was dismissed and in 1823 James Davies and Richard Banks, 'very respectable solicitors residing in Kington', were appointed as stewards with the main task of holding court leets to curb encroachments prior to the sale of the manors. Acting on the advice of James Davies, Woods and Forests decided to sell the

Table 1: Commons and encroachments in the major royal manors in Radnorshire, 1821.

MANOR	COMMON (ACRES)	ENCROACHMENTS UNDER 20 YEARS (ACRES)	ENCROACHMENTS OF 20 TO 60 YEARS (ACRES)
Cwmteuddwr	1,100	31	0
Farrington & Cwm-gilla	754	141	13
Gladestry	1,260	32	6
Iscoed	2,420	67	51
Rhyslyn	2,261	68	54
South Neithon	2,669	78	77
South Rurallt	6,886	269	139
South Ugre	19,584	767	684
Uwchcoed	2,761	68	54

Source: TNA PRO CRES 49/4922, /5050, and /5005.

manors by private treaty rather than by auction or public tender.² Critics later argued that this arrangement favoured the county elite and would lead to significantly lower prices, though Sayce's valuations gave safeguard since they provided Woods and Forests with a realistic price guide.

Sayce's valuation of the Crown manors contained three elements: the annual value of tolls, fees and fines, quit rents and tolls; the annual value of right of soil on commons and waste reckoned at one-twentieth of the acreage; and finally one twentieth of the value of encroachments of less than sixty years. The Crown's share of the commons and encroachments was by far the most valuable asset, accounting, for example for 78 per cent of South Neithon's value.³ The capital value of these assets was usually set at twenty years' purchase, generally taken to be a fairly low valuation for the 1820s.

As Table 2 shows, most of the Crown manors sold in the 1820s realised prices around Sayce's valuation or rather more, the two notable exceptions, Gladestry and South Rurallt, being the result of special circumstances.⁴ While the new owners could only make large gains when the common and waste land were enclosed, it was essential that they should be able to protect their investment by taking action to recover encroachments as these were included in the deed of sale, although not listed individually. Occupants of encroachments of less than twenty years were proceeded against by presentation at the court leets, and legal action was normally only taken when a squatter ignored the findings of the court leet. With encroachments of between twenty and sixty years' standing the position was more complex, for the right to recover such encroachments was the exclusive right of the Crown and the only course open to the new lords of the manor, to whom this right had been transferred, was to take legal action to secure the ejection of the squatters, unless they were prepared to come to terms.

Table 2: The Sale of Crown manors in Radnorshire.

Manor	DATE	PURCHASER	VALUATION	PRICE
Cwmteuddwr	1825	Robert Peel	£281	£270
Farrington	1826	Edward Rogers	£397	£397
Gladestry	1827	T Frankland Lewis	£626	£450
Iscoed	1826	James Watt	£1,044	£1,200
Rhyslyn	1826	James Watt	£697	£1,000
South Neithon	1827	James Watt	£1,346	£1,000
South Rurallt	1828	Richard Price	£2,656	£1,800
Uwchcoed	1826	James Watt	£838	£1,000

Source: TNA PRO CRES 49/4922, /5005, /5051.

However recourse to the law was expensive and, given the tendency of Radnorshire juries to arrive at a perverse verdict, somewhat uncertain. James Watt and Richard Price preferred to use the threat of legal action to pressurise holders of such encroachments into buying the plot or agreeing to hold the encroachment as a tenant, in either case on very favourable terms. Edward Rogers took no such action, presumably because the encroachments in this category in his newly acquired manors were so minor. However in his evidence to the Select Committee on Inclosures in 1844 Frankland Lewis claimed to have refused to include in his purchase of the manor of Gladestry the six acres of encroachments of more than twenty years' standing in the manor. Given the odium which Richard Price and James Watt were to incur in their efforts to assert their title to encroachments, this would seem to have been a small price to pay to retain his local popularity.⁵

Faced with the threat of legal action, most holders of encroachments in Watt's manors agreed to attorn and to pay annual rents of between sixpence and five shillings on their holding for a term of years or a number of lives. Thus of 99 encroachments in the manor of Iscoed, 91 were exchanged, purchased or became tenancies at nominal rents; in Uwchcoed, of 44 encroachments, 41 became tenancies; in South Neithon of 103 encroachments 100 were exchanged or became tenancies. In eleven cases Watt obtained judgements of ejectment but chose not to enforce them.⁶ Only three encroachers, all in the manor of Iscoed, were ejected. At first sight Watt's approach seems moderate enough, but in practice it was coercive, for few of the encroachers had the means to go to law and they had no choice but to attorn tenant. Moreover the nominal rents they paid applied only to the initial lease; on renewal rents were likely to be at commercial levels.

The initial crisis

In 1828 Thomas Weale declined to attorn tenant to James Watt for an encroachment on Newbridge Common, made initially in 1816 and enlarged in 1826 to a holding of three acres, but when proceedings were begun against him he agreed to attorn and pay a rent of three shillings a year for the holding. However at the beginning of 1830 he declined to pay and a writ of ejectment was secured against him. An initial attempt to eject him by officers acting on the instructions of the under-sheriff Richard Banks was beaten off by the Weale family with the help of neighbouring cottagers. A second attempt made two days later succeeded and allegedly Weale, his wife who had recently given birth, and their six children were turned out onto the common in a snow storm and their cottage was razed to the ground.

Richard Banks, however, portrayed the ejection rather differently. Ac-

cording to him, after the first attempt at ejection had failed Weale travelled to Kington to see Banks and offered to give the officers peaceful possession of the encroachment if Banks would intercede with the authorities over the assault on the officers, which he attributed to his wife's 'ungovernable temper'. On the second attempt to enforce the warrant Weale was prepared to keep his word but his wife, fully clothed, jumped into bed and refused to move. The officers then picked up the bed with Mrs Weale in it, carried it to the neighbouring public house and deposited it on the floor next to the fire. Mrs Weale then 'sprang from her bed in perfect health' and walked off. Weale then asked Banks if he could have the materials of his cottage and shed and then he, a carpenter by trade, supervised the demolition and carried off the materials. The encroachment was subsequently added to the neighbouring farm Merry Hall.⁷

Like Weale, Richard Page had also initially attorned tenant for his three encroachments in Iscoed dating from 1804, but then refused to pay his rent in 1830 and was ejected from his holding. A third encroacher in Iscoed, Thomas Watkins, was also ejected. Watt, only too well aware that these ejections gave rise to considerable criticisms in some quarters, justified them on the grounds that the three encroachers had 'acted in a most hostile manner and under objectionable advice' presumably from Cecil Parsons, the Radical Presteigne attorney.

The popular reaction

The attempt by Watt and Price to regain encroachments in their newly acquired manors aroused considerable resentment in the county, not least since it threatened the status quo. Support for the Cottagers' cause also transcended social and political divisions. Thus although the campaign was spearheaded by the Radical group in the county and supported by local Whigs, local Conservatives were not prepared to oppose them publicly on this issue since it would have brought them considerable unpopularity. In the first place the drive against encroachments was in direct contravention of the tradition of *tŷ un nos* or the 'morning surprise' as it was termed in Radnorshire, whereby a squatter building a cottage over night and having the chimney smoking by dawn acquired a right to the cottage and half an acre or so of the adjacent common. The tradition was popularly believed to have a legal basis in Wales and the ejection of *tŷ un nos* squatters as a result of parliamentary enclosures in Caernarvonshire had already excited considerable unrest.⁸

Though the majority of encroachments were small in scale, most were not the work of *tŷ un nos* squatters. Some were created by smallholders and farmers straightening boundary lines or taking in a few acres of cul-

tivable land from the common adjacent to their holdings. However other encroachments were the work of bolder spirits and consisted of plots of five or ten acres or so and in at least one case, fifty acres, taken in openly. The failure of the Crown's officers to take action against encroachers in the two or three decades prior to 1824 seems to have created the impression that piecemeal encroachment upon the commons was acceptable and the sudden apparent reversal of policy towards encroachments after 1823 left not only cottagers but also more substantial members of the farming community vulnerable.

Moreover, while the position of holders of encroachments of less than twenty years was clearly untenable in common law, the Crown's claim to encroachments of between twenty and sixty years, and its ability to convey such a right to the purchasers of the manors seemed to laymen to be debatable. It also considerably increased the number at risk of legal action should the Crown and the new owners decide to recover old encroachments. Again, as subsequent re-surveys of South Ugre were to show, Sayce's survey did not uncover all the encroachments and thus all landowners in the former Crown manors faced the possibility that at some point in the future that they might be required to attorn tenant for some part of their holding which they were unaware was an encroachment of less than sixty years' standing.

In the unsold Crown manors, particularly those of South Ugre and Knucklas where substantial acreages of encroachments had been identified, many who held encroachments were becoming uneasy for Richard Banks had been presenting known encroachers at court leets and it seemed likely that in the near future such manors would be sold, along with the rights to all encroachments of less than sixty years' standing. Thus in 1829 a memorial from the tenants of South Ugre was forwarded to Woods and Forests questioning the right of the Crown to sell the manors. The memorial argued that when the tenants of the royal manors in Radnorshire had repurchased them in 1634, after Charles I had sold them, and returned them to the king, he had promised that he would never again alienate them. Although the argument was technically invalid in that a monarch could not be bound in law by the action of a predecessor, it did have sufficient moral force to make Richard Banks hesitate.⁹

Cecil Parsons and the Radnorshire cottagers

In 1833 formal notice was served by Watt on Morris, a tenant farmer of Llanclewedog in Nantmel, in respect of an encroachment of half an acre made in 1808. The farm belonged to Cecil Parsons, a Radical attorney of Presteigne and, following his refusal to attorn, an order of ejectment

was brought by Watt. Parsons, a future county treasurer, was a substantial landowner in the county with an estate of 1,453 acres in 1873, in addition to other estates in the counties of Brecon and Glamorgan, who with his brother Guy, sheriff of Radnorshire in 1834, was to found the Radnorshire Bank in Presteigne in 1834–35. He was also well connected, for his mother was of the Jeffreys family of the Priory, Brecon, and he was thus related by marriage to the Wilkins family of Maesllwch. Watt's case against Morris and Parsons was heard at Hereford Summer Assizes in August 1834 before a special jury who found for Watt, subject to the opinion of the superior court, Common Pleas.

The motive behind Watt's action against Parsons may have been more complex than the simple enforcement of his rights, for Parsons had allegedly advised Weale in his refusal to attorn and was the champion the holders of encroachments in South Ugre where, from at least 1830, Woods and Forests had been seeking to persuade them to purchase their encroachments or attorn tenant for them. The failure of Watt to obtain an unqualified verdict in the summer of 1834 seems to have given Parsons hope and in the election campaign of late 1834 Parsons and his fellow Radical, Thomas Morgan of Glasbury, campaigned enthusiastically on behalf of Walter Wilkins in South Ugre. Thus at Llanbister Morgan assured his listeners:

... in the name of God come forward and support Mr Wilkins who will set you free from the claws of the Crown.¹⁰

The election of Wilkins and the verdict in favour of Parsons given by Common Pleas in June 1835 seemed to justify such optimism. The verdict however, was not as sweeping as was popularly believed, for it left intact the Crown's right to encroachments of between twenty and sixty years and found for Parsons on the ground that the conveyance of the manors was defective in that it did not specify precisely each of the encroachments the Crown had conveyed to Watt. Even so a correspondent, describing the reaction to the verdict of Common Pleas when the news reached Presteigne, reported:

... the bells rang merry peals, and the gratifying intelligence was received by the inhabitants with every demonstration of joy.

The decision of this case, which has excited so much interest will be received with joyful acclamation throughout the county of Radnor, as it will have the effect of restoring many hundreds of poor cottagers to the possession of their peaceful habitations.¹¹

Given that only three cottagers had been ejected in Iscoed and none in Rhyslyn, South Neithon, Uwchcoed, Cwmteuddwr, South Ruralt and Farrington, the claim as to the impact of the decision would seem somewhat extravagant.

Even so, popular opinion at large seems to have accepted that the verdict vindicated the encroachers. In South Ugre in July 1835 Parsons and his fellow Radical Robert Lewis, the Presteigne timber merchant, held a series of rowdy meetings urging resistance to the Crown's claims on encroachments. At Llanbister the meeting lasted allegedly for six hours or more, 'with great noises, riot and disturbance', while at Felindre on 6 July effigies of Richard Banks, Richard Price and, according to one account, of James Watt were shot at and then burned.¹²

David Lewis, who had been surveying South Ugre since 1834 to identify encroachments and persuade their holders to purchase them or attorn tenant, had his life threatened at Llanbister and Bugeildy and in 1836 decided to put some distance between himself and Radnorshire. Many in South Ugre who had agreed to purchase or attorn tenant for their encroachment now had second thoughts and by the end of 1835 purchase money amounting to £2,112 and rentals totalling more than £250 were outstanding in the Crown manors in the county.¹³

Attempts by Woods and Forests and Watt to remedy the situation by recourse to law proved abortive. At the Radnorshire Assizes of August 1835 attempts to indict Parsons, Robert Lewis and others for riot and disturbance at Llanbister and Felindre failed when the grand jury, which had Sir Harford Jones Brydges as chairman and included other Whigs/Radicals such as Sir John Walsham and Walter Wilkins, returned, in both instances, no true bill. A bill on the part of Watt alleging that Weale had forcibly entered his former encroachment was ignored by the grand jury.¹⁴

Towards the end of 1835 a petition from the Cottagers was drawn up stating their case and bearing 133 signatures. Guy Parsons forwarded this to the prime minister, Lord Melbourne who asked Woods and Forests to comment, and on the Commissioners' behalf Richard Banks analysed the signatures. He was able to demonstrate that few were cottager encroachers. Fifty-seven of the signatories came from Presteigne, including Sir Harford Jones Brydges, the rector the Revd James Beebee, Dr Jenkins and Dr Davies (both MDs), and Thomas Stephens, a solicitor. Thirty-four of the signatories came from the Rhaeadr district, including substantial landowners such as Hugh Powell Evans, Thomas Prickard and Thomas Evans of Llwynbarried. Of the signatories from South Ugre at least two, James Meredith and John Poole, were substantial farmers. Banks believed that at least nine, possibly ten, of the signatures were in Cecil Parsons' handwriting. Even so the

memorial gave the Cottagers' case valuable publicity and put Woods and Forests on the defensive.¹⁵

At the Radnorshire Spring Assizes in March 1836 events still favoured the Cottagers, for when Watt sued Weale for trespass on his former encroachment (in the previous August Weale had carried off a load of hay from his former encroachment), the jury found for Weale and awarded him £5 damages. Page was also encouraged to seek to regain his old encroachments and Weale felt free to renew his campaign against Watt. With the rumour that all encroachments of less than sixty years were to be thrown open circulating locally, in April Weale tried to persuade the congregation at Llanyre parish church to meet with him to throw open all encroachments in Iscoed, promising them that they would be protected by Hugh Powell Evans.

A few days later Weale made a similar appeal at Rhaeadr market and a group of about a hundred, consisting in the main of Hugh Powell Evans' tenants and their labourers, equipped with pickaxes, began to tear down some of the fences of former encroachments and also some fences surrounding some of Watt's ornamental plantations. The attack was renewed a few days later and Watt was forced to obtain an injunction through a bill in Chancery to halt such activities.¹⁶

Watt then appealed to Woods and Forests for protection and asked them either to convey to him unambiguously all the encroachments of less than sixty years or to 'resume the property the property on fair and reasonable terms'. In order to maintain the integrity of their sales of Crown manors Woods and Forests were compelled to act for although the Llanclewedog encroachment was small it was regarded as a test case by holders of encroachments, and not only in Radnorshire. In the Court of Exchequer in June the verdict in Weale's case reached at the Radnor Spring Assizes was set aside as perverse and the case was sent for retrial, while the chairman of the grand jury, Sir Harford Jones Brydges was found to have 'treated the charge with great indecency and disrespect'. The attorney general also obtained a rule for trying a writ of intrusion against Parsons at Hereford Assizes rather than at the Radnor Assizes.¹⁷

In August 1836 at Hereford Assizes Watt secured the verdict in an action against Weale for trespass and also in Page's action to secure possession of his former encroachments from Watt. Woods and Forests however had some difficulty in securing witnesses in the case against Cecil Parsons, since the case generated considerable excitement in the county and feelings were running high. Pemberton, the lawyer for Woods and Forests, thought it necessary to take out subpoenas to prevent witnesses 'having their minds poisoned by the artifices and statements of interested parties', but on 5

August the special jury at Hereford took only a few minutes to find in favour of the Crown.¹⁸

Woods and Forests took no action to follow up the verdict and in January 1837 Watt complained that the delay was encouraging the encroachers, for Watkins, ejected from his encroachment in 1830, had began an action to recover it. Watt's legal costs were also mounting and were estimated at £3,000. Finally in May 1837 the writ of execution was delivered to the sheriff and Cecil Parsons surrendered possession of the encroachment to Watt, who later built a house on it. To prevent any other actions against Watt, in 1838 Woods and Forests provided him with a deed of confirmation of his purchase with a schedule of the encroachments which were included in the transaction.¹⁹

Watt's victory over Parsons and his encroachment seems to have been regarded as irrelevant by the Cottagers and after a subscription had raised £162 Parsons was presented with a silver cup, salver and covered dishes as 'a testimony of admiration and esteem for his exertions in the cause of the cottagers' at a dinner in his honour at the Radnorshire Arms in Presteigne on 28 December 1837. The speakers on this occasion studiously ignored the 1836 verdict, which was clearly regarded as no more than a lost battle, while the Common Pleas verdict of 1835 in favour of Parsons was hailed as a triumph by all.²⁰

A change in tactics

Following the verdict at Hereford Assizes in August 1836 the Cottagers' campaign became political rather than legal in character, concentrating upon the decision to sell the manors by private tender and alleging that through collusion with James Davies, the Crown steward, and Archdeacon Venables, Watt had obtained the manor of Iscoed at a lower price than might have been realised by competitive tender. According to Guy Parsons, the brother of the Presteigne attorney, Venables would have been prepared to offer £1,350 in order to obtain Abernithon or Llanyre Common rather than the £1,200 offered successfully by Watt. According to Parsons, Davies had brokered an understanding that if Venables did not bid for the manor, Watt would ensure that he received the common, but that Watt had then reneged upon the agreement.

Woods and Forest's answer to the charges was perhaps not entirely convincing. They argued that when Iscoed had been offered for sale at £1,500 there had been no takers and that Watt's offer of £1,200 was £200 above Sayce's valuation, while they had received no bid from Venables, and any private agreement between Watt and Venables was the business of those two parties alone. Again, although James Davies was the Crown steward,

he was not concerned in any way with the sale of the manors and, in his private professional capacity, was quite entitled to broker an agreement between his clients Watt and Venables.²¹

Initially Guy Parsons had levelled his charges in correspondence with Woods and Forests, but in January 1837 the issues became public when a county meeting at Presteigne petitioned the Commons to investigate the 'private and fraudulent' method by which the manors had been sold and 'the slovenly manner' in which Woods and Forests had conveyed the Crown manors to their purchasers which had led to 'a series of most vexatious claims and grievous litigation'. At the same time the petitioners claimed that they had no wish to injure the interests of Watt or to impugn his character.

Banks did his best to play down the support for the petition. According to him the meeting, dominated by Sir Harford Jones Brydges, Hugh Powell Evans and Walter Wilkins, was thinly attended and, with the exception of Hugh Powell Evans, none of the encroachers in the four manors purchased by Watt attended, and no more than six or eight encroachers from South Ugre were present. However he failed to mention the heavy snow storms of the few days prior to the county meeting which had disrupted travel in the county.²²

The petition seems to have had little immediate effect. The Whig government had little sympathy with the Cottagers' cause, for Lord John, Russell the home secretary, had already blocked an attempt by William Ormsby Gore, MP for North Shropshire and previously MP for Caernarvon Borough, to get a committee of inquiry into the matter, while Sir John Campbell, the attorney general, had referred to Parsons as 'a pettifogging attorney'. The death of William IV, the coronation of Victoria and other matters also delayed matters. However, after a deputation led by Walter Wilkins MP and Guy Parsons to Lord Melbourne in July 1839 and a resolution of the House of Commons, the documents relating to the sale of the manor of Iscoed were released to the Commons and published as a parliamentary paper. Though they showed discrepancies between the accounts of Venables and Davies, the documents did not substantiate the accusation of collusion nor the other allegations of Guy Parsons.²³

Iscoed: the outcome

Although Cecil Parsons and his allies had lost both the legal and political battles there are grounds for maintaining that in practice he won a partial victory for the cottagers of the manors purchased by Watt from the Crown. Thus holders of encroachments of between twenty and sixty years were, both in Watt's manors and in South Ugre, by 1841, regarded as free-

holders when it came to the vote by the barristers revising the electoral register, although Lord Harley claimed that in South Ugre Richard Banks in his capacity as steward of the manor, still exercised considerable electoral influence.²⁴

Perhaps the extent of Parsons' achievement is to be seen in Watt's attempt to enclose the manors' commons and waste in the parishes of Saint Harmon, Nantmel, Llanyre and Llanfihangel Helygen. The Act was obtained in 1840 but opposition was so great that Watt abandoned the attempt to enclose in Nantmel, Saint Harmon and Llanfihangel Helygen and succeeded in enclosing the commons in Llanyre only by granting the squatters their cottages and allowing them to buy their encroachments at a price of £5 per acre.²⁵

Watt's resolve to resist the claims of the cottagers had been clearly worn down by the sustained pressure of Cecil Parsons and his allies and the mounting legal costs he was incurring. Moreover he seems to have been isolated in his stance for even the Conservatives in the county elite such as Archdeacon Venables, JC Severn and Robert Baskerville Mynors, were not prepared to support him, while in his election manifestos of 1840 and 1841 the Conservative candidate, Sir John Walsh, maintained a studious silence on the issue.

Neither Watt nor Woods and Forests and their local agents James Davies and Richard Banks made any real attempt to win over local public opinion or counter Cecil Parsons' high selective version of the controversy. He was thus able to claim that law, in the form of Hwyl Dda's laws, Charles I's undertaking of 1634 and the verdict of Common Pleas of 1835, was firmly on the side of the Cottagers, without fear of contradiction. He was also able to portray the issue as a struggle as being between a grasping and wealthy landlord, backed up by a distant and inefficient Commission of Woods and Forests on the one hand and, on the other, a:

... numerous class of men who for many years have been in quiet and peaceful possession of the little sheltered houses they have by their own labour secured from the wastelands.²⁶

Parsons' grip on local public opinion was such that those who did not accept his views were not prepared to challenge him publicly.

The South Ugre Cottagers

The policy of persuading squatters to purchase their encroachments or at-torn tenant seems to have been abandoned in the unsold Crown manors following the resignation of the surveyor David Lewis in 1836 and, in the

absence of any effective sanctions, the practice of encroaching on the commons continued unabated. Thus between 1836 and 1852 eight further encroachments were identified in the manor of Knighton, nineteen in the manor of Knucklas and in South Ugre no fewer than 181.²⁷

In 1850 Woods and Forests decided to re-survey South Ugre in order to identify encroachments with certainty, but this was not completed by Barber and Bassett until 1854 as it was delayed by an abortive attempt to enclose the whole manor. With the survey complete, Woods and Forests decided to review the terms on which the encroachments were offered to squatters. Previously encroachments had been offered at seven years' purchase and buildings at three and a half years' purchase but, aware of the need to conciliate local public opinion, Woods and Forests decided upon a scheme which discriminated between small scale and large scale encroachers. The seven years'/three and a half years' term was to remain for encroachments of less than five acres, in addition to at least five years' rent, but for encroachments above five acres, where no improvement had been made, ten years' purchase was to be required, a proviso likely to hit a larger proprietor simply adding to his holding rather than a squatter with a small encroachment.²⁸

The proposal provoked concern in South Ugre and after public meetings had been held at Llanbadarn Fynydd and Llanbister, a petition bearing 115 signatures was presented to the home secretary by Lord Bateman in February 1856. It claimed to be from those in possession of encroachments of between twenty and fifty-eight years and pointed out that only the Crown could claim after such long periods of adverse possession and that Woods and Forests had encouraged such encroachments by remaining 'acquiescent or indifferent' to them for so long. The petitioners claimed that the valuations of Barber and Bassett were exorbitant, in some cases equalling or exceeding the full value of the encroachments and then went on to rehearse the arguments of the 1830s of 'poor people forcibly turned out of their dwellings', Charles I's undertaking of 1634 and the verdict of Common Pleas in 1835. The petition was signed by the incumbents of Bugeildy, Cascob and Llanbadarn Fynydd. Thirty-five of the petitioners, unable to write, had made their marks.

Richard Banks was able to inform Woods and Forests that the petition had been prepared by the Revd Christopher Blackburn, chaplain of the county gaol and master of John Beddoes School, on the instructions of Cecil Parsons. He added that the public meetings in South Ugre had been attended by James Beavan, the clerk of another Presteigne attorney. Edward Lee James, and that Beavan had taken the petition around the county to obtain signatures. Banks went on to point out that Parsons and James

were both 'considerable encroachers' who also had interest in some encroachments as mortgagors and potential purchasers.

Armed with information from Richard Banks, Woods and Forests were able to give their version of the events in the Crown manors since 1827 and to point out that amongst those currently holding encroachments in South Ugre were Sir John Walsh, the member for Radnorshire and the Lord Lieutenant of the county, the Earl of Powis, Lady Dunsany and Sir John Dundas, some of the great landowners of Radnorshire. Banks maintained that Edward Lee James, one of the promoters of the petition, held 212 acres of encroachments, while one of the signatories held encroachments amounting to more than 150 acres. Woods and Forests also stressed that the terms it was insisting upon in Radnorshire were identical with those prevailing elsewhere in Wales in the Crown manors.²⁹

The issue of the encroachments of between twenty and sixty years however resurfaced quickly when the possibility of enclosing South Ugre arose again in the second half of 1856. In order to secure agreement to enclose, Woods and Forests were prepared to sell such encroachments to the occupier at a price of £5 per acre and though the Inclosure Commissioners had no power to deal with such encroachments under the General Enclosure Act, they were prepared to insert a clause in the next annual Enclosure Act to legalise such an arrangement.³⁰

This, however, was not acceptable to those holding such encroachments and following meetings of freeholders and cottagers of South Ugre at the Burton Arms, Llanddewi Ystradenni and at Knighton racecourse in August 1857, a memorial was drawn up asking that, in return for the freeholders consenting to an enclosure of the commons, those holding cottages and encroachments for between twenty and thirty years should have their possession confirmed and those holding encroachments of more than thirty years should, in addition, receive an allotment on enclosure. Richard Green (Price) was the moving spirit behind the memorial which bore ninety signatures and had the backing of William Stephens, the agent of Sir John Walsh, and of leading local landowners such as the Revd William Matthews of Creig and William Tudge. Many freeholders believed that only by such concessions could enclosure of the commons within the manor be achieved. The presentation of the memorial to Woods and Forests on 31 August was followed by a period of negotiation, in the course of which Green suggested that in return for the concessions to encroachers, the Crown should receive one-fourteenth rather than one-sixteenth of the commons in respect of right of soil on the enclosure of South Ugre. However, after meeting a delegation consisting of Richard Green, Cecil Parsons and Sir John Walsh at the end of October, Woods and Forests de-

clined to come to terms since it meant the Crown relinquishing its claim to encroachments of between twenty and thirty years while the allotment of one-fourteenth instead of one-sixteenth for the right of soil was not a full equivalent of the rights the Crown had surrendered.³¹

As James Howard, a commissioner of Woods and Forests, pointed out, all these concessions would have been at the expense of those in the manor with rights of common who had remained within the law by not encroaching. However such was the grip of Parsons and his allies upon local opinion that none who opposed the claims of the cottagers was prepared to do so publicly and both the Whig *Hereford Times* and the Tory *Hereford Journal* remained sympathetic to their cause.³²

Even so, Woods and Forests now began to move against the encroachers with Cecil Parsons an early target. In April 1858 notices were sent to no fewer than sixty encroachers inviting them to purchase and in March 1859 a list of a further fifteen encroachers was prepared, of which only three may have been archetypal 'cottagers'. However progress was not easy, for four of the old survey maps were found to be defective in 1859, while later it transpired that the township of Medallwedd in the parish of Bugeildy had been omitted from the earlier surveys.³³ These shortcomings were remedied and Woods and Forests initiated an almost annual ritual whereby if encroachments were identified, the holders were threatened with proceedings unless they purchased or attorned tenant. This was the practice which prevailed throughout the rest of the century.

Initially the policy provoked organised resistance for prior to 1858 the Crown's rights had not been actively asserted for some time and:

Encroachers had acquired considerable confidence in the security of their possession and many still think that by remaining passive they would not be disturbed.

Thus in mid-1860 it came to the attention of Woods and Forests that an association had been formed with headquarters at Leominster, Herefordshire members of which paid an annual subscription of ten shillings, with a solicitor (Cecil Parsons?) at its head who undertook to defend every action brought by the Crown against its members. However, nothing more is heard of this association. Thereafter resistance appears to have been passive. Thus in May 1876 the surveyor, JM Davies, wrote to Woods and Forests complaining that he had been unable to insert the dates of the encroachments on his survey of 1873 since no-one claimed to know when they had been made. Unlike Cardigan and Carnarfon:

In Radnorshire the people are most unobservant and it is impossible to get information from them as to dates, notwithstanding that they nearly all pay rents to the Crown for their encroachments.³⁴

While there was no serious attempt to enclose the whole of South Ugre after 1857, the opposition of those holding as yet undiscovered encroachments helps to explain why attempts to enclose single townships or parishes in the manor came to nothing and the great bulk of the manor, including most of Bugeildy parish, the whole of Llanbister and Llananno parishes and those parts of Llanbadarn Fynydd parish within the manor, remained unenclosed. Public opinion was so firmly on the side of the encroachers that freeholders without encroachments preferred to 'let sleeping dogs lie' rather than publicly support enclosure. It was not however, the only factor, for Woods and Forests demands for one-tenth or one-twelfth of the common in lieu of the right of soil to consent to the enclosure of some townships also deterred some freeholders from seeking enclosure.³⁵

Conclusion

Although Cecil Parsons and his allies had lost the legal and political battles of the 1830s they had won the propaganda battle largely by default and had succeeded in modifying the popular perception of squatters. Traditionally regarded as under-employed and scraping a living on the fringes of society, often by dubious means, the squatters were portrayed by Parsons as sturdy, independent and hardworking individuals, earning a precarious living from their small plots and under constant threat of eviction by uncaring gentry or the heartless Woods and Forests. Thus in the *Hereford Times* of 15 June 1839 the Radnorshire cottager was congratulated for not joining with the Chartists, but instead was described as a man:

... content with the quiet possession of his humble house and an acre of ground and [who] envies not his richer neighbours, their extensive domains ...

By consistent repetition of this idealised picture of the encroachers and by ignoring the weaknesses in their legal position Parsons was able to win over much local opinion to the Cottagers' cause and bring pressure upon opponents to remain silent and upon James Watt and Woods and Forests to reach compromises, but not to surrender abjectly as Howse implies.

Parsons and his allies also seem to have exaggerated the extent of the impending social crisis by their talk of 'hundreds' of encroachers threatened with eviction from their cottage and few acres. As Banks conceded,

the majority of encroachments were the work of squatters who had built a house and taken in an acre or so of common, but by far the greater acreage had been taken in by the owners and occupiers of farms adjacent to the commons.³⁶ This would suggest that a significant minority of encroachers were not small cottagers, but men of some means.

The 1851 census, which required enumerators to give the acreage of land held by individuals also suggests that Parsons and his allies were exaggerating the number at risk, for with only four evictions of encroachers on Watt's manors, one would expect to find significant numbers of smallholdings in the parishes of Saint Harmon, Nantmel, Llanfihangel Helygen and Llanyre in which the manors of Uwchcoed, Iscoed and Rhyslyn were located. However of 242 holdings in those parishes in 1851, only twenty were in the 1–15 acres category, and not all of these were necessarily originally encroachments. This does not suggest that large numbers of cottagers had been driven to purchase or attorn tenant in the manors purchased by Watt from the Crown. Many encroachers compelled to come to terms with Watt were clearly men of greater substance. The situation in South Ugre is less clear cut for the enumerator does not give the acreage of all holdings in the parishes of Bugeildy, Llananno, Llanbadarn Fynydd and Llanbister in which parts of the manor lay. However, a much larger proportion of the holdings were small in size. Thus of 281 holdings in these parishes at least ninety, more than a third of all holdings, lay in the 1–15 acre category, including half of the holdings in Llananno parish and a significant proportion of the holdings in the townships of Medallwedd in Bugeildy and Cwmlechwedd in Llanbister. Even so, there would not appear to have been 'hundreds' of small cottagers in South Ugre faced with the choice of purchase or attorning tenant for their encroachment or facing eviction.

Howse's rather romantic if misleading account of the episode seems to have been based entirely upon local sources, in particular upon the highly partisan accounts placed in the local newspapers by Cecil Parsons and his allies. The correspondence of the Commission of Woods and Forests, particularly that with Richard Banks, the steward of the Radnorshire Crown manors, not only adds detail but also provides some much needed balance, although one should be aware that the Commissioners of Woods and Forests and Richard Banks were quite as capable as Parsons of 'spinning' the narrative to bolster their case.

NOTES

1. WH Howse, *Radnorshire*, (Hereford, 1949), pp. 63–64.
2. TNA PRO CRES 49/4921, 18 February 1823, Woods and Forests to the Treasury; CRES 49/4923, 31 May 1824, James Davies to Woods and Forests.
3. TNA PRO CRES 49/5005, the valuation of South Neithon.
4. Sayce was found to have included 400–500 acres of Llynwene in the manor of Gladestry and the price was therefore reduced. There was no plan of the manor of South Rurallt, and since the boundaries of the manor were not clearly defined, the valuation of the manor was not reliable.
5. *Report of the Select Committee on Commons Inclosure*, the evidence of Sir Thomas Frankland Lewis, Question 1236.
6. TNA PRO CRES 49/5006, 'A statement of Mr Watt's case'.
7. *Hereford Times*, 6 January 1838, gives the Cottagers' version. Banks's version is to be found in TNA PRO CRES 49/5007, 5 January 1838, Banks to Woods and Forest.
8. *Hereford Journal*, 25 April 1827.
9. The Memorial is to be found in TNA PRO CRES 49/4924.
10. TNA PRO CRES 49/5005, 29 December 1834, D Lewis to J Wilkin.
11. *Hereford Journal*, 24 June 1835.
12. NLW *Ormathwaite Papers*, FG 1/8, Sir John Walsh's Diary, December 1834–March 1836, pp. 126–27, 8 July 1835; *Hereford Journal*, 19 August 1835; TNA PRO CRES 49/5005, 17 August 1835, Pemberton to Woods and Forests.
13. TNA PRO CRES 49/4926, 28 December 1835, D Lewis to Woods and Forests.
14. *Hereford Journal*, 19 August 1835.
15. TNA PRO CRES 49/5006, 16 January 1836, Banks to Woods and Forests.
16. TNA PRO CRES 49/5006, 26 April 1836, Watt to Woods and Forests.
17. TNA PRO CRES 49/5006, 18 April 1836, Watt to Woods and Forests; *Hereford Journal*, 15 June 1836.
18. TNA PRO CRES 49/5006, 8 August 1836, Pemberton to Woods and Forests.
19. TNA PRO CRES 49/5006, 10 January 1837, Watt to Woods and Forests; CRES 49/5007, 13 June 1838 and 15 September 1838, Banks to Woods and Forests.
20. *Hereford Times*, 6 January 1838.
21. *Parliamentary Papers 1839*, xxx, pp. 416–419.
22. *Hereford Times*, 21 January 1837; TNA PRO CRES 49/5007, 12 December 1837 and 26 January 1837, Banks to Woods and Forests.

23. *Hereford Journal*, 25 January 1837; *Hereford Times*, 6 January 1838; *Parliamentary Papers* 1839, xxx.
24. TNA PRO CRES 49/4927, 23 July 1841, Lord Harley to Woods and Forests.
25. Powys County Archives Office, R/Qs/DE/7, Llanfihangel Helygen Enclosure Award (alias the Llanyre Award). Watt received one-fifteenth of the money raised from the sale of encroachments, the balance went to pay the expenses of the enclosure, in particular the laying out of new roads.
26. *Hereford Journal*, 24 June 1835.
27. TNA PRO CRES 5/27, South Ugre Manorial Roll, 1853.
28. TNA PRO CRES 49/4902, 16 March 1854, Woods and Forests to J Wilkin.
29. TNA PRO CRES 49/4903, 22 February 1856, Lord Bateman to Sir George Grey, 13 March 1856, Banks to Woods and Forests.
30. TNA PRO CRES 49/4905, 'Memorandum of interview with Mr Blamire'.
31. TNA PRO CRES 49/4906, 22 August 1857, Banks to Woods and Forests, 28 August 1857, Green to Woods and Forests, enclosing the memorial; *Hereford Times*, 8 August 1857 and 22 August 1857.
32. TNA PRO CRES 49/4906, 9 November 1857, Draft letter, Woods and Forests to Green.
33. TNA PRO CRES 49/4907, 13 April 1858, Notices to encroachers; CRES 49/4908, 7 March 1859, Woods and Forests to Sir Horace Watson; CRES 49/49, 10 April 1873, Woods and Forests to the Treasury.
34. TNA PRO CRES 49/4907, 23 August 1858, Howard to the Treasury; CRES 49/4911, 9 May 1876, Davies to Sowray.
35. TNA PRO CRES 49/4634, Woods and Forests to Francis; CRES 49/4911, 3 March 1877, Peters to Woods and Forests; CRES 49/4993, 3 October 1877, Howard to the Treasury.
36. TNA PRO CRES 49/4903, 3 April 1856, Banks to Howard.

A REPORT ON THE EXCAVATION AT SCOTTLETON STREET, PRESTEIGNE

Stephen Priestley†

BORDER ARCHAEOLOGY was instructed to undertake the archaeological excavation of land off Scottleton Street, Presteigne prior to the proposed residential development.

The site comprised an area of undeveloped pasture situated on the western periphery of the historic town of Presteigne, in view of which its archaeological potential was considered high, as a previous evaluation in 2001 had revealed the well-preserved remains of a late medieval structure, then interpreted as a smithy.¹

HISTORICAL AND ARCHAEOLOGICAL BACKGROUND

The site is located on the western periphery of the historic core of Presteigne, a pre-Conquest settlement first documented as 'Humet' (an OE place name meaning 'meadow by a boundary') in the Domesday Survey of 1086.² The settlement subsequently occurs in the Herefordshire Domesday of c.1160 as 'Presthemed' (meaning 'priest's meadow by a boundary') presumably to distinguish it from nearby Kinsham ('Kingshemed'), which appears to have represented the King's share of the same estate.³

Presteigne was held in 1086 by Osbern fitz Richard lord of Richard's Castle and it remained in his family's possession until about 1140. It is likely that Osbern or his descendants were responsible for building the ringwork and bailey castle now called 'The Warden' located approximately 100 m to the SW of the excavation site. The castle is recorded as having been destroyed by Llywelyn ap Gruffydd in 1262 and does not appear to have been rebuilt.⁴

Cartographic evidence strongly suggests that the field in which the excavation site is located (previously known as 'Field by Warden' in the nineteenth century) formed part of an outer enclosure connected with the castle, particularly as a trackway called 'Castle Dyche' runs along the W boundary of the site. However, there is no evidence whatsoever to suggest that the structures revealed during the excavation were contemporary with

† With contributions from Neil Shurety, George Children, Dr Charlotte O'Brien, Dr Emma Hancox, Mr Stephen Clarke, Dr David Higgins and Prof. Philip Parkes.

the building or occupation of the castle. On the contrary, it appears that the earliest structures on the site were built several centuries after the castle was destroyed in 1262. An inquisition post mortem of 1337 refers to a plot of land called the 'Castelditch at Presthende', which appears to correspond with the site of the castle; however, it would seem that any buildings on the site had disappeared by that date.⁵

Presteigne developed as a market town in the thirteenth/early fourteenth century, receiving a grant of a market and fair in 1225, and later securing the grant of a second market in 1304.⁶ However, there is no archaeological or documentary evidence to indicate that building activity extended NW along Scottleton Street during this period. In fact, Presteigne, like other neighbouring Marcher towns such as Hay-on-Wye and New Radnor, appears to have experienced a significant contraction of urban settlement during the years 1350–1450, probably as a result of several plague epidemics in the second half of the fourteenth century and Glyndwr's sacking of the town in 1401.⁷ Scottleton Street was known as West Street in the medieval period and subsequently appears as Scotland Street in property deeds and historic maps from c.1650–1900.⁸

However, from the late fifteenth century onwards, Presteigne appears to have enjoyed a significant resurgence of prosperity and population growth that continued throughout the sixteenth century. The Tudor antiquarian John Leland, writing in about 1535, observed that Presteigne had become the chief town of Maelienydd, while William Camden, writing in 1588, noted that Presteigne had 'growne now to be so great a mercate town and faire withal that at this day it dammereth and dimmeth the light in some sort of Radnor'.⁹

The revival of Presteigne's fortunes during the late medieval period appears to have been fostered, at least in part, by the patronage of Richard Martin, Bishop of St David's (1482–83) and a privy councillor of King Edward IV, who is said to have assisted in obtaining a re-granting of its market charter in 1482. The expansion of the town during this period also owed much to its growth as a centre for cloth manufacture and its association with the Flanders wool trade.¹⁰

However, the growth of the town was again severely checked during the first half of the seventeenth century by a series of devastating plague epidemics, in 1610, 1636 and 1637. Presteigne was to suffer further misfortune in the late seventeenth century, as a result of the great fire of 12 September 1681, which caused extensive damage to the town, destroying approximately 60–70 houses out of a total of 128 listed in the Hearth Tax returns for 1670.¹¹

Presteigne experienced a steady revival during the eighteenth century,

which owed much to its location at the junction of a number of major coaching routes from England into Wales. Scottleton Street itself lay on the 'Great Road', a long established highway leading from Presteigne to Rhaeadr and thence to Aberystwyth.¹² Presteigne also developed as an important regional centre for the malting trade in the eighteenth century, as evidenced by the increase in the number of public houses licensed to operate in Presteigne during the eighteenth and early nineteenth century.¹³ Along Scottleton Street, four inns are known to have opened during this period, two of which, the Queen's Head (at no. 1 Castle Dyche) and the Bluebell Inn (at nos. 2 & 3 Scottleton Street, immediately opposite the site) were situated close by the excavation area.¹⁴

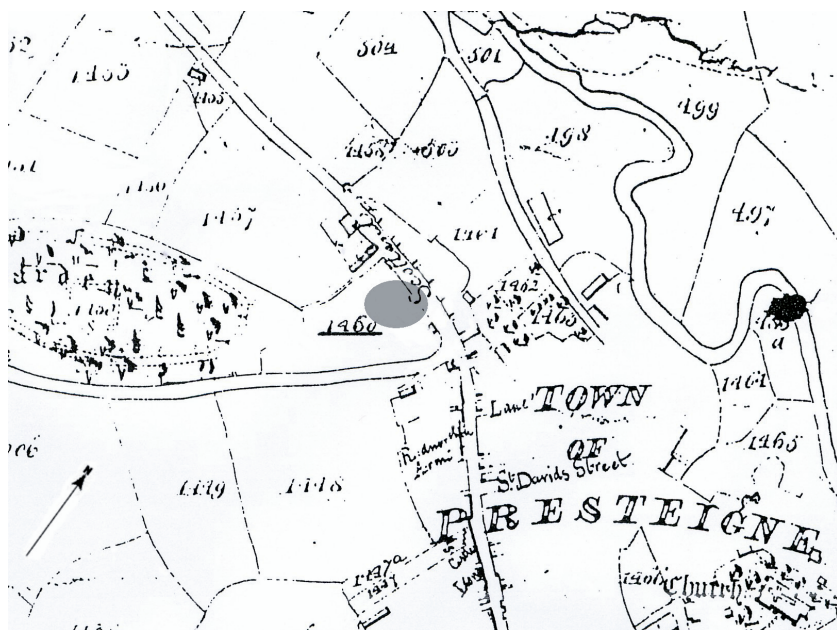


Fig. 1. Extract from OS 1st edition 1-inch map of 1835
(Reproduced by courtesy of the Powys County Record Office).

The OS 1st edition 1-inch map of 1835 (Fig. 1) provides some important information about the buildings occupying the site at that date. The map shows two distinct structures aligned E–W located on the street frontage of Scottleton Street, one being a small shed-like structure with a larger

rectangular building immediately W of it. However, the latter structure appears to have been demolished prior to 1845, when the Presteigne tithe map was drawn up (Fig. 2).¹⁵

The Presteigne tithe apportionment of 1845 records that the site lay within a large, pasture field of irregular quadrilateral shape called 'Field by Warden',¹⁶ so named because of its proximity to the site of the medieval motte and bailey castle to the SW which was known as the 'Warden' at least since the sixteenth century. The field, which covered an area just over two acres, was owned by a gentleman landowner named John Adcock Phillips. Little is known about the owner of the field; he appears as a party to a deed relating to property in Old Radnor in 1835.¹⁷



single celled, weatherboarded structure with a gabled, corrugated iron roof, standing on a low stone sill, with a chimney in the SW corner and a pair of gates at the E gable end. The shed was apparently used for the drying of animal hides within the last forty years.

RESULTS OF ARCHAEOLOGICAL EXCAVATION

Six distinct phases of activity were identified during the excavation of the site, which were as follows:

Phase I

The earliest deposit was a yellowish-grey silty clay immediately overlying natural gravels (115) and excavated to a maximum depth of 0.4m. Sealing (115) was a further deposit of yellowish-grey silty clay (106) (maximum thickness 0.45m), which was similar to (115) but contained charcoal inclusions suggesting a period of activity predating any structural evidence. Overlying (106) was pale greyish-brown silty clay hillwash deposit (142).

Phase II (Figs. 3 & 4)

Cutting into the hillwash deposit (142) were two construction cuts [119]. The western cut was made for the construction of wall (108) with a visible height of 1.46 m and a width of 0.44 m (Plate 1). A single sherd of seventeenth-century pottery was recovered from this wall. The cut to the E was for the construction of wall (130) and had a visible height of 1.1 m and a width of 0.45 m.

The earliest structure revealed was defined to the W and E by walls (108) and (130). To the W, wall (108) was orientated NE–SW and was faced on the SE; parallel to (108) and located 3.3 m to the E was wall (130), which was orientated NE–SW and faced on the NW. Both walls comprised undressed flattish angular and subangular stone irregularly coursed and bonded by yellowish-grey silty clay, identified as (106).

The rear wall (143) of this structure was constructed of undressed stone, the majority of which was flat and angular in form, bonded by yellowish-grey silty clay (106). This wall was keyed into (130) and abutted (108). It was not possible to identify the construction chronology of walls (108), (130) and (143) or whether a previous structure existed on the site but as a unit these walls formed the earliest excavated structure.

At the NE extent of wall (108) was what appeared to be a set of steps (145) leading into the space defined by walls (108) and (130), a possible undercroft. The steps survived to a height of 0.8 m and appeared to be regularly coursed and again bonded by yellowish-grey silty clay (106). Within

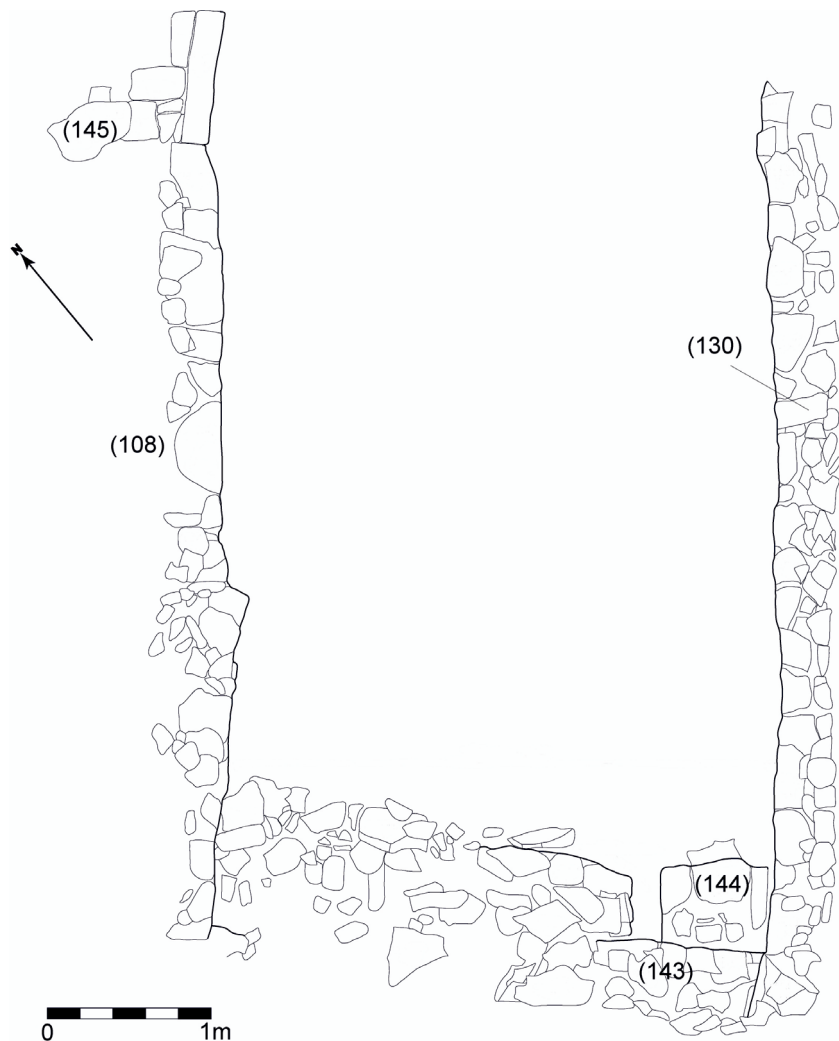


Fig. 3. Plan of seventeenth-century wall foundations represented by (108), (144), (143) and (130).

wall (108) was a noticeably larger stone laid on edge with dimensions of 0.74 m × 0.66 m.

Contained within the structure was a cohesive pale grey and brown mottled clay (139) representing a probable occupation or floor layer. The pottery analysis suggests a seventeenth-century date; sherds of probable



Plate 1: View looking W showing a series of seventeenth and eighteenth-century wall foundations represented by (107), (108), (111), (112), (116) and (117).

sixteenth-century date were also identified in this context together with three iron objects of probable early post-medieval date, which upon further analysis were identified as being a sword pommel and two fragments of chain mail.

To the S of the structure was a series of pits, the earliest of which was [136], the dimensions of which could not be ascertained owing to heavy truncation by pits [134] and [138]. All three pits were cut into (106) and might have been dug to obtain bonding material for walls (108), (130) and (143). The fill of pit [134] was (133), which produced seventeenth-century pottery and a clay pipe bowl closely dateable to *c.*1670–1700, suggesting a seventeenth-century date for this feature, while the fill of [138] (137) produced seventeenth-century pottery. On the western edge of the site, an arching feature [121] containing a loosely compacted dark-mid brown silt clay was identified, the function of which could not be ascertained owing to heavy bioturbation and truncation by the wall (110).

Phase III (Figs. 3 & 4)

Subsequent to the deposition of occupation layer (139), an internal wall

(144) was constructed. Similar to other walls uncovered on the site, (144) comprised undressed stone bonded by yellowish-grey silt clay (106). Abutting, but not keyed into (108) or (130), this walling may represent an internal feature, such as a bench or sill.

Phase IV

It is probable that the occupation/use of the structure formed by walls (108), (130), (143) ended dramatically. Contained within the walls, and sealing deposit (139), was a cohesive dark grey – brown/black clay silt (129) containing frequent charcoal inclusions, probably representing an episode of intense burning which may have resulted in the destruction of the building (Plate 2). The pottery evidence from (129) suggests a seventeenth-century date for this event. Two iron objects, later revealed to be sword pommels, were also recovered from this deposit.

The deposit overlying (129) was a firmly compacted yellow – light brown silty clay (128) with frequent inclusions of burnt stone similar in size and shape to those used to construct walls (108) and (130) and indeed the up-standing remains of these walls also showed evidence of burning. The majority of pottery recovered from (128) dates to the seventeenth century. A single nineteenth-century sherd was recovered, although this is thought to be intrusive rather than deposited.

A period of abandonment followed the fire and resulting demolition of the structure. Deposits accumulated in three phases, the earliest being (131) which was a firmly compacted grey clay loam. Overlying this was an accumulation of mid yellowish-brown clay silt hillwash in two phases: (114) and (113). The pottery evidence from (113) has given a range of dates from the fourteenth century (single sherd) to the nineteenth century (sherds of porcelain), thus corroborating the interpretation of this deposit as an accumulation of hillwash. The pottery from (114) suggests a range of dates from the seventeenth century through to the nineteenth century.

Phase V (Fig. 4)

A construction phase followed this period of abandonment, with wall (111) abutting and respecting the still visible earlier wall (108). Keyed into (111), which formed the rear wall of this later structure and followed a similar alignment to (143), was wall (112). Like (130), (112) was orientated NE–SW and appeared to be faced to the NW but its location was 0.4 m further E. Only a small length of (112) was extant and there was no visible return wall to the NE linking (112) with (108).

Abutting but not keyed into (108) to the W was wall (107). This was on a similar alignment to (111) but set back further S by 0.2m. Continuing along



Plate 2: View looking S showing seventeenth-century burning deposit (129) and wall (130).

the same alignment and abutting but not keyed into (107) was wall (117). The return of (117) to the W was represented by wall (109), orientated NE–SW and faced to the SE. Between (108) and (109) were three wall stubs, the first of which (126) was keyed into the western extent of (107). This stub appeared to be orientated NE–SW and may have been faced to the SE. Analysis of clay pipe fragments excavated from (126) suggests a late eighteenth or early nineteenth-century date.

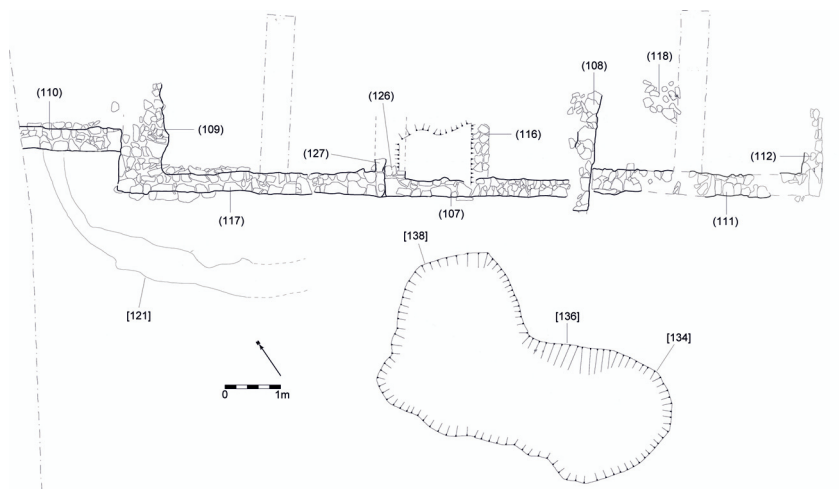


Fig 4. Plan showing wall remains and pit features to SW of site.

Abutting (126) but keyed into (117) was another stub (127). As the remains of (126) and (127) were limited, it was impossible to discern the phasing of these walls, or whether they formed a partition (thereby creating three structures or cells) or were part of an internal feature perhaps associated with the third stub (116) extant between walls (108) and (109). Wall (116) abutted but was not keyed into (107) and appeared to delineate a raised area. It is possible that the return of this feature may have been (126)/(127) and formed an internal feature such as the base of a hearth.

Abutting (109) to the W was wall (110). This wall continued W beyond the limit of excavation; however, the excavated extent appeared to be on a similar orientation to walls (111), (107) and (117), although (110) was constructed approximately 0.4 m further N than (117). All of the above walls were bonded with (106).

Phase VI

These structures were eventually partially demolished or collapsed following a period of abandonment. Rubble-based deposits were identified across the site ((102), (103), (104), and (105) and a rubble dump was also uncovered (118). The pottery and clay pipe material from these deposits has produced some general dating evidence. The pottery from (102) suggests a seventeenth-century date (a single sherd of thirteenth-century pottery was also identified), which is corroborated by the clay pipe evidence, with the latest stem dating to the late seventeenth/early eighteenth century. The pot-

tery from (103) and (105) was eighteenth century while that from (104) provides a nineteenth-century date, with residual seventeenth-century sherds. These deposits were then sealed by an accumulation of hillwash (101), which in turn was sealed by the topsoil (100).

INTERPRETATION

It is likely that the single celled structure represented by Phases II/III constitutes the earliest evidence of building activity on the site and was probably constructed no earlier than the late fifteenth century. The earliest surviving buildings at Scottleton Street, nos. 4 to 7, are believed to date originally from the late fifteenth or early sixteenth century and are indicative of the expansion of urban settlement that appears to have occurred in Presteigne during this period.¹⁸ This expansion of settlement owed much to its association with the cloth manufacture and it is quite possible that the Phase II/III structure could have been associated with this industry, although direct evidence is lacking.¹⁹

It appears that the occupation of the Phase II/III structure represented by walls (108) (130) and (143) terminated with its destruction by fire, represented by deposit (129), which seems to indicate a period of intense burning. The precise date of the destruction event represented by Phase IV is unclear but it probably occurred at some point in the seventeenth century. This date is reinforced by the analysis of the pottery from (129) which yielded A7d Midlands Redware including jugs, bowls and a possible dripping tray. In addition the environmental analysis of the sample taken from this context records the presence of charcoal and shattered stones, indications of a period of burning. How the Phase II/III structure came to be destroyed is not known, although several possible explanations may be advanced.

The Phase II/III structure could have been burnt down during the great fire of 12 September 1681, which caused widespread damage to the town.²⁰ It is usually assumed that the fire was confined chiefly to the area bounded by Church Way, High Street, St David's Street and Canon's Lane, with some damage extending E along Church Street.²¹ However the possibility cannot be discounted that the fire could have spread as far as the SE extremity of Scottleton Street.

An alternative hypothesis, suggested by the discovery of two iron sword pommels in burning layer (129) is that the destruction of the Phase II/III structure might have occurred as a result of military activity, possibly during the Civil War when the Welsh Marches were a key battleground for

Royalist and Parliamentary forces. However, no documentary record has come to light of an attack on the town during this period. Presteigne was a Royalist stronghold throughout the Civil War and Charles I is recorded as having visited the town while journeying through Radnorshire to North Wales in September 1645.²²

After the destruction event occurred, it appears that the site was abandoned for a period of time, possibly several decades. Further building activity subsequently took place, as represented by the Phase V structure which incorporated elements from the previous structure occupying the site, although it was considerably larger in size. It is likely that the Phase V structure can be assigned to the eighteenth century, which seems to have been a period of significant population growth, economic revival and urban expansion in Presteigne.²³

Analysis of the bone assemblage suggests that the use of animals on this site was probably for domestic purposes. Based on the finds assemblage, it would appear that the function of the Phase V structure was primarily domestic; however, in view of the evidence for the adjacent shed being used for the drying of hides, it is possible that the Phase V structure may also have been used for a similar purpose, possibly associated with tanning or cloth manufacture, which would normally have been located on the periphery of urban settlement.

Cartographic evidence, in the form of the OS 1st edition 1-inch map of 1835, indicates that the Phase V structure was probably still standing in the mid 1830s. However, when the Presteigne tithe map was drawn up ten years later, in 1845, all trace of the Phase V structure appears to have vanished. It would appear then, at some point between 1835 and 1845, that occupation on the site ceased and the Phase V structure was demolished and the site levelled.

SUMMARY OF POST EXCAVATION ANALYSIS

A total of 175 pottery sherds were analysed by Stephen Clarke MIFA, FSA of Monmouth Archaeology. The earliest items in the assemblage were a sherd of thirteenth-century Malvernian tripod pitcher found in (102) and a single sherd of fourteenth-century ware in (113), both of which were probably residual. A small quantity of sixteenth-century pottery was found in occupation layer (139), however the vast majority of the pottery recovered from the site consisted of Herefordshire wares of seventeenth-century date. The remainder of the pottery comprised a mixture of Staffordshire ware, stoneware and porcelain of eighteenth and nineteenth-century date.

Charred cereal grains recovered from the deposit associated with the burning episode included oats and barley, these being commonly used cereals throughout medieval Britain,²⁴ and the site also produced a small number of bones of cattle, sheep/goat, pig, rabbit, dog and hare. Evidence of butchery in the form of saw, cut and chop marks and burning suggests that this is a domestic bone assemblage, but no further definite conclusions could be drawn.²⁵

The small clay tobacco pipe assemblage analysed by Dr David Higgins (consisting of nine bowl, thirty-eight stem and three mouthpiece fragments dating from the mid-seventeenth century to the early twentieth century), is one of very few to have been examined from Powys. The seventeenth-century pipes seem to have been predominantly of local manufacture but probably with some Much Wenlock/Broseley area products circulating alongside them. The eighteenth-century evidence is scanty but, by the nineteenth century, symbol marks, moulded decoration and Irish style pipes were all in circulation. None of these styles were particularly common in Shropshire and so the majority of the pipes being used at Presteigne are likely to have been supplied from elsewhere.

It was not possible to assign specific dates to the iron and copper alloy objects found on the excavation site at Scottleton Street, which included a large number of horseshoe pieces, nails and other fittings including a copper buckle.²⁶ The vast majority of the objects appeared to be post-medieval in date. Of particular interest is a small assemblage of iron objects of military usage that appear to be of post-medieval origin. This included two iron objects originally interpreted as cannon ball fragments which upon further analysis turned out to be sword pommels, that were found within an intense burning layer associated with the destruction of buildings on the site at some time during the seventeenth century. The presence of these military items is both significant and difficult to explain; they appear to be totally out of context with the location and domestic nature of the site. Another iron sword pommel and two fragments of chain mail were discovered within an occupation layer of sixteenth or seventeenth-century date.

CONCLUSION

The single celled structure represented by walls (108), (130) and (143) appears to constitute the earliest evidence of building activity on the site and was probably constructed no earlier than the late fifteenth century, during a period of prosperity and urban expansion in Presteigne. The town emerged as a significant local centre for the manufacture of cloth in the

first half of the sixteenth century and the Phase II/III structure could have been associated with this industry, although direct evidence is lacking.

Occupation of the building appears to have been brought to an end by fire, as the archaeological evidence indicates a period of intense burning. Although the precise date of this destruction is unclear, the pottery evidence suggests it occurred at some point during the seventeenth century, possibly during the great fire of 1681, which caused extensive damage to the town.

The site was subsequently abandoned for a period of perhaps several decades before further building activity took place, as represented by the larger Phase V structure, which can probably be assigned to a period of significant population growth, economic revival and urban expansion in Presteigne during the eighteenth century. Cartographic evidence suggests that the Phase V structure was probably demolished at some point between 1835 and 1845 and no further building activity appears to have occurred on the site since that date.

NOTES

1. J Wainwright, 'Land off Scottleton Street, Presteigne — A Report on an Archaeological Evaluation', *Marches Archaeology Report*, 180 (Clun, 2001).
2. WH Howse, 'Presteigne in Domesday', *Transactions of the Radnorshire Society*, 21 (1951), pp. 48–9; R Morgan, *A Study of Radnorshire Place Names* (Llanwrst, 1998), pp. 82–3.
3. VE Galbraith and J Tait (eds.), *The Herefordshire Domesday*, Pipe Roll Society, 25 (1947–8), p. 79; P Remfry, *Castles of Radnorshire* (Logaston, 1996), p. 120.
4. Remfry, *Castles of Radnorshire*, p. 120.
5. *Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem*, 8, no. 711, p. 502; I Soulsby, *The Towns of Medieval Wales* (Chichester, 1983), p. 220.
6. TNA PRO C60/24 m.8 (the original grant of the market and fair by Henry III to William fitz Warin in 1225); WH Howse, 'Early grant of a weekly market to Presteigne', *Transactions of the Radnorshire Society*, 26 (1956), p. 43.
7. K Parker, *A History of Presteigne* (Logaston, 1997), pp. 21–2.
8. A number of eighteenth-century deeds relating to lands in Scotland Street, Presteigne are contained in various manuscripts held at the NLW, including the Bodfach Deeds, Dolforgam Estate Deeds and the J Lamb Collection.
9. Soulsby, *The Towns of Medieval Wales*, p. 220.
10. Parker, *A History of Presteigne*, pp. 22–3; Soulsby, *The Towns of Medieval Wales*, p. 220.

11. Parker, *A History of Presteigne*, p.76; WH Howse, 'Presteigne's great fire of 1681', *Transactions of the Radnorshire Society*, 25 (1955), pp. 17–19.
12. R Moore-Colyer, *Roads and Trackways of Wales* (Ashbourne 2001), p. 84.
13. Parker, *A History of Presteigne*, pp. 98–101.
14. Parker, *A History of Presteigne*, p. 100.
15. Powys County Record Office P/X/9/M/207.
16. Powys County Record Office P/X/9/5/207/112.
17. NLW Harpton Court Deeds 5, nos. 1022–1023.
18. Parker, *A History of Presteigne*, p. 19; RJ Silvester, *Radnorshire District Historic Settlements Survey*, CPAT Report 92 (Welshpool 1994), p. 143.
19. Parker, *A History of Presteigne*, pp. 31–2.
20. Parker, *A History of Presteigne*, p. 76.
21. Parker, *A History of Presteigne*, pp. 76–7; Howse, 'Presteigne's great fire of 1681', pp. 17–19.
22. R Moore-Colyer, *Roads and Trackways of Wales*, p. 104.
23. Parker, *A History of Presteigne*, pp. 98–101.
24. The environmental samples were analysed by Dr Charlotte O'Brien of Durham University.
25. The bone assemblage was analysed by Dr Emma Hancox of Birmingham University.
26. The metalwork was analysed and conserved by Professor Philip Parkes of Cardiff Conservation Services.

‘A RESORT OF THE COMMON PEOPLE IN GREAT TROOPS’ — LLANDRINDOD WELLS SPA AND ITS WORKERS IN THE LATE NINETEENTH AND EARLY TWENTIETH CENTURY

Siân Lewis

INTRODUCTION

LLANDRINDOD WELLS IS A TOWN IN MID-WALES, made famous at the turn of the twentieth century by its increasing prosperity as a spa town and health resort. Many visitors came to Llandrindod at this time and it attracted a whole range of visitors, from day trippers to the sick in search of a cure to the upper classes seeking a fashionable retreat. This dissertation seeks to investigate the fortunes of Llandrindod. In particular, it will be looking at the workers of Llandrindod; where they came from, why they chose to work there and what their motives were for staying. The title of my dissertation includes a quote from Dr Diederick Wessel Linden, the doctor who ‘discovered’ Llandrindod in the eighteenth century. He stated in his treatise that in the summer season, the town became ‘a Resort of the common people in great Troops’ which increased the ‘annual Pilgrimage’ of people to the ‘Foundation of Health’ that was Llandrindod.¹

Spa towns have not been investigated much and their history is very much restricted. Towns such as Bath, Buxton and Leamington Spa are remembered for their prominence as spa towns whilst Llandrindod’s history as a health resort is not widely known. The historiography of the spa resort is limited. There are not many works which describe the prominence achieved by these towns at the start of the twentieth century. Medical history, although it has left a space for some kinds of complementary medicine such as homeopathy, seems to have neglected the spa. David Harley states that:

Although the major spas have received attention for their role in the development of resort towns, especially in the period before the invention of the seaside resorts, and the medical literature has been examined by historians of chemical analysis, spas have yet to be fully integrated into medical history.²

Although some spas are more well-known, there have not been many in-depth studies on the spa and why they were so popular. There is a significant gap in the historiography in regard to the workers of these towns.

When researching this dissertation, I found no previous instances of work which focused on the workers in these towns. A variety of workers were needed in spa towns as there were a wide range of businesses. They varied from the hotels and guest houses who were in need of household staff such as housekeepers, cooks, gardeners, maids and porters among others, as well as shops such as the Emporium which needed workers for all departments, combined with workers who were needed to serve the spa water to those who paid for it.

Interestingly, as well as Llandrindod being missing in the study of spa towns, it is also absent in the history of Wales. John Davies' *A History of Wales* is a prominent text when looking at the history of the region. However, Llandrindod's spa history is mentioned sparingly, only referred to in reference to the railway reaching mid-Wales and giving Llandrindod's prosperity a boost.³ Similarly in Kenneth O Morgan's text entitled *Wales 1880–1980: Rebirth of a Nation*, only a small mention is given to the mid-Wales town. Although more mention is given to Llandrindod than in Davies's book, it is still a very small fraction and it does not go into great detail about Llandrindod and its visitors, simply that it experienced 'an extraordinary boom in its popularity'.⁴ The history of Wales has been led in other directions, distracted by industrialisation, nonconformity, nationalism, national identity and the fate of the Welsh language. This focus has led to the history of this mid-Wales town to be sidelined and only briefly mentioned, unless in a more focused local history.

The first part of this study is going to combine a look at the general history of Llandrindod, how the waters were discovered and initially promoted, as well as a focus on spa medicine and how it was perceived at this time to be beneficial for all and how it helped to cure a variety of illnesses and ailments. Following from this, there will be an exploration of how Llandrindod promoted itself at the time of its spa prosperity. This will be investigated using town guides that were produced at the turn of the century as well as looking at the censuses to see how much the population of the town increased at the peak season. Although the census was normally undertaken in March, already there are visitors staying in the bigger hotels in the town which indicates how many would be staying at the peak of the season. To help to back up these figures, the local paper, *The Radnorshire Standard and Mid-Wales Gazette* will be extremely useful as in the summer it published a list of who was staying in the hotels during that week. The main part of the dissertation will then follow on to look at the workers who came to serve the visitors. Here, I will use a variety of primary sources such as the censuses to look at how many of the workers were local and how many had moved into the area, as well as looking at the memoirs of sev-

eral people who lived and worked in Llandrindod when it was a bustling spa town. These are very enlightening as they state reasons for working in Llandrindod as well as a description of working conditions.

THE LOST SPA

At the turn of the century, the idea that spa water could cure all ills was becoming more and more popular. As well as Llandrindod, fashionable spa towns were emerging all over Britain at this time. The most prominent of these were Bath, Buxton, Cheltenham and Leamington Spa as well as there being a few local spas around Llandrindod such as Builth Wells, Llangammarch Wells and Llanwrtyd Wells, although these were significantly smaller than their bigger neighbour. Although few modern physicians would recommend spa water for medical treatment, Roy Porter states that 'from the eighteenth century, the discipline of hygiene increasingly saw copious supplies of water as essential to effecting [*sic*] that cleanliness which was next to godliness'.⁵ Spa therapy was seen to be beneficial for a whole range of ills and was increasingly popular around the turn of the twentieth century. However, since the mid-twentieth century, many spas have experienced a downturn in fortunes and status. Although there was a brief surge in the amount of people attending spas after the First World War, especially due to the fact that many felt unsafe to be travelling abroad to seek spa treatment, the Second World War did nothing to help the falling fortunes of the spa towns. An increase in foreign travel, as well as the increasing prominence of holiday resorts such as the first Butlins holiday camp which opened in the late 1930s, led to the decline of spa treatments and the increasing prominence of the seaside town and holiday resort. Bruce Osborne states 'Today in Britain, unlike the rest of the world, spas adopt a low profile, in fact so low that spa heritage impinges little on the majority of resorts known to have been active in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the heyday of British Spas'.⁶ It hard to grasp how important spa medicine and complementary therapies were at this time. David Harley states that spas in Britain were scattered throughout the country and that 'they were used by large numbers of both sick and healthy people'. He also comments on how books that discussed the use of spa therapy were at this time the most widely read of all medical texts.⁷ Roy Porter believes that many modern physicians dismiss the hydrotherapies which were so essential in the Edwardian period, so that now, instead of being considered as an alternative complementary therapy, spa treatment has become a part of 'heritage'.⁸ The importance of spa water healing in medicine at the turn of

the twentieth century can be seen by looking at hospitals as David Cantor has observed. He states that in Llandrindod, as well as in Leamington Spa, numerous hospital beds were set aside for patients undergoing mineral water treatment. Also, a spa doctor was seen to be extremely competent, as they specialised in a whole range of illnesses that could be treated with spa water such as rheumatism, arthritis, fatigue as well as other disabilities.⁹

The idea that spa water was a competent cure for a range of illnesses was not completely fabricated and in many instances it did prove to be beneficial for many patients. There was a strong belief in herbal tablets and 'miracle cures' at this time. This can easily be shown by looking at the local papers from this period. The *Radnorshire Standard and Mid-Wales Gazette* contained a half page advertisement for Bile Beans for Biliousness, which was believed to be a cure for a whole range of illnesses such as headaches and influenza.¹⁰ This promotion of home remedies and cures was also seen in newspapers such as the *Merthyr Express* which advertised Bovril as a cure for influenza as well as Lloyds of Dowlais's White oil which was seen to cure rheumatism, gout, lumbago and sciatica.¹¹ This suggests home remedy was taken very seriously by all types of society in this period which helps to explain why Llandrindod was increasingly fashionable as a health resort at this time. An additional reason why spa medicine was seen to be beneficial to many was due to people returning from the colonies. Taking the water was seen to assist with the after-effects of tropical diseases such as dysentery.¹² Roy Porter states that the curative powers of water were widely celebrated and adds that they survived until the beginning of the modern, scientific type of medicine. He adds that they:

satisfied a deep desire that the healing enterprise should proceed within frameworks essentially sociable in their nature, and suffused with symbolic cultural meanings.¹³

The willingness of so many people to take the spa waters seems surprising considering the way in which the waters were considered best to take. The saline water was thought to be best drunk before 7 a.m. and it was not surprising to have long queues of visitors early in the morning, trying to drink as much water as possible before the early deadline. The sulphur water was deemed best drunk in the afternoon and it was considered important that the water should be consumed on the spot as it was thought by many to be ineffective if drunk more than ten to twelve yards away.¹⁴

Spa towns such as Bath were becoming increasingly popular with members of the aristocratic classes in the eighteenth century. When the season was over in London at the start of autumn, the upper classes assembled in

Bath to experience the 'Little Season' and to appreciate the spa treatments. Barry Cunliffe states that the season had 'coalesced into a single six months extending through the winter' and that it was soon known that the expensive months occurred from September until May.¹⁵ Bath benefited greatly by its visitors and *The Bath Journal* reported in 1800 that the number of visitors of distinction were over 5000. However, these would have only represented a small amount of the actual visitor numbers and in all probability would not have included day visitors alongside those residing in the hotels and guest houses.¹⁶ Bath as a city and as a spa town enjoyed a lot more exposure than smaller spa towns such as Llandrindod. There is no obvious reason for this. Bath did benefit from notoriety due to the amount of aristocracy who resided there during the winter months, but as a spa town, it was seen by some to be equal, or lesser than, its Welsh counterpart. In fact, one visitor, Dr Neville Wood, once remarked, 'In England, (with internal action chiefly in view) I should give the order thus: Llandrindod, Buxton, Harrogate, Cheltenham, Bath'. Llandrindod was seen to be more beneficial as a health spa, rather than a social excursion. Dr Wood continues; 'in situation, in climate, Llandrindod Wells has features, not so far as I know, shared by any other Spa'.¹⁷ Llandrindod was an important town in terms of spa treatment. As well as its numerous health water springs, it also boasted of its clean country air, and its country walks were given as much space as the spa treatments in their advertisements. The town's situation in the Welsh mountains gave it a truly distinctive edge as a health resort compared to city retreats such as Bath which were as popular for their social scene as for their health benefits which was not the intention for the mid-Wales town. even compared it to Switzerland, a land known for their careful examination of their waters, and called the Welsh mountains the 'British Alps' in a direct comparison to the Swiss.¹⁸

The town's growth is all the more remarkable considering its humble beginnings. Llandrindod was simply the name of a parish on eighteenth-century maps of the area and Kenneth O Morgan describes it as 'a small hamlet with a few boarding houses to accommodate those wishing to partake of the water from the mineral springs'.¹⁹ Although a few were attracted to the waters in the eighteenth century, it was the mid-nineteenth century, helped by the arrival of the railway, that saw its transformation into 'The Queen of Welsh Watering Places'.²⁰ It has been stated that one essential characteristic of a health spa is to have a doctor who discovered the place, promoted it and who brought in the wealthy patients who would help the spa to survive and grow.²¹ The doctor in Llandrindod's case was Dr Diederrick Wessel Linden. He published his treatise on Llandrindod in 1756 and his comments brought Llandrindod to the forefront of spa resorts in Wales,

of which there were not many, and definitely promoted the town in regard to Britain. In his treatise, Linden states:

I cannot therefore but wish the Llandrindod Waters were ... introduced and prescribed at London ... those patients would not fail to receive considerable benefit'.²²

Dr Linden's endorsement of Llandrindod gave the town a great status, and even led to a street being named after him. He became enamoured with the local area, choosing to return to mid-Wales to live in Brecon, the then capital of mid-Wales after his paper was published. He had originally visited Llandrindod for relief for his own ailments and was cured in less than four weeks, which allowed him plenty of time to analyse the benefits of the various types of spa water springs.²³ However, although Dr Linden had visited the spa in the late eighteenth century, it was not until the turn of the nineteenth century that Llandrindod became the popular spa town that attracted visitors from all over Britain, as well as abroad.

It should not be underestimated to what great extent the arrival of the railway in 1865 benefited the town. Due to its geographical position in the mid-Wales hills, travelling to the area was difficult. The connection to the south Wales valleys and the Midlands were completed by 1868 which opened up transport routes, particularly to the industrial centres which were important visitor heartlands for Llandrindod.²⁴ The trains from Llandrindod went as far as London and arrived several times a day, bringing with them many who had never before experienced a spa town like Llandrindod and adding to the range of visitors the town accommodated for. In 1855, ten years before the arrival of the railway, it became apparent that Llandrindod was not a sophisticated spa like Bath or Tunbridge Wells. The railway companies assisted in promoting the resorts it was taking passengers to and its advertising campaigns became 'more assertive and creative ... generating enduring and alluring images for some of the places they promoted'.²⁵ Many spas were in decline due to the new interest in hydrotherapy but Llandrindod was acknowledged to be different. It was seen to be a precursor to taking a holiday at a seaside town like Aberystwyth. Llandrindod was destined to be the National Welsh spa.²⁶ Llandrindod was exceptional in the fact that it absorbed visitors from all classes and this can be noted by the fact that the Pump House Hotel had two different tariffs for its variety of visitors.

Considering the amount of visitors that came to the town in this period, it is crucial to look out how Llandrindod promoted itself. In order to compete with other health resorts and the upcoming attraction of the seaside

town, it needed to be competitive and to make sure that it did not disappear from the public eye by keeping up promotion over Wales and the rest of Great Britain.

PULLING IN THE TOURISTS

After establishing the history of Llandrindod and the importance of spa medicine at this time, this chapter will be investigating how the town promoted itself to visitors and those seeking medical treatment at this time. It will also be exploring who was attracted to the spa in this period and how they were made aware of its existence. It is important to explore whether Llandrindod's prominence arose from word of mouth or if its promotion through other means such as newspapers and tourism guides was successful.

Firstly, it is essential to examine the guides to Llandrindod which were produced at the height of its spa prosperity. Many were published in this period of which a significant number still exist. Although the majority of these guides do not have a publishing date, it is assumed that they were published around the turn of the century, when the town was undergoing its biggest surge in popularity. There are a variety of guides, some published by the Llandrindod Wells Development Association whilst others are independent travel guides from publishers who produced many on a variety of resorts around Britain.

An example of an independently produced booklet is one published by Ralph Darlington. Entitled *Llandrindod Wells and Environs*, it contains information about the springs and the Radnorshire countryside. Darlington states; 'Many are the signs that this inland watering place is on its way to be the capital of Mid-Wales'.²⁷ It is clear that this particular handbook was meant for the wealthy and for people who spent a lot of time travelling between various spa resorts. The latter half of the book is filled with advertisements for a variety of other British spa resorts such as Buxton and Cheltenham as well as for hotels in other parts of the country and abroad such as Aberdeen, Belgium, France, Russia, Munich and America. This reflects the idea that at this point in time, there were many who spent their time travelling between spa towns, getting treatment, and that in certain cases money was no object so travelling abroad was not completely unrealistic. Another pamphlet, which has been given a production date of c.1920, was not published in Radnorshire. This anonymous guide goes into detail about the various charms that Llandrindod has to offer compared to other towns; 'Llandrindod, from its size and the variety of its springs, can rightly

claim to be of first import'.²⁸ This primary source is very important to understand the attraction of Llandrindod to many, especially those from a city environment. It mentions that the mid-Wales attractions are different to other resorts but that this does not make them any less worthy:

Keen bracing air; a sense of repose and seclusion; pretty scenery of diversified types; excellent fishing and an abundance of healing waters may be said to be the leading characteristics of the district dealt with in this volume.²⁹

This volume is also significant as it mentions a Manchester daily newspaper in which the town was mentioned. Although it neglects to say when the article was published, it sings the praises of the Welsh town and commiserates over its geographical position, stating 'were the pretty, bright town transported ... to some continental centre, fashionable England would flock to the new spa'.³⁰ The article continues on a similar theme, concluding that if this transportation were possible, Llandrindod's name would be associated with popular foreign spas such as Homburg and Wiesbaden in Germany.³¹

As well as these independent guides, the Llandrindod Wells Development Association also produced their promotional material which was unsurprisingly flattering about the town and the benefits that could be gained by staying there. It also boasts of the prime advantage that Llandrindod gains through its location:

In many respects Llandrindod is an ideal residential place. It suggests a very marked popularity ... that a parish with a tiny population should in some 60 years grow into one of the leading health resorts of the country.³²

Even the title of the publication; *Llandrindod Wells: An ideal Spa for Health and Holiday*; suggests how proud the Association was of their town. The guide even included a list of medical practitioners and their opinions on the town and the waters such as Sir William Willcox who stated that Llandrindod had a water which was 'one of the best in Europe' whilst Dr Sainsbury believed that he could forecast a 'great future' for the town and did not believe that that patients should be sent to Continental spas when Llandrindod was on their doorstep.³³ However, it is clear to be seen that the guides published by this local organisation all stated the same facts and promoted similar ideas. Other publications entitled *Llandrindod Wells: The Premier Spa of Wales* and *Llandrindod Wells: The Wye Valley Health and Holiday Spa* include very similar material, some of which is identical to each other.

Therefore, it is apparent how much effort was put in by the Development Association into promoting Llandrindod and its health waters. Its history was emphasised strongly, stating that its documented cures go back for a century whilst 'references to its health-giving waters and air go back very much further'.³⁴ The importance of these publications is essential to understanding the atmosphere in the town at this point. There were many local people who were committed to the future of Llandrindod so through producing these guides, they were encouraging many to visit and to try the waters for their own health benefits. It is hard to be completely certain how far these guides were distributed and how many people read them. However, the fact that the guides contained advertisements for other spas in Britain and abroad suggests that Llandrindod may have been included in publications across the country, which would have promoted its status. Also, for so many guides to be produced, of which the ones mentioned are simply a selection, suggests that they were a popular way for sight-seers to gain notice of other resorts in order to visit in the future. It was important for Llandrindod to make itself noticed by visitors who were prone to attending other spas and health resorts for it was only through this that the town would prolong its prosperity.

The hotel industry participated strongly in the self-promotion of the town. The bigger hotels frequently advertised in the local papers, promoting their hotels and spa treatments. As the Pump House Hotel had its own pump room, it frequently advertised the fact. This was attractive to the visitors who felt they were too ill to attend the main Pump Room of the town; they could simply remain in the grounds of their own hotel to take the waters. Other hotels tried to gain the same advantage by sending porters to the town's Pump Room early in the morning and collecting water for those who could not, or would not, move from their beds. Jack Saunders recollects how, when he worked at the Ye Wells Hotel, there was a man called Tommy Davies whose sole job was to fetch waters for those not allowed to go to the Pump Room; 'the waters were in stone jars and he might have as many as dozen ... we'd have to take one of these jars in to the bedroom with a pint measure — what they had to take'.³⁵ The fact that many hotels catered for the whims of their visitors made them very popular and they extended their advertisements to other papers in order to attract a variety of guests. The Pump House Hotel, and others including the Gwalia and Ye Wells were frequently advertised in *The Times* in the 1920s. While many of the advertisements just included the name of the hotel next to the town's name, a significant few took out display advertising in order to catch the eye of the discerning guest. These adverts also concentrated on Llandrindod's key selling point; its fresh air and healthy environment.³⁶ Hotels such

as the Gwalia promoted their vastness and the high status of their hotels, emphasising that they were large, efficiently run hotels, not local hostels. They wanted to attract the best of clients which is shown in this promotional picture for the hotel (Fig. 1.).



Fig. 1. The Gwalia hotel in Llandrindod Wells.

A promotional picture designed to attract visitors to the town.

It is worth noting how often Llandrindod was mentioned in *The Times*. At this time, for a small mid-Wales town to gain mention in a national broadsheet such as this was very significant. Although many of the times that Llandrindod is mentioned it is through paid advertisements which obviously the hotels would have provided themselves, there are frequent references to the town through other occurrences. *The Times* contained a court circular where it wrote about members of prominent society, similar to a gossip page. On August 31 1927 the paper states that prominent members of the gentry and upper classes had left London for Llandrindod. These included Lord and Lady Forester, Lady Gilbert, Sir Stanley and Lady Reed and Sir Horace Avery amongst others, whilst the following week, Viscount Tredegar as well as the Marqués de Galtero were among Llandrindod's visitor lists.³⁷ Another national publication that Llandrindod was mentioned in was the *Gentleman's Magazine*. In October 1748, a poem was published about the town which included many complementary lines. The author, recognised only as 'EG' states in a short prologue to the poem which he

states that they 'boast nothing more, than an impartial, and exact description of a place, which I am persuaded is designed by heaven, for universal benefit'.³⁸ The author elaborates further in the poem, stating lines such as 'Let England boast Bath's crowded Springs, Llandrindod happier Cambria sings' and 'Come, then, and feast, without control, At once the body and the soul'.³⁹ This type of publicity in a top-ranking gentleman's magazine was invaluable to the town as it would have been read by gentlemen of the higher orders of society, who could afford to sojourn to Llandrindod for the season and bring lots of revenue to the town.

We can assess to a certain degree the numbers of visitors who came to the town over its peak season. *The Radnorshire Standard and Mid-Wales Gazette* kept a visitor list in the summer months which would state who was staying in the town at this time and at which hotels. This was good promotion for the hotels as they would want to publicise any prominent guests they had at that time, and also, the numbers of guests staying would indicate the quality of the hotel as the establishment which could hold the most visitors would be seen to be the most successful. The Pump House Hotel, Ye Wells, the Rock House Hotel and the Gwalia all frequently published their visitor lists. Although other establishments such as smaller, family-run hotels and guest houses were invited to publish their visitor names, they were not often included. Either they were being omitted by the newspaper to make room for other hotels or they were not bothering to send in their numbers. This is unfortunate as it makes it hard to obtain an accurate number of visitors staying in Llandrindod during the peak season. During the summer months, the visitor list would be so long that the paper soon started publishing it as a separate supplement, as in some issues, like the 17 July 1901, the list of names would take over a whole page of the broadsheet newspaper.⁴⁰ It is clear which hotels were seen to be the most important as whilst the other hotels and boarding houses were listed in alphabetical order, the Pump House, followed by the Gwalia and the Rock House hotel, was always at the top of the list.

The guests arrived from a variety of destinations such as London, Dublin, and even other spa towns such as Leamington and Bath. The 1901 census helps to emphasise this point. The Pump House Hotel has a variety of visitors, including a cotton spinner and his family from Manchester, a surgeon from Staffordshire as well as some international visitors. Chas H Drummond, a company director from Canada was staying there at this time, as well as Lucian D Ross, an electrical engineer from the USA.⁴¹ The attraction of Llandrindod for these men is unknown, as the census is taken in March, not the peak season for the spa town but their presence is an indicator of how popular the town was for international, as well as local and

national, visitors. The census is an important indicator of visitor numbers. Although it was taken in March, it still indicated a number of visitors were already making the journey to Llandrindod. Importantly, the 1921 census can help to show roughly the numbers of people visiting the town in the peak months. In 1921, the census was undertaken in June, and whilst the population of the town in 1911 was 2779 people, this jumped massively to over 4500 by the time of the next census. This is due to the number of visitors staying in the town on just one day in June. In 1931, the census was carried out in March as normal and the population figure attained a more realistic rise, to 2925.⁴² This shows that in June 1921, there were nearly 2000 extra people residing in Llandrindod, either as visitors or workers, and this does not even include day trippers. This helps to understand that the visitor estimates of 80,000 in the 1920s were fairly reliable.⁴³

The type of visitor that Llandrindod attracted was variable. Although many of the higher echelons of society did stay in the town to take the waters, many day trippers and lower classes visited in addition to the rank and titled who filled the towns more prestigious hotels. Jack Saunders states that there were always plenty of people looking for accommodation, especially around the peak period in August:

I used to see people walking around with their luggage and nowhere to go.... They used to sit on the windowsills at Hampton House with their luggage by their sides and be there almost all night.⁴⁴

Ellen Phillips confirms Saunders' stories about the amount of visitors during the summer months, recollecting how the streets would be 'full of the colliers, yes South Walians!' and how actresses used to travel to Llandrindod on the mail train in order to star in local plays and how they would be knocking door to door to try and get a room.⁴⁵ Most resorts in this period had a distinctive 'social tone'; i.e. they had a distinct class consciousness. Harold Perkin states that although social classes mixed in 'factories and markets, city streets and even political meetings', this was not the case in regard to holidays and resort towns; the classes did not mix.⁴⁶ Bath and Buxton were seen as the resting places of the upper classes. Perkin writes how the spas could never accommodate the large crowds of the railway age although the railways had been beneficial in turning spa resorts such as Harrogate, Buxton and Leamington Spa into high-class residential towns.⁴⁷ It is clear that Llandrindod did not contain this type of social tone. The town attracted a mix of visitors; the high class members looking for spa therapy and treatment as well as the day trippers who were simply looking for entertainment. Perkin states that the explanation for this 'mixed' social

tone which Llandrindod seemed to have enjoyed is due to the unique history and character which each resort contains. He believes that it was the provision of entertainment and the quality of these which determined the 'social level' of visitors who would be attracted.⁴⁸

The variety of visitors who travelled to this mid-Wales town during the season is quite astounding. The mix of social classes and the breadth of the country that they travelled from to reach Llandrindod are atypical to the normal holidaymaker. Bruce Osborne states that for many, the social scene in the town was as much an attraction for taking the cure, and in many cases, taking the water was simply a justification for spending time at the Premier Welsh Spa.⁴⁹ We can further this analysis of the attraction of Llandrindod by examining the workers of the town as they would have come from diverse backgrounds and districts.

PULLING IN THE WORKERS

When looking at the history of spa towns, the workers and their origins have not been examined in any depth. This chapter will look at the patterns of recruitment in the Llandrindod hotels and businesses, exploring why workers migrated in from places outside Radnorshire and how they were recruited. Examining various primary accounts of the life of the workers will help to understand their motivation. With so many visitors coming to Llandrindod, finding places for them to stay was important. As well as the main hotels such as Ye Wells, the Pump House Hotel and the Gwalia, there was also many smaller, family-owned boarding houses and businesses. These minor establishments also needed staff and were the most likely to employ local people, especially those that would be already known to them such as distant family members or friends of the family. This led to problems for the bigger establishments. The hotels needed many staff and with the size of clientele that they catered for, they needed reliable, trained staff more than anything else. The census will be widely used to support findings, however there are some problems with using this for evidence. The census returns have been quite enlightening and helpful to look at in regard to workers, where they came from and whom they married. It is also quite informative to look at the census returns in regard to population and what effect the workers had on the population of the county at this time. However, the 1901 census was carried out in the spring, at the very start of Llandrindod's 'season', before the majority of visitors would have got to Llandrindod, therefore not showing the full amount of visitors who would have arrived weekly. Indeed, the census returns only show a few visitors in

each of the main hotels at this time. There are also problems as the census is only undertaken every ten years which does not help us track the mobility of the workers in Llandrindod.

The Pump House was one of the biggest and most prominent hotels in Llandrindod at this time. In 1906 it advertised itself as being 'the largest in the Principality and one of the most comfortable in Europe'.⁵⁰ Already a large hotel at the turn of the century, a new wing was added in 1900 which created an additional 150 rooms. The Pump House was definitely a hotel for the elites of Wales and did not encourage locals to become 'casual customers'.⁵¹ As a very large establishment, it therefore employed many staff. From the 1901 census, it is clear that about half as many staff was not local, and in some cases, the majority of servants were born outside of Radnorshire. Although we can not be 100 per cent accurate about where the workers came from, the census does tell us where the people were born and their occupation. These workers might have been living in the area for many years since childhood, and not just migrated in for the work. However, it must be remembered that their parents would have had to have moved into the area and therefore, the same applies. People were moving into the area to find work, either as independent workers, or as families trying to start a new life. The 1901 census is quite revealing. In a time where transport across Britain was not easy or cheap, people had arrived from diverse places. The Pump House Hotel had staff from Swansea and Donegal and interestingly, a golf professional from York. Ye Wells had staff from Staffordshire and Carmarthenshire and in the Gwalia, the housekeeper, Elizabeth Salmon, was from Crewe as well as other staff from London, Bristol, and Wolverhampton. In the Rock House Hotel in 1901 there were actually no local servants there at the time of the census, all 23 servants were non-local and were from places such as Birmingham, Cardiff and Leicester and included a fifteen year old page from Sutton Coldfield.⁵² In investigating the workers who moved to Llandrindod, one key question is how they heard about the jobs and opportunities.

It is possible that some workers were attracted by job advertisements in newspapers. The *Rhondda Leader* advertised once in the *Radnorshire Standard & Mid-Wales Gazette*. The advertisement in the 30 January edition of the paper in 1901 states that a great deal of Rhondda people will be visiting 'The Wells' this summer and that if anyone had any apartments to let, they should send an announcement to that paper.⁵³ This paper seemed like a good place to research whether or not Llandrindod advertised for staff in other places, especially South Wales as many staff originated from Swansea, Cardiff and Carmarthen. However, an examination of the *Rhondda Leader* from the same year shows no advertisements for staff for

hotels in Llandrindod and an inspection of the *Merthyr Express* from the same year has similar results. There are no references to Llandrindod, either as a health resort touting for tourism, or from employers looking for workers. An article appeared in the *Radnorshire Standard* on 5 June 1901 entitled 'The Servant Difficulty'. This commentary mentions that 'There is no concealing the difficulty about obtaining servants, and when the beaten track has been tried, namely, advertising in the large circulating papers usually crowded with such advertisements, and that fails to elicit a single reply, it is time to give a trial to the smaller and distinctly local newspapers'. Therefore, although no advertisements were found in the above newspapers, this does not mean they did not exist; there was simply not enough time to find them.⁵⁴

However, it is clear that some positions were advertised. Jack Saunders, a young man from Herefordshire, states that he saw an advert for a journeyman at the Pump House in the paper, although unfortunately he doesn't mention which paper this was. Even though he didn't know what a journeyman was, he applied for the job and had an interview which consisted of him having to dig several rows in the garden before he was hired. Saunders did have a tenuous connection to Llandrindod — his mother was a maid in Llandrindod in the 1880s. He talks about working from seven in the morning till six at night, and there were about eight gardeners working just for the Pump House Hotel at this time.⁵⁵ An inspection of the *Hereford Times* shows that there were job advertisements, although these were very few, and the majority of these were for private establishments, not the bigger hotels. One such advert in the 16 February edition looks for a 'good plain cook' for a gentleman's family whilst another in the 2 March publication states a 'steady, useful girl' was needed at Oxford House, Llandrindod.⁵⁶

It is more likely that many workers found jobs through word of mouth from workers who had spent time in Llandrindod. Ellen Phillips, originally from Leominster, nearly 35 miles away over the English border, was told about Ye Wells whilst working in a hotel in Leominster by another waitress who had worked in Llandrindod previously. Her memoirs suggest that the hotels were in need of staff and did not even need to meet with the staff they hired:

So I wrote in and they told me they could do with a housemaid on the third floor. I didn't have to go for an interview or anything. They gave it to me as I was.

The proprietors of the Llandrindod hotels had obviously had experience dealing with staff coming from other areas of the country as they even sent

Ellen Phillips her train fare. They clearly wanted to encourage staff to come to mid-Wales and to work for the season. She later goes on to state that she worked in Ye Wells for ten years, finding other jobs in the winter months to tide her over until the time came to return to Llandrindod for the season. Phillips describes her day as being busy and full, from half past six in the morning until after half nine at night when prayers were said.⁵⁷

Another reason which should not be discounted is matters of health. A number of workers and their families moved to Llandrindod in order to benefit from the rural air and the spa water. Also, it must not be underestimated how many people moved to Llandrindod because of the waters, to improve their health. The memoirs of Walter Powell state that his entire family, including him, a baby of eight months old, moved to Llandrindod from Porthcawl in 1898. He states that his father had a case of 'what was described as ptomaine poisoning, and had become paralysed from the neck down'.⁵⁸ Although ptomaine poisoning is seen as a form of food poisoning, it is not clear if this would have caused the paralysis or if this was just a misdiagnosis from the doctors in Porthcawl. They recommended that Powell's father come to Llandrindod to take the waters and Walter states that his father had to travel on a stretcher in the guards van! Walter says that the local doctors became interested in his father's case and that after a couple of years' treatment he was completely cured and lived to the age of 80! Powell's family had an ironmongery business which was open twelve hours a day, fourteen on a Saturday. Powell was an apprentice in his own family's business, learning the trade. Their business used to service the lift in the Gwalia, and he states that to make full use of the hotels space, the staff would reside in the original Gwalia hotel, just opposite the new one. Powell states; 'These [the staff] came from as far away as London and Liverpool, as well as the Welsh towns'.⁵⁹


Many of the local hotels employed workers from abroad; particularly Europe and Swiss and German workers were increasingly attracted to work in Llandrindod. The 1901 census shows us that in this year, there were two Swiss workers in the Pump House, one each from Germany and Switzerland in Ye Wells, one German in the Montpellier and two Swiss in the Gwalia.⁶⁰ Although it is not known for sure how European workers discovered Llandrindod, the main explanation would seem to be Llandrindod's promotion of itself in Europe. Significantly, in one of the Llandrindod town guides from this time, there are advertisements in the back for health resorts all over the world; France, Berlin, Russia, Italy and even the United States of America.⁶¹ Therefore, this could mean that the resorts who were advertising in Llandrindod, were advertising Llandrindod themselves in their own resort guides. Although the census tells us the countries that

these workers came from, it unfortunately does not mention the towns as it is possible that these towns were foreign spas with links to Llandrindod. Also, as in the case of determining news of job opportunities, word of mouth was also significant. People visiting Llandrindod or workers who have travelled there previously could recommend it to others and with the amount of visitors who travelled to Llandrindod at this time, it is clear that the hotels were always trying to maintain the stability of the workforce.

As well as a foreign workforce, there were also foreign employers. Joseph Audi was forty at the time of the census and his occupation was that of 'oriental merchant', although he was recognised as a British subject.⁶² Born in Jerusalem, Audi owned an Oriental Bazaar in Llandrindod and showed art work from foreign countries such as Turkey and Syria. He promoted his shop and his products greatly and was keen for many people to appreciate his oriental treasures (Fig. 2). Powell recollects the shop being full of beautiful things from the Middle East and states; 'many Llandrindod homes have articles in them from the "JERUSALEM" shop!'⁶³ As well as Audi, the proprietors of some hotels had travelled a significant distance. The 1901 census shows that the proprietor of the Rock House Hotel was a Mr Morgan Walters from Carmarthenshire, who was residing there with his wife and four daughters. The owner of Ye Wells originated from Worcestershire and the proprietor of the Montpellier Hotel was from Gloucestershire. From further away came Mr Eyrius Green who was of Greek origin. According to the census, along with his Romanian wife and seven daughters, he ran the Pump House Hotel in 1891 but by 1901, three sisters from Monmouthshire had taken over the hotel. It was not just local entrepreneurs who took advantage of the Llandrindod prosperity.

One of the prosperous local businesses was the Emporium. The Emporium was like a big department store, with different sections for different goods from tailoring, grocery, millinery and dressmaking. In a Llandrindod Wells guide from around the turn of the century, it is stated 'The Emporium of Mr W Thomas is in itself sufficient to supply the wants, both inward and outward, of any number of visitors, however numerous their requirements or fastidious their tastes'.⁶⁴ The recollections of Caroline Walters, an employee of the Emporium c.1914 show that workers were equally well looked after in the businesses of Llandrindod, as well as the hotels. Although wages were low, their board and lodgings were paid for. Walters states that whilst working at the Emporium, fire exercises were mandatory. The exercises consisted of a long sack tube being fastened to the floor in an upstairs bedroom with the other end thrown outside to the ground and all the employees had to jump through the tube. She also states that the boys were always willing to catch them at the other end so they tied

Audi the Arab Sheik



Eastern
Art
Ware

Syrian
Lace

Hand
Worked

Turkish,
Persian,
Japan,
Syrian
and
Indian
Art Work

WITH HIS

ORIENTAL BAZAAR

STATION CRESCENT,
LLANDRINDOD WELLS.

ALL GOODS SOLD AT REASONABLE PRICES. SPECIAL PRICES FOR BAZAARS.

INSPECTION INVITED.

"Express" Printing Works, Gwalia Shop, Llandrindod Wells.

Fig. 2. An original advertisement for Sheik Audi's Oriental Bazaar.

down their skirts to stop them showing too much leg! The owner, William Thomas, employed around 30 members of staff with around half of these being from outside Radnorshire including Birmingham, Liverpool, Oxford and the youngest staff member, Robert Smith, a thirteen year old porter from London.⁶⁵

It seems that many of the workers who came into Llandrindod stayed in the area for many years to follow, if not settling there permanently. Considering the number of workers who came in to the hotels, it is not surprising that many married, either to fellow workers or the local people. Jack Saunders mentions that when he had to return home about five years after starting work in Llandrindod, he had to take his wife with him and that she had also worked at the Pump House Hotel — she was a housemaid and was only seventeen when they married. When looking at the census records, it is obvious that this type of occurrence was not a rarity. Over half of the married couples in the 1901 census had one or both partners being born somewhere ‘non-local’ i.e. outside of Radnorshire. In fact, only roughly 38 per cent of couples had both people being born locally, with around 24 per cent having one partner being born outside of the county. When looking at the couples who were both born outside of Radnorshire, this amount was roughly 37 per cent. Therefore, it indicates the large number of people who moved into the area for various reasons and settled there.⁶⁶

A report on the census in the *Radnorshire Standard* on 15 May 1901 states that there was an increase of nearly 1,500 people living in Radnorshire when the census was taken that year.⁶⁷ Obviously, we cannot ascertain how many of these people were residing in Llandrindod, but at a time when the majority of working-class people were migrating from mid-Wales to the industrial south, it is highly likely that the majority of these people were workers or visitors who had travelled to Llandrindod.

CONCLUSION

In the years after the First World War, Llandrindod experienced an improvement in fortunes and the 1920s saw a boom period for the town. However, the outbreak of the Second World War in 1939 saw many of the prominent hotels taken over by the government for war hospitals and treatment centres. The spa had been suffering from a lack of visitors before this, more patrons had become willing to travel abroad to seek spa treatment after the end of the first war and the competition with other British spas was becoming more fierce. Kenneth O Morgan emphasises the sad fate of the town after its spa popularity faded, stating that it became something of

a 'ghost town' with its massive hotels diminishing in stature from lack of demand.⁶⁸ It was not just Llandrindod which experienced this diminishing in popularity; other spa towns were experiencing the downturn of status. David Harley states that this is due to the loss of medical endorsement that the spas had previously enjoyed, which ultimately led to the exclusion of spa medicine from the National Health Service.⁶⁹ Although Llandrindod has faded into relative obscurity since 1945, it is attempting a revival, although not completely as a spa resort. The town's location, once so important for its visitors, has retained its usefulness into the twenty-first century. Its proximity to the midlands as well as north and south Wales has increased its popularity as a conference centre.⁷⁰ When the spa officially closed in the 1970s, Llandrindod benefited by the merging of the counties of Radnorshire, Breconshire and Montgomeryshire into a new area, Powys, of which Llandrindod was made the administrative centre, ironically using the rundown Pump House Hotel for its headquarters.⁷¹

Overall, my research has shown that Llandrindod was a bustling spa town which was fashionable with the upper classes whilst being accessible and fun for the rest of society. The variety of accommodation that the town provided allowed the whole of society to reside in the same area whilst enjoying similar attractions, such as the Pump Room. However, the town did make distinctions within the classes for this kind of activity. Jack Saunders states that in the town's Pump Room, 700 people would take the saline water at 7 a.m. whilst the same amount were partaking of saline in the Pump House Hotel's own spa. He goes on to say how 'it was a bit quieter in the afternoon. Ordinary people would come then and have a few glasses'.⁷² This distinctiveness that the town enjoyed, as a place where all social classes could enjoy a healing glass of saline water, albeit at different times, made it quite unique. Harold Perkin refers to this as 'social zoning', where there were competing elites so the season was shared between different types of holiday maker.⁷³

The town attracted workers from all corners of Great Britain, as well as some from abroad. The location of Llandrindod was different to many spa towns, and the variety of jobs was so wide that there was clearly a job for everyone, no matter of social class or background. The businesses were always on the look out for staff to fill the many positions needed for a smooth running business. Workers heard about the town through various means, such as local newspapers and word of mouth. This is not unusual for the time, when many work positions would have been filled by local and family connections. Llandrindod, however, seems to have inspired a curious devotion in its workforce. Many of the workers who were not local stayed in the area for years, many settling permanently in Radnorshire.

Recollections from workers at this time do not over praise the town, but there is an underlying fondness when talking about their employment, a wistfulness concerning memorable events in the past.

If there had been more time, and more words, available to me, it would have been interesting to investigate the workers in other years as I mainly concentrated on the 1901 census. It would have been interesting to check the census's to see if many of the same staff was still working in the same hotels ten years after, or previously. Also, to continue on this area of research, I could have looked at the marriage records for the town, to see if female workers were married locally, and then continued to work for the same employers but would then obviously be documented in the census under their married name. Furthermore, I would have liked to explore into the lives of the visitors who came to the town; what motivated them to choose Llandrindod over other spas and investigate whether they had illnesses which were cured simply by taking the waters.

There are few investigations by historians into the workers in spa towns and it would be a fruitful area for them to explore. Also worth researching would be the different types of spa towns, as I have hopefully established throughout this work that a typical spa town did not exist. They all contained their own qualities and distinctiveness, whether it be their location, the type of clientele or the variety and effectiveness of their spa water. Llandrindod's unique selling point was its location and scenery; it aimed to be more of a health resort and relaxation holiday than a social networking experience. Historians focusing on the history of Wales should also extend their repertoire. Towns like Llandrindod are vital to understanding key areas of Welsh history but they are being neglected for other towns, which have been investigated repeatedly over the same issues such as the decline of the Welsh language and industrialisation.

Llandrindod Wells has a great deal to offer the history of Wales. Its experiences of tourism and its history of workers are quite extraordinary, and it has yet to be fully examined. At the turn of the century, the town was a bustling place and was well known throughout the country. Without historians reminding people of its history, Llandrindod is in danger of being neglected and forgotten by the descendants of the people who enjoyed its entertainment attributes as well as its healing waters and lavish hotels.

Acknowledgements

Firstly, I would like to thank Dr Bill Jones from Cardiff University for all his help and advice on my dissertation as his support has been invaluable. I would also like to thank Ruth Jones from Llandrindod for providing me with some essential primary source documentation about the workers of

the spa. Finally, thanks to my family and friends for the help which they have given me over the past six months.

NOTES

1. Diederick Wessel Linden, MD, *A Treatise on the Three Medicinal Mineral Waters at Llandrindod in Radnorshire*, J Everingham & T Reynolds (London, 1756), p. 7.
2. David Harley, 'A sword in a madman's hand: professional opposition to popular consummation in the waters literate of southern England and the midlands, 1570–1870', in Roy Porter (ed.), *Medical History of Waters and Spas, Medical History, Supplement*, 10 (1990), p. 48.
3. John Davies, *A History of Wales*, (London, Penguin Books, 1990), p. 407.
4. Kenneth O Morgan, *Wales 1880–1980: Rebirth of a Nation*, (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1992), p. 128.
5. Roy Porter, 'Introduction', in Roy Porter (ed.) *The Medical History of Waters and Spas, Medical History, Supplement*, 10 (1990), p. viii.
6. Bruce Osborne, *Llandrindod Wells*, New Millennium Spa Heritage Series Guide (Brighton, Beard Digital, 1999), p. xi.
7. Harley, 'A sword in a madman's hand', p. 48.
8. Porter, 'Introduction', p. vii.
9. David Cantor, 'The contradictions of specialization: rheumatism and the decline of the spa in inter-war Britain, in Roy Porter (ed.), *Medical History of Waters and Spas, Medical History, Supplement*, 10 (1990), pp. 128–30.
10. *Radnorshire Standard and Mid-Wales Gazette*, 13 March 1901.
11. *Merthyr Express*, 28 January 1901.
12. Ian Bradley, 'Wales's Unspoilt Victorian Spa', *Country Life*, 31 October (1985), p. 1.
13. Porter, *Introduction*, p. xii.
14. Osborne, *Llandrindod Wells*, p. 22.
15. Barry Cunliffe, *The City of Bath* (Yale University Press, 1987), p. 115.
16. Cunliffe, *The City of Bath*, p. 115.
17. *Llandrindod Wells, The Premier Spa of Wales, Official Guide*, (Llandrindod Wells Development Association, n.d.), p. 9.
18. T.J.L. Pritchard, *The Cambrian Balnea* (London, John & HL Hunt, 1825), pp. 29–31.
19. Morgan, *Rebirth of a Nation*, p. 128.
20. WH Howse, *Radnorshire* (Hereford, EJ Thurston, 1949), p. 19.

21. *Resorts and Spas in Britain, A Study Commissioned by the British Tourist Boards for European Architectural Heritage Year* (1975), p. 8.
22. Linden, *A Treatise*, p. 311.
23. Osborne, *Llandrindod Wells*, pp. 22, 30.
24. Osborne, *Llandrindod Wells*, p. 110–11.
25. John K Walton, *The British Seaside: Holidays and Resorts in the Twentieth Century* (Manchester, Manchester University Press, 2000), p. 74
26. Walton, *The British Seaside*, p. 108.
27. Ralph Darlington (ed.), *Llandrindod Wells and Environs* (Llangollen, Darlington & Co., 1898–1899), p. i.
28. *A Pictorial and Descriptive Guide to Llandrindod Wells, Llangammarch Wells, Llanwrtyd Wells, Builth Wells & Central Wales* (London, Ward, Lock & Co Ltd, 1920), pp. 9–10.
29. *A Pictorial and Descriptive Guide to Llandrindod Wells*, p. 10.
30. *A Pictorial and Descriptive Guide to Llandrindod Wells*, p. 10.
31. *A Pictorial and Descriptive Guide to Llandrindod Wells*, p. 10.
32. *Llandrindod Wells: An Ideal Spa for Health and Holiday* (Llandrindod Wells Development Association, n.d.), p. 6.
33. *Llandrindod Wells: An Ideal Spa for Health and Holiday*, pp. 9–10.
34. *Llandrindod Wells: The Premier Spa of Wales*, p. 3.
35. Ruth Jones Collection, Jack Saunders memoirs.
36. *The Times*, 19 June 1929.
37. *The Times*, 31 August 1927; 7 September 1927.
38. *Gentleman's Magazine*, October 1748.
39. *Gentleman's Magazine*, October 1748.
40. *Radnorshire Gazette and Mid-Wales Standard*, 17 July 1901.
41. Powys County Archives, Radnorshire Census, 1901.
42. Osborne, *Llandrindod Wells*, p. 146.
43. *A Pictorial and Descriptive Guide to Llandrindod Wells* p. 33.
44. Ruth Jones Collection, Jack Saunders memoirs.
45. Ruth Jones Collection, Ellen Phillips Memoirs.
46. HJ Perkin, 'The "social tone" of Victorian seaside resorts in the north-west', *Northern History*, 11 (1976), p. 180.
47. Perkin, 'The "social tone" of Victorian seaside resorts', p. 183.

48. Perkin, 'The "social tone" of Victorian seaside resorts', p. 185.
49. Osborne, *Llandrindod Wells*, p. 140.
50. CW Newman, 'The Pump House Hotel, Llandrindod Wells', *The Transactions of the Radnorshire Society*, 52 (1982), p. 60.
51. Osborne, *Llandrindod Wells*, p. 81.
52. Powys County Archives, Radnorshire Census, 1901.
53. *Radnorshire Standard and Mid-Wales Gazette*, 30 January 1901.
54. *Radnorshire Standard and Mid-Wales Gazette*, 5 June 1901.
55. Ruth Jones Collection, Jack Saunders memoirs.
56. *Hereford Times*, 16 February 1901, 2 March 1901.
57. Ruth Jones Collection, Ellen Phillips memoirs.
58. Ruth Jones Collection, Walter Powell memoirs.
59. Ruth Jones Collection, Walter Powell memoirs.
60. Powys County Archives, Radnorshire Census, 1901.
61. Darlington, *Llandrindod Wells and environs*.
62. Unfortunately, little is known about 'Sheik' Audi, his life in Llandrindod or his reasons for settling there.
63. Ruth Jones Collection, Walter Powell memoirs.
64. *Llandrindod Wells Guide* (Bristol, Bennett Bros Ltd, n.d.), p. 26.
65. Ruth Jones Collection, Caroline Walters memoirs.
66. Powys Archives, Radnorshire Census, 1901.
67. *Radnorshire Standard*, 15 May 1901.
68. Morgan, *Rebirth of a Nation*, p. 331.
69. Harley, 'A sword in a madman's hand', p. 55.
70. Morgan, *Rebirth of a Nation*, p. 331.
71. Donald Gregory, *Radnorshire: A Historical Guide* (Llanrwst, Gwasg Carreg Gwalch, 1994), p. 157.
72. Ruth Jones Collection, Jack Saunders memoirs.
73. Perkin, 'The "social tone" of Victorian seaside resorts', p. 194.

INDEX

- Abbey Cwmhir
 St Mary's, 71
 Amhar, 92
 Amhyr, 92–94
 Amir, 89, 92, 93
 Amr, Arthur's son, 88–90, 92, 95
 Amr, river, 89, 90, 92–94
 Amyr, 92, 93
 Anir, 90
 Archenfield, *Herefordshire*, 88, 93, 94
 architects
 Kempson, Frederick R, *of Hereford*, 85
 Nicholson, Thomas, *of Hereford*, 83
 Worthington, WJ & AH, *of London*, 83
 Arthur, 88–95
 assizes
 Hereford, 116, 118, 119
 Radnor, 117, 118
 Audi, 'Sheik' Joseph, *of Llandrindod*, 160, 161
 Avery, Sir Horace, *at Llandrindod*, 153

 Banks, Richard, *solicitor, of Kington*, 111, 113–115, 117, 120–123, 125, 126
 Barber, *surveyor*, 122
 Barnett, John, *vicar, of Clyro and Llowes*, 80, 85
 Bassett, *surveyor*, 122
 Bateman, Lord, 122
 Beavan family, *of Llowes*, 74
 Beavan, Charles, 72
 Beavan, Elizabeth, *of Brynrydd*, 83
 Beavan, Hugh, *of Llowes*, 74, 75
 Beavan, James, *clerk*, 122
 Beavan, Samuel, *of Brynrydd*, 83
 Beavan, Thomas, *of Betws Clyro*, 80
 Beebee, James, *rector*, 117

 beer
 drinking in church, 77–78
 Beguildy, *see* Bugeildy
 bell-founders
 Bowen, A, *of Clerkenwell*, 83
 Burncastle, 83
 Mears & Stainbank, *of London*, 79
 Phoenix Bell Foundry, *of Clerkenwell*, 83
 Smith, John & Sons, *of Derby*, 83
 Taylor, *of Loughborough*, 79
 Warner, John & Sons, *of London*, 79
 Williams, Henry, *of Glasbury and Llowes*, 78–82, 85
 bell-ringing, 76–87
 Blackburn, Christopher, *chaplain, of Presteigne*, 122
 Blackburne, Jacob, *army chaplain, of Acle, Norfolk*, 46
 blacksmiths
 Price, Walter, *of Llowes*, 81, 86
 Bluebell Inn, *Presteigne*, 131
 bones, animal, 140, 141
Book of Llandaff, 89, 92
 Bowen, A, *bell-founder, of Clerkenwell*, 83
 Bridgford, Brig. RJ, 42
 'British Alps', 148
 Brydges, Sir Harford Jones, 117, 118, 120
 buckles, 141
 Bugeildy, 117, 122, 124–126
 townships
 Medallwedd, 124, 126
 Builth (Wells), *Breconshire*, 89, 90, 146
 cantref of, 88, 89, 93, 94
 Burncastle, *bell-founder*, 83
 Burne, Col., *of Rhaeadr*, 43
 Burton Arms, *Llanddewi Ystradenni*, 123

- Byng, Gen., 52
- Cabal/Cafal/Cafall, Arthur's hound, 88, 90–92, 94
- Cabalfa, *Clyro*, 79
- Campbell, Sir John, *attorney general*, 120
- Cantref Maelienydd, 111
- Carn Cabal, 90–92
- Carn Cafal, 88, 89
- Carn Gafallt, 88–95
- Cascob, 122
- chain mail, 135, 141
- Chartists, 125
- Christopher, Thomas, *of Glasbury*, 77
- churches
- All Saints, *Glasbury*, 66–70
 - Holy Trinity, *Llandrindod*, 71
 - St Clement's, *Rhaeadr*, 73–75
 - St Mary's, *Abbey Cwmhir*, 71
 - St Meilig's, *Llowes*, 71–75, 80–84
 - St Michael & All Angels', *Clyro*, 78–80
 - St Peter's, *Glasbury*, 76–78
- Claerwen, river, 98, 104
- clay pipes, 135, 137, 138, 141
- clergy
- Barnett, John, *vicar, of Clyro and Llowes*, 80, 85
 - Beebee, James, *rector*, 117
 - Blackburn, Christopher, *chaplain, of Presteigne*, 122
 - Blackburne, Jacob, *army chaplain, of Acle, Norfolk*, 46
 - Davidson, Dr Randall, *Archbishop of Canterbury*, 46
 - Jones, Lewis, *curate, of Glasbury*, 77
 - Martin, Richard, *bishop, of St David's*, 130
 - Matthews, William, *of Creig*, 123
 - Rogers, Mr, *vicar, of Glasbury*, 77
 - Venables, *archdeacon*, 119–121
- Clyro, 78
- Cabalfa, 79
 - Lloyney, 79, 81
 - St Michael & All Angels', 78–80
- Commissioners of Woods and Forests, 111, 112, 115–126
- commons, 111–128
- Llanyre, 119
 - Newbridge, 113
- Conservatives, 114, 121, 124
- Corn Gafallt, 88, 90
- cottagers, 111–128
- court leet, 111, 112, 115
- Crown lands, 111–128
- Crug Mawr, *Cardiganshire*, 91
- Cwm Elan, 98–102, 107, 108, 110
- Cwm-gilla, 111
- Cwmduddwr, *see* Cwmteuddwr
- Cwmlechwedd, *Llanbister*, 126
- Cwmteuddwr, 111, 112, 117
- Davidson, Dr Randall, *Archbishop of Canterbury*, 46
- Davies, James, *solicitor, of Kington*, 111, 119–121
- Davies, JM, *surveyor*, 124
- Davies, Tommy, *of Llandrindod*, 152
- Davies, *doctor*, 117
- Deakins, Robert Mervyn, 31
- Dillwyn-Venables-Llewelyn, Lady Delia Mary, 26–30
- doctors
- Davies, 117
 - Jenkins, 117
- Dolfallen, 62
- Drummond, Chas H, *Canadian businessman, at Llandrindod*, 154
- Dundas, Sir John, 123
- Dunsany, Lady, 123
- Elan Valley, 88, 98, 100, 108
- Elan, river, 88, 98, 104
- Enclosure Act, 121, 123
- encroachments, 111–128

- Ergyng, *Herefordshire*, 88
- Evans, Brig.-Gen. Horatio James, *of Penralley, Rhaeadr*, 65
 aeroplanes, use of in war, 38–39, 54–55
 in Afghanistan, 47
 battle for Mametz Wood, 48–52
 birth of son, Peter, 47, 56
 concern for lower ranks, 38
 Dolly, his horse, 37, 39
 financial worries, 39–40, 47, 55–56
 at Folkestone, 35
 at Givenchy, *France*, 35
 at La Gorgue, *France*, 36, 37
 at Laventie, *France*, 35–37
 Lloyd George, opinion of, 42
 at Locon, *France*, 35, 39, 45
 at Loisne, *France*, 39, 41
 religious faith, 45–46, 56
 Welsh language, 56
- Evans, Cdr. Peter Bowen, 47, 48, 56
- Evans, Ethelwyn, *of Penralley, Rhaeadr*, 32
- Evans, Frank, 47
- Evans, Hugh Powell, *of Noyadd, Llansanffraid Cwmteuddwr*, 117, 118, 120
- Evans, Margaretta, 47
- Evans, Thomas, *of Llwynbarried*, 117
- Evans, Walter Bowen, *of Trecastle, Breconshire*, 47
- fairies, 104
- Farrington, 111, 112, 117
- Felindre, 117
- Ffernfael, 89
- Fielding, Gen., 55
- Folkestone, 35
- Forester, Lord and Lady, *at Llandrindod*, 153
- Galtero, Marqués de, *at Llandrindod*, 153
- Gamber Head, *Herefordshire*, 88, 92, 93, 95
- Gamber, river, 88–90, 92, 93, 95
- Garren, river, 93, 95
- gas works, *Rhaeadr*, 48
- Gaskell, Col. Frank Hill, 43
- ghosts, 104
- Gilbert, Lady, *at Llandrindod*, 153
- Gladestry, 111–113, 127
- Glasbury, 116
 All Saints, 66–70
 Lloyney, 85
 St Peter's, 76–78
- Gododdin, 93
- Godwin & Son, *tile-maker, of Lugwardine*, 66, 70–72
- 'Great Road', 131
- Green (Price), Richard, 123
- Green, Eyrius, *of Llandrindod*, 160
- Griffith, Capt. Wyn, 49, 52
- Griffith, Thomas, *of Lloyney*, 79–81, 85, 86
- Grove, Harriet (1791–1867), *of Cwm Elan*, 99, 102
- Grove, John, 102
- Grove, Thomas, junior (1783–1845), *of Cwm Elan*, 98–101, 107, 108
- Grove, Thomas, senior (1758–1847), *of Cwm Elan*, 98
- Guest, Lady Charlotte, 89, 92
- Gwalia, *Llandrindod*, 152–154, 156, 157, 159
- Gwardoloe bridge, 48
- Gwynllyn lake, 47, 48
- Hafod (*Cardiganshire*), 98
- Haig, Field Marshal, 48
- Hampton House, *Llandrindod*, 155
- Harley, Lord, 121
- Harpton, 112, 113
- Harrington, Tim, 52
- Historia Brittonum*, 89–92, 94
- hobgoblins, 104
- horseshoes, 141

hotels

- Gwalia, 152–154, 156, 157, 159
 Hampton House, 155
 Montpellier Hotel, 159, 160
 Oxford House, 158
 Pump House Hotel, 149, 152, 154,
 156–160, 162, 163
 Rock House Hotel, 154, 157, 160
 Ye Wells, 152, 154, 156–160
 Howard, James, *commissioner of
 Woods and Forests*, 124
 Howarth, Edward, *of Cabalfa*, 79–
 82, 85
 Howarth, Sir Humphrey, *of Cabalfa*,
 79, 85
 Howarth, Probert, 85
 Howarth, Theodosia, née Lewis, *of
 Clyro*, 79
 Howarth, Thomas, *of Llowes*, 80, 81
- Inclosure Commissioners, 123
- inns
- Bluebell Inn, 131
 Burton Arms, 123
 Queen's Head, 131
 Radnorshire Arms, 119
 Red Lion, 104
- Iscoed, 111–114, 117–120, 126
- James, Edward Lee, *solicitor, of
 Presteigne*, 122, 123
 Jeffreys family, *of the Priory, Brecon*,
 116
 Jenkins, *doctor*, 117
 Johnes, John, *of Hafod
 (Cardiganshire)*, 98
 Jones, Lewis, *curate, of Glasbury*, 77
- Keats, John, *poet*, 100
 Kempson, Frederick R, *architect, of
 Hereford*, 85
 Knighton, 122, 123
 racecourse, 123
 Knucklas, 115, 122

- Leominster, 124
 Lewis, David, *surveyor*, 117, 121
 Lewis, Robert, *timber merchant, of
 Presteigne*, 117
 Lewis, Sir Thomas Frankland, *of
 Harpton*, 112, 113
 Lewis, Theodosia, *of Clyro*, 79
 Linden, Dr Diederick Wessel, 144,
 148, 149
 Linthorpe Art Pottery, *tile-maker, of
 Middlesborough*, 70
 Llananno, 125, 126
 Llanbadarn Fynydd, 122, 125, 126
 Llanbister, 116, 117, 122, 125, 126
 townships
 Cwmlechwedd, 126
 Llanclweddog, *Nantmel*, 115, 116,
 118
 Llanddewi Ystradenni
 inns
 Burton Arms, 123
 Llandrindod (Wells), 144–167
 Development Association, 150–
 152
 Emporium, The, 145, 160
 Holy Trinity, 71
 hotels
 Gwalia, 152–154, 156, 157, 159
 Hampton House, 155
 Montpellier Hotel, 159, 160
 Oxford House, 158
 Pump House Hotel, 149, 152,
 154, 156–160, 162, 163
 Rock House Hotel, 154, 157,
 160
 Ye Wells, 152, 154, 156–160
 Oriental Bazaar, 160, 161
 Pump Room, 152, 163
 visitor lists, 145, 153, 154
 Llanfihangel Helygen, 121, 126
 Llangammarch Wells, 146
 Llanwarne, *Herefordshire*, 92
 Llanwenney, *see* Llynwene
 Llanwrtyd Wells, 146

- Llanyre, 118, 119, 121, 126
- Llowes
 St Meilig's, 71–75, 80–84
- Lloyd, Charles, *of Maesllwch*, 77, 78
- Lloyd, Lewis, *of Glasbury and London*, 77–79
- Lloyney, *Clyro*, 79, 81
- Lloyney, *Glasbury*, 85
- Llwynbarried, 117
- Llygad Amr, *Herefordshire*, 88, 91–93
- Llynwene, 127
- Llys Arthur, *Cardiganshire*, 91
- Llywarch Hen, 94
- Llywelyn ap Gruffydd, 129
- Mabinogion*, 89–95
 Culhwch and Olwen, 91, 92
 Geraint, 90, 92
- Maen Arthur, *Cardiganshire*, 91
- Mainwaring, Major, 42
- manors, 111–128
- Martin, Richard, *bishop, of St David's*, 130
- Matthews, William, *of Creig*, 123
- Mears & Stainbank, *bell-founder, of London*, 79
- Medallwedd, *Bugeildy*, 124, 126
- Melbourne, Lord, *prime minister*, 117, 120
- Meredith, James, 117
- Merry Hall, 114
- Minton, Henry, *tile-maker, of Stoke upon Trent*, 74
- Montpellier Hotel, *Llandrindod*, 159, 160
- Morgan, Thomas, *of Glasbury*, 116
- 'morning surprise', 114
- Morris, *of Llanclweddog, Nantmel*, 115, 116
- Much Birch, *Herefordshire*, 88, 92
- Mynors, Robert Baskerville, 121
- nails, 141
- Nantgwyllt, 99, 100, 104, 106–110
- Nantmel, 115, 121, 126
 Llanclweddog, 118
- Nennius, 88
- Nicholson, Thomas, *architect, of Hereford*, 83
- 'Old North', 89, 94
- Ormsby Gore, William, *MP for North Shropshire*, 120
- Osbern fitz Richard, 129
- Oxford House, *Llandrindod*, 158
- Oxford, earl of, 111
- paganism, 91, 95
- Page, Richard, *squatter*, 114, 118
- Palmer, Benjamin, *of Clyro*, 86
- Parsons, Cecil, *solicitor, of Presteigne*, 114–126
- Parsons, Guy, 116, 117, 119, 120
- Peel, Robert, *of Cwm Elan*, 112
- Pemberton, *solicitor*, 118
- Penralley, *Rhaeadr*, 32, 43, 47
- Phillips, Ellen, *of Llandrindod and Leominster*, 155, 158, 159
- Phillips, John Adcock, *of Presteigne*, 132
- Phillips, Maj.-Gen. Ivor, 48
- Phoenix Bell Foundry, *bell-founder, of Clerkenwell*, 83
- poets
 Keats, John, 100
 Shelley, Percy Bysshe, 98–110
 Wordsworth, William, 100, 109
- Poole, John, 117
- pottery, 133–136, 138–140, 142
 porcelain, 136, 140
 Staffordshire ware, 140
 stoneware, 140
- Powell, Thomas, *of Brunent*, 81, 86
- Powell, Thomas, *of Llowes*, 80, 81
- Powell, Thomas, *of Traveley*, 81, 86

- Powell, Walter, *of Llandrindod*, 159, 160
- Powis, earl of, 123
- Prees, Oliver, *of Cwm yr Afor*, 80
- Presteigne, 114, 116, 117, 119, 120, 122, 129–143
- bones, animal, 140, 141
- buckles, 141
- and Camden, William, 130
- chain mail, 135, 141
- clay pipes, 135, 137, 138, 141
- fair, 130
- fire, 130, 136, 139, 142
- horseshoes, 141
- inns
- Bluebell Inn, 131
- Queen's Head, 131
- Radnorshire Arms, 119
- and Leland, John, 130
- market, 130
- nails, 141
- plague, 130
- pottery, 133–136, 138–140, 142
- Scottleton Street, 129–143
- sword pommel, 135, 136, 139, 141
- Warden, The, 129, 132
- Price, Elizabeth, *of Clyro*, 86
- Price, James, *of Glasbury*, 77
- Price, Richard, 112–114, 117
- Price, Walter, *blacksmith, of Llowes*, 81, 86
- Price, Walter, *of Clyro*, 80, 81, 86
- Price, Walter (b. 1704), *of Clyro*, 86
- Prickard, Thomas, *of Llansanffraid Cwmteuddwr*, 117
- Probert, John, *of Clyro*, 85
- Pump House Hotel, *Llandrindod*, 149, 152, 154, 156–160, 162, 163
- Queen's Head, *Presteigne*, 131
- Radicals, 114–117
- Radnorshire Arms, *Presteigne*, 119
- Radnorshire Bank, 116
- Red Lion, *Rhaeadr*, 104
- Reed, Sir Stanley and Lady, *at Llandrindod*, 153
- Rees, Major, 43
- Rhaeadr, 32, 39, 43, 45–47, 50, 88, 89, 92, 98, 104, 117, 118, 131
- gas works, 48
- inns
- Red Lion, 104
- Penralley, 32, 43, 47
- St Clement's, 73–75
- Rhayader, *see* Rhaeadr
- Rhos y Gafallt, *Cardiganshire*, 91
- Rhyslin, *see* Rhyslyn
- Rhyslyn, 111, 112, 117, 126
- 'right of soil', 111, 112, 123–125
- rivers
- Amr, 89, 90, 92–94
- Claerwen, 98, 104
- Elan, 88, 98, 104
- Gamber, 88–90, 92, 93, 95
- Garren, 93, 95
- Severn, 89
- Wye, 89
- Rock House Hotel, *Llandrindod*, 154, 157, 160
- Rogers, Edward, *of Stanage*, 112, 113
- Rogers, Mr, *vicar, of Glasbury*, 77
- Rootham, Eric, 47
- Ross, Lucian D, *American engineer, at Llandrindod*, 154
- Russell, Lord John, *home secretary*, 120
- Sainsbury, Dr, 151
- Saint Harmon, 121, 126
- Salmon, Elizabeth, *of Llandrindod and Crewe*, 157
- Saunders, Jack, *of Llandrindod*, 152, 155, 158, 162, 163
- Sayce, Morris, 111, 112, 115, 119
- Severn, JC, 121
- Severn, river, 89

- Shelley, Percy Bysshe, *poet*, 98–110
 Cwm Elan, 98–100, 102, 110
 Elan Valley, 98, 100, 108
 marries Harriet Westbrook, 102, 103
 ‘Mont Blanc’, 99
 Nantgwyllt, 99, 100, 104, 106, 107, 109, 110
 ‘Ode to a Skylark’, 106
 ‘Ode to the West Wind’, 106
 ‘Prometheus Unbound’, 109, 110
 ‘Queen Mab’, 104, 105
 ‘Retrospect’, 104
The Cenci, 109
 ‘The Necessity of Atheism’, 101
- Shelley, Sir Bysshe, 98
- Shelley, Sir Timothy, 98, 102, 103, 107
- sheriffs, 98, 113, 116, 119
- Smith, John & Sons, *bell-founder*, of *Derby*, 83
- Smith, Robert, of *Llandrindod and London*, 162
- solicitors
 Banks, Richard, of *Kington*, 111, 113–115, 117, 120–123, 125, 126
 Davies, James, of *Kington*, 111, 119–121
 James, Edward Lee, of *Presteigne*, 122, 123
 Parsons, Cecil, of *Presteigne*, 114–126
 Pemberton, 118
 Stephens, Thomas, 117
- South Neithon (Swydd Dinieithon), 111–113, 117, 127
- South Rurallt (Swydd Rhiw'r-allt), 111, 112, 117, 127
- South Ugre (Swydd Buddugre), 111, 115–117, 120–123, 125, 126
- spas, 144–167
 Bath, 144, 146–149, 154, 155
 Builth Wells, 146
 Buxton, 144, 146, 148, 150, 155
 Cheltenham, 146, 148, 150
 Harrogate, 148, 155
 Homburg, 151
 Leamington Spa, 144, 146, 147, 154, 155
 Llandrindod Wells, 144–167
 Llangammarch Wells, 146
 Llanwrtyd Wells, 146
 Tunbridge Wells, 149
 Wiesbaden, 151
- squatters, 112, 114, 121, 122, 125, 126
- Stanage, 112, 113
- Stephens, Thomas, *solicitor*, 117
- Stephens, William, 123
- surveyors
 Barber, 122
 Bassett, 122
 Davies, JM, 124
 Lewis, David, 117, 121
- sword pommel, 135, 136, 139, 141
- Swydd Buddugre, *see* South Ugre
- Swydd Dinieithon, *see* South Neithon
- Swydd Rhiw'r-allt, *see* South Rurallt
- tŷ un nos*, 114
- Taliesin, 94
- Tanner, Maj.-Gen. Edward, 43
- Taylor, *bell-founder*, of *Loughborough*, 79
- Thomas, William, of *Llandrindod*, 162
- tile-makers
 Godwin & Son, of *Lugwardine*, 66, 70–72
 Linthorpe Art Pottery, of *Middlesborough*, 70
 Minton, Henry, of *Stoke upon Trent*, 74
- tiles, 66–74
- townships, 125
 Cwmlechwedd, 126
 Medallwedd, 124, 126

- Tredegar, Viscount, *at Llandrindod*, 153
Troit, 90–92
 Troyt, 90
Trwyd, 92, 93
Trwyth, 92–94
 Tudge, William, 123
 Twrch Trwyth, 88, 92, 93
- Uchoed, *see* Uwchcoed
 Uwchcoed, 111–113, 117, 126
- Veal, Capt. CL, 45, 49
 Venables, *archdeacon*, 119–121
 visitor lists, 145, 153, 154
 Vulliamy, Edith J, 83
- Walker, William, *of Glasbury*, 77
 Walsh, Sir John, 121, 123
 Walsham, Sir John, 117
 Walters, Caroline, *of Llandrindod*, 160
 Walters, Morgan, *of Llandrindod*, 160
 Warden, The, 129, 132
 Warner, John & Sons, *bell-founder, of London*, 79
 Watkins, Thomas, *squatter*, 114, 119
 Watt, James, 112–121, 125, 126, 128
- Watts, Maj.-Gen. HE, 48, 50
 Weale, Thomas, *squatter*, 113, 114, 116–118
 Whigs, 114, 117, 120, 124
 Wilkins, Walter, *of Maesllwch*, 116, 117, 120
 Willcox, Sir William, 151
 William, Phillip (junior), *of Glasbury*, 77
 Williams, Capt. Eddie, 50
 Williams, Griffith, *of Llowes*, 80
 Williams, Henry, *bell-founder, of Glasbury and Llowes*, 78–82, 85
 Williams, Maria, *of Penralley, Rhaeadr*, 47
 Williams, Sir Edward, *of Gwernyfed (Breconshire)*, 82
 witches, 104
 Wood, Dr Neville, 148
 Wordsworth, William, *poet*, 100, 109
 ‘Peter Bell the Third’, 109
 Wormelow Tump, *Herefordshire*, 93–95
 Worthington, WJ & AH, *architect, of London*, 83
 Wye, river, 89
- Ye Wells, *Llandrindod*, 152, 154, 156–160