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The Journal of the Brecknock Society

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MIKE ALUN WILLIAMS

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CYMDEITHAS BRYCHEINIOG A CHYFEILLION YR AMGUEDDFA
THE BRECKNOCK SOCIETY AND MUSEUM FRIENDS

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Book Reviews:

EDITORIAL

Last year, I turned 50. I realised this was bordering on old when people referred, euphemistically, to my "big birthday". Before then, I was accorded an age. *Brycheiniog* is different. Every volume carries a number—not necessarily an age since some volumes skipped a year or incorporated two into one—but, in March 2019, *Brycheiniog* is 50 *volumes* old. I was first 'published' in 1968, *Brycheiniog* in 1955.[1] Looking back at that volume, I think I can safely say that *Brycheiniog* was much more interesting than I was at that age. Some may say the same now. Rev. Professor D. J. Davies was the Editor of that first volume, and it started, very appropriately, with an appreciation of Sir John Lloyd, founder and originator of the Brecknock Society, and now honoured through the name of the special exhibition gallery in y Gaer.

Rev. Professor Davies was Editor for 16 volumes, being followed by his fellow man of the cloth, Rev. Canon Owain Jones. His first volume covered the years 1976-77 and he remained Editor for six issues, sharing editorial duties for his last volume (22) with Dr Kevin Mason. After this volume, the Ven. Owain Jones, now Archdeacon, retired and, although Dr Mason had been appointed Editor, work took him away from the county and, with reluctance, he felt unable to continue. The next volume, therefore, saw a new Editor as Mr Edward Parry took over, a role he was to hold for the next 17 issues. Edward introduced a fold-around cover to the journal, published an index in 1998 (compiled by Mr Bernard Adams), and, admirably, never wrote an editorial that was over a page in length! Edward wrote to me after my second volume in charge of *Brycheiniog* and congratulated me on it being a very interesting edition, such is the generosity of the man. Mr Brynach Parri took over after Edward retired and was the first to write his editorial in both English and Welsh. After five volumes, the editorship briefly rested (on an acting basis) with our Chairman for Volume 45 and 46, before I was appointed for Volume 47. This volume is my fourth. I am thoroughly enjoying my time as Editor and, with an ever helpful and supportive Editorial Board behind me, I feel immensely privileged to occupy the role. For *Brycheiniog*'s "big birthday", we wanted to bring you something special and, a glance at the contents list, will hopefully convince you we have managed it.

The most cited author in *Brycheiniog* must be Mr Theophilus Jones, author of our county history. Indeed, every single paper in this volume cites his work in one or other of its editions. Inside the cover for Volume 2 of his 1809 edition, Jones included a map of Brecon, redrawn from a lost original by land surveyor Mr Meredith Jones (no relation). Who was this Jones and what other maps did he produce? This is the theme of Dr R. J. Silvester's article, which leads us into this year's volume. Although very little is known about the man himself, Silvester offers a portrayal of his career through his maps. Clearly, an article

such as this cries out to be well illustrated and we are proud to present reproductions of several of Jones' maps, some of them very rarely seen. It also highlights the importance of colour in the journal, as many of the maps were highly decorated. My favourites are two maps presently in Jesus College, Cambridge. They will be unknown to most readers and, for me, the best part is that they represent the only occasion where there is both a working draft map (in pencil and on paper) and a final product (in colour and on parchment) from the hand of Jones. He may not have been able to draw the human hand (as you will see from the article), but he deserves his place in the notables of our county.

The following paper, by Mr William Gibbs, also has a distinctly Jones feel. As you will read in the Chairman's Report, the Brecknock Society and Museum Friends were able to make a private tour of Powys Archives' new building during 2018. One of the items we were shown was a journal, catalogued as a *Scrapbook of Henry Thomas Payne*. Rev. Payne was, of course, the dedicatee for Theophilus Jones' 1905 Volume 1 of his History. But it is in Volume 2 (1908) where things become interesting. Gibbs noted that many of the sketches in Payne's Scrapbook turned up in the pages of Jones' History. In fact, some are a dead match, and the Scrapbook even contains notations as to the plate and figure numbers used by Jones. In the History, the plates are acknowledged to T. Price as artist, and J. Basire as engraver. Not Henry Thomas Payne. So, who did prepare all the images in the Scrapbook, and who notated it with comments for the History? I am not going to tell you here, but Gibbs does in his article.

On page 25 of the Scrapbook, is an image of the reputed grave of Anlach, father of the founder of our county, Brychan Brycheiniog, located in Llanspyddyd churchyard. Possibly! But the gravestone, a pillar stone with cross and ring-crosses, is suggestive of an early foundation, possibly a *clas* church of the early-medieval period. Our next author, Mr Bruce Copelstone-Crow certainly thinks this is so, and he suggests that Llanspyddyd Priory, founded at 1121–27 as a daughter-house of the Benedictine priory at Great Malvern, in Worcestershire, built on the existence of the clas. In fact, he finds evidence that the founder, Miles of Gloucester, Lord of Brecknock, intended that, as the monks of the old clas died, they should be replaced with Benedictines from Great Malvern. At least he did not turn them out, as sometimes happened. The new priory, which probably had nuns as well as monks, lasted for less than 100 years and this forms the basis for Copelstone-Crow's article. What were the reasons for its fall, and could it have been avoided if King, Church, and the Archbishop of Westminster had been a little less pugnacious?

Such an attitude could, and did, resort to force of arms, some of which could conceivably form part of one of the greatest collections of historical armour ever, collected by, and belonging to, Sir Samuel Rush Meyrick of London. He used to open his house—and his armoury—to the public and kept a long list of

visitors. It was when our next author, Dr Elizabeth Siberry, was reading this list that she came across an entry for an individual hailing from our county, a "Mr. A. Kirkman[n], Crickhowell". You may never have heard of him but his memorial hangs in Llangorse Church (and is mentioned in Jones' History, naturally). Kirkmann was born in London but visited our county regularly, where he mingled with other scholars, including Rev. Henry Thomas Payne. He rented a house in Crickhowell for a time. But it was with Sir Samuel that he appears to have spent most of his leisure, as a guest at Goodrich Court, just inside Herefordshire. Kirkmann felt the loss terribly when Sir Samuel died in 1848 and, decided to purchase his own house in the Welsh borders, choosing The Noyadd (now Neuadd) in Llangorse. It is a touching tale of friendship and loss and is beautifully told by Siberry.

So far, the volume has referenced Llanspyddyd Church and Llangorse Church. Our next author, Mr Simon Lilly, introduces us to a third, Llangammarch Church and to an unusual early-medieval carving, now located in the stonework above the porch. Lilly is an artist and it is through an artist's eye that he studies the carving; what he has dubbed the 'Llangammarch Spiral' after its most arresting feature. In an eclectic muse through Iron Age coin images, biblical scripture, and old records of the area (some, of course, from Jones' History), Lilly looks at both the symbolism and possible interpretation of the piece. Reaching a firm conclusion is not the purpose of the article, rather it is to highlight the concerns and worldview of the people who would have cherished the stone and looked upon its form. Sometimes, it takes an artist to truly appreciate another artist's work.

Some might say that our final major article is saving the best until last. It certainly bookends a stupendous range of scholarship. Ms Sue Hiley Harris is well known as a weaver and artist, but her interest goes well beyond the practical, into an academic study of the woollen industry in Breconshire during its heyday. In this article, Hiley Harris looks at Brecon Priory Mill, known variously as Burges Mill and 'the Factory'. It began in the twelfth century when Roger, Earl of Hereford and Lord of Brecknock, gave the sole right to erect a mill in the parish to Brecon Priory. They took advantage of that right, situating a mill along the banks of the River Honddu, bounded by Priory Hill and the Struet. It operated until the dissolving of the Priory, when it reverted to Crown property in 1556. It decayed alarmingly until, in 1564, it was taken over by John Lewell. After that, its affluence revived and, according, once again, to Theophilus Jones, "great fortunes were acquired". Hiley Harris takes us through the history of the Mill, its owners, its uses, and, eventually, its downfall. The location of the Mill is now open ground called Bishop Williamson Garden after the third Bishop of the diocese. The Priory had bought the near derelict Mill in 1939 through the Bevan trust fund, a legacy bequeathed by the first Bishop of Swansea and Brecon. As Chapter Clerk and Treasurer of the

Cathedral, I am able to report that the Bevan trust fund remains one of our dwindling resources for income, along with the Bevan fabric trust.

In Notes and Queries we have a fascinating piece by Dr Geoffrey Williams, annotating the scene shown in a picture by Peter Richard Hoare (younger half-brother of Sir Richard), entitled, 'at Crickhowell'. It shows part of the Llangattock Rail Way and Williams uses old maps and plans to precisely locate Hoare's viewpoint, and tells us a little of the history of the Rail Way itself. It seems an ideal way to end a journal that has been filled with art, maps, and plans. Williams also manages to quote Theophilus Jones!

Book reviews fill the final pages of the journal, from ecclesiastical scholarship, through secret Brecon, to a Victorian 'lunatic' asylum. It is a varied and very full bag in this volume.

Before I finish, there are two errata from the last volume that need clearing up; both, unfortunately, relating to an article by Mr Brynach Parri. Brynach has asked me to make clear that the errors to the caption for Figure 2 of his article were mine and not his and I am happy to do so. The corrected caption should read: Carreg Llywel o Fferm Pentre Poeth, Crai ger Trecastell. Also, in my editorial, I referred to the received version of the story of Marchell (recorded in *Cognacio* and *De Situ*), in which she sailed to Ireland, without noting that Brynach was suggesting that she never reached Ireland but remained in an area of Irish settlement in Dyfed. Mea culpa!

Now, it is time to hand over to our Chairman, Dr John Gibbs, for his report on the past year.

It is with grateful appreciation that I acknowledge grants towards the publication of this volume of Brycheiniog *from Brecon Town Council and the Community Foundation in Wales under the Welsh Church Acts legislation. Thank you.*

Note

[1] There was, of course, an earlier Volume 1, published in 1928–29 and titled 'The Transactions of the Brecknock Society' but this remained, for 26 years, an isolated volume.

REPORTS

CHAIRMAN'S REPORT FOR 2018

Working towards the opening of y Gaer

Although y Gaer, comprising the refurbished Brecknock Museum & Art Gallery and a new Brecon Library, did not open in 2018, it has been most exciting to see the external features of the building emerge. For a detailed account of progress, please see the report of Nigel Blackamore, the Senior Curator. For the Brecknock Society and Museum Friends (BS&MF), Mervyn Bramley remains our principal link with the Powys County Council (PCC) project team over the redevelopment, and we are most grateful to him for his work.

The BS&MF and the Brecknock Art Trust (BAT) are the local funding partners for that element of y Gaer that comprises the Museum & Art Gallery and, together, have been able to make a significant financial contribution.[1]

In addition, and as described last year, the BS&MF (together with BAT) has been raising funds for specific activities; namely the Conservation and Display project and the Interpretation project.

The funds for the Conservation and Display project have come in from individuals, charities, and other organisations. The conservation work on the selected artefacts and artworks has been undertaken by specialist workers, operating under the guidance of Nigel Blackamore and his team. Good progress has been made, with work on some of the items arousing much public interest (Fig. 1). On the 'display' side, a very interesting development concerns the commissioning of a special case for

Figure 1. Nigel Blackamore, the Senior Curator, assists with the installation of the restored Penfold pillar box.

Context Engineering

the permanent art gallery, which will allow for the protection of light-sensitive works while they are not being viewed. In this instance, BAT was able to secure a special grant of £20,000 from the Colwinston Trust.

The Interpretation project is much more 'hands-on' as far as the BS&MF is concerned. In late 2017, the BS&MF, working in conjunction with Nigel Blackamore and other PCC officers, put in an application to the Garfield Weston Foundation. This was for funds for the purchase of computer hardware and software to enable interactive 'tablet-based' terminals to be located in the Museum & Art Gallery. It was integral to this application that the task of assembling the interpretative material to be placed on these terminals would be carried out by a special group of volunteers working under the guidance of a small team set up by the BS&MF.

In late January 2018, we were delighted to learn that the BS&MF had been granted £50,000 by the Garfield Weston Foundation, and thereby to know that the work necessary to draw together information on the key exhibits and themes of the Brecknock Museum & Art Gallery could proceed. Through the following months, contacts were established with potential volunteer researchers across Breconshire, and training courses held on ways of conducting the necessary investigations. Of particular importance was a helpful and stimulating document written by Mervyn Bramley, entitled 'Guidance to volunteers on research and assembling interpretative material'. This was placed on the BS&MF's website and updated progressively through the autumn. On 30 November, the BS&MF held a very successful evening meeting at the Muse entitled 'The Interpretation of the Brecknock Museum's Collections: how the stories are being told'. Several examples of in-depth investigations were described, such as that by William Gibbs on the portrait of Dr K. D. Pringle (Fig. 2). In other instances, requests for help regarding ideas for interpretation were aired.

The Port Talbot firm, Blackbox-av, is designing and producing the computer terminals and associated software. They are established specialists in audio-visual interpretation for museums and we are confident that the equipment will be robust and effective. This development has involved close cooperation between PCC and ourselves over the way in which the information will be presented. It is evident that the whole operation is, in many ways, a 'trail-blazing' venture!

In addition to the Interpretation project, it is recognised that once y Gaer has opened, that there will be a key role for volunteers working alongside PCC staff in welcoming people and in helping them make the most of their visits. On 6 November, members of the BS&MF contributed to a meeting to introduce this venture in the existing Brecon Library. Despite it being a very wet and windy night, there was a good attendance, and much more will be heard about this matter in 2019.

Figure 2. 'Dr K. D. Pringle, Surgeon, Brecon War Memorial Hospital' by Edith M. Leeson Everett (1881–1965). Dr Pringle was a leading member of the Brecknock Society in his day and one of the founders of the Brecknock Museum.

Brecknock Museum & Art Gallery

The 21st Sir John Lloyd Memorial Lecture

On Friday 23 March, Theatr Brycheiniog was the venue for an excellent and very well-attended lecture by Lord Thomas of Cwmgiedd, the recently retired Lord Chief Justice of England and Wales. Lord Thomas chose as his subject

'Justice in Brecknock over the Centuries' and this was particularly apposite as we learnt that, not very long before the lecture, he had taken on the responsibility of chairing a commission on justice in Wales as a whole.

Two study-days in conjunction with local history societies

'The Beaufort Estate in Breconshire: A Glimpse'

Having had two very successful one-day conferences in 2017, held in conjunction with university research groups, 2018 saw the innovation of BS&MF study-days organised with different local history societies. The first of these was on Saturday 12 May, when the BS&MF combined with the Llangynidr Local History Society for a meeting in Llangynidr Village Hall. As the keynote speaker, Dr Ann Benson provided a very good account of her research on the history of the Somerset family, who became the dukes of Beaufort from 1682, and who possessed significant holdings in south-east Breconshire. She traced their connections with south Wales from the perspective of the family ownership, successively, of Raglan Castle, Troy House near Monmouth, and, finally, Llangattock Court. I, as a member of both Societies, then provided a description of the Beaufort Estate in the parish of Llangynidr, this based largely on the remarkable estate survey of 1587, and its successor of 1760.[2] Then followed a walk through the hamlet of Cyffredyn and a visit to Worcester Cottage, the fishing lodge of the dukes of Beaufort from the 1870s until the sale of the Breconshire estates in 1916.

'Notables of Llangammarch'

On Saturday 22 September, we held a study-day together with members of the Llangammarch Wells History Society. The day started in the Alexandra Hall with a series of presentations by local society members, Gaynor Williams, Simon Lilly, and Sue Lilly, on a number of village celebrities, most notably Theophilus Jones and his grandfather Theophilus Evans, but also including John Penry and John Price Beulah. William Gibbs then gave a fascinating talk on the people who had worked with Theophilus Jones on providing the illustrations for the first edition of his great work, *The History of the County of Brecknockshire* (and also relevant to our visit to Powys Archives, below). In

Figure 3. The grave of Theophilus Jones and Theophilus Evans in Llangammarch churchyard. Behind the grave, from left to right: Elizabeth Siberry, Mervyn Bramley, John Gibbs, and William Gibbs. Mike Williams

the lunch break, there was an opportunity to compare various editions of 'the History', which had been brought along by members of the BS&MF. During the afternoon, there was a visit to Llangammarch Church to see, among other things, the important 'Llangammarch Spiral' carved stone above the entrance porch (see the article by Simon Lilly in this volume of *Brycheiniog*), and the grave that contains the mortal remains of both Theophilus Evans and Theophilus Jones (Fig. 3).

Other Meetings of the Society during the year

The year began with a January lecture by Ken Jones, entitled 'Captain Frederick Jones: adventures in the East India Company and diary accounts of social life in Brecon 1789–1827'. In February, there followed Mervyn Bramley's talk, entitled 'Landscape of three Marcher poets: the border country of George Herbert, Thomas Traherne and Henry Vaughan'.

In June, there was a visit to the very impressive new Powys Archives in Llandrindod Wells (Fig. 4). Members of the society were able to see some very interesting documents including the remarkable Scrapbook belonging to the Rev. Henry Thomas Payne (the full story of the Scrapbook can be found in William Gibbs' article for this volume of Brycheiniog, based on the lecture he gave at Llangammarch).

Figure 4. Members of the Brecknock Society in the new Powys Archive Building at Llandrindod Wells.

Mike Williams

Buildings of Breconshire Group

During 2018, two visits were arranged. On Saturday 13 October, despite widespread flooding caused by storm Callum, about 20 members had a fascinating visit to Trebarried, near Llandefalle. This is a fine mid-seventeenth-century house, but one that suffered dilapidation and depredation before the present owners, Kenny and Helen Campbell, took over and began to cherish it. In the afternoon, we were given a memorable tour of a nearby longhouse, Cefn Machllys, sensitively restored by its owner Sam Hale (Fig. 5).

In November, at quite short notice, 12 members were invited by the owners, Annie and John, to visit the remarkable Hafod-y-Garreg, near Erwood. This

Figure 5. Sam Hale points out some of the special features of Cefn Machllys long-house to members of the Buildings of Breconshire Group. John Gibbs

has been described as the oldest house in Wales as it has a remarkable cusped cruck-truss, which has been dated to 1402.[3]

Reports on the Victor Jones Junior School History Prize and on the Roland Mathias Poetry Prize for 2018 appear elsewhere in the Journal.

In summary, 2018 was again a busy and productive year. For support and encouragement, I would like to thank all the members of the Executive Council, and especially our Programme Secretary, Elaine Starling, and our Executive Council Secretary, Gwyneth Evans.

JOHN GIBBS

Notes

[1] In total, the BS&MF has committed £195,000 to the refurbishment project, the money coming from the sale in 2010 of the Old Museum in Glamorgan Street, Brecon (now 'The Muse').

[2] The article by Bob Silvester in this volume of *Brycheiniog* shows, as one of its illustrations, a plan of Coed-yr-ynis in Llangynidr prepared by Meredith Jones in 1760.

[3] For an illustration and information on the dating of the cruck-truss, see Suggett, R. 2017. The Vernacular Houses of Breconshire Following Jones and Smith. *Brycheiniog* 48: 22-57, p. 48.

THE ROLAND MATHIAS PRIZE

My last report on the Roland Mathias Prize for poetry was somewhat tentative because it was written before the poetry evening held in February to celebrate the 2017 prize winner, John Freeman. His readings turned out to be as engaging and accessible as I forecast, and the audience clearly enjoyed themselves. That event had been delayed from the previous year, which meant that 2018 became a bumper year, with the 2018 prize event reverting to its normal slot in the autumn.

The winner of the Roland Mathias Prize this time around was also the winner of the overall Wales Book of the Year; that is the third occasion in the last decade that a poet has taken the top award. It went to one of the pre-eminent poets in Wales, Robert Minhinnick, for *Diary of the Last Man* (Carcanet). The chair of the judging panel, Kathryn Gray, described this volume as "a serious book for serious times, reflecting above all the poet's ecological and political concerns". She went on to say that the book's elegiac and melancholic themes were "perfectly balanced by the poet's indefatigable drive towards the rendering of beauty, most particularly that of the natural world".

It is worth noting that Minhinnick is an essayist, novelist, and editor as well as a poet, with a long list of published works and awards to go with them. In his winning volume, you can feel the influence of his role as an environmentalist, having co-founded Friends of the Earth Cymru and Sustainable Wales. Many of the poems in *Diary of the Last Man* are a warning, a caution, about the dwindling earth, none more than the opening piece:

Perhaps
I am the last man.
Perhaps I deserve to be.
So in this driftwood church
I hum my hymn of sand.
Yet any god
would be welcome here.
Any god at all.

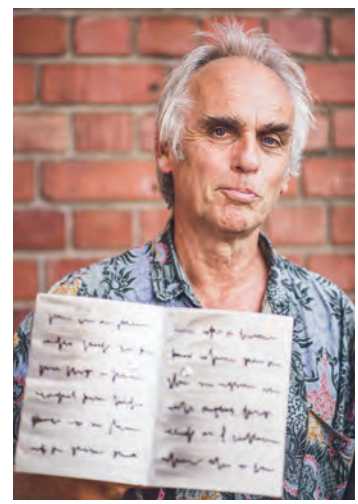

Figure 1. Robert Minhinnick.

Robert Minhinnick's reading of this poem was preceded by a film, produced by his son-in-law Eamon Bourke, which focussed on his love of the sandy coastline not far from his home in Porthcawl and built on the idea of Minhinnick as the last man to survive on earth. There were mixed views in the audience about the film, but it did serve as a prelude to his striking performance of the poems. As the last man on earth, he was free to go anywhere:

The door to 10, Downing Street
is open. In I walk.

The Prime Minister's computer
has a gold screen.
Its password will be his name spelled backwards.

And here they are, the cover-ups, the scandals,
advice on how to smile, how to apologise.
All the meaningless secrets.

And suddenly the tears are running down my face.
Those were the days, I say to myself.
Those were the great days, the last of all our lives.

Robert Minhinnick explained how the sound of the words was often as important as the meaning, taking his tune from the Welsh *cynghanedd*, which uses alliteration and rhyme to enhance the effect. Which was why it was so interesting to hear him deliver the lines rather than just read them off the page:

Yes, this is England, its leas
and leats, its lotteries,
the barley lying flat
behind the Turkish laundromat,
and swifts' black fire
over razorwire.

Robert Minhinnick paid tribute to Roland Mathias as a formative influence on his and many other poets' work. He described how, as editor of the *Anglo-Welsh Review* for many years, he would respond to young writers and give them advice on their work. The session was held at The Muse, which once again proved to be an enticing environment for this kind of event. It was an inspiring evening.

In the space remaining, I should mention the two runners' up for the Roland Mathias Prize. They were a debut collection of poetry from Nia Davies, *All fours* (Bloodaxe Books) and Matthew Francis' *The Mabinogi* (Faber). And I will finish by adding my thanks to Literature Wales for organising and staging the Roland Mathias Prize as part of Wales Book of the Year. Despite other suggestions (referred to in my report last year), it appears that Literature Wales will be running the competition again in 2019, with an awards ceremony in Aberystwyth in June.

GLYN MATHIAS

BRECKNOCK MUSEUM & ART GALLERY REPORT 2018

Brecknock Museum & Art Gallery has been closed for redevelopment since 31 October 2011; it will remain closed until it is fully restored and its expanded facilities are relaunched as y Gaer – Museum, Art Gallery & Library, in 2019.

During last year, the conservation and construction work on y Gaer has seen the Assize Court reconstructed (Fig. 1) and the new museum fit-out and display cases installed, ready for the Brecknock collection to be redeployed early in 2019 (Fig. 2).

Figure 1. Panoramic view from the Shire Hall public gallery of the restored Assize Court.
Brecknock Museum

Figure 2. Brycheiniog Gallery fit-out with the Llan-gors logboat under-wraps.
Brecknock Museum

The Connecting Communities and Collections Heritage Lottery Fund (HLF) project aims not only to see the restoration of the Grade II* listed Shire Hall and Assize Court (Fig. 3) but also the reinterpretation of the Museum collection, along with increased engagement with the local community. During 2018, our volunteers have provided 1,284 hours towards museum projects, with assistance being provided in improving database records, digital recording projects, care of collections, and educational activities.

Figure 3. Brecknock Shire Hall, February 2019. Brecknock Museum

It was another busy year for the Museum's Education and Access Officer and team. Whilst we waited for our new home of y Gaer to be completed, we continued to work in partnership with others including Brecon Cathedral, Theatr Brycheiniog, and, of course, Brecon Library, who will soon merge with us at y Gaer. One of our closest partnerships is with Brecon Cathedral and we participated in events such as the Convivium open day, St. Eluned's Festival, and the Christmas Tree Festival.

We have a great team of Education Volunteers, who are always willing to support our workshops and events, and, this July, they participated in a new event: the Armed Forces Community Day, which was run jointly by Powys County Council and the Ministry of Defence. It was very popular, and we facilitated a range of children's craft activities. In total this year, we engaged with 5,800 participants through 10 community events.

Our Education service reached 1,087 pupils and teachers throughout the year. Eighteen school workshops were delivered, either solely by the Education Officer or in partnership with outside organisations such as The Canal & River Trust. Of those, we reached 380 pupils through our Educational Loan Box service, the subjects of which include the Romans, the Victorians, and World War Two. In addition, we have Changes in Brecon packs, which have been used for the last eight months by Ysgol Penmaes, a local Special Educational Needs school.

Social Media continues to be an important means of engaging with existing and new audiences and getting our messages across. Images of our events, developments, and selected objects shared on our Facebook, Twitter, and Instagram pages have resulted in us gaining over 2,300 online followers; a useful way of keeping in touch with the local community. Our monthly column in the *Brecon & Radnor Express* has covered numerous stories, including the ongoing conservation work and a new collection of royal memorabilia.

Over 1,300 items have been added to the Museum collection during the year, including a Roman metalwork assemblage from the Cefn Brynich fort and an entire collection of watchmaker tools and spare parts from the Mayall and, later, Matthews Jewellers and Watchmakers of Brecon and Hay.

In early spring, two artworks by Diana Golledge were gifted to the collection by Mr Jonathan Morgan (Figs. 4 and 5). The works portray jazz musicians performing at Brecon Jazz Festival around 1995 and added to other works by the artist already in the collection. In the autumn, the Brecon Jazz Club contacted Diana and invited her to visit Brecon to meet Jonathan and other members of the club, during

Figure 4. *Benny Carter at Brecon Jazz* by Diana Golledge. Brecknock Museum 2018.01.1

Figure 5. *Famous French jazz trio at Brecon Jazz* by Diana Golledge. The trio comprises violinist Stéphane Grappelli, guitarist Marc Fosset and double bassist Jean Phillipe Verdin.
Brecknock Museum 2018.01.2

which, I was honoured to receive from Diana two further pieces of her artwork to add to the Museum's developing Jazz Art collection.

In late spring, the De Vee family gifted a large collection of 1930s wooden toys, including horse and riders, farmyard animals, and stables to the Museum (Figs. 6 and 7). Played with and enjoyed by the family for several generations, these beautiful toys originated in the Forest Toys workshop in Brockenhurst, Hampshire. At its peak, the small factory produced wooden toys for Harrods, Selfridges, and other large

Figure 6. Handmade Forest Toys figure and horses (pre-conservation).
Brecknock Museum 2018.11

department stores. The toys were even said to have been collected by the Royal family. They will make excellent additions to our childhood display in the new gallery.

Figure 7. Handmade Forest Toys horses and stable (pre-conservation).
Brecknock Museum 2018.11

In late summer, the Museum accepted a gift of a Victorian vicar's desk and pulpit, originally located at St. Illtyd's Church, Llanilltyd (near Brecon) (Fig. 8). The church was last used in the 1970s and later demolished in the 1990s. Discussions with the Church in Wales allowed the objects to find a permanent home in the new Museum, where they have been pieced back together and conserved by a specialist furniture conservator, Mr Hugh Haley. It is a real pleasure to provide a permanent home for these objects after many years of temporary storage in buildings around the County.

Figure 8. St. Illtyd's pulpit and vicar's desk being conserved in the new Brecon Gallery.
Brecknock Museum 2018.45

As we prepare to display our Collection in the galleries, the Museum has once again been granted external funding from the Federation of Museums and Art Galleries Wales (Welsh Government), to run conservation projects in partnership with Cardiff University students and alumni. The project, again supervised by accredited conservator Cath Lloyd Haslam, has helped us conserve hundreds of objects ready for the new displays. Important additional support for this has been received from the Brecknock Society and Museum Friends' Conservation and Display project (see Chairman's Report).

Early in the year, Andrea Mansfield joined the staff as the new permanent Volunteer Coordinator. Andrea has worked very closely with the Brecon Library team in developing the y Gaer volunteers in readiness for the move to the new building and the volunteers' activities have supported the Museum and Library staff in fulfilling our objectives both inside and outside our main buildings. A separate team of volunteers has been recruited by the Brecknock Society and Museum Friends to research items in the Collection for the Interpretation project. This project will enhance the new displays for all those who visit the new Museum & Art Gallery (see Chairman's report).

As the year progressed, we said temporary goodbyes to Caitlin Gingell, our HLF Volunteer Coordinator, and Helen Morgan, our Hub Assistant, as they both departed on maternity leave. Both mothers and their babies are doing well.

As will be clear from the above, we continue to be grateful to the Brecknock Society and Museum Friends for the financial and intellectual support provided towards both the conservation and development of the collections, alongside the developing facilities at y Gaer.

NIGEL BLACKAMORE MPhil.
Senior Curator, Brecknock Museum & Art Gallery

VICTOR JONES HISTORY PROJECT COMPETITION

The aim of the Victor Jones History Project Competition is to encourage Year 6 pupils of Breconshire schools to find out and write about local history. The competition is in memory of Victor Jones, who was a founding member of the Brecknock Society. He also taught in Breconshire for 35 years and we would like to thank his family for their generous contribution to the prizes. As well as the top three prizes there is also an Art and Design prize and a school prize of £200 for the school that gains the greatest number of individual marks.

The 2018 Art and Design prize was won jointly by Bianca Mustatea, of Crickhowell School, for her imaginative designs throughout her project 'Brecknock Past'. She even included a historical quiz and wordsearch! The other joint winner was Roly Warry, of Llangorse School. All four judges were very impressed with Roly's skilled drawing of a Drover on the front cover of his project, 'The History of Droving in Powys'.

This year, as usual, we received a high standard of projects covering a broad variety of historical topics and it was a difficult task narrowing them down. Highly Commended certificates were awarded to Marnie May Carleton and Roly Warry, of Llangors School, and Iolo Warman-Powell and Maggie Fodeninglis, of Crickhowell Primary School.

Now for the top prize winners who were able to join us for the presentation and accept their awards from Lord Thomas of Cwmgiedd (Fig. 1). In joint third place was Megan Pritchard and Ruby Summers. Megan, of Llangorse School, wrote her project about 'The History of Llangors School Past and Present', and Ruby, of Crickhowell School, wrote her project about 'The Tollgates of Crickhowell'. Megan included lots of photographs of the old schools and provided plans of the new school into which Llangors pupils have just moved. She included interviews and archival material, such as a copy of a 1950s handwritten inspection report. It was a very well presented and interesting project. Ruby's project, about the Crickhowell Tollgates, has never been researched before in this competition and she certainly covered the topic well. She presented a lot of interesting information and it was clear she had visited related sites. It was a very well structured project.

Second prize went to Anna Peltor, of Llangorse School, with her project 'Brecon Now and Then' (Fig. 2). Anna worked really hard on this project, visiting Brecon town sites and taking photographs so that she could make time changing comparisons with previously recorded images. We were also very impressed with the map of Brecon that Anna drew herself. It really was a great project to read!

The first prize went to Faith Alexander, of Crickhowell School, for her project 'Who was William?' (Fig. 3). Faith had been asked by her grandmother if she would like to 'Adopt a Grave' with her at St. Catwg's Church, Llangattock.

Figure 1. The presentation of the prizes. Back row: John Gibbs, Lord Thomas of Cwmgiedd, Martine Woodcock. Front row: Megan Pritchard, Ruby Summers, Anna Peltor, and Faith Alexander.

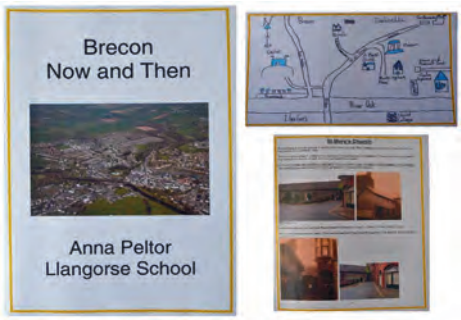

Figure 2. The second prize winning entry by Anna Peltor.

Figure 3. The first prize winning entry by Faith Alexander.

Whilst they were cleaning their chosen headstone Faith decided to research its inscription to William Lewis Rees who had died on 15 November 1916 at the age of 20. Faith invites the reader to join her on her investigative journey as she researched census and school register information to try and piece together his life. Her passion to find out more shines through and it really is an intriguing project. All four judges were unanimous in their decision to award Faith first prize.

MARTINE WOODCOCK

ARTICLES

MEREDITH JONES: AN EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY BRECONSHIRE MAPMAKER

R. J. SILVESTER

Introduction

When, in 1809, Theophilus Jones published the first part of the second volume of his *History of the County of Brecknockshire*, he included, opposite the frontispiece, a redrawn version of a plan of Brecon that had been prepared by estate surveyor, Meredith Jones, some 50 years previously.[1] Its inclusion in the volume is fortuitous. Jones' survey led to the completion of, perhaps, only a single manuscript map and this cannot now be traced. In mapping the town of Brecon—the first time that this had been done since John Speed produced his cameo plan of the town in 1606[2]—Meredith Jones was perhaps attempting to publicise his surveying capabilities to potential patrons. In so doing, he followed in the footsteps of such better-known surveyors and cartographers as William Williams and Thomas Badeslade in north-east Wales, and, most famously, John Rocque, all of whom resorted to the preparation of town and county maps to emphasise their skills, as well as to make money.[3] The map of Brecon came at the beginning of a career that lasted for almost a quarter of a century and was to distinguish Jones as the most prolific of Breconshire land surveyors during the eighteenth century.

Some surveyors and mapmakers who worked in the Welsh border counties during the Georgian era have reasonably well-documented lives. Such is the case with the remarkable London-based surveyor, John Rocque, who was commissioned to survey land in Shropshire in the mid-1740s, and John Probert of Copthorne, near Shrewsbury, whose 10-year career in land measuring came to an end in 1770 when he was appointed the land agent to both the Earl of Powis and to the Clive family. His reputation and influence developed in tandem, so that, by the end of the century, he was reputedly one of the most powerful individuals in Montgomeryshire. Both men worked and moved in places where their names would appear in a range of records, enabling their biographies to be sketched in reasonable detail.[4] For others, our knowledge is dependent on painstaking research, which has pieced together an outline story. This is the case with William Hole, a Devon surveyor who worked briefly on the borderlands of Shropshire and Montgomeryshire in 1760–1.[5] Unfortunately, Meredith Jones cannot be accommodated in either of these categories. Of his place and date of birth we know nothing, and the same is broadly true of his date of death and place of burial. Two of this name died in Breconshire in the late-1760s, and while the Meredith Jones who was buried in the former priory

Brycheiniog, 2019, Volume L, pages 25–55.

church of St John the Evangelist in Brecon (now the cathedral), appears an altogether more likely candidate than the one associated with Llanfihangel Brynpabuan near Builth Wells, there is no evidence that confirms either possibility. Unlike some of those who practised land surveying, Jones appears not to have made any permanent mark in local society. On a handful of maps, usually from commissions in other counties, he stated that he was based in Brecon, and, yet, documented references to his life are almost completely non-existent, the solitary example being a witness deposition to a disputed will in 1764. Even here, the association is at best circumstantial, for, unlike most of his fellow witnesses, neither his age nor his status was documented.[6] Were it not for his maps, Meredith Jones would remain an anonymous denizen of the eighteenth-century county town.

A career in surveying

A significant number of those who turned their hand to surveying in the seventeenth and eighteen centuries also followed other professions.[7] If Meredith Jones was one of that number, there is no record of it, directly or indirectly. There can be no doubt that Jones established himself in Brecon. His earliest maps reflect the town and its hinterland, and later maps of estates in Hyssington (Montgomeryshire) in 1756, Aconbury (Herefordshire) in 1757, and Llanddew in 1761, all record a continuing devotion to the town, containing the annotation "Meredith Jones of Brecon". But, of course, he may not have come from Brecon originally.

Jones is assiduous in dating his surveys, so we can be reasonably confident that the dates that bracket his output reflect the duration of his career. Between 1743 and 1766, the list of his mapped surveys currently runs to just around 300 entries (see Appendix). Many of these are collected in six mapbooks (that have survived), but over 20 are single maps prepared for different landowners. Furthermore, six maps of the Bishop's Castle area of Shropshire display a group of surveys for the same landowner in 1756, but were not collated in a mapbook, ostensibly because of their size.

Other than Jones' survey in Herefordshire of Moor Court, Pembridge, in 1743, Breconshire estate commissions dominated his early active years. His mapping of two farms at Llanddeusant, just over the border in Carmarthenshire, in 1744, was simply the coverage of outlying elements of a geographically dispersed estate that was centred within Breconshire. From the extant surveys, his employment as a land surveyor during the 1740s appears to have been intermittent, and we can only speculate on what else he might have done to fill his time. The following decade was more productive (see Appendix). In 1751, he was commissioned to survey extensive landholdings centred on Penycoed (now Pencoed) Castle in Monmouthshire, lying to the east of Newport, which had been acquired after the death of its owner, Admiral Thomas Matthews, for

the young Mark Wood. (Wood was of Scottish descent and was only born in 1750, so it must be assumed that his parents or guardians acquired the Penycoed estate as an investment on his behalf.)[8] As to how Jones achieved this commission, one of the largest of his career with 35 maps covering a little over 2700 acres, is likely to remain unresolved.[9] In the following year, he surveyed the house and parkland of Pontypool Park, also in Monmouthshire, for Capel Hanbury. This culminated in a particularly elaborate map of a gentry residence, together with a further plan of an adjacent holding known at that time as Beeston's Farm (but today as Cmwynyscoy). This emphasis on commissions in Monmouthshire during 1751–2 suggest there may be other maps of estates in the area that remain to be identified.

By 1753, he was beginning to attract commissions in the central Welsh borderlands: in Shropshire during that year and in Herefordshire and Radnorshire during the following year. In 1756, this extended to a set of surveys for Walter Waring, newly elected as an MP for Bishops Castle in south-west Shropshire, whose dispersed estate extended into eastern Montgomeryshire. But, from that time until his abrupt disappearance from the record after 1766, Breconshire remained his primary focus. Notwithstanding, there were sporadic expeditions into the other border counties where he had worked previously (Fig. 1). He was back in Monmouthshire in 1759, working for Capel Hanbury as far south as Caldicot, and one survey—his only one, based on the maps that are extant—in Worcestershire in 1760. In the same year, he made an excursion to Painswick in Gloucestershire to survey an outlying estate belonging to Penry Williams of Penpont (not covered when Williams' extensive lands in Breconshire were measured in 1744). Whether he ended his days in Brecon is, like much of his life, not known. His continuous association with the town—as recorded in his surveys—makes it likely, yet, in his last two years, he was active in Shropshire, even more in Herefordshire, and when he signed off his survey of Brobury, Bredwardine, three days after Christmas in 1765, it was from Hereford. So, the possibility that he had moved his base eastwards in his twilight years cannot be dismissed.

Two general observations emerge from an assessment of the list of Jones' extant surveys. First, commissions from landowners, sufficiently affluent to possess extensive estates requiring large-scale surveys, appear not to have increased in tandem with Jones' developing experience and renown. Of the six large surveys that resulted in substantial mapbooks, three, including the largest of the Penpont landholdings, were undertaken in the 1740s, only one in the 1750s, and two in the 1760s.[10] As a corollary, Jones seems to have become increasingly dependent on small, geographically disparate, and less lucrative commissions towards the end of his career. Some of his minor commissions were, for example, no more than surveys of selected portions of an estate. For Richard Coombe of Trefecca, near Talgarth, Jones surveyed only the fields

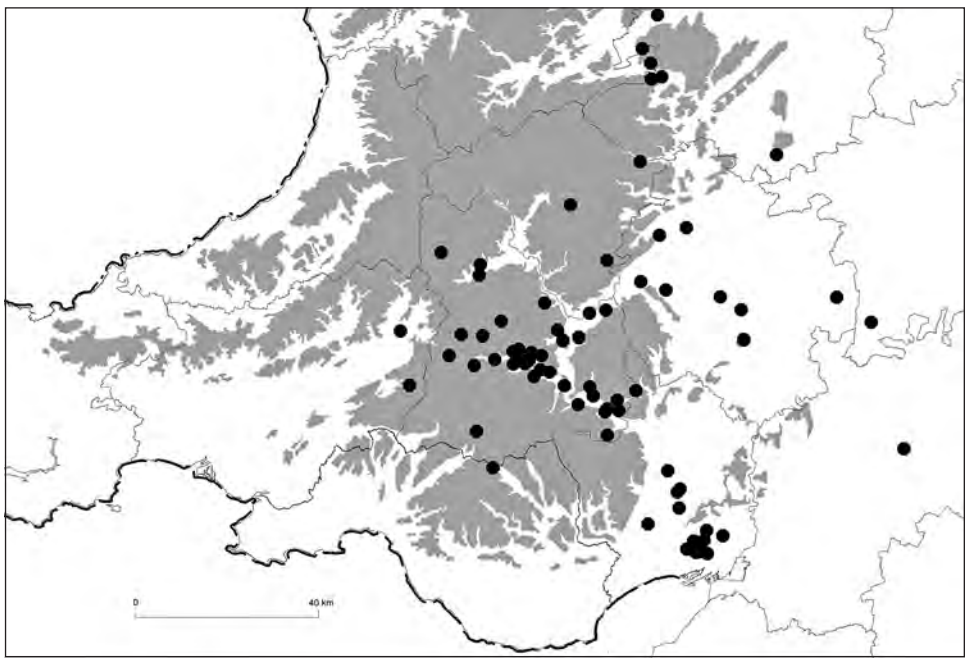

Figure 1. Meredith Jones' surveys, with each dot representing a parish in which he worked. Not unexpectedly, the greatest concentration is in Breconshire, the town of Brecon lying at the heart of the most pronounced cluster of dots. South-eastwards in Monmouthshire his surveys were primarily the result of two major commissions, while the sparsity of commissions in Glamorgan to the south and Carmarthenshire to the west is readily apparent.

around the house, stating in the map's title cartouche that this was but a part of Coombe's estate;[11] while the plan of William Powell's farm at Llanhamlach in 1761, just outside Brecon, covered no more than 33 acres. Curiously, he was once unable to determine the owner of the 80-acre farm of Bayley John Lloyd in Llandegley, Radnorshire, in 1764. The map's title cartouche left a space in the inscription, presumably on the assumption that a name would be inserted later. Jones' surveys in the English border counties normally comprised rather minor commissions of only one or two mapped surveys. Job for job, his work in Herefordshire cumulatively bears comparison with that of most of his contemporaries in the county. Yet, invariably, where substantial commissions were being allotted, they went to local surveyors such as George Smyth.[12] Similarly, in Shropshire, Thomas Ansell, and from 1760, John Probert were without doubt more successful in gaining work, although Jones' 1756 surveys for Walter Waring of Bishop's Castle do provide an exception.

Secondly, his client-list is biased towards the lower end of the land-owing classes. The aristocracy, generally the most likely to own large estates, and,

with their agents, to value the utility of mapped surveys, are represented only by the Duke of Beaufort and Lord Castle Durrow. Many more of Jones' clients were from the lesser gentry and squires (traditionally addressed as Esq.), as with Penry Williams of Penpont, Hugh Edwards of Brecon, Walter Waring of Bishop's Castle, and even the infant Mark Wood. Indeed, gentlemen, such as Henry Mitchell of Battle, seem to have been among Jones' earliest clients. At the bottom of the social order were those landowners termed only 'Mr'. Such was Henry Price, for whom Jones worked at Grove Farm in Knighton, Radnorshire, in 1759, and Thomas Pritchard, the client who commissioned Jones' last recorded survey in Lyonshall, Herefordshire, in 1766. Both were small pieces of work that generated only single maps. Comparable trends in commissioning are not easy to identify, not least because the client lists of few eighteenth-century surveyors in Wales and the borders have been subject to scrutiny. But, where studies have been made of broadly contemporary land surveyors—such as Thomas Badeslade and John Probert, working further north in Wales and its English border counties—their clients have come predominantly from the upper social classes.

In general terms, appreciation of the value of maps was still in its infancy among most of the landowning class along the Welsh border at the time when Meredith Jones was at work. Furthermore, this was more so in Breconshire than in Herefordshire and Shropshire. The seemingly heterogeneous nature of his commissions in Breconshire can, therefore, be seen as a reflection of how slowly landowners in Wales came to terms with the benefit of maps in managing their estates.[13] Had Meredith Jones practiced a generation or so later, it is likely that his corpus of mapped surveys would have been more substantial than it is, and, equally, he might not have had to travel so widely for what must have been limited remuneration.

The maps

We shall never be able to determine precisely how many surveys Jones carried out—and subsequently made into maps—during the quarter of a century that he was active.[14] Some undoubtedly remain to be identified, others, for certain, have not survived. One authority has suggested that the 'mortality rate' for estate maps across the three centuries that they were in fashion could be as high as 50 per cent,[15] although it seems unlikely that such an extreme degree of loss would have afflicted maps prepared as late as the eighteenth century.

Jones' apparent dearth of maps from 1746 to 1748, and again in the years 1750, 1755, 1758, and 1762, may reflect such losses, yet it is also possible that he failed to obtain any commissions during those years. Oddly, the map list in its current form (see Appendix) contains virtually no unsigned maps that are attributed to him on stylistic grounds alone. This might change as public archive collections are assessed with greater care, although, on present

evidence, Jones was meticulous in signing and dating his maps. He did this even to the extent of signing individual maps within several of his mapbooks, a practice which relatively few of his eighteenth-century contemporaries would have followed, preferring to restrict such details to the title page. Even so, nearly 295 maps are a considerable number, and it confirms Jones as one of the most prolific of indigenous eighteenth-century mapmakers in Wales. A corpus of this size enables us to identify the general characteristics that he introduced to his maps, to establish periodic idiosyncrasies, and to determine whether his cartographic style developed during his career.

The stages through which a map passed to reach its final form are unclear; there are no known surviving examples of rough maps prepared by Jones in the field. However, exceptionally, the pair of maps in Jesus College, Oxford showing Pwll-y-llacca, Llanfihangel Nant Brân in 1745, demonstrates his working practice (Fig. 2). The less refined of the two is entirely in pencil, but is otherwise complete with its title, scale bar, and other embellishments. A faint grid of squares, more obvious in the upper right section of the map, reveals how all the detail from this draft was transferred to the coloured version, effectively the presentation map of the college's landholding. There are minor differences in the field outlines, but to identify them, the two maps require very close examination.

Generally, Jones preferred to illustrate each landholding or small group of holdings on a single sheet, usually of parchment. However, where enough holdings existed on an estate, the maps, usually on paper, would probably be committed to a mapbook. Indeed, a significant proportion of Jones' extant maps appear in such books. The mapbook for Penpont contains 62 maps prepared by Jones (together with a few later maps from the hand of a different surveyor), that for Penycoed Castle comprises 39 maps, while the smallest mapbook, that for Lord Castle Durrow, holds only eight maps. Most impressive are the two mapbooks of the Duke of Beaufort's Usk Valley estates, which, together, contain well over 100 maps. Some, however, show a considerable degree of overlap, especially in maps of Llangyndir and Cwmdu. The finer of the two mapbooks also contains maps of Llangattock, Llanelly, and other parishes beyond Crickhowell. This was clearly designed for inclusion in the Duke's records, whereas the plainer mapbook, with its well-worn appearance and subsequent annotations, was presumably used by Beaufort's local agent.

Whether it was Jones or his patron who had the final say on how the surveys were presented is unclear. There were many advantages for a set of maps bound together: easier storage; greater protection, particularly if the binding was of leather or thick card; and protecting individual maps from loss, damage, or fading of the colours and writing. But a mapbook also offered greater opportunities to the surveyor. He could introduce an ornate title page,

Figure 2. The two maps of Pwll-y-llacca, Llanfihangel Nant Brân illustrate successive stages in the preparation of one of Meredith Jones' estate plans.

commending his patron's munificence in the dedication. Another page might provide information common to all the maps in the set, obviating the need for a scale bar on each map, or explanations of the symbols used. Arguably, too, an elaborate mapbook was testament not only to a surveyor's surveying ability but also to his skills in presentation.[16] The more refined of the two Beaufort mapbooks—now registered in the National Library of Wales as *Badminton Vol. 14*—shows Meredith Jones at his most unctuous:

> To his Grace, the Duke of Beaufort, M[arquis] of Worcester, Badminton, Gloucester and Chepstow Castle. This survey of your Grace's estates within the several parishes of Crickhowell, Langenney, Lampeter Partrishow, Langattock and Lanelly, in the Lordship or Manor of Crickhowell in the County of Brecon; Taken in the Year of our Lord 1760, is most humbly Inscrib'd by your Grace's most Obliged and most Obedient Servant Meredith Jones.

A critical determinant as to whether maps were collected in a book or stored as separate sheets was size. To be accommodated in a mapbook, Jones would regularly adjust estate drawings by to fit, regardless of whether this meant rotating the drawing away from a north at top orientation. Not that the mapbooks themselves were of uniform size. If necessary, an estate plan could be spread across two facing pages, or, exceptionally, as in the 1760 Beaufort volume, a map drawn on a larger page might be folded to the required page size. In exceptional instances, however, a set of maps was simply too large to be folded into a mapbook, as with those that Jones produced for Walter Waring of Bishops Castle. These oversized maps were simply presented as flat sheets, and, consequently, there can be no certainty that the surviving sheets represent a complete set.

Occasionally, as with the Penycoed Castle demesne, Jones might draw a plan at a scale smaller than others in the mapbook in order to allow a fit,[17] albeit such changes of scale were infrequent. Many of his maps were drawn at a scale of 4 or 5 chains to the inch, that is 1:3168 or 1:3960, although some of the individual plans, such as that of Battle, were mapped at an even larger scale of around 1:2668. An alternative approach was to produce a map book of larger dimensions, and Jones did this in 1764 for the Llangammarch estates of John Bullock Lloyd, whose maps were around one-third larger than average (with the majority drawn at a scale of 1:2376).

A characteristic of early eighteenth-century estate maps generally, was the extensive use of strong colour, a trend inherited from mapmakers of the previous century. In this, Jones was little different from his contemporaries, though he was selective. Bright primary colours were employed for decorative features such as the title cartouche, scale, and compass rose, while the colouration of mapped lands relied on green (or blue-green), ochre, and brown (Fig. 3). Jones' use of colour remained reasonably consistent and restrained

No.	Field's Names	Stat. A	R	P	Cust. A	R	P
	Cwm Wysk.						
1	Dr ysig	3	2	16	5	3	02
2	Pant y Gaeh	7	3	15	12	3	11
3	Cae Melyn	3	1	28	5	2	23
4	Cae ych Cae'r Caedmawr	5	3	01	9	2	01
5	Cae bach dan y Coed	0	2	28	1	0	07
6	Cae dany Coed	1	2	22	2	2	12
7	Y Sedjo	0	3	36	1	2	06
8	Cae bach	2	0	18	3	1	14
9	Ynis y Berllan	2	3	10	4	2	08
10	Cae'r Saybor	4	3	16	6	3	01
11	The two Gardens	0	1	10	0	2	01
12	House Site and fold	0	1	34	0	3	01
13	Y Waun	7	1	08	12	0	02
14					4	0	14
15					3	3	30
16	Wood in Do.				1	0	00
16					3	2	00
17	Coed Ycha				7	2	00
18	Coed Mawr				5	0	14
					Tott. 66	3	23

No.	Field's Names	Stat. A	R	P	Cust. A	R	P
14		4	0	14	6	3	00
15		3	3	30	6	2	00
16	Wood in Do.	1	0	00	1	2	01
16		3	2	00	5	3	02
17	Coed Ycha	7	2	00	12	1	07
18	Coed Mawr	5	0	14	8	1	08
	Tott.	66	3	23	108	3	11

Figure 3. The small farm of Cwm Wysk (now Cwm-Wysg-isaf) just over two kilometres east of Sennybridge as mapped by Meredith Jones in 1756. It is a product typical of a small survey, employing bright colours and having the explanatory schedule of the holding's fields with their size in both statutory and customary acres on the same sheet as the map.

throughout his long career, verging on what now might be termed 'pastel shades'. Unlike some of his predecessors, he never felt obliged to describe the significance of the colours that he employed, although there is indirect guidance in the 'Explanation' to both the Penpont (1744) and Llanfrynach (1749) mapbooks. Nevertheless, it is evident that green normally represented pasture and meadowland, with a different shade for woodland. Yellow-ochre represented arable, light brown or occasionally reddish-brown, represented roads, and grey or blue represented watercourses, though the hue of these colours might vary from map to map.

Decorative features

Historical cartographers generally agree that it is through the decorative incidentals on estate maps that individual map-makers can be recognised: in the cartouches used for map titles; in the compass roses provided for orientation; in the scale bars; and in other, less practical, attributes. As a professional surveyor and mapmaker, Jones will have been influenced by the work of his contemporaries and those of earlier generations. For example, the map of Moor Court, in Pembridge, Herefordshire, from Jones' first year in surveying, boasts the coat of arms of John James Esq., who commissioned the survey.[18] Such embellishments were in keeping with mapmaking traditions in the seventeenth century and even into the early decades of the eighteenth century. By the middle of the latter, however, the inclusion of a visual concession to a landowner's status was becoming less common.

More typical of eighteenth-century mapping was the introduction of a small vignette of the main residence on an estate, normally on the plan that depicted the house in its estate context. In his earliest atlas, for Hugh Edwards of Brecon, Jones devoted individual pages to the "north-east prospect of the church of St John the Evangelist" (now Brecon Cathedral), and, "to a prospect of the great house opposite St Mary's in Brecon belonging to Hugh Edwards Esq.". But, for Jones, these were unusual. More typical is the plan of Abercynrig demesne in the Llanfrynach mapbook for Lord Castle Durrow (1749), which is accompanied by a small inserted, bird's-eye drawing of the house (Fig. 4), while his map of the Aconbury Court estate in Herefordshire (1757) carries a view of the house itself.[19] In a slightly different fashion, the map of the glebe lands of Bishop's Castle in Shropshire (attributable to 1756) has a drawing of both the vicarage and church. There is no consistency in Jones' inclusion of such drawings, and the map of Blaensawdde, in Llanddeusant, Carmarthenshire, carries, for no obvious reason that relates to the status of the building, a small inset of a house and its outbuildings on the holding.[20] Ten such vignettes are known, the most elaborate being that of Pontypool Park. Presumably, these are primarily decorative, reflecting the formalisation of a sketch that Jones made while undertaking his land survey.

Figure 4. Abercynrig House, a typical vignette by Meredith Jones, set into the upper corner of the main map of the demesne in Lord Castle Durrow's mapbook.

The most unusual element in Jones' repertoire is the motif above the scale bar of a human hand—always the right one—gripping a pair of dividers (Fig. 5). Other mapmakers were content to draw the dividers simply surmounting the top of the scale bar, or, occasionally, impaling a scroll, as an elaborative conceit. Meredith Jones, however, created his own motif that he used in four of his mapbooks, including the Defynnog mapbook for Hugh Edwards in 1744, and the Llanfrynach mapbook of 1749 for Lord Castle Durrow, where the hand is 13cm long. Moreover, Jones' hand motif is startling both in the ineptitude of its depiction and in its size. The thumb is almost as long as the first finger and a little experimentation indicates that the illustrated grip is feasible, albeit

Figure 5. The title page to Jones' mapbook of Lord Castle Durrow's Abercynrig estate beside the Usk to the east of Brecon. This is one of the best examples of his distinctive use of hand-held dividers above a scale bar.

uncomfortable, only if the first and middle fingers are bent. This was clearly beyond Jones' powers of depiction and the fingers are always shown entirely straight. Jones continued to employ the dividers above the scale bar into the early 1760s, although not consistently, but, by the end of the 1740s, he had come to appreciate that the inclusion of the hand was unsatisfactory. It appeared only twice more, once on one of the Bishop's Castle plans for Walter Waring in 1756 (and then only as a very small and unobtrusive decorative element to the scale bar), and, likewise, on one of the Cwmdu plans for the Duke of Beaufort in 1760.

Before attaching too much weight to the inclusion or omission of specific features or embellishments on any particular map, we need to allow for the pragmatic approach adopted by Jones to rounding off his finished products, a characteristic that was reasonably commonplace among eighteenth-century surveyors. By way of example, the lands at Grove Farm in Knighton, Radnorshire—which he surveyed for Henry Price in 1759—and the accompanying schedule, occupy almost all the sheet of parchment. This left only the top left corner for the title cartouche, clearly introduced after the lands themselves had been plotted out. When he came to insert the title, Jones found his inscription becoming increasingly cramped, and both lines and letters are much closer together at the end of the title than at the beginning in order to accommodate the full text. Conversely, motifs such as the compass rose might be increased in size to avoid too much blank space appearing on the map.

Of the embellishments employed by mapmakers prior to the nineteenth century, the title cartouche stands out as the feature most likely to reveal the imprint of a particular individual (Fig. 6). Partly because, generally (although not ubiquitously) this was where the surveyor signed, dated, and dedicated his work, and also because the decorative traits that he employed might be traced from map to map, indicative of a standardised approach to decoration. Not so, however, with Meredith Jones. While he went to considerable lengths to ensure that his maps were dated and autographed, even to the extent of excluding the cartouche frame and including only his initials where space was limited, the decorative elements, and even the shape, of the cartouches varied considerably. Furthermore, no clear progression in style can be detected.

In the mapbooks, the titling on individual maps is frequently simple: the inscription typically runs somewhere along the top of the map without any intricate decoration. The principal exceptions are three maps of Caerau, Castellan, and Llanbrynian in the Llangammarch mapbook for John Bullock Lloyd in 1764. Even these, however, are intermixed with some maps where the inscription is just written on the map without any elaboration, and with others where it is defined in a simple rectangular frame. This lack of consistency could imply either that the various plans were drawn up at different times or indicate a surprising indifference on the part of the surveyor.

Figure 6. This decorative title cartouche from one of the Bishop's Castle (Shropshire) maps that Jones produced for Walter Waring in 1756 also advertises the fact that he was a land surveyor from Brecon.

Jones' earliest map of Battle, near Brecon (1743), has a halo of acanthus leaves around the inscription, picked out in unrealistic colours. Later maps, such as some of those for Walter Waring in 1756, have even more colourful foliate-scrolled cartouches, and a few incorporate a disembodied head or mask. Later, as in the Llangammarch mapbook, the decoration is simplified with small, green, naturalistic leaves and red flower heads, which are remarkably reminiscent of the decoration that the Brute family of stonemasons were employing on their church wall memorials in the Crickhowell area at this time.[21] Regardless of whether we view this as deliberate variety or as inconsistency, it would be difficult to recognise a Meredith Jones map from the cartouche design alone. What can be said is that his maps were, in their appearance, reasonably typical products for their time, with few characteristics displayed on them that could be claimed as unique.

Quality of the mapping

How accurate were Jones' surveys? The most advanced method of assessing their accuracy would be to overlay a geo-referenced digital scan of one or more maps over their modern Ordnance Survey counterparts, as has recently been done for Welsh tithe maps in the Cynefin project. Another approach, both less technical and less time-consuming, is, first, visually to compare the outlines of irregularly shaped fields in both their eighteenth-century and modern depictions,

for a reasonable sample of fields. Secondly, to compare acreages using the field lists provided by Jones, for a sample of fields where it can be reasonably certain that the field form has remained constant over two and a half centuries.

Under the first approach, the results seem satisfactory. Generally, Jones appears to have picked up the minor shifts in boundary alignment that exist on the ground and can be identified on modern large-scale Ordnance Survey maps and aerial photographs. However, his recorded acreages tell a rather different story. Large-scale Ordnance Survey maps (1:2500) show acreages for every field, and there are also individual field details in every mid-nineteenth-century tithe apportionment. How these acreages were computed is clear only for the Ordnance Survey maps. Brian Harley in *Ordnance Survey Maps. A Descriptive Manual* (1975)[22] was unequivocal in stating that each field had "its area calculated from the map", and that "in this sense, the areas as published are 'paper' areas which do not take account of factors such as slope and height above datum".[23] One assumes that the tithe surveyors, as well as estate surveyors like Meredith Jones, adopted a similar technique, employing a graticule (grid) to calculate the acres, rods, and perches, although this is rarely, if ever, stated. Comparison of Jones' figures with those of the Ordnance Survey exposes this inaccuracy. For a group of two fields near Tretower, Jones' calculation was 11.3 per cent under the Ordnance Survey's (and 10.7 per cent less than the tithe). For a group of four fields around a cottage at Bwlch, Jones underestimated the acreage by 12.7 per cent (and 13.9 per cent lower than the tithe). While, for a farm with 13 fields at Dyffryn Crawnon, in Llangynidr, Jones' figures were 8.7 per cent higher than the modern map (and 4.2 per cent higher than the tithe). Occasionally, the difference is only small. A farm in Dyffryn Crawnon, for example, was just 0.4 per cent higher than the Ordnance Survey's calculation, and Bellfountain Park, in Llangenny, was a little less than 3 per cent different. While a true statistical exercise would demand many more calculations, the breadth of variation exhibited in this sample gives the overall impression that Meredith Jones' acreages are not necessarily reliable, even if his visual representation of landholdings is convincing.

Recording the landscape

Jones' maps are rather limited in what they tell us about the landscapes that he surveyed. One of his successors in Breconshire estate mapping, the Margam (Glamorganshire) surveyor, Edward Thomas, introduced a range of incidental landscape detail to his maps, such as abandoned cottages or 'hovels', quarries, former hedge lines, and mill leats, all useful today in unravelling the nature of past landscape. In comparison, Jones was parsimonious. Farmhouses, ancillary buildings, and yards were necessarily depicted, as were roads and tracks, fields with their boundaries, together with the gateways into them, and trees too, although from the regularity of their appearance, their depiction was normally schematic. Beyond these features, he recorded very little (Fig. 7). Very

Figure 7. Detail from one of the maps in the 1744 Penpont estate mapbook shows Defynnog village. The church apart, buildings that belonged to the estate were

Ref. to Letter	In Devynnock Village.	Stat. A	R	P	Customary A	R	P
A	A House Court and Garden in John Downes Occup.n	0	0	20	0	0	12
A2	The Erw in the Occupation of D.o Vide fol. 230	1	3	38	2	1	16
B	Another House and Garden in y.e Occupation of D.o	0	0	10	0	0	06
C	A House and Garden in y.e Occup.n of Lewis Havard	0	0	16	0	0	10
D	A House and Garden in y.e Occup.n of Morgan Thomas	0	0	13	0	0	08
E	A house and Garden in y.e Occup.n of Marg.t Jones Widow	0	0	06	0	0	04
F	The Kings Mill and Liberties; with a Tucking Mill	0	0	10	0	0	06
G	The Tan house and Liberties	0	0	12	0	0	07
H	A House and Garden in the Occupation of Wm. Lewis	0	0	13	0	0	08
I	A House and Garden in the Occup.n of Jennet Evans	0	0	10	0	0	06
K	The Site of an old House adjoining Jennet Evans about	0	0	01	0	0	00½
L.1	The Tucking Mill Meadow } In the Occupation of	1	2	10	1	3	14
L.2	The upper D.o } John Downes y.e Younger	1	0	34	1	2	00
	Tott	5	1	33	6	2	18

shown in bird's-eye view, those outside it as simple rectangular blocks, a form of differentiation often employed in eighteenth-century mapping.

occasionally, a building lying beyond the margins of the estate might be inserted on to the map (perhaps a marker as to where the estate boundary commenced), an interesting name might be added as with Pigeon House Meadow on the map of Aconbury Court, Herefordshire, an archaeological site such as the late prehistoric enclosure at Llanilltyd might be included inadvertently (Fig. 8), or even the outline of the Roman town of Caerwent, Monmouthshire as appears on one of the Penycoed Castle maps.

Figure 8. The small church of Llanilltyd on Mynydd Illtyd was erected within an already existing enclosure, perhaps of Iron Age date. It was mapped by Jones in 1744, though he will certainly have been unaware of its origins.

Jones clearly regarded his surveyor's role specifically in terms of depicting the farmed landscape. His fields were mapped sufficiently well for the modern investigator to pick out field shapes with a considerable degree of confidence. Gateways were depicted to show the adequacy of access to fields. Fields were also named and numbered, the latter providing a link to a listed schedule, usually on the same or an adjacent page. Foremost in his mind, was the depiction of the fieldscape as an aid for the administration of a landed estate. The schedules that he prepared report acreages, but, unlike many surveys of a later date in the eighteenth century—when the landed gentry and their agents were attempting to increase the income that came from their tenants—he did not state the value of each field that he plotted, nor the rent that it fetched. But, in a region where both statute and local land measures were in use, Meredith

Jones went to exceptional lengths to ensure that his patrons comprehended the difference and were left with an unambiguous picture of their holdings. His earliest Herefordshire property map of 1743 carried an explanation of the difference between the two,[24] and, in his 1744 mapbook of Hugh Edwards's estates around Brecon, his land schedules are given in both statutory and customary acres. This reinforced the point on the explanatory page at the beginning of the book by stating that "sixteen feet and a half squar'd [sic] make one pole or perch, forty perches one rood, and four roods or one hundred and sixty perches make one acre of Statute vid Stat. 33^{d} of Edward I", while, "seven yards squared make one perch, twenty perches one quarter and four quarters one acre of Custom in Breconshire". So, the statutory acre was 4,840 square yards (equivalent to a 'modern' acre). This was 12.3 per cent larger than a customary acre of 3,920 square yards (equivalent to 0.8 per cent of a 'modern' acre). However, even this needed to be occasionally qualified, such as, "except some meadows ground below Brecon where they allow but 60 perches to the Customary Acre", and, "further note that Erw is double the Customary Acre".

In comparison to some of his contemporaries, Jones' maps seem a little bland, and the relative dearth of landscape detail does little to assist the modern historian. Yet, we should not dismiss Jones' plans out of hand. They do inform landscape studies at a level of which he would have been barely conscious. Two examples will suffice, and what is critical in both is not the fact that Meredith Jones produced the mapped surveys—the impact would have been much the same had it been another surveyor—but that he mapped these lands at a time that has proved to be critical to landscape interpretation.

Chronologically, Jones' 1760 survey of the Duke of Beaufort's lands in Llangynidr and Cwmdu falls conveniently between the fine Badminton manorial atlas prepared by Robert Johnson in 1587,[25] and the first large-scale (i.e. 1:2500) Ordnance Survey maps of 1887–89. Along the Usk, between Brecon and Abergavenny, were several commons and open woodlands that, in the sixteenth century, were beginning to attract landless individuals or squatters, who saw an opportunity to erect a dwelling and even create a smallholding for themselves. North-west and north-east of Llangynidr were Coed yr Ynis and Cyffredin respectively, on the opposite bank of the river rose the elongated hill known as Myarth, while between Buckland Hill and Cefn Moel, lay the saddle that was later to be termed Bwlch. Further east, above Llangattock, was Ffawyddog, near Gilwern was Lower Common, and, facing it on the north side of the river, was Graig.[26]

The Gilwern commons apart, these tracts of open land were surveyed by Meredith Jones in 1760 (Fig. 9), as they had been nearly 200 years earlier by Robert Johnson. Taken together, they show progressive encroachment by the rural poor.[27] On Ffrawyddog, for instance, nine cottages were already in existence by 1587, strung out around the edge of this former hunting preserve,

Figure 9. Coed yr Ynis Common in Llangynidr. By the time that Meredith Jones mapped this for the Duke of Beaufort in 1760 much of the common had been taken over by squatters.

with two more structures lying at its centre. By the time that Meredith Jones surveyed the area, the number of cottages had risen to 26, many of them surrounded by a few small fields, leaving only residual patches of open common between them. On Coed-yr-Ynis common, Johnson mapped 16 cottages, again mostly on the periphery. Jones mapped 20 cottages all with land such that only about one-fifth of the open common remained. Assuming a reasonable degree of precision to Johnson's map, it appears that some of his cottages had disappeared by the mid-eighteenth century.

Of the Usk-side commons, it is the Myarth whose settlement history is the most difficult to elucidate. Our understanding is complicated by Robert Johnson's unexplained failure, in 1587, to draw on his map anything more than the outline of a prominent hill lying to the south of Tretower, together with few of the enclosures that had been carved from the former forest of Myarth. It seems likely that there were already cottage encroachments on the hill by the end of the sixteenth century, but Johnson did not show them. However, the main issue with the Myarth is that, by the end of the nineteenth century, large parts of the hill had been submerged beneath conifer plantations. We know that there had been a squatter population: Meredith Jones depicted about 35 cottages with fields on the south and east flanks of the hill in 1760. But by the time of the Ordnance Survey mapping only four houses or cottages remained, one a farm, together with a house known as Penymyarth. The Myarth, therefore, exhibits a completely different perspective on the development and decline of squatter settlements from the other commons along the Usk. Evidently, the rural poor were actively discouraged and perhaps even forcibly evicted from the Myarth. Given the well-documented distaste that the gentry had for those who sought to encroach on their lands,[28] it is difficult to avoid concluding that the owners of the large estates, and particularly Glanusk, may have been instrumental in the clearance of small dwellings from the hill. Unlike the other communities on common land which continued to thrive, the settlement on the Myarth was one that was subsequently erased from the record. Archaeological fieldwork, coupled with Lidar, might be able to reconstruct a picture of encroaching settlement, but Meredith Jones' map is a contemporary statement that avoids any ambiguities inherent in the archaeological reconstruction of a past landscape.

The second example draws on something less immediately obvious: a result of Jones' method of rendering his surveys. In 1764, towards the end of his career, he was commissioned to survey John Bullock Lloyd's estates in Breconshire. The 15 maps in the resultant mapbook fall readily into two groups. Those towards the end of the book are a geographically-disparate set of landholdings in the Wye valley around Glasbury and Llanigon, at Llandefalle in the hills north-east of Brecon, and at Llanfrynach near the Usk. Of seven farms, only two are contiguous, with those in the Wye and Usk

valleys are separated by nearly 20km. Furthermore, Jones made at least one of the plans in 1765, and prepared others from surveys that had been made by Robert Parry Price two years earlier. Although it is not openly stated, it looks as though Bullock Lloyd was acquiring land in the Usk and Wye lowlands in random fashion in order to enhance his Breconshire estate. In contrast, the nine maps at the beginning of the mapbook depict tenanted lands in north-west Breconshire, in the parishes of Llangammarch, Llanfihangel Abergwesyn, and Llanlleonfel. What is not immediately apparent, because of the page by page nature employed for each tenanted farm, is that seven of the nine maps show contiguous holdings forming an arc of properties from Caerau, just to the south of modern Beulah, in the north-east, to Bryn Moel, a block of open hill-land, in the south-west (Fig. 10). The remaining two maps present additional discrete blocks of land lying between 200m and 1,000m to the

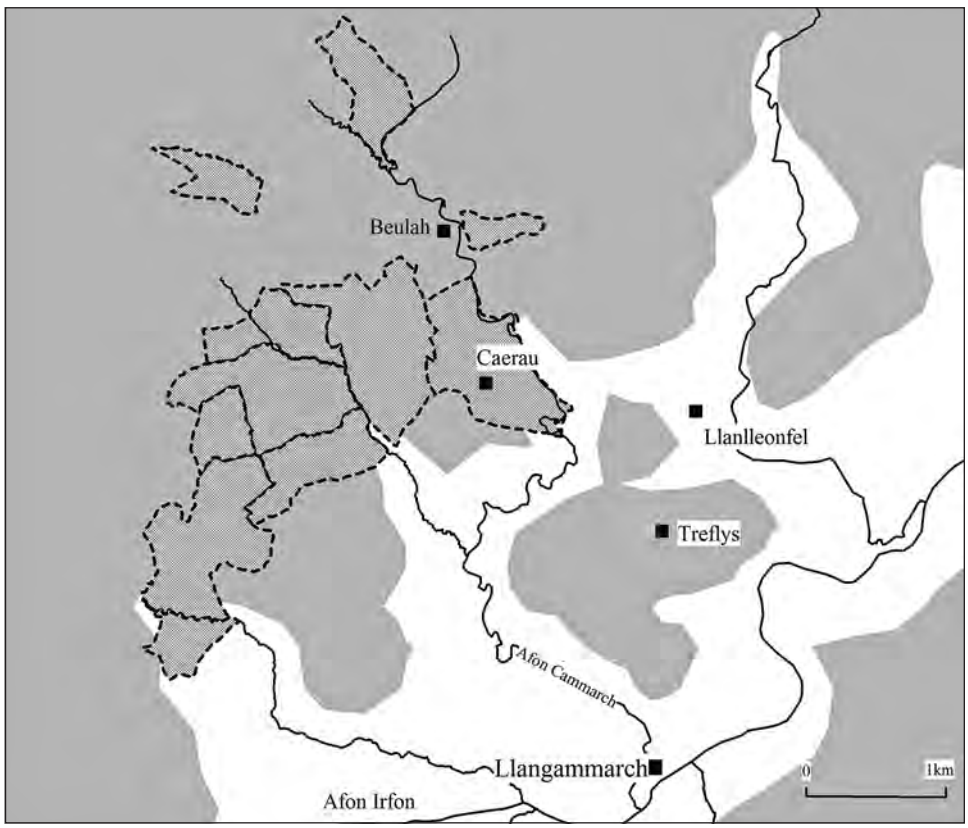

Figure 10. John Bullock Lloyd's estate was formed of tenanted properties (shown here cross-hatched) to the north-west of Llangammarch. Mapped individually by Meredith Jones in 1764, their potential significance as contiguous elements of an earlier estate becomes apparent only when plotted collectively.

north of the main arc of properties, placed at the end of the sequence of Llangammarch property maps, rather than within them (which would have been be more logical based on geographical proximity). In other words, they were perceived as locationally and, perhaps, administratively distinct. Whether it was due to his patron expressing a preference for a book of maps that showed each tenanted farm individually, or whether it was Jones' own decision, cannot be known. But a consequence of the decision was that individual farms, even where contiguous, appeared separately; therefore, the overall picture of the estate layout, which would have been immediately apparent on a single large sheet, was forfeited.

The principal farm in the group was undoubtedly Caerau, and, in keeping with conventional cartographic practice, Jones placed it on the first map in his mapbook. Not that it was termed a demesne or manorial holding on that map, for, by the mid-eighteenth century, it had shed this status and was leased out to a tenant farmer. Yet, there are hints of its former status on Jones' map. Tree-lined avenues, now gone, approached the farmhouse from the south-west and the east, the latter leading to what was formerly a crossing of the Afon Cammarch. Caerau, as the name suggests, occupies the site of a former Roman fort,[29] and, over its south-western gate, an earthwork motte was thrown up, probably at some point in the twelfth century, though conceivably even later. Its presence exposes Caerau's importance as an estate centre in the Middle Ages.

The group of holdings at the eastern end of the arc lay above the Afon Cammarch, while their western periphery comprised open hill land, which would have provided common grazing. The same may once have been true of the land beyond some parts of the long north-western boundary of Lloyd's estate, for the ground there starts to rise into the hills (now under the cover of Irfon Forest). The south-eastern boundary of Lloyd's estate is less immediately understandable. In geographic terms, the estate appears to curve around what could have been an altogether larger landholding whose western and eastern sides, assuming some degree of convergence, would reach an apex in the vicinity of Llangammarch on the Irfon. This might reflect another secular estate, its origins perhaps going as far back as the early medieval *llys* or court at Treflys, just over 1½ km to the north of Llangammarch, (which had subsequently fragmented into individually owned holdings long before Meredith Jones passed through the area). There is yet a further possibility: that what was being fossilised in the landscape was the *parochia* or territory of the early medieval mother church of Llangammarch.[30] Either of these origins would take the patterns of landholding, hinted at through Meredith Jones' eighteenth-century survey, back into the pre-conquest era.

Meredith Jones and the development of estate mapping in eighteenth-century Breconshire

Mapping of landed estates, from the surveys that have survived, came late to Breconshire. Much the same, though, could be said for virtually every other county in Wales, excepting, perhaps, Monmouthshire. By contrast, those counties in southern and eastern England welcomed surveyors from the last decades of the sixteenth century. Breconshire, it might be countered, can claim both the Elizabethan map of Llangorse Lake in the National Archives,[31] and the remarkable survey of the manors of Crickhowell and Tretower in 45 maps prepared for the Marquis of Worcester by Robert Johnson in 1587 (its national significance cemented by its 2016 inclusion in the UNESCO Memory of the World UK Register). The Badminton mapbook is unique in several respects, one being the fact that, as a systematised set of estate maps for the county of Breconshire, it alone survives, not just for the late-sixteenth century but for the entire seventeenth and the early decades of the eighteenth century. Even for Wales as a whole, there is nothing to compare with it for more than a century.

Johnson's survey aside, the earliest known estate maps for Breconshire are those prepared by a surveyor named John Withy. None of the early-eighteenth-century mapmakers working in Herefordshire, such as John Pye, William Whittell, and others—who might have been expected to transfer their skills across the county boundary—seems to have been tempted westwards.[32] Withy surveyed Walter Pryse's estates in Llangors and Llanfihangel Nant Brân in 1738 on eight maps, although the cartographic quality does little to inspire confidence in the surveyor (and could well account for his extremely brief floruit in regional estate mapping).[33] In the same year, he also worked on the demesne of Penpont in the Usk valley for Penry Williams.[34] Withy's output for these two patrons amounted to no more than 10 maps, and after that, he disappears. Can we assume that Withy was a native of Breconshire? Probably, although this is never made clear on his maps. He takes his place among the many other, largely anonymous, land surveyors in the eighteenth century who surfaced for only a very few years and then disappeared without further record.[35]

As we have seen, Meredith Jones, made an altogether more indelible mark on Breconshire land surveying; surfacing only a couple of years after John Withy but still being at work 25 years later. He, like Withy, may also have been a native of the county. John Davies is another surveyor who has been claimed for Breconshire, yet his association is altogether less secure, based seemingly on the location of his earliest work.[36] His mapped surveys from 1759 were of estates in the Black Mountains parishes of Talgarth and Llanelieu, but, during the next few years, Davies' extant surveys reveal him moving around more widely in south Wales and the borders. His most substantial commission resulted in 145 maps for Sir Thomas Stepney in south-west Wales. In the early

1770s, Davies was again in Breconshire, and, although further research will probably identify additional works prepared in his readily identifiable style, for the moment, his surveying career does not appear to have extended beyond about 1772.

In these times, a few surveyors from other regions of Wales travelled into Breconshire to work. One was William Jones (*fl.* 1744–67), who, on his maps, occasionally termed himself a 'philomath' (a lover of learning) and was a close contemporary of Meredith Jones. From the distribution of his known surveys, he would seem to have come from Glamorganshire or, perhaps, even Monmouthshire. In 1752, he drew several maps of the Penmaillard estate in Penderyn,[37] and his extensive survey of the Cefn Mabley estate 15 years later included land in the parishes of Talachddu and Llanfeugan. Not dissimilar was Robert Parry Price who, unusually, distinguished his maps by including only his initials rather than his full name. R. P. P. first emerges in Denbighshire in 1744 and was still working in north-west Wales in 1747. Presumably, finding the surveying opportunities rather limited in the north of the country, he moved in the early 1750s to the Llynfi valley area of Breconshire, where, among other places, he surveyed Old Gwernyfed in 1756. By 1765, he had opened a school in Hay-on-Wye but continued with occasional surveys; his work being evident in Herefordshire four years later. Other visiting surveyors, such as the prolific Thomas Lewis from Cardiganshire, and, perhaps, William Morrice of Glamorgan, made occasional forays into the county. A few others remain elusive. The strange circumstances that led to the appearance in 1771, and subsequent death, of Richard Cardwell, a Lancashire man who, on his only known map of one of the inner London suburbs, classed himself as a geographer, have already been recounted in *Brycheiniog*.[38]

The overriding impression is that opportunities for sustaining a career in land measuring in Breconshire, during the 1740s through to the 1760s, were sparse, even for an experienced surveyor. None was able to function solely within the county, with Meredith Jones and John Davies both travelling widely. This is in marked contrast with John Aram, for example, who, once he had emigrated from East Anglia, rarely moved outside the boundaries of Monmouthshire for work; or John Probert, who was able to concentrate his efforts almost entirely in Shropshire and neighbouring Montgomeryshire.

The underlying cause was undoubtedly the relative rarity of large landowners, whether among the aristocracy or the gentry, who were eager to have their lands surveyed. And this dearth of local demand appears to have continued until the 1780s, when a spate of important surveys was prepared for the county. Charles Morgan of Tredegar Park, on the edge of Newport, George Venables Vernon of Britton Ferry, near Neath, Glamorganshire, Lord Camden, based primarily in London and Kent, and the Ashburnham family, in Sussex, were all absentee landlords with large estates in Breconshire (although the first of

these was MP for Breconshire). Each of the first three employed Edward Thomas to map his estates in Breconshire. Thomas came from Margam and is justifiably regarded as one of the more accomplished land surveyors in Glamorganshire in the late-eighteenth century. His elegant, leather-bound, volumes for Morgan and Lord Camden might be better seen as atlases rather than as ordinary mapbooks. The Ashburnham maps, though similar in style to other work by Thomas, remain anonymous and undated, primarily because the mapbook in which they were housed has been eviscerated, with the loss of its title page.

The final quarter of the eighteenth century saw more surveyors than ever at work in the county. Known mapmakers include John Aram of St Arvans, Monmouthshire, whose surveys of the Pontypool Park estates around 1780 took him into the Usk Valley around Llanddetty, David Davies, who was living in Llangattock from 1803, and other, more obscure, surveyors such as Benjamin Watkins. Even so, few large Breconshire estates seem to have been surveyed. When John Williams mapped the Yniscedwyn estate in 1797, 22 of 60 maps were of Ystradgynlais, an exceptional number for the county at that time. It was only into the nineteenth century that surveyors became more abundant in the county, their numbers buoyed by the twin requirements of the Inclosure Acts and tithe commutation. Nearly 50 surveyors are listed for the first half of the century.[39]

Conclusion

As a surveyor, Meredith Jones was not, in any way, out of the ordinary for his time. From his corpus of work, he comes across neither as innovative nor dynamic, but as rather methodical and, arguably, even pedestrian, in the approach to his work. The degree of precision that he brought to his surveying appears to be reasonably typical of the age, although it is difficult to be certain, as so little work has been done on the comparative accuracy achieved by other land measurers in the eighteenth century. His style in the presentation of his survey results was distinctive—as was often the case with many surveyors in the first half of the eighteenth century—but did not alter fundamentally over a quarter of a century (albeit some of the decorative embellishments that he employed at the beginning of his career, such as the hand clasping the dividers, and, indeed, even the dividers themselves, disappeared from his repertoire or were modified in later years). The innovative emphasis on rococo decoration, more restrained use of colour, and simpler decorative devices—emerging among the progressive mapmakers of London and southern England in the 1750s—largely escaped Jones. However, these changes are evident in the region through the more refined products of the London-based surveyor, Thomas Bateman in Montgomeryshire in 1754, and, to differing degrees, by John Probert in Montgomeryshire and Shropshire from 1760, and John Aram in

Monmouthshire at much the same time. However, much the same charge of conservatism can be levelled against some of Jones' provincial contemporaries, such as Robert Parry Price and, to a lesser degree, John Davies.

In final analysis, Meredith Jones' work, both in its appearance and in its distribution, reflected the requirements of his patrons, and, in this, he was held back by the limited demand. Breconshire did not possess significant numbers of large estates, and the commissioning aristocracy were generally marked by their absence. For those surveyors from London, and surrounding counties, who were attracted into neighbouring Herefordshire to work—Thomas Cleer, Benjamin Fallowes, Edward Laurence, and, later, Nathaniel Kent—there was little incentive to move westwards into Breconshire. Large mapping projects were sparse, even in the late-eighteenth century, and the number of small surveys involving a minor estate of a few hundred acres says much about the likely potential for any aspiring land measurer in the county. Accordingly, we can only identify around 16 surveyors for Breconshire in the entire eighteenth century. A strikingly low figure by comparison with neighbouring Herefordshire (around 75) and, say, lowland Essex (more than 180). However, among those who can be identified by name, Meredith Jones stands out as the most prolific and best-known. There are many local historians of this beautiful and fascinating part of Britain, who have good cause to be grateful to him.

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank the staff at the county archives in Ebbw Vale, Hereford, Llandrindod Wells, Shrewsbury, and Swansea, and also at the National Library of Wales in Aberystwyth for readily making available Meredith Jones' maps in their care. Particular thanks go to Dr Robin Darwall-Smith at Jesus College, Oxford, to Mr J. Hanbury-Tenison for permitting me to examine the maps at Pontypool Park, and to Mr Jonathan Williams for much useful discussion about the work of Meredith Jones, including commenting on an earlier draft of this paper. For permission to include images of their maps, I am extremely grateful to Jesus College, Oxford, Shropshire Archives, the National Library of Wales, and the owners of the Castle Durrow mapbook and the Penpont estate maps.

Appendix: A Cartobibliography[40]

1743 Battle: Battle Farm, Breconshire. Part of the estate of Henry Mitchell, gent. (National Library of Wales*/Maybery 62*).

1743 Pembridge: Moor Court, Herefordshire. In the ownership of John James Esq. (Private Collection in Herefordshire. Smith 2012: 22).

1744 Brecon: Town Plan (Original not located; reproduced in Jones 1809: Volume 2: frontispiece).

1744 Defynnog, Llywel, Llanfihangel Nant Brân, and Merthyr Cynog, all Breconshire; and Llanddeusant, Carmarthenshire; nine maps for Hugh Edwards, Esq., a part of the Dyffryn (Neath) Estate. Listed in Thomas 1992 (West Glamorgan Record Office *D/D Gw E/1*; Listed in Thomas 1992: 118).

1744 Llandefalle, Crickadarn, Cantref, Penderyn, Ystradfellte, Llandefaelog Fach, Llanfihangel Nant Brân, Brecon St Davids, Llanspyddid, Defynnog, Trallong: Penpont Estate, Breconshire. 62 maps for Penry Williams, Esq. (Private Collection).

1745 Llanfihangel Nant Brân: Pwll-y-llacca, Breconshire. One complete map and a preliminary map of college land. (Jesus College, Oxford).

1749 Llanfrynach, Cantref, Llanhamlach, Brecon St Davids Within and Without: Abercynrig Estate, Breconshire. Eight maps for Lord Castle Durrow. (Private Collection) .

1751 Llanmartin, Bishton, Willerick, St Brides, Magor, Undy, Llanvaches, Caerwent, Llanfihangel Llantarnam, Llangibby, Llanbadock, Usk, Kemeys Commander: Penycoed Castle, Monmouthshire. 39 plans for Mark Wood. (National Library of Wales, *Lockwood Deposit Vol 1*).

1752 Pontypool: Pontypool Park, Monmouthshire. For Capel Hanbury Esq. (Private Collection).

1752 Panteg: Beeston's Farm, Monmouthshire. For Capel Hanbury Esq. (Private Collection).

1753 Hope Bagot: lands in, Shropshire. Part of the estate of Andrew Jones Esq. (Shropshire Archives *1141/Bundle 135*).

1754 Newchurch: Pontvane (Radnorshire). Part of the estate of John Watkins, gent. (National Library of Wales *Map 7605*).

1754 Lyonshall; Penrose Farm, Herefordshire. Owner unknown. (Herefordshire Archive and Record Centre *B33/209*).

1756 Bishops Castle, Shropshire, and Hyssington, Montgomeryshire: estate of Walter Waring Esq. Six maps. (Shropshire Archives *552/8/622-626; 552/8/781*).

1756 (circa) Bishops Castle: Glebelands, Shropshire. For Rev. J. R. Waring (Shropshire Archives *552/8/628*).

1756 Lydham: The Owers, Shropshire. Tenement of Richard Oakley. (Shropshire Archives *1079 parcel 14*).

1756 Defynnog: Cwm Wysk. (National Library of Wales *Penpont 174*).

1757 Aconbury: Aconbury Court and Bowles Farm, Herefordshire. For Guys Hospital. (Herefordshire Archive and Record Centre *C99/III/217*).

1757 Stretton Sugwas: Stretton Court, Herefordshire. For Guys Hospital. (Herefordshire Archive and Record Centre *C99/III/216).*

1757 Llanigon: Pen yr Wrlod, Wenallt etc., Breconshire. (Powys Archives *B/D/BRA/1636/2*).

1758 Undy: manor, Monmouthshire. For Capel Hanbury Esq. (Gwent Archives *D1111/11*).

1759 Caldecot, Monmouthshire. For Capel Hanbury Esq. (Gwent Archives *D1111/12; D.1670.69*).

1759 Knighton, Grove. For Mr Henry Price. (National Library of Wales *Map 7603*).

1759 Hereford: Port Fields, Herefordshire. For Mr Thomas Church. (Hereford Cathedral, *Dean and Chapter Archives 4549*).

1759 Hereford: Canon Moor Farm, Herefordshire. Patron unknown. (Hereford Cathedral, *Dean and Chapter Archives 3916/58*).

1760 Llangynidr, Cwmdu: various holdings. 21 maps for the Duke of Beaufort. (National Library of Wales *Badminton Vol. 7*).

1760 Llangynidr, Cwmdu, Tretower, Crickhowell, Llanbedr, Llangenny, Partrishow, Llangattock and Llanelly. 62 maps for the Duke of Beaufort. (National Library of Wales *Badminton Vol. 14*).

1760 Painswick: Packers Farm, Glos. For Penry Williams Esq. (Private Collection).

1760 Talgarth: Trefecca, Breconshire. For Richard Combe, Esq. (National Library of Wales *Map 7042 134/1/6: copy of original*).

1760 Brecon: Slough, Breconshire. For William Scourfield Esq. (National Library of Wales *BRA 1736/1/2*).

1760 Llanellen: Glan-Wysk, Monmouthshire. For Samuel Peach Esq. (Gwent Archives *Misc. Mss 1740*).

1760 Coddington: Coddington Farm, Herefordshire. For Thomas Williams Esq. (Worcestershire Record Office *705:24/1365 and 1366*).

1760 Castlemorton: Eight Oaken Farm, Worcestershire. For Thomas Williams Esq. (Worcestershire Record Office *705:24/409*).

1760 Cwmdu: Tir-y-lys and Gaer Farms, Breconshire. (National Library of Wales *Map 7866*).

1761 Llanhamlach: Beddion, Breconshire. For Mr William Powell. (Powys Archives, *Glanusk Colln.*).
1761 Llanddew: Alexanderstone, Breconshire. For William Morgan Esq. (National Library of Wales *Tredegar 322 139/8/15*).
1761 Llanddew: messuages (a dwelling house together with its outbuildings, curtilage, and the adjacent land appropriated to its use), on *Gwayn y Geivir*, Breconshire. For William Morgan Esq. (National Library of Wales *Tredegar 481; 139/9/7*).
1761 Llanfilo, Llandefaelog and Llanwern: Trosdre and Gilwern, Breconshire. For Richard Davies Esq. (Glamorgan Archives *DLH/104*).
1763 Brilley: Cumme and Fernhill, Herefordshire. (Leicestershire Record Office *DG9/2726*).
1764 Llangamarch, Llandefalle, Llanelieu, Llanfihangel Abergwesyn, Llanigon, Llanlleonfel Llanigon and Glasbury, Breconshire. 15 maps for John Bullock Lloyd Esq. (National Library of Wales *Ms. Maps Vol. 44*).
1764 Llansantffraed: Maes-y-crooper, Breconshire. For Mr William Powell. (Powys Archives, *Glanusk Colln.*).
1764 Llandegley: Bayly John Lloyd, Radnorshire. Unknown owner. (National Library of Wales, *Ormathwaite 89*).
1765 Chirbury: Priest Weston Farm, Shropshire. For Cecil Forester. (National Library of Wales, *Powis Castle/M158*).
1765 Worthen, Shropshire. (Shropshire Archives *1224/1/63*).
1765 Brobury, Bredwardine, Herefordshire. For Benjamin Wellington Esq. (Private collection).
1766 Almeley and Lyonshall: Almeley's Wootton, Herefordshire. (National Library of Wales *Map 7701*).

Notes

[1] Jones 1809: Vol. 2, Part 1: frontispiece; Lewis 1972: 167.

[2] Bendall 2002.

[3] For Rocque, see Varley 1948; for Badeslade, see Silvester 2014; for Williams, see Silvester and Hawkins *in prep.*

[4] Varley 1948; Silvester 2001; 2012.

[5] Ravenhill and Rowe 2012.

[6] In the collections of National Library of Wales as *D.T.M. Jones (Solicitors) 615.*

[7] Bendall 1997: Vol. 1: 42-51.

[8] Oxford Dictionary of National Biography: Wood, Sir Mark, first baronet, https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/29887 (accessed 25 January 2019).

[9] The volume of maps for Pencoed Castle in the National Library at Aberystwyth also contains four later maps, the result of surveys by Samuel Minchel in 1788.

[10] Two qualifications might be made here. First, the Penpont mapbook, though primarily a product of 1744, had the Painswick, Gloucestershire, map added to it in 1760, and four further maps by Jones of Breconshire lands introduced at much the same time. Secondly, a seventh mapbook, prepared for the Duke of Beaufort in 1760, is a less elaborate copy of one of other six, perhaps for use on the Breconshire estate, while the more elaborate one was presented to Badminton.

[11] The only known copy of this map is a photostat in the National Library of Wales. As there is no field schedule on the map, it is conceivable that it comes from a more extensive survey that cannot be traced.

[12] Smith 2004: 195.

[13] During the eighteenth century, there was a developing trend among landowners to have their estates mapped as a pictorial record and status marker. While some of Meredith Jones' output might fit within this category, most should probably be seen primarily as management tools. The Penpont mapbook, for instance, was held in a leather travelling case with a shoulder strap, and the maps themselves were annotated in pencil with crop information, suggesting that the maps were consulted during site visits (J. Williams: *pers. comm.*).

[14] At present the only 'lost' original map that can be confirmed is the Brecon town map that was copied into Jones 1809 (see Note 1). Many surveyors in the seventeenth and early-eighteenth centuries also produced written land surveys that were never transferred to map form. Only one such survey by Meredith Jones has currently been identified: an extent of Troadyrharn Farm in Breconshire. National Library of Wales: *Penlle'r Gaer A/607*.

[15] Delano-Smith and Kane 1999: 113.

[16] There is a letter in the Grosvenor papers, held in the Flintshire Archives, from Thomas Badeslade to his patron explaining how he could draw up some of his maps of the commons in Flintshire if they were to be bound into a map book. Evidently, this was his preference, but, in the event, this did not happen: their size precluded it. Silvester 2014: 227.

[17] Two of the plans are scaled at 1:6336 (8 chains to 1"); the rest are double that size at 1:3168.

[18] Smith 2012: 22.

[19] Smith 2004: pl. 49.

[20] Reproduced in Beckley 1991: 40.

[21] Pitman 2000.

[22] Harley 1975: 14.

[23] *Ibid*: 56.

[24] Smith 2012, 22-3.

[25] Archived at National Library of Wales as *Badminton* 3.

[26] Silvester 2007: fig. 21.

[27] For instance, Howell 2000.

[28] Davies 1976: 105; Silvester 2007: 57.

[29] Burnham and Davies 2010.

[30] Compare Silvester and Evans 2009.

[31] Conventionally dated to 1584—the date of a commission of inquiry regarding fishing rights—this "Plott describing the poole called Brecknock Poole", known today as Llangors Lake, shows the lake and its surrounding settlements. The National Archives: *MPF 1/12*.

[32] Smith 2004: starting at 187.

[33] National Library of Wales *Map Vol 40*. Bendall (1997 Vol. 2: 504) claims that Withy also surveyed in Gloucestershire and went under the alternative name of Witley. Neither of these claims can be substantiated. Regarding the Gloucestershire surveys, this surmise is based on a catalogue of estate atlases in the National Library of Wales (Davies 1982: 22) from which it has been erroneously inferred that Walter Pryse's lands around Painswick in Gloucestershire were surveyed in 1738 by Withy. In fact, they had been surveyed by John Bryan in the previous year, but were incorporated into the Breconshire map book, presumably for convenience. The origin of the suggestion that Withy and Witley were one and the same has proved impossible to trace (S. Bendall: *pers. comm.*).

[34] Information provided by J. Williams.

[35] Bendall 1997, Vol. 2: 504; Mason 1990: 4.

[36] Unlike Meredith Jones, John Davies did not record where he was domiciled on his maps. Thomas, in her volume on Glamorgan estate maps (1992: 129), has him down as "of Brecon" but without justifying the attribution. This probably led to a similar claim in Bendall 1997, Vol. 2: 134. For now, the link to the county town must remain an assumption.

[37] Now in the administrative area of Rhondda Cynon Taf, but in historic Breconshire until 1974.

[38] Silvester 1996.

[39] Bendall 1997.

[40] Because of the unpredictability of discovery, no list of a surveyor's output can ever be claimed as complete. Even while this paper was in draft form, further maps by Jones came to light. The appendix contains all of Jones' maps known to the writer up to the end of January 2019.

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R. J. Silvester was deputy director of the Clwyd-Powys Archaeological Trust for over 25 years until his retirement in 2016, during which time he was awarded a PhD for his research and publications on Welsh medieval rural settlement. Now affiliated to the University of Chester, his research interests focus largely on early estate mapping in Wales and its borderlands, and he continues his involvement with church archaeology as archaeological advisor to the diocese of St Asaph and a commissioner with the Welsh Cathedrals and Churches Commission.

THEOPHILUS JONES, THOMAS PRICE AND A 'HIDDEN' SCRAPBOOK

WILLIAM GIBBS

Introduction

In this article, I hope to bring to light an important document relating to the history of Brecknock, which has previously been hidden in plain view. It is a leather-bound sketchbook about 15cm by 30cm kept in Powys Archive under the title *Scrapbook of Henry Thomas Payne*[1] (hereafter, the *Scrapbook*) (Figs. 1 and 2). It is available online in the *Peoples Collection*[2] alongside the fascinating *Parochial noticies of the deanery of the third part of Brecknock*, also by Payne.

There is, I believe, conclusive evidence that the *Scrapbook* is, in fact, the work of Thomas Price (later known as *Carnhuanawc*) and

Figure 1. *Scrapbook* of Henry Thomas Payne. Powys Archives

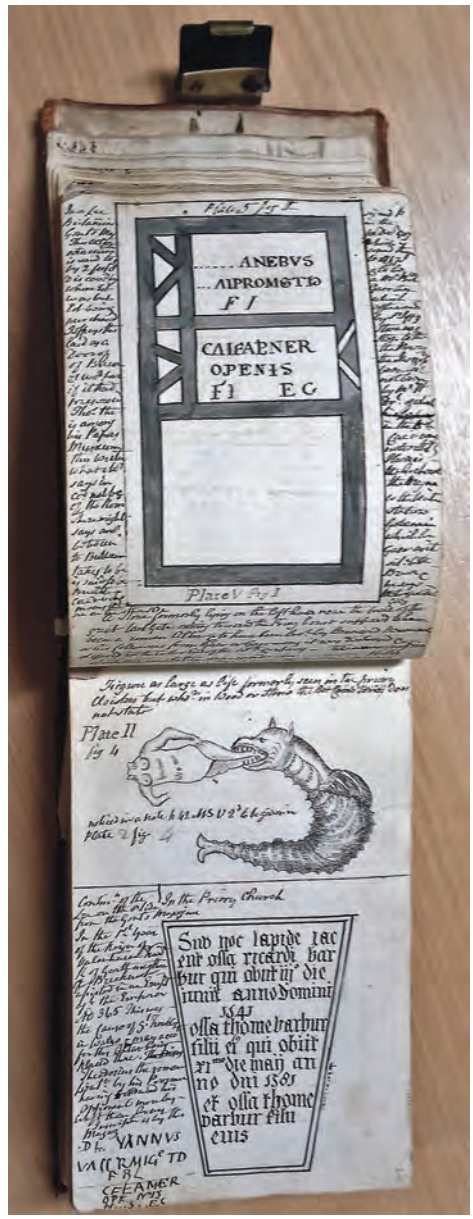

Figure 2. Pages from the *Scrapbook* of Henry Thomas Payne. Powys Archives

Brycheiniog, 2019, Volume L, pages 56–67.

Theophilus Jones, in preparation for the publication of Volume 2 of the *History of Brecknockshire* in 1809 (hereafter the *History*).[3]

My attention was first drawn to the *Scrapbook* in the course of researching the artists who had helped to illustrate the *History*. In the first volume, the major contributor was Sir Richard Colt Hoare, who Jones had got to know through Hoare's visits to Brecon (as part of his research into the journeys of Gerald of Wales). Hoare had made many drawings of the Breconshire countryside, including views of Hay, Builth, Bronllys, Brecon, Tretower, and Crickhowell, which he then had engraved for his fellow historian to include in the first volume of the *History*.

In his introduction to Volume 1, Jones writes that the second volume of the *History* will, "contain a greater number of plates than the present, as a few portraits, all the antiquities, and some of the most remarkable views in Breconshire will be selected...".[4]

In fact, Volume 2 has no portraits, but there are 11 plates covering the antiquities of the county, nearly all of which bear the subscript of T. Price as artist, and J. Basire as engraver. Looking at these plates, and comparing them to the images from the *Scrapbook*, it becomes clear that there is a striking resemblance between the *Scrapbook* images and the images in the *History.*

For example, Plate 2 in Volume 2 of the *History* is shown here and, beside it, images taken from various pages in the *Scrapbook* (Figs. 3 and 4). This one-to-one matching of images in the *Scrapbook* with the engravings in the published text can be repeated for all the other plates by Price and Basire. Of the 48 images showing monuments or coins in Volume 2 of the *History*, 47 appear to be closely based on images which can be found in the *Scrapbook*. The exception is Price's plan of the Priory Church in Brecon, which appears as Plate 3 in the printed volume, but which does not appear in the *Scrapbook*, presumably because it would have been far too large to fit.

Use of plate and figure numbers

Further evidence that the *Scrapbook* was instrumental in the creation of the illustrations for the *History* is found when we look more closely at particular images in its pages. Written beside the sketches are engraved plate and figure numbers (sometimes in pencil as though they were added later). These relate closely to the position of these objects in the published volume. For example, beside the sketch of the Lady of Llanhamlach in the *Scrapbook* is written "Plate 10 Fig II" in pencil (Fig. 5). In the History it actually appears as Plate 9 Fig 2.

This labelling in the *Scrapbook* is done for all the drawings matched with engravings. It suggests that, when the illustrations were being prepared for engraving, Price and Theophilus Jones went through the *Scrapbook* deciding which illustration should appear in each plate before handing them over for

Figure 3. Plate 2 from Theophilus Jones' the *History.*

Figure 4. Various images taken from the *Scrapbook*. Powys Archives

Figure 5. Lady of Llanhamlach in the *Scrapbook*. Powys Archives

engraving by Basire. (Jones had invited Basire to Brecon to complete the engravings).

Relationship between Thomas Price and Theophilus Jones

In the years before publication of the *History*, 'Tom Price' had become a virtual amanuensis to Jones. When he came to Brecon to study, "Mr. Price remained a student at the Brecon Grammar School, lodging generally in the town, visiting constantly at the house of Mr. Theophilus Jones, and associating with the French naval officers, from whom he continued to derive valuable

instruction".[5] Thomas Price's father, the Rev. Rice Price, was already a close friend of Jones, "During a period of six or seven years, the Rev. Rice Price continued to render him valuable assistance in collecting topographical information".[6]

Further, the same source records:

> Thomas Price devoted his time and talents to the general objects of the work, and more especially to its heraldic and antiquarian departments, with unremitting diligence and activity, both of body and mind. All the plates of arms in the second volume of the History of Breconshire were drawn by Thomas Price, and many copies of those plates were coloured by his indefatigable hand. Nearly all the engraved representations of archaeological remains, which illustrate that volume, were taken from original drawings made by him. He likewise prepared the ground plan of the Priory Church, & Mr. Theophilus Jones had brought an engraver to Brecon to execute the plates, and Thomas Price used to observe his method, and watch his artistic processes, with the attention of a pupil emulous of excellence.[7]

Written record of the *Scrapbook*

What then of the written record of the origins of the *Scrapbook*? In an article of 1947, B. G. Owens includes exhaustive coverage of Payne's original manuscripts.[8] However, there is no mention of a *Scrapbook*. That Owen thought Payne's drawings worthy of note is evidenced by his mention that there are:

> …also eight pen-and-ink and pencil illustrations of objects of local interest, such as a brass weapon discovered in a peatbog on the line of a canal in Brecknockshire in 1797, a hilted metal instrument then in Payne's possession and found in 1805 near a Roman road leading from Bedwellty to Upper Gaer station in Brecknockshire; a flint spear head from Llanieliw, Brecknockshire, then in the possession of a Mr. Davies of Talgarth.[9]

It seems unlikely that he would have not included such a treasure in the *Scrapbook* if it had been in the Payne archive at that time.

The only object mentioned by Owen to find its way into the *History* is the Llanelieu (Llanieliw) flint. There is, however, a sketch of a stone in a letter from Payne to Colt Hoare which also appears in the *History*.[10] However, when compared with the engraving, this drawing is clearly not its source (Figs. 6 and 7).

In a second article on Henry Thomas Payne by Parry-Jones, appearing in *Brycheiniog* (some 13 years after Owen's), the first mention of the *Scrapbook* can be found:

> Amongst the Archdeacon's books is a bulky scrapbook which he carried with him wherever he went. In this he copied inscriptions he saw on tombs or mural tablets, coats of arms, and mottoes made sketches of figures on memorial monuments, of effigies, of carved work in wood or stone that appealed to him, whether it was in

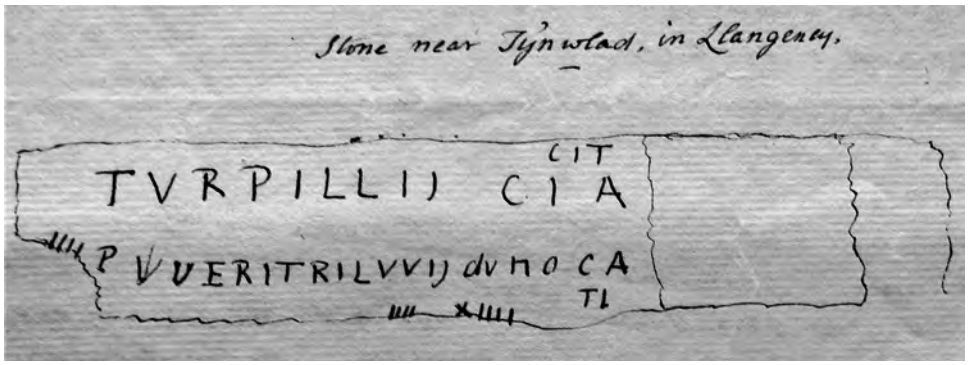

Figure 6. Stone illustrated by Henry Thomas Payne in a letter to Sir Richard Colt Hoare. National Library of Wales

Figure 7. Stone depicted by Thomas Price in Theophilus Jones' the *History*, Volume 2: Plate 6.

> church or in an old house. In its eighty pages of written matter and drawings, there are also sketches of standing stones, camps and barrows, with measurements. Towards the end the handwriting becomes more shaky, and it is evident that some of the contents was the work of his latter years. Miss Jones says that he wrote everything by the light of a tallow candle.[11]

There can be no doubt that this is the *Scrapbook* now in Powys Archive, but is Parry-Jones correct in his attribution to Payne? Mention of the handwriting is interesting. Parry-Jones is clearly aware that there is a marked difference between the measured, neat, level handwriting that we find in Payne's letters—and especially in his other writings (see the *Parochial Noticies* already mentioned)—and the looser, livelier script in the *Scrapbook*. If the *Scrapbook* was actually prepared in the period 1805–10, Payne would still be only 44 and his letters to Colt Hoare of this date in the National Library of Wales (NLW) show no signs of being "more shaky". By contrast, the hand in the *Scrapbook* bears a strong resemblance to that of Theophilus Jones, as evidenced by his letters in NLW.

Signatures within the script

In the *Scrapbook*, there are several places where a paragraph or sentence concludes with the initials "TJ", for example, towards the bottom of the page shown in Fig. 8, and in detail in Fig. 9.

Notice the way that the '8' is written in the *Scrapbook*, in the date "1800", and in the extract from a letter from Theophilus Jones to Colt Hoare [NLW]: "*I can take you 18 miles from Brecon"* (Fig. 10).

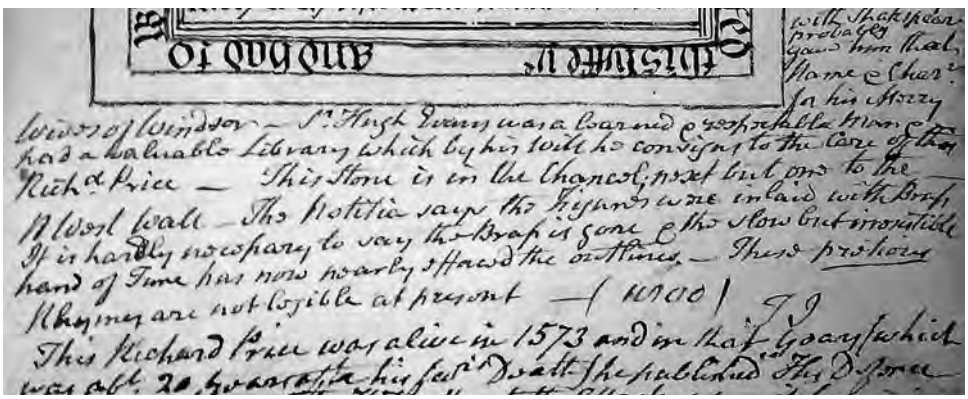

Figure 8. Initials 'TJ' appearing in the *Scrapbook*. Powys Archives

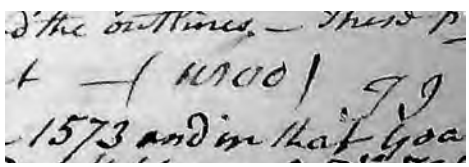

Figure 9. Detail of Initials 'TJ' appearing in the *Scrapbook*. Powys Archives

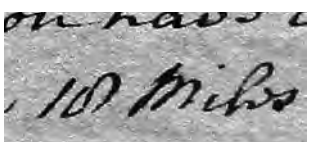

Figure 10. Detail of '18' in a letter from Theophilus Jones to Sir Richard Colt Hoare. National Library of Wales

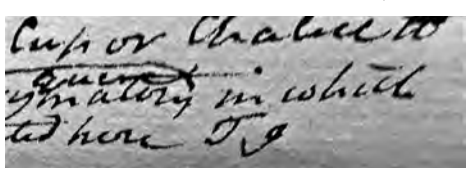

Figure 11. Initials 'TJ' appearing in the *Scrapbook*, page 11. Powys Archives

Having tried to decipher much of the text in the *Scrapbook*, and having also looked at Jones' letters, there are many striking similarities; the way he abbreviates words, for example, and his use of the ampersand is characteristic. He may have had difficulty in writing due to gout, but the hand is knowledgeable and confident.

The initials "TJ" also appear again on page 11 of the *Scrapbook* (Fig. 11). A cross has been placed against a word in the text to indicate a note and, at the bottom of the page against an X, is written a note, which is initialled "TJ". (Here, with a larger top to the 'T'). So, I would suggest that Thomas Price has drawn the figures in response to a request from Theophilus Jones, who has then made notes and comments of his own, some of which he has initialled to distinguish them from Price's work.

In a later section of the *Scrapbook*, there are a series of pages that are copied almost verbatim from Fosbrooke's *History of Gloucester*.[12] Within these copied notes are two more examples of the initials, each following a parenthesis in which a comment is made upon the text.

Mr Payne mentioned in the *Scrapbook*

Following a discussion of the Arms, shown at the bottom of page 35 in the *Scrapbook*, is written a sentence I have only partly made out. In what appears to be the hand of Theophilus Jones is written, "So that is a confirmation of the above being the Monuments of one of the Breos. Mr Payne thinks of Reginald de Breos but it is very clear these Scotch Arms should have been…" (Fig. 12). The inclusion of Payne's name is further evidence that the text is not by him.

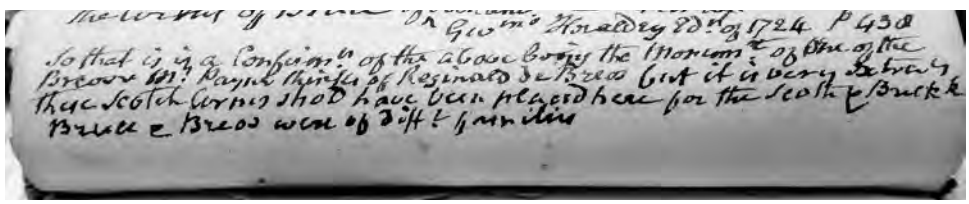

Figure 12. Mr Payne's name appearing in the *Scrapbook*. Powys Archives

Thomas Payne's own comment on the illustrations

There is one final piece of evidence that proves conclusively that the *Scrapbook* is not by Payne. In his article for *Brycheiniog*, Parry-Jones mentions that in Payne's own copy of Volume 2 of the *History*, which Theophilus Jones had presented to him, is the following note written by Payne regarding the screen at Patricio (Fig. 13):

> Our author, Mr. Jones, very justly notices the Rood Loft and Screen in this Church as "an elegant specimen" but it is much to be lamented that he has been so extremely inaccurate in his delineation of it, which bears little or no resemblance to the original. The plate here given was engraved from what he called a drawing of his own – it is a pity that he had not employed some better artist.

Parry-Jones then adds, "Those who have seen this famous screen will agree that his criticism is completely justified".[13]

The engraving of the screen appears in the *History* as Figure 1 in Plate 10, above the attribution to T. Price (Fig. 14). It has clearly been transcribed by the engraver from the original drawings in the *Scrapbook* (Fig. 15). The lower part of the drawing in the *Scrapbook* has been crossed out as clearly unnecessary for the illustration. The detailed (and inaccurate) representation of the tracery on the next page of the *Scrapbook* has clearly been used as the basis for the

Figure 13. Photograph of Patricio Church rood screen.

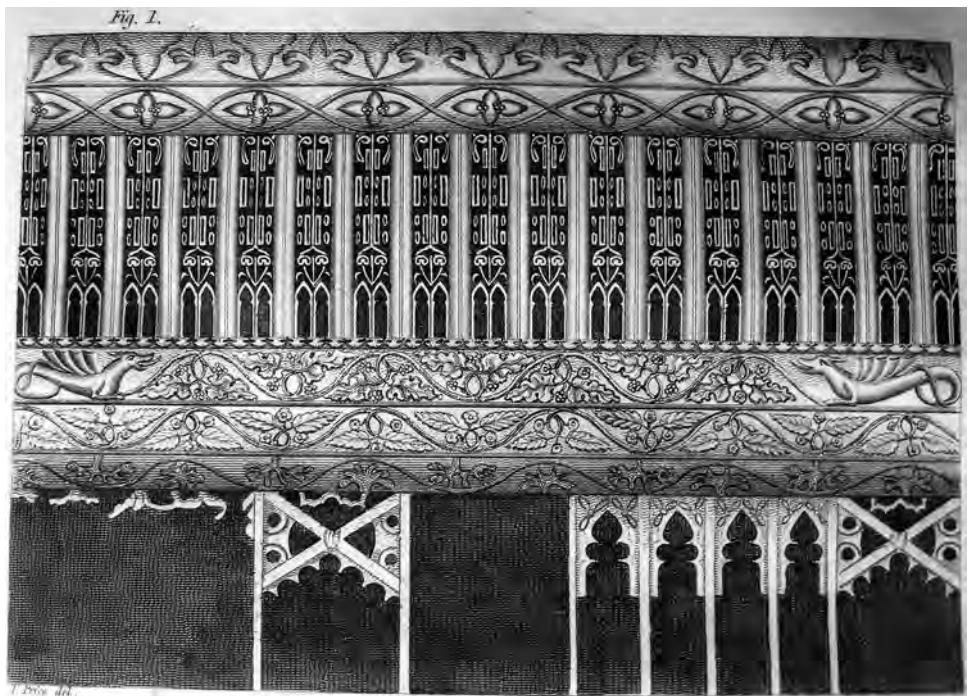

Figure 14. Engraving of Patricio Church rood screen by Basire after Thomas Price in Theophilus Jones' the *History.*

engraving. Payne would hardly vilify his own drawing, and so this drawing, and hence the whole *Scrapbook*, cannot be by Payne.

Further, there is no mention by Theophilus Jones of any drawings being prepared by Payne for the *History*. He does, of course, dedicate Volume 1 to the Archdeacon and, in the introduction, speaks very warmly of his debt to the research and guidance of Payne. There is just one record I have found of a discussion between Jones and Payne relating to a plate in Volume 1, showing the Roman Roads in Wales. In a letter to his friend, Colt Hoare, who had collaborated with Payne on plotting the course of Sarn Helen, Payne writes in a letter dated 11 December 1804 (NLW), "He [Theophilus Jones] is so fully satisfied with our Roman Road across the mountains that he has already inserted it in his map. His surveyor met him here for the purpose – indeed I have not a doubt of it being perfectly correct…".

Figure 15. Original drawing of Patricio Church rood screen appearing in the *Scrapbook*. Powys Archives

Conclusion

At some stage in its life, the *Scrapbook* has been misattributed. It was created by Thomas Price in preparation for the engravings by Basire in his mentor's the *History*. The illustrations in the *Scrapbook* are entirely the work of Price and Jones and not of Payne. The authorship of the script is more difficult to ascertain. It would seem likely that the historical notes were written by Theophilus Jones, whereas the field notes relating to the monuments and the copied text were written by Price.

How did the *Scrapbook* become part of the Payne archive? Theophilus died soon after the publication of Volume 2 of the *History*. Is it possible that it was a gift from his widow to his great friend Henry Thomas Payne? Or, if it remained the property of Thomas Price, did he gift it to Payne? It was, after all, Payne who, in November 1812, being aware of the talents of the young man was to offer Price the curacy of Llangenny in Breconshire.

Notes

[1] Powys Archives B/D/B/M/A104/1/2/2 (Scrapbook of H. T. Payne, containing notes, sketches, plans, copies of inscriptions etc, NB, c 80pp, half unused.) http://calmview.powys.gov.uk/CalmView/Record.aspx?src=CalmView.Catalog&id=BDBM%2fA%2f104%2f4 (accessed 31 January 2019).

[2] https://www.peoplescollection.wales/items/11886 (accessed 31 January 2019).
[3] Jones 1809: Volume 2.
[4] Jones 1809. Volume 1: v.
[5] Williams 1854: 40.
[6] *Ibid*: 41.
[7] *Ibid*.
[8] Owens 1946.
[9] *Ibid*: 213.
[10] Jones 1809: Volume 2: Plate 6.
[11] Jones 1959.
[12] Fosbroke 1819.
[13] Jones 1959: 41.

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GREAT MALVERN'S PRIORY AT LLANSPYDDYD

BRUCE COPLESTONE-CROW

Introduction

Llanspyddyd Priory was founded by Miles of Gloucester, Lord of Brecknock, as a daughter-house of the Benedictine priory at Great Malvern, in Worcestershire, between 1121–27. It appears to have been established in a pre-existing Welsh *clas*, or minster church, dedicated to St Cattwg. Its history, however, was relatively short; all observation of the Rule of St Benedict had ceased within a hundred years. This paper explores the reason for this, involving royal instability and war, the inability of a mother-house to look after its daughter-house, and a serious ecclesiastical feud, all of which led to the neglect and eventual extinction of the priory.

Miles of Gloucester

Miles of Gloucester (founder of the Benedictine priory at Llanspyddyd) was the son of Walter, hereditary sheriff of Gloucester, and constable of the royal household.[1] He married Sybil, daughter and heiress of Bernard de Neufmarché, conqueror of the Welsh kingdom of Brycheiniog in the 1090s. The marriage took place in 1121. Most of the Marcher lordship Bernard had established in Brecknock, including all that he had in the Usk Valley as far west as the boundary of Cantref Bychan, went to Miles in his daughter's marriage-portion.[2] (Fig. 1). The remainder came to Miles on Bernard's death, which occurred within the next five years.[3]

When he took over Bernard's lordship in Brecknock, Miles found that the dispositions his father-in-law had made to secure what he had, left him with little room for manoeuvre when it came to disposing of lands.[4] Bernard had set himself up in a castle at Brecon, close to which he established both a town and a priory. Then, apart from lands he had already given to his priory, he gave the relatively fertile land to its east, in the valleys of the Wye, Usk, and Llyfni, to his knights in return for their service in his castle at Brecon. Four of these knights (probably those who had been the captains of his army of conquest) he treated more lavishly, giving them sub-lordships that each owed the service of three or four knights at Brecon Castle.

These sub-lordships were based on the Welsh local administrative divisions of Brecknock, which, historically, consisted of three cantrefs: Cantref Selyf; Cantref Tewdos; and Talgarth (shown on Fig.1).[5] Bernard divided up most of the cantref of Talgarth between three of his four principal lieutenants, giving Crickhowell to Robert de Turbeville, Tretower to William Picard, and Hay to William Revel. A fourth sub-lordship, on lands in the east of Cantref Tewdos (and known as Tir Ralff), was given to Roger de Baskerville. The 'fee and

Brycheiniog, 2019, Volume L, pages 68–81.

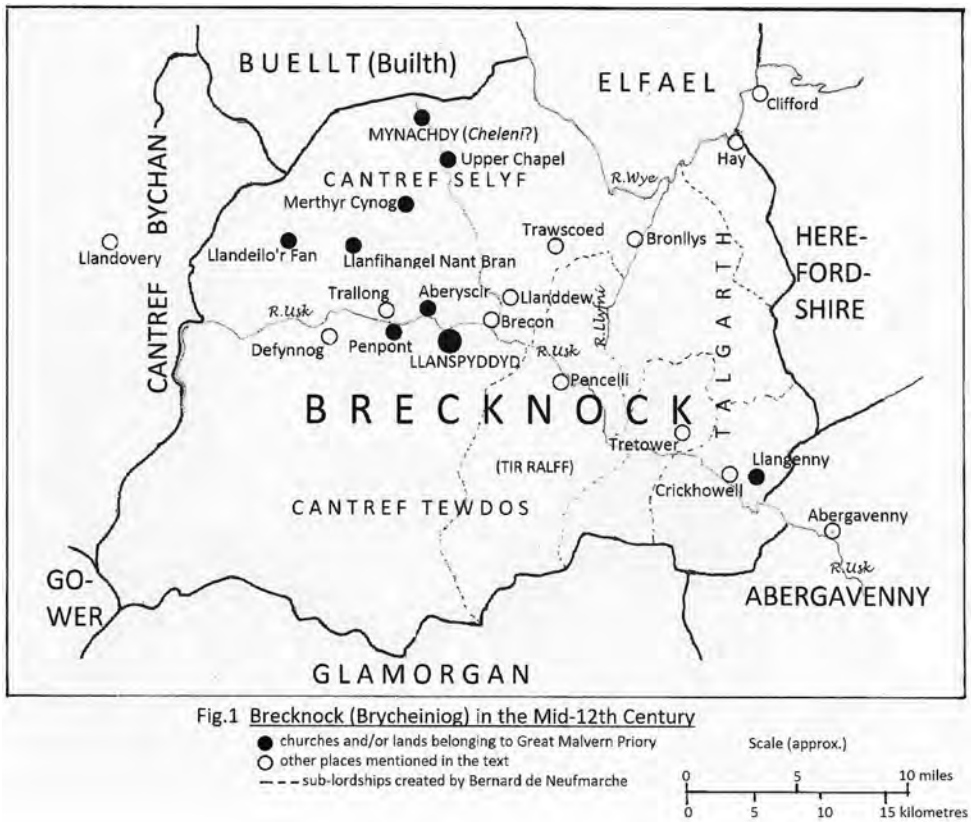

Figure 1: Map of Brecknock in the mid-twelfth century. Bruce Coplestone-Crow

service' of these four knights was given to Miles in the marriage contract. Soon after Miles had inherited Brecknock, he gave to Richard fitzPons, his brother-in-law, most of the land on the right bank of the Wye, between Buellt in the north and Bronllys in the south, all within Cantref Selyf north of the river Usk. This was in augmentation of a castellany Richard had held at Bronllys Castle since the conquest of Brecknock. What was left of the lands of Cantref Mawr, south of the river Usk, after the creation of the sub-lordships was mountainous, had few settlements and churches, and even less productive land. After these dispositions were made by Bernard and Miles, the latter was left with only lands and churches in the middle reaches of the Usk, and in the western two-thirds of Cantref Selyf, with which to endow his new house. The relative poverty of its endowment was probably a factor in its failure to thrive.

The foundation of the priory and its possessions

The earliest source of information for Miles's gift to Great Malvern is in a confirmation charter issued by King Henry I to Great Malvern Priory. From

its details, and from other medieval sources, its endowment was typical of religious houses in Wales founded by the Anglo-Normans: the greater part of its endowment consisted of churches and their revenues rather than lands. King Henry was a great patron of Great Malvern and Miles' place in the royal household meant that he was in a position to follow the royal example by patronising a house the king himself had favoured. By reference to its witness list, Henry's confirmation charter is datable to between 11 September 1126 and 15 August 1127. Despite being identified as a forgery (copy) of the late-twelfth century in more recent years, its content is probably an accurate summary of what Miles and other patrons had given down to 1126–27. It says that the king confirms:

> …the land of Llanspyddyd (*Lamdespidit*) with all that pertains to it and some land in Cheleni and the church of Aberyscir (*Bereschi*) with all tithes and other things that pertain, and the church of Merthyr Cynog (*Marteconoc*) with all tithes and other things that pertain, just as Miles [of] Gloucester gave and granted them to them.[6] [Fig. 1 shows the location of these lands.]

Figure 2: Map showing Llanspyddyd Church from the Penpont Estate Map, 1744, north at the bottom. Private Collection

Figure 3: Llanspyddyd churchyard with its curvilinear shape. Mike Williams

The church of Llanspyddyd is omitted from this brief summary of what Miles had given, but, as it was contained in a confirmation charter to Great Malvern issued by Pope Innocent III in 1216, it may have been the subject of an earlier grant or have been an accidental oversight. Before the arrival of the Normans, the church had been the site of an old Welsh *clas*, or minster church, of St Cadog.[7] (Figs. 2 and 3). This probably originated in the sixth century and would have consisted of a community of priests or secular clerks (*claswyr*) under an abbot.[8] A cross-carved stone standing in the churchyard is alleged to mark the burial place of Anlach, grandfather of Cadog,[9] and is taken as confirmation that there had been a *clas* church here (Fig. 4). It may have been Miles' intention that when his priory was established by Great Malvern, as the remaining members of the Welsh community died, they would be replaced by Benedictine monks sent from the mother-house.

Figure 4: The cross-carved stone in Llanspyddyd churchyard. Mike Williams

The land given by Miles in *Cheleni* was probably at Mynachdy in the upper Honddu valley. Mynachdy is a Welsh word meaning 'monastery' or 'convent', here in the sense of monastic grange.[10] Great Malvern is known to have held lands there.[11] Messrs Morgan and Powell identify *Cheleni* as a version of the river-name Cilieni, this being the name of a stream that meets the Usk a mile east of Sennybridge.[12] However, if the land (*quadam terram*) referred to was at Mynachdy, it may be that the initial *Chel-* of this place-name is Welsh *cil* 'retreat, corner, nook', with an unknown suffix. Mynachdy is situated in what would have been, at the time, a remote and sequestered location, such as could be referred to as a 'retreat'.[13]

The *Valor Ecclesiasticus* of 1535 gives further information as to the possessions of Llanspyddyd Priory. This shows that its church had chapels at Llandeilo'r Fan (*Landilo*) and Llanfihangel Nant Brân (*Nantbrayne*).[14] There was also a cemetery (and possibly a chapel) at *Lanfothan,* within the parish of Llanspyddyd. This is mentioned in a dispute over tithes in the Forest of Brecknock appurtenant to the church at Defynnog, which was decided by papal legates in 1223. Their decision was that the tithes of this forest should remain in the possession of the monks of Gloucester Abbey and of Brecon Priory. Furthermore, the tithes of Penpont and *Penfenid* (or *Penseuid*) should belong to the prior and convent of Great Malvern by parochial right, together with the cemetery of *Lanfothan,* "which is in that forest".[15] From this settlement, it would appear that Great Malvern and its priory-cell had one-third of the portionary church of St Cynog at Defynnog.[16] Pope Innocent's confirmation of 1216 (referred to above) also included a church of *Landretheric*, which is unlocated. The church and lands at Llangenny[17] may have been given by Robert de Turbeville, who was Miles' sub-tenant at Crickhowell.

St Cynog, the dedicatee of Defynnog church, was the premier saint of Brecknock. He lived in the sixth century and his church at Merthyr Cynog, where he was buried, is thought to have been another Welsh *clas* church like St Cadog's at Llanspyddyd. It was here (probably) that a gold torque attributed to St Cynog was preserved and which Gerald of Wales saw in the late-twelfth century.[18] In his *Topographical Dictionary of Wales*, Samuel Lewis refers to two cross-inscribed stones belonging to Merthyr Cynog.[19] In the modern study, *A Corpus of Early Medieval Inscribed Stones and Stone Sculpture in Wales*, one of these, with its cross within a square, is regarded as dubious, while no mention is made of the other stone.[20] Samuel Lewis says that it was about five feet long, had a cross within a circle and that it lay "at the east end of the building". He, however, inadvertently placed the site of these crosses at St Cynog's chapel at Upper Chapel, rather than at Merthyr Cynog. Hugh Thomas (1673–1720), herald and antiquary, said that there were two churches dedicated to St Cynog in the parish of Merthyr Cynog,[21] the more ancient of which was taken down in the reign of Charles I, "as the simple country people told me, who showed

me the ruins of the church then remaining, with the yew trees then growing about it, and the church door then to be seen".[22] Theophilus Jones (1759–1812) noted that, in his day, it was "a miserable hovel, with a small farm attached".[23] This chapel, which was probably associated with the priory's land at Mynachdy, at one time stood within a curvilinear churchyard, a feature that is often taken as evidence for an old Welsh foundation.[24] It is now restored and there are still yew trees (quite possibly the same ones) growing about it. It was described recently as consisting of a "single-chamber with a west bell-cote, probably early-nineteenth century [in date]". What Hugh Thomas says, however, suggests that its fabric was at one time older than that of the church at Merthyr Cynog, parts of which may date from the twelfth century.[25]

Not all these possessions are mentioned in the grant of 1126–27, and some may be the subject of later, unrecorded, grants of Miles, who was made Earl of Hereford in 1141 and died two years later. Another possible grantor is his son, Earl Roger (died 1155), who is known to have been a generous patron of the Church.[26] After the death of Earl Roger, Brecknock (but not the earldom) passed through the hands of his three brothers, Walter, Henry and Mahel, the last of these dying in 1165 when a stone fell on him during an accidental burning of the castle at Bronllys. As none of them produced living heirs, their lands were divided between their three sisters. Brecknock went with the second sister Bertha in marriage to William II de Braose of Radnor. William died in 1175 and the lordship then passed through the hands of William III de Braose (died 1211), his son, and into those of Reginald (died 1228), his grandson. By this time, however, monastic life at Llanspyddyd had probably come to an end.

Decline and fall

It appears from later details of the income Great Malvern derived from its possessions at Llanspyddyd, and elsewhere in Brecknock, that Miles had provided it with the minimum amount of lands and revenues sufficient for the founding of a daughter-house (Fig 5). This is confirmed by Gerald of Wales' description of it in 1204–5 as a "cell" or daughter-house of Great Malvern.[27] Like many similar priory-cells established in south Wales by the Norman invaders, Great Malvern's house here probably consisted of no more than a prior and two or three monks. Being so small they were never expected to recruit local postulants to the monastic life and their chief task was to forward their revenues to the mother-house.

Great Malvern had another of these small priory-cells at the church of Llanfair-ar-y-bryn in Llandovery. This had been come into being c. 1120 after Richard fitzPons of Clifford, who was married to Miles' sister, had given a pre-existing church to Great Malvern and endowed it with additional lands and revenues in and around his castle and town of Llandovery.[28] This lasted only until about 1185, however, when it was suppressed by the Lord Rhys ap

Figure 5: Great Malvern Priory. Daderot, WikiCommons

Gruffudd, Prince of Deheubarth, and the Bishop of St David's.[29] This was because the three or four monks then present had annoyed and harassed the womenfolk of Llandovery so that the Lord Rhys had little choice but to eject them. What happened next is worth quoting at length from Gerald's account, written in 1204–5, for the information it contains about the situation at Llanspyddyd:

> But we saw it said later that the monk of Malvern [at Llandovery], the one who had mutilated himself without changing [his habits], had been made the guardian of the poor cell in the parts of Brecon subject to Malvern. This guardianship he had boldly commandeered against the wishes of his prior at Malvern. On account of a nun of the church at that place [Llanspyddyd], who served [there] devoutly night and day, and whom according to [her] complaint he had violently overpowered and raped in a disgusting manner in the holy place itself...[five lines missing here]...had broken down the [door] that had been barred by the monk, he was convicted in full chapter, excommunicated by the archdeacon of that place and, expelled from the country, he fled.[30]

The "archdeacon of that place" was Gerald himself, so he knew personally what had gone on. In respect of Llanspyddyd, however, it seems clear from

what Gerald says that regardless of how ill or otherwise was its initial endowment, it had now become just a "poor cell". Indeed, by the time of Gerald's account, the situation may have been similar to that found at the equally small Benedictine priory at St Clears in Carmarthenshire a century later. Here, a visitation made by the abbot of St Martin-de-Champs in Paris, its superior house, found that there was just a prior and a "colleague". He also found that the proper offices were neglected, the church's goods had been sold off, and the monastic buildings were in a state of ruin.[31]

Gerald's reference to a nun at Llanspyddyd recalls his reference to a nun who prayed day and night before the principal altar of St David's Cathedral in the time of Bishop Peter de Leia (1176–98). This was not a monastic church, but the situation is similar. In fact, it was not uncommon at this time to have both monks and nuns within a conventual church. In 1104–22, in the time of Abbot Robert de Jumièges, for instance, there were five nuns among 67 monks at the great abbey of Evesham, in Worcestershire,[32] and, in 1330, there were monks as well as nuns under a prior (not a prioress) in the nunnery Richard fitzGilbert of Clare had founded (or re-founded) at Usk in the early-twelfth century.[33] As late as 1411, there were Trinitarian 'friars' and 'sisters' of St Radegund at Thelsford, Warwickshire, attached to a hospital established by William de Lucy in the reign of King John.[34] It was not unknown, therefore, for there to be both female and male adherents in religious houses in Wales and the Border at this time.

From becoming a 'poor cell' of Great Malvern in 1204–5, monastic life at Llanspyddyd seems to have ceased altogether within the next 20 years. This, at least, is what the contemporary wording of the record of a dispute between the religious houses at Gloucester and Brecon over the tithes of the Forest of Brecknock (noted above) seems to indicate. The document says that there were now just "clerks" of Great Malvern's at Llanspyddyd, from which it would seem that the Benedictine Rule was now no longer being kept. The remaining monks were now acting merely as clerks or monk-wardens in the administration of Great Malvern's lands and revenues in Brecknock, forwarding their revenues to the mother-house, in much the same way as a reeve or bailiff would have managed secular revenues, lands, and manors.[35]

Just how important these revenues were to Great Malvern is illustrated in the so-called 'Pope Nicholas Taxation' of 1291. In this year, the priory's income from offerings in its churches (known as 'spiritualities') in Brecknock totalled £36 per annum—a figure that represents some 40 per cent of all Great Malvern's income from that source. Equalling the total income of such Welsh Benedictine houses as Chepstow and Usk, and almost as much as those of Abergavenny and St Dogmael's, the sum can be seen as substantial.[36] Nothing is said as to its revenues from lands ('temporalities'), but, even when King Henry VIII valued all the religious houses in his kingdom in 1534/5, these

totalled only £2 annually. They were clearly of negligible importance.[37] Offerings, however, were now even more important, since at over £73 per annum they represented fully half the mother-house's income from that source.[38] The importance to Great Malvern of the Brecknock revenues can hardly be exaggerated, and is the reason why the priory retained what it had been given by Miles of Gloucester until the Dissolution.

That monks at Llanspyddyd had to ceased to observe its Benedictine Rule after the first few years of the thirteenth century is probably due to local military activity, which eventually led to its extinction. From 1207 onward, King John sought to ruin and exile the Anglo-Norman lord of Brecknock, William III de Braose. At the commencement of John's reign, William rode so high in the king's favour that he was able to purchase lands in Wales and Ireland for many thousands of marks. His eventual inability to pay led to his downfall and death abroad in 1211, King John already having sent an army to take over all his Welsh lands. His two younger sons, Giles, Bishop of Hereford, and Reginald, now fought for the return of their lands in Brecknock and elsewhere, allying themselves with the English barons in opposition to John—and also with Prince Llywelyn of Gwynedd—in the process. In 1215, they invaded Brecknock,[39] and, over the next two years, armies passed back and forth across the land as the struggle for possession progressed. Particularly devastating was Llywelyn's invasion of 1217 when he besieged Brecon (Giles having now died, and Reginald having terminated his alliance with him). He raised the siege after the townsmen had paid him off, and then turned his army westward past Llanspyddyd, and crossed the Black Mountains to Swansea Castle, where Reginald was now ensconced. But, when he saw what devastation Llywelyn had caused to his lands, he surrendered to the Welsh prince without delay.[40]

The period from 1207 to 1217 (and the years 1215 to 1217 in particular), were years of tumult in Brecknock, with armies passing back and forth across the Braose lands.[41] Situated sufficiently close to Brecon to be involved in anything that affected the castle and town there, Llanspyddyd church and its priory must have been intimately affected by these troubles. It is quite possible, in fact, that it was Llywelyn's "savage"[42] campaign in Brecknock in 1217, with his army passing and repassing them within days,[43] that persuaded the monks to seek safety in the mother-house and leave the church deserted. Great Malvern may have viewed this as a temporary situation, but, within five years, they had been replaced by monk-clerks whose purpose was merely to administer its lands there. These years may, therefore, have brought an end to the priory founded by Miles of Gloucester three generations before.

Operations of war may have made the monks' presence at Llanspyddyd intolerable, but contributory factors to their eventual withdrawal must have included Great Malvern's lack of financial means and (more important,

perhaps) its inability to foster and sustain its monks in Wales (Fig. 6). Its annual income in 1535 was £375 (with its sole remaining daughter-house at Avecote in Warwickshire supplying almost another £200). By contrast, Gloucester Abbey's annual income was £1,430 (with another £416 contributed by its four priory-cells at Bromfield, Hereford (St Guthlac's), Ewenny, and Stanley St Leonard,[44] a total nearly three times bigger than Great Malvern's.

Figure 6: Llanspyddyd Church in the depth of winter. Barry Hill

It also seems likely that the dispute between Westminster Abbey, Great Malvern's superior house, and the Bishop of Worcester over its patronage was a contributory factor to its decline and extinction. Described as "one of the most bitter ecclesiastical quarrels recorded in English history",[45] its origins have been examined most recently by Professor Richard Sharpe. From his account,[46] it appears that the quarrel began in the reign of King Henry I and remained a 'running sore' on the abilities of Great Malvern's prior and convent to nurture and maintain itself and its daughter-houses. It was resolved (in favour of the Abbot of Westminster) only in the reign of Edward II, nearly two centuries later.[47] During this time, both the abbot and the bishop maintained their right to patronage with confusing results, such as the situation which enabled the licentious monk of Llandovery to impose himself on Llanspyddyd in the 1180s against the wishes of the mother-house. It may be no coincidence that this was precisely the time when a prior called Walter, whom an abbot of Westminster clandestinely instituted at Great Malvern c. 1177, was suspended

by the bishop until officially instituted in 1190/1.[48] Lack of effective supervision of its daughter-houses by priors of Great Malvern whose attentions lay elsewhere, as well as political instability in Brecknock in the reign of King John, may therefore have contributed to the relatively early demise of Llanspyddyd Priory.

Conclusion

Miles of Gloucester, Lord of Brecknock, gave Llanspyddyd Church, together with other churches and lands in Brecknock, to the Benedictine priory at Great Malvern for the founding of a daughter-house in 1121–27. The church was, or had been, a Welsh *clas* dedicated to St Cadog, and it is likely that he intended any remaining *claswyr* to be replaced with Benedictine monks from Great Malvern as they died off. A monk and a nun were present at Llanspyddyd church c. 1185 and in 1204/5 it is referred to as "a poor cell in the parts of Brecon subject to Malvern". By 1223, however, there were just "clerks" at Llanspyddyd, administering the mother-house's lands and revenues in the region, and it would seem from this that the "poor cell" had now ceased to exist altogether. The cause of its demise was probably chronic political instability in Brecknock in the opening years of the thirteenth century, as King John sought to bring about the fall of William III de Braose, coupled with the mother-house's reduced ability to sustain its daughter houses while a near 200 year dispute between the bishop of Worcester and Westminster Abbey as to its patronage remained unresolved. Llanspyddyd Priory, therefore, fell, not as a result of its own inherent failings, but due to the conditions that surrounded it.

Notes

[1] His family origins are explored in Walker 1958.

[2] Sharpe, R. and D.X. Carpenter (eds.) 2013. *The Charters of William II and Henry I Project*: Miles of Gloucester. https://actswilliam2henry1.files.wordpress.com/2013/04/h1-walter-and-miles-of-gloucester-2013-1.pdf, pages 10-14 (accessed 28 January 2019).

[3] He died sometime after the date of this charter and before the autumn of 1126, when Miles witnessed an agreement between Urban, Bishop of Llandaff, and Robert, Earl of Gloucester. Sharpe and Carpenter 2013: Llandaff Cathedral. https:// actswilliam2henry1.files.wordpress.com/2013/09/h1-llandaff-2013-1.pdf, (accessed 28 January 2019). It is unlikely that Miles would have been a witness to this important document had Bernard been alive.

[4] The definitive history of medieval Brecknock is Rees 1968 (first published 1917).

[5] This is according to the list of the cantrefs of Wales probably copied into the *Red Book of the Exchequer* (1896, published in Hall 2012: Volume 2: No. 761, p. 752, and n. 5) from the *Liber Abbatis de Feversham* in 1251 when, because of the chaotic state of its finances, King Henry III took the abbey into his own hands. Faversham had been founded by King Stephen and Queen Matilda in 1148 and it is possible that the list (probably originally an Exchequer document) found its way into the *Liber* in their day. This, at least, is what Owen 1892-1936: Vol. 1: 605 seems to suggest when he dates it to "c. 1150". There is another version of the same list in *BL Hargrave MS 313 f.133v* (Evans 1898–1910: Vol. 1: 939-940). Cantref Tewdos later became known as Cantref Mawr. Morgan and Powell 1999: 53.

[6] Sharpe and Carpenter 2013: Great Malvern Priory. https://actswilliam2henry1.files.wordpress.com/2013/10/h1-great-malvern-2013-1.pdf, pages 1-19 (accessed 28 January 2019). The text is from

an *inspeximus* of King Edward III dated 19 June 1376. The manor of Llanspyddyd was known as *Malverne Llanspythett* in 1651. Lloyd 1903–4: Vol. 1: 11.

[7] Wade-Evans 1944: 51.

[8] Silvester and Hankinson 2002: 22, 24 categorises it as a 'Grade A' church, one that had once been a *clas* church.

[9] Redknap and Lewis 2007: 222-4; Wade-Evans 1944: 25.

[10] At NGR SN-992-422.

[11] Rees 1932a. http://www.bl.uk/onlinegallery/onlineex/maps/uk/004953638uneu1932.html (accessed 28 January 2019).

[12] Morgan and Powell 1999: 63.

[13] As Professor Sharpe says (Sharpe and Carpenter 2013: Great Malvern Priory) (see Note 6): "Proximity is the only basis for associating *Cheleni* with the river Cilieni…".

[14] Dugdale 1817–30: Vol. 3: 452.

[15] Walker 1976. Banks 1884: 112.

[16] A portionary church is a network of benefices held by individuals, usually following a family tradition.

[17] Rees 1932b. http://www.bl.uk/onlinegallery/onlineex/maps/uk/004953638useu1932.html (accessed 28 January 2019). *Map of South Wales and the Border in the Fourteenth Century*, South East Sheet.

[18] Gerald of Wales 1978: 86.

[19] Lewis 1833: 205.

[20] Redknap and Lewis 2007: 544.

[21] Wade-Evans 1910: 36 has the chapel of St Cynog at Capel Dyffryn Honddu, or Capel Uchaf, as an appurtenance to Merthyr Cynog.

[22] Baring-Gould and Fisher 1907–13: Vol. 2: 268-9.

[23] Jones 1909-30: Vol. 2: 192.

[24] Silvester and Hankinson 2002: Appendix 3.

[25] Scourfield and Haslam 2013: 554, 589.

[26] Walker 1960; 1964.

[27] Cowley 1977: 38 (n. 122). Cowley also includes Llanspyddyd in his list of Benedictine houses in Wales on p. 270. It is left out of the list in the 'Monastic Wales' website http://www.monasticwales.org (accessed 28 January 2019).

[28] They are listed in Henry I's general confirmation to Great Malvern (see Note 6).

[29] Coplestone-Crow 2011: 16-18.

[30] Gerald of Wales 1861–91: Vol. 4: 102.

[31] Duckett 1890: 26.

[32] Willis-Bund 1901–24. Vol.2: 116.

[33] Gray and Rees 2008: 47. See also Coplestone-Crow 2018.

[34] Gray 1993: 12.

[35] For monk-wardens or bailiffs in charge of monastic lands, see Knowles 1948–59, Vol. 2: 38-9; Heale 2004: 5, 26-9.

[36] Cowley 1977: 274.

[37] *Taxatio Ecclesiastica* (Record Commission, 1802): 34, 158b, 159, 159b, 160, 160b, 165b, 167, 273-273b.

[38] Dugdale 1817–30: Vol. 3: 452.

[39] Williams ab Ithel 1860: 70.

[40] Holden 2001.

[41] This is a brief summary of events in 1207–17 that are covered in greater detail by Rees 1968: 12-17 and (exhaustively) in Holden 2001.

[42] Rees 1968: 19.

[43] Jones 1955: 255.

[44] *Valor Ecclesiasticus Temp: Henr.* (6 Vols., Record Commission, 1810–34): Vol. 2: 422; Vol. 3: 241.

[45] Willis-Bund 1901–24: Vol. 2: 136.

[46] Professor Sharpe's lengthy notes to Henry I's alleged charters to Great Malvern in Sharpe and Carpenter 2013: Great Malvern Priory (see Note 6).

[47] Willis-Bund 1901–24: Vol. 2: 136-143.

[48] Morey and Brooke 1967: no. 239 and note; Knowles, Brooke and London 1972: 90.

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"A PROFOUND ANTIQUARIAN": ABRAHAM KIRKMANN OF CRICKHOWELL, LLANGORSE, AND LONDON

ELIZABETH SIBERRY

Introduction

The list of more than a thousand visitors to the armoury of the antiquarian and collector, Sir Samuel Rush Meyrick,[1] at his home 20 Upper Cadogan Place, London, in the 1820s, included King George IV, the novelist Sir Walter Scott, and a "Mr. A. Kirkman[n], Crickhowell".[2] The latter was Meyrick's close friend and fellow antiquarian, Abraham Kirkmann. A London lawyer and enthusiastic antiquary, Kirkmann spent his vacations in Breconshire and, with Meyrick, at Goodrich Court, in Herefordshire. In 1849, he became the owner of a house in Llangorse, built in the style of the Gothic revival. His memorial tablet in Llangorse church is mentioned briefly in the 1911 edition of Theophilus Jones' *A History of the County of Brecknock*[3] but, otherwise, his life has attracted little local attention (Fig. 1).

Abraham Kirkmann was born in Peckham, London, on 13 June 1796, the son of Abraham (1769–1834), a solicitor. His grandfather, yet another Abraham (1737–94)—but with the original family surname, spelt Kirchmann—moved to London in the late 1750s from Bishchwiller, in Alsace. He joined his uncle Jacob's (1710–92) firm, 'Jacob Kirchmann', and was made a partner in 1772.[4] The firm held royal appointments in Britain as harpsichord makers, and was still producing harpsichords as late as 1809.[5] More than 100 Kirchmann harpsichords still survive, including one in the collection of the Victoria and Albert Museum in London.[6] The family also seems to have invested profitably in various London properties and in a house, Blackwell Hall, near Chesham in Buckinghamshire.

Figure 1: Portrait of Abraham Kirkmann. Browsholme Hall, Lancashire

The youngest Abraham, the subject of this article, followed his father's choice of profession, training as a lawyer. He joined Gray's Inn in 1831 and was called to the bar in 1836. But he was also a 'profound antiquarian' and an avid collector.

Brycheiniog, 2019, Volume L, pages 82–90.

Visits to Crickhowell

It is not clear when or why Abraham Kirkmann first came to Breconshire, but, from the early 1820s, he seems to have spent time in Crickhowell. Whilst there, he mixed with other enthusiastic antiquarians such as the Persian-scholar Sir William Ouseley[7], another visitor to Meyrick's armoury, Rev. Henry Thomas Payne of Llanbedr, and Rev. Thomas Price, known as Carnhuanawc, Vicar of Cwmdu.

There are relatively few sources for Kirkmann's life, but the National Library of Wales has 90 letters sent to him by Meyrick between 1824 and 1848. There are also letters referring to Kirkmann in the collection of the College of Arms in London, and a few letters in his own hand addressed to his friend Thomas Parker of Browsholme Hall, Lancashire in the Lancashire Archives in Preston.[8] These reveal his wide range of interests and provide insights into his friendship with fellow antiquarians in the Usk valley.

In a letter dated 21 January 1824, Meyrick looks forward to a visit from Sir William Ouseley, who was then probably resident in Rumsey Place, Crickhowell. The letter is addressed to Kirkmann at Ivy Tower in Crickhowell and suggests that he had only recently moved there, because Meyrick takes some pleasure in the name of his residence, "with what a feeling of antiquarian delight I address this letter to you at 'the Ivy Tower'". It is clear, however, that by this stage, Kirkmann was already well acquainted with other antiquarians in the area, such as Rev. Price.

Meyrick's letters are addressed to Kirkmann at Ivy Tower in 1824 and 1825, and in June of the latter year, he hopes that a "curious little Egyptian pot" had arrived safely there. It would seem, however, that Kirkmann only rented the property, since a memorial tablet in Llangattock church refers to Charles William Jones, a surgeon, as resident there in October 1829.

Meyrick also seems to have visited Kirkmann in Crickhowell, and friends he met there subsequently corresponded with and visited him in London and Goodrich. In June 1825, for example, Meyrick recalled dining with William Ouseley, his wife, and young family.

Kirkmann was clearly part of Meyrick's inner circle, along with Francis Martin and Thomas William King, both heralds at the College of Arms in London.[9] And he seems to have acted, in effect, as Meyrick's London agent, visiting sales and booksellers, and tipping him off about items of potential interest. They also discussed more modern books and, in particular, the novels of Charles Dickens, which were then being serialised in journals.

Back in Breconshire, Kirkmann seems to have enjoyed rural sports and in 1828, the Cambrian newspaper reported that he had been granted a game certificate for the Crickhowell area.[10] He was also a keen fisherman, which may have been a factor in his attraction to the area. In one letter, in November 1837, Meyrick urges his friend to be careful when out on the water:

> I hear that you have got wet footed in following your favourite amusement in north Wales. Pray give up wading. It is not easy to supply your place.

Rather poignantly, the sale of Kirkmann's possessions after his death also included several fishing rods and "a quantity of tackle".[11]

Friendship with Meyrick

The letters from Meyrick from the 1830s are addressed to Kirkmann in London, at his home, 89 Chancery Lane (now a shoe shop), and his barrister's chambers, but he retained his links with Crickhowell and a letter dated 30 August 1841 was addressed to him at Glanonnau in Llangattock. Meyrick urged Kirkmann to join him "whenever the ladies can spare you", and other letters confirm that Kirkmann was a regular visitor to Mrs. Rebecca Davies, who lived at Glanonnau and was a significant landowner in the area (and the widow of David Davies, agent to the Duke of Beaufort).[12] Meyrick's troublesome adopted son, Edwin, was also said to be staying in Crickhowell in 1841 and was the subject of letters from Meyrick seeking Kirkmann's professional and personal advice.[13]

The saga of Meyrick's purchase of the estate at Goodrich, in Herefordshire, also features in a number of letters with Kirkmann, who was consulted as a lawyer, as well as a close and interested friend. And after Meyrick had built Goodrich Court, Kirkmann was a regular visitor there (Fig. 2). Thomas King recorded details of these visits in both letters to Meyrick and a series of notes on *Excursions to Goodrich Court*. Other regular visitors included Francis Martin and George Shaw, a wool manufacturer from Yorkshire, who shared their interest in antiquities.[14]

Figure 2: The Monmouth Gate: The main surviving fragment of Goodrich Court, Herefordshire. WikiCommons: KJP1

The friends spent time visiting local churches and castles from Ross on Wye to Llanthony, and also Abergavenny, Chepstow, Skenfrith, Usk, Raglan, Monmouth, and Brecon. They also found time for fishing and star gazing. On 2 September 1842, Martin recorded that he "accompanied Kirkmann in a boat fishing; in the evening we went to the castle; on our return to the

court we viewed Jupiter and his moons through a telescope".[15] Most of their trips seem to have involved lengthy walks, including, on one occasion, from Goodrich to Crickhowell and onto Talgarth. On a couple of occasions, they stayed overnight at The Bear in Crickhowell and visited Tretower Court with local friends.[16]

The correspondence also underlines the close friendship between the men. In January 1838, Meyrick urged Kirkmann to come and visit him:

> I have added several interesting and useful volumes to the library here and hope that next summer you will come and pass your leisure time if not before. Your papers could be sent down by the Mail, and you could bring with you what legal books of reference you think you may want, and no one shall disturb you in your learned reveries. I am very selfish in asking you to come because I find your society so very delightful.

And in March 1843, Meyrick joked affectionately about Kirkmann's energy, "he jumps and skips about like a boy, which I hope he will do for many years".[17]

On such visits, they talked about and shared their enthusiasm for antiquarian matters and Meyrick was always interested in adding to his collection. Amongst the objects that caught his eye were the wooden effigies in St. Mary's Church, Abergavenny. He was, however, not always successful in persuading the owners to sell him their treasures and, in 1843, he told Kirkmann that there had been no response from the vicar, so "it is quite clear that all thought of the wooden effigy at Abergavenny must be abandoned". Kirkmann also made his own discoveries, including a spur dating from the time of King Charles I in the moat at Goodrich.[18] He also helped guide members of the British Archaeological Association around Goodrich when they visited it during their 1846 conference.[19]

Kirkmann, who of course had his 'day job' as a lawyer, seems to have published only a few articles himself about antiquarian matters: a piece on Gaulish coins for the British Archaeological Association in 1846; a note on a spur found amongst the remains of the possible crusader Udard de Broham in Cumbria; a note on an ancient shield found in the Thames for the *Gentleman's Magazine* in 1865; and "a very clever and agreeable paper" in the *Sporting Magazine* in 1843.[20] He was, however, an active member of the British Archaeological Association and seems to have been regarded by others as an authority on antiquarian matters, with several references to his learned comments on numismatics, medieval pottery, and bronze weapons.[21] And an article by Meyrick printed in *Archaeologia Cambrensis* in 1847, on the subject of an inscription at Llanvair Waterdine in Shropshire, refers to detailed observations from his friend Kirkmann.[22] The latter also lent items for an exhibition at the Ironmongers Hall in 1861, arranged by the London and Middlesex Archaeological Society, including an early medieval sword, daggers,

and a stone bow found at the site of the 1485 Battle of Bosworth, although now dated rather later.[23]

When Meyrick died in April 1848, Kirkmann was one of those summoned to his deathbed at Goodrich and attended his funeral at Goodrich Church on 8 April. He subsequently acted as Meyrick's executor receiving a legacy of £100.[24]

Resident of Llangorse

After so many years of friendship and reciprocal visits, Kirkmann clearly missed having somewhere he could spend his summers in the Welsh borders and in January 1849, he wrote to Thomas Parker at Browsholme, telling him of his plans to remedy this:

> I am negotiating the purchase of an old ghosty tumble down house on the side of the great lake of Llangorse in Breconshire. It was originally built for and inhabited by the chantry priests of the abbey of Llanthony. I intend fitting it up in the old style with carved panel mantle pieces and I am collecting all the old pieces of carved wood I can lay my hands upon…my object is to have a place to spend the vacation for now poor Sir Samuel is gone I am destitute of a retreat to go to and I have pitched upon the Lake of Llangorse for there is admirable fishing and always amusement there.[25]

The house, The Neuadd (then known as The Noyadd), which survives today, is described in the Powys volume of *The Buildings of Wales* as a farmhouse which was enlarged by Kirkmann "in Puginian manner" (Fig. 3).[26] Details of

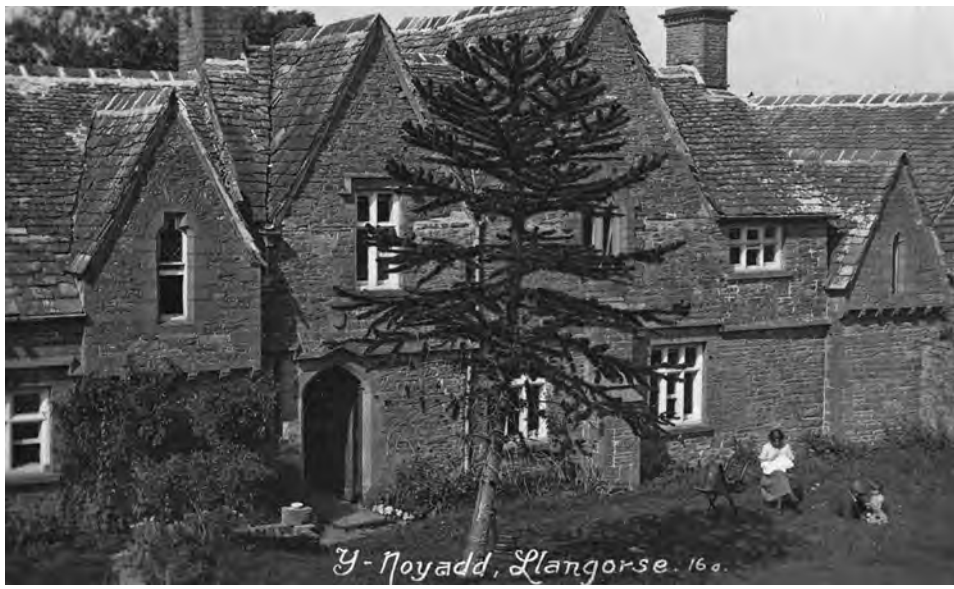

Figure 3: Y Noyadd, Llangorse.

its listing suggest that the architect, J. L. Pearson, who at the time was remodelling Treberfydd for the Raikes family, might have advised Kirkmann on his project.[27] His antiquarian tendencies are reflected in "medieval bits inserted into its walls", and a sales poster of 1888[28] referred to extensive panelling, stained glass, and medieval window features, which would have been collected by Kirkmann. The kitchen of the current house also features a lintel inscribed AK 1727; a reference to Abraham's own family history.

Sadly, we know little of Kirkmann's day to day life in the area, although the sale of his house contents after his death included, as already mentioned, some fishing equipment, as well as a violin and case; a reminder that Kirkmann came from a musical family. However, a journal of family history, compiled by a member of the Kirkmann family, quotes a letter from Abraham to his brother John dated 1858 which states, "I am going to be married. She is a poor parson's daughter without a penny; lived at Crickhowell". The journal adds, "he did not (marry)" and we know nothing more about his intended wife.[29]

By the time he moved to Llangorse in 1849, Kirkmann was in his mid-fifties and longstanding local friends such as Ouseley, Price, and Payne had died, but he must have been pleased with his choice for he continued to spend time in Llangorse, at The Noyadd (Neuadd), until his death at his home in London on 20 December 1866.

Kirkmann left a detailed will, which offers a further window both into the interior furnishing of the house and his local and London circle of friends. As an enthusiastic collector, he had a house full of objects, from armour to pottery, books, coins, and paintings.[30] The pictures, most of which were left to Gray's Inn, in London, included engravings of legal figures and portraits of Rubens, Mary Queen of Scots, and Queen Elizabeth I. Kirkmann's arms, armour and "all my antiquities of every description both at Llangorse and Chancery Lane (except the cabinet of coins and marble head aforesaid)", went to his friend Thomas Parker, who also received the only known portrait of Kirkmann, by the artist James Young, which may have been painted whilst he was staying with Meyrick at Goodrich.

In addition to bequests to some London legal colleagues and friends, his will also included a number of local bequests. For example, he left his friend John Berry Walford, an Abergavenny solicitor, the sum of £25 for a ring and "also all my books and bookcases" at Llangorse. He was also anxious to ensure the welfare of his housekeeper, Ann Morgan, and her husband, James, leaving them money for the purchase of land and a property. James also received Kirkmann's "wearing apparel and body linen", except "the shirt of Napoleon 1st".

Kirkmann also considered the welfare of other residents of Llangorse and he left money for the construction of a well, and the erection of a public pump and tank, with any surplus to be paid to the rector for the benefit of a school.

Unfortunately, however, this bequest was not enacted because no specific financial provision had been made. The *Law Times* reported that "the gift for the well etc. was held to be void, and as the surplus could therefore not be ascertained, the whole gift was also void.".[31]

At his demise, Kirkmann asked that no one except his executor should attend his funeral and he was buried with his father in Kennington in London. A memorial tablet was, however, erected on the south wall of St. Paulinus Church in Llangorse, which reads:

> In memory of Abraham Kirkmann Esq of the Noyadd in this parish and of Chancery Lane, London, Barrister at Law, who died 20th December 1866 aged 70 years. Buried in the family vault at St Marks Kennington, Surrey. A Profound Antiquarian. This tablet erected by Thomas Lewis Esq of London, his executor (Fig. 4).

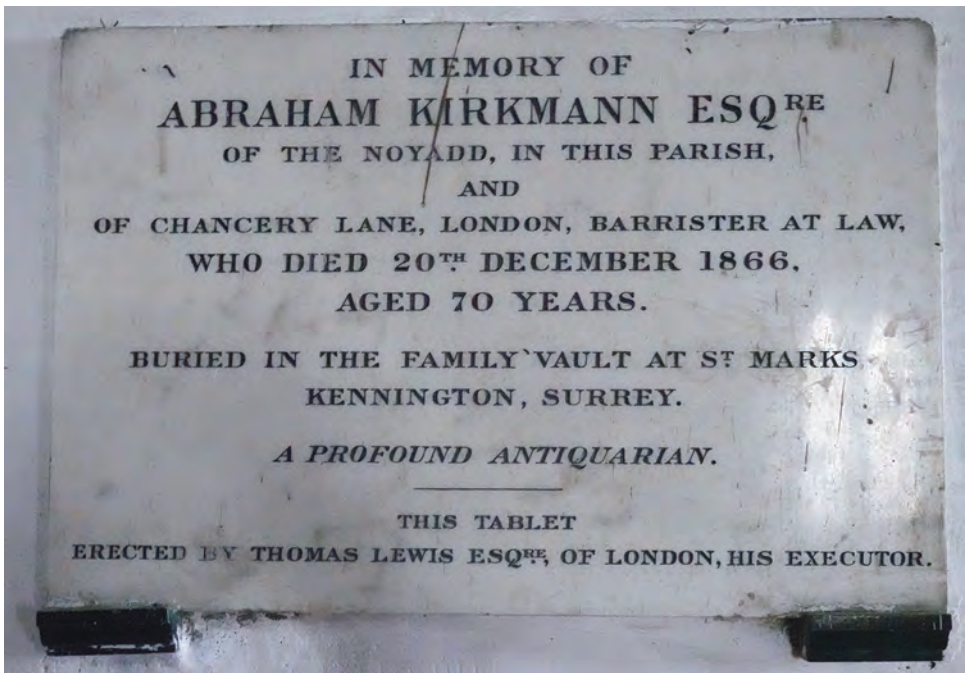

Figure 4: Kirkmann Memorial Tablet, Llangorse Church. Mike Williams

Notes

[1] Lowe 2003.

[2] Visitors' Book, 1820–30. https://docplayer.net/65421371-Visitors-to-the-armoury-of-dr-samuel-rush-meyrick.html (accessed 26 January 2019). The entries in the visitors' book are mostly undated, but it covers the period 1820 to 1830. It is now in the Wallace Collection in London, along with much of Meyrick's collection of arms and armour, which was acquired by Sir Richard Wallace in 1871.

[3] Jones 1909–30, Volume 3: 71.

[4] I am grateful to Robert Kirkman for his help with the Kirkmann/Kirchmann family tree.

[5] For the Kirchmann family, see entries in the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* and the *New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*.

[6] http://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O58871/harpsichord-kirckman-jacob-and/ (accessed 9 January 2019)

[7] Ouseley seems to have become a Kirkmann family friend. The Journal of Abraham's father for the years 1829–33, which is still in the family's possession, includes several references to Sir William dining and fishing with his son (Abraham's brother), John, in the spring of 1829. I am grateful to the Kirkman family for sending me a copy of the journal.

[8] National Library of Wales. MS 6656C (all subsequent references to these letters have this classmark and are dated); Thomas King, Manuscripts, *Heraldic Miscellanies,* vol. 19, College of Arms, London; Lancashire Record Office DDB. Acc. 6685, box 151/b3. I am grateful to all for permission to quote from these letters and papers.

[9] Lowe 2003: 71-2.

[10] *The Cambrian,* 27 September 1828.

[11] *The Brecon County Times Neath Gazette,* 18 September 1869, advertised items for sale from Kirkmann's house.

[12] I am grateful to Pamela and Martin Redwood for information about Mrs Davies. She also features in a number of Thomas Martin's excursion notes. *Heraldic Miscellanies:* 569, 571. There is a memorial to the Davies family in the vestry of Llangattock church.

[13] Lowe 2003: 148.

[14] *Heraldic Miscellanies*: 448-576; Lowe 2003: 195.

[15] *Heraldic Miscellanies*: 560.

[16] *Heraldic Miscellanies*: 556, 569, 571.

[17] MS 6656C; *Heraldic Miscellanies*: 487.

[18] MS 6656C; *Heraldic Miscellanies*: 554.

[19] Lowe 2003: 196-7, 211.

[20] Kirkmann 1865: 770-2; 1851: 123-4; *Journal of the British Archaeological Association* 1846, Volume 2: 372. The reference to the article in the Sporting Magazine (perhaps on the history of fishing?) comes from a Meyrick letter dated 17 September 1843.

[21] *Journal of the British Archaeological Association* 1848, Volume 3: 60-3.

[22] Meyrick 1847: 298-314.

[23] Credland 2015: 15-35.

[24] Lowe 2003: 215-17.

[25] Lancashire Record Office, *DDB Acc. 6685 box 151/b3.*

[26] Scourfield and Haslam 2013: 531.

[27] https://coflein.gov.uk/en/site/409571/details/y-noyadd-neuadd-llangorse (accessed 9 January 2019); https://britishlistedbuildings.co.uk/300020309-neuadd-llangors (accessed 9 January 2019).

[28] I am grateful to Mr and Mrs P. Johnson, the owners of The Neuadd, for showing me their copy of this poster and for their help in the course of my research.

[29] I am grateful to Mr. Robert Kirkman for this reference. The Journal was compiled by John Henry Kirkman (1855–1955) before he emigrated to America. He was the grandson of Abraham's brother John.

[30] Credland: 24-5 for a detailed analysis of his bequests, including the paintings now in Gray's Inn, London.

[31] *Law Times,* 30 October 1968: 458. I am grateful to Mr Stephen Kirkman for this reference, which solved the puzzle of why there were no physical remains of Kirkmann's bequest.

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‘THE LLANGAMMARCH SPIRAL’: AN ARTIST’S VIEW OF AN EARLY MEDIEVAL STONE CARVING IN THE IRFON VALLEY

SIMON LILLY

Introduction

Within the Irfon valley in north-west Breconshire, there are a number of ancient carved stones that form a couple of loosely knit groups. The stones come from the early medieval period and have been tentatively dated between the seventh and tenth centuries AD. Many of these carvings have been removed from their original places of discovery and taken to museum collections in Brecon and Cardiff, but a few still remain close to where they were found.

This present article will focus on one of the most interesting, and certainly the most enigmatic of the carvings, above the porch of St. Cadmarch Church in Llangammarch Wells (in Welsh: Llangamarch), which I have termed the ‘Llangammarch Spiral’ (Fig. 1). As well as a detailed description, this article will suggest some possible interpretations for the imagery on the stone.

The site

The Church of St. Cadmarch is dramatically situated on a small, steep prominence above the confluence of the rivers Cammarch and Irfon (Fig. 2). Its location and irregular, rounded enclosure suggest an early foundation, but the early history of the church is obscure. There is a single mention in a long poem by Cynddelw (c. 1155–1200), ‘Cân Tysilio’ (Song of Tesilio), which lists foundations established by the saint. At the end of part five, the last two lines read, “Llan bywys baraduys buruen, Llan gamarch llau barch y berchgen”.[1] Elsewhere, there is a reference to the church in the 1291 *Taxatio*. It refers to the “Ecclesia de Langamarth” as being worth a considerable £13 6s. 8d, hinting at the importance of the church at that time.[2]

In his *History of Brecknock*, Theophilus Jones gives a brief description of the church from around the mid-nineteenth century, and notes that the oldest tombstones date from the early 1600s.[3] The church Jones knew was completely restored “in the modern Gothic style”, around 1850.[4] There follows the first mention of the carving, “About 1900, a stone was discovered here in one of the walls, with some early carving representing a wheel, an infant with arms extended and a coiled serpent”. There is a somewhat less prosaic description in Redknap and Lewis’ *Corpus of Early Medieval Inscribed Stones*:

> Formerly built into the churchyard wall, and later into the west wall of the church when it was restored c. 1870. The church was rebuilt by W.D. Caröe 1913–16. Carved with a ring-cross with sunken quadrants... Beneath the cross are several

Brycheiniog, 2019, Volume L, pages 91–107.

Figure 1. The Llangammarch Spiral above the church porch. Simon Lilly

Figure 2. The Church of St. Cadmarch, an Arts and Crafts building on an ancient site. Simon Lilly

pecked devices: a human figure with arms outstretched; a spiral; sunken squares, rings and a triangle.

It measures 77cm x 47cm and is carved from coarse-grained Old Red Sandstone thought to be from a bed over 20km on the south-facing slopes of the Brecon Beacons. The disposition of motif is strange, and suggests that the stone might be an architectural fragment such as an altar front or tympanum. However, the original edges of the slab on the top right corner and the lower left side indicate that it originally had an upright rectangular form, like other cross-slabs.[5]

On a closer examination of the stone, it appears that the carved surface is not flat (Fig. 3). There is a pronounced convex curve of the left side. As the carving follows this surface and shows no more erosion than elsewhere, we can conclude the original stone also had this curved edge, at least on this side.

Redknap describes the carving as "pecked", that is, the lines are made by a small pick striking the stone surface at 90-degrees creating a series of round indentations that are eventually evened out to the same continuous depth. The only exception to this, is in the top right corner above the ring-cross, where an 'ear' or leaf-like shape, looks to be incised (carved with a hammer and chisel driven at an acute angle to the stone surface). Some attempt at modelling has

Figure 3. An angled view showing the curving surface on the left side of the stone.
Simon Lilly

been carried out: the lines have rounded sides, giving the image a more three-dimensional effect. The 'ring-pellets' are particularly well-modelled.

Some areas of the background have been deeply cut back and left with a textured surface that is absent elsewhere. The difference of colour may be a feature of the stone, with eroded outer surfaces becoming oxidised. This might suggest the reuse of an already ancient monument.

The purpose of the stone

Considerable cost and effort were required to make stone monuments during the early medieval period. They were always markers of status, no matter the subject matter chosen. Grave markers and memorial stones often remembered and honoured powerful individuals, and this also enhanced the status of sponsors and guardians as well, (for example: 'here lies our hero, our saint, our ancestor'). If this carving was an epitaph or memorial, the subject matter portrayed is likely to have alluded to biographical events, and possibly to biblical texts, which in some clear way highlights the status, lifestyle, or history of that individual, or else express an invocation or prayer on behalf of the deceased.

The Llangammarch Spiral, however, is an enigma, not only because it is now incomplete, but because its imagery is so unusual. There is no partitioning of the design into panels as commonly found in Wales, deriving from Irish and Anglo-Saxon crosses that echo the contemporary manuscript and metalwork of the early medieval period. Perhaps the missing portions of the cross-stone once had some division of spaces, but the design, as it is now, shows no interest in such simple symmetries. Unusually, the carving seems to use Celtic motifs, which can be seen on the Iron Age coinage of lowland Britain and Europe. Although a biblical context for the imagery is likely, the vocabulary seems ancient: the four-spoked wheel, the ring-pellets, the simple, but dynamic figure with arms raised, and even the spiral, were all part of the vocabulary of pre-Christian Celtic coin art.

In the British Isles, Celtic coinage covers a period of about 100 years, starting in the southern tribal areas of England.[6] Tribal coinage continued to be produced in lowland Britain until the full establishment of Roman administration around the middle of the first century AD, when official Roman coinage was imposed. Northern upland tribes, and the tribal confederacies in Wales, did not mint their own coinage, but it is likely that they were familiar with coins and the meanings of their designs. A wide range of shared motifs can be found in Celtic coinage from England, to Gaul, to the Danube tribes.[7]

The annular rings, or ring-pellets, found beneath the lower edge of the cross may derive from metal studs on the covers of prestigious manuscript bibles of the great monastic centres. Yet, ring-pellets are ubiquitous in pre-Christian

Celtic coin art, where they were used in a variety of different ways to enhance ambiguity and multiply meanings. Their placement often mimics eyes, and, in coin art, many designs present the viewer with a multitude of faces and animal heads that emerge from a complex abstraction of Classical elements.[8] One of the most frequent uses of pellets and ring pellets is to denote the otherworldly, divine, or sacred nature of objects. Triplicity is often the indication of the divine in Celtic art.[9] There are well-known relief carvings of triple gods and goddesses, and in coin art, horses are shown with triple tails or stallions with triple penises. Very often there are triplets of pellets in associations with other figures to denote their divine power.

The human figure is more prevalent in coin art than on other surviving Celtic artefacts. Stylised and simple, they are dynamic representations of warriors, priests, war-leaders, or deities (Fig. 4). Figures are often shown in relation to ring-pellets.

Figure 4. Figures in Celtic coin art.
Simon Lilly

Wheels and four-spoked wheels are a common motif. They sometimes clearly represent chariot wheels, but, just as often, have become symbols of sacred power[10] (Fig. 5). The sky/storm god Taranis is specifically associated with a wheel; metal crowns have been found with wheel motifs attached, and the same type of crown can be seen on coins. Often, the riders on horses are depicted with staffs topped with a wheel, suggesting it represents divine authority of some kind. From the time of the Bronze Age, the four-spoked wheel was a sun symbol. There is really no better symbol than the wheel to represent the ever-revolving heavens and its luminous inhabitants.

Figure 5. Wheel symbols in Celtic coin art.
Simon Lilly

Spiral forms are ubiquitous in Celtic design, but rarely in this form.

Insular Celtic art often developed designs based on spirals and the arcs of circles, but these tend towards expanding, radiating, and spinning wheel forms; much more visually dynamic than a simple unidirectional line. There are a few tight spiral forms in some first-century British coins, which show a variation of the Celtic motif of the horned serpent (Fig. 6). This will be examined a little more below.

Figure 6. Serpents in Celtic coin art.
Simon Lilly

There is evidence to suggest that there was an underlying conservatism of visual language and cultural structures in early medieval Wales, such as that maintained in thirteenth-century manuscripts, like *The Black Book of Carmarthen*, and in the tales preserved in *The Mabinogi*. Moreover, the hagiographies of numerous local Welsh saints, with their frequent references to wells, severed heads, and ritual deaths hint at a substratum of pre-Christian belief being carried through long into the Christian era.[11]

Even the archaeology of early medieval Wales seems to indicate a strong Iron Age continuity, both in the traditions of royal houses and tribal groupings, and in the making of artefacts, despite of, or alongside, Romanisation.[12]

The motifs

The ring-cross

The top half of the design, and the largest single motif, is a ring cross of slightly oval shape (Fig. 7). The top edge of the outer ring is flattened slightly so as to be parallel to the top edge of the stone. The central boss, or ring-pellet, and the right arm and lower arm of the cross have been heavily damaged or weathered but are still slightly proud of the deeply picked background quadrants. There is an 'ear-like' flange on the top right, which was probably repeated on the left. There are others locally. Now in the National Museum Cardiff, one of two fragments collected in the Tirabad/Cefngorwydd/Llanwrtyd area, (that is, within Llangammarch parish), is a cross-inscribed stone with two rounded flanges at the top and right quarters of the ring-cross.[13] The frequency may suggest the carvers depicted a very specific, or locally significant, relic or heirloom.

Figure 7. Detail of the ring cross. Mike Williams

Ring-pellets and rectangular voids

Below the cross are three almost symmetrically placed ring-pellets, the left and central ones of which seem to be in some relationship with the figure. Directly above the left pellet is a triangular indentation that is placed centrally within its space. On the opposite side of the carving, the broken edge of the stone also suggests that a similar indentation was also present.

To the left of the central ring-pellet is a small rectangular recess cut back to a similar depth as the background of the cross. To the right of the ring-pellet is a much larger, almost square, recess, which is a very dominant visual feature (Fig. 8). Not only is the large recess highlighted by three associated ring-pellets, but the eye is continually

Figure 8. Detail of the ring-pellets and the square void. Mike Williams

drawn to it along the line of the extended arm and the spiral termination, suggesting a special significance. Perhaps it was a niche for holding something, though its depth is no greater than elsewhere in the carving, limiting its functionality.

The figure

Picked out by a continuous line is a human figure whose lower half has unfortunately been broken away. It is upright, standing with upper arms held away from the body (Fig. 9). The position of the lower arms and hands are not so easily seen. The left arm is held at about a 45-degree angle and is just inside the outer ring-pellet. What resembles another small pellet could be the left hand. The right lower arm can just about be distinguished stretching out almost to full extent, as if it were holding up the central ring-pellet.

Figure 9. Detail of the figure. Mike Williams

The head of the figure is delineated with a wide picked line, perhaps slightly deeper than the line around the rest of the body. This may be suggestive of a halo. There is a clear indication of the waist, and on the right side, a faint pecked line may show the top of the right thigh and leg abutting the spiral. There is no indication of clothing, or anything else to suggest gender or status, but the body proportions are of a young adult.

A cursory view of the figure might indicate an *orans* (one who is praying or pleading) pose. This would possibly favour a 'resurrection' or 'saved soul' theme. Certainly, other figures in early Welsh stone sculpture are shown in an orans position. Orans are usually standing, elbows close to the sides, hands outstretched sideways, palm upwards or outwards and the position was adopted for prayer in the Church until the twelfth century. Alternatively, in early Christian iconography, the orans pose sometimes represents the soul of the deceased. Unfortunately, on the Llangammarch Spiral, the arms are not shown in the typical orans pose, and, instead, look as though they are directly associated with two other motifs: the termination of the spiral and the ring-pellets with geometric indentation.

The spiral

Figure 10. Detail of the spiral. Mike Williams

The large spiral motif is placed almost on the same vertical axis as the ring-cross, although the whole design seems to skew a little to the left (Fig. 10). Like the cross, it is a slightly flattened circle and comprises a single picked line with three full turns. The outer turns on the lower left are missing, but it seems likely that the outermost turn links up to the pointed, angled section that runs up between the figure's thigh and the extended hand.

Whilst the ring-cross has plenty of antecedents and similar local designs, the presence of a spiral is extremely rare in Wales. The only other known spiral carving can be seen in some recovered carved blocks, now built into the porch wall of Llanafanfawr church about ten miles to the north of Llangammarch (Fig. 11). The only sources for spirals that Redknap and Lewis suggest in their

Figure 11. Three stone relief carvings, now placed in the church porch at Llanafanfawr. Simon Lilly

Corpus of Early Medieval Inscribed Stones are the Bronze Age spiral carvings found at Newgrange and at sites in Co. Meath, Ireland. They do highlight other spiral forms on Irish crosses, but none of these is a simple spiral, and they usually relate to other curvilinear and spiral forms.

Interpretation

The spiral as serpent

Possibly the upper termination of the spiral is the jaw of a serpent or dragon. This iconography may then suggest a portrayal of the last judgment, the resurrection of the dead, or the harrowing of hell, where the figure is being saved or freed from damnation. The spiral/serpent/dragon may even represent a continuing tension between Christian and pre-Christian beliefs in the area. The serpent is a well-established Christian symbol for temptation, whilst also being a primary Iron Age motif that directly relates to druidic power and authority.[14] The pre-Christian Celtic religious and intellectual hierarchy, the druids, were associated with a mythological horned or crested serpent.[15] Further, in Celtic coin art, as well as on La Tene swords and scabbards, there are clear representations of serpent-like or dragon-like hybrid beasts that have been linked to a warrior elite.[16] Originally, the spiral as serpent idea was probably drawn from the observation that serpents sleep and hibernate coiled about themselves. There are also scriptural associations. The serpent becomes a symbol for Satan, although it is mainly found in the Bible as a simple metaphor for injury and harm. The anomalous episode of Moses raising a "brazen serpent" in the desert to cure snakebites is the only positive serpent imagery in the scriptures and prefigures the imagery of the crucifixion as remedy for the Fall. (Numbers 21:9: "And Moses made a serpent of brass, and put it upon a pole, and it came to pass, that if a serpent had bitten any man, when he beheld the serpent of brass, he lived." John 3:1: "And as Moses lifted up the serpent in the wilderness, even so must the Son of Man be lifted up."). Without the complete image this 'serpent' attribution must remain uncertain. After all, monsters and hell-mouths were usually relished rather than abstracted in early medieval carving.

The figure and spiral are the two dynamic elements that command the narrative here. The fact that the extended hand of the figure and extended spiral meet each other at the very centre of the design is unlikely to have been accidental. Other interpretations need to be considered.

The spiral as holy spirit

At its simplest, the Llangammarch Spiral is a triad of motifs: the cross; the figure; and the spiral. This not only sits well with the long-standing Celtic reverence for triplicity (assuming there are no other lost images) but may also have even been intended as a representation of the Christian Trinity. Early

Church writers often grappled with how the three aspects of the Trinity—Father, Son, and Holy Spirit—related to each other. The arguments rested on a precise interpretation of specific words in Greek and Latin versions of the Scriptures. Orthodox Christian doctrine wrestled with the problem for hundreds of years. Influential intellectuals like Tertullian (second century), Jerome, Ambrose and Augustine (fourth and fifth centuries) attempted to counter numerous heretical opposing viewpoints; the eventual schism between the Western and Eastern Churches originated largely from a different vision of the relationship between the three elements of God.[17] Advancement in the Church hierarchy required the correct, approved viewpoint. St. David himself is said to have come to prominence after eloquently countering Pelagius's opposition to Augustine's dogma of Original Sin.

The spiral as wind

The figure on the Llangammarch Spiral seems to be rising upwards. But a falling or 'damned' person is often shown tumbling head down, legs up in the air; a very unequivocal image. Is the figure being lifted up by a wind or whirlwind, carried up to heaven? Old Testament writers use the symbolism of the whirlwind or "great wind" to represent the visions that lift prophets into the presence of God, whilst also (and more often) describing God's wrathful retribution upon sinners as a whirlwind. (2 Kings 2:11: "And it came to pass, as they went on, and talked, that, behold, there appeared a chariot of fire, and horses of fire, and parted them both asunder; and Elijah went up by a whirlwind into heaven". Ezekiel 1:4: "…and I looked and, behold, a whirlwind came out of the north, a great cloud, and a fire unfolding itself, and a brightness was about it, and out of the midst thereof as the colour of amber, out of the midst of fire".

The spiral as word

Another notable symbol, often found alongside the imagery of visionary whirlwinds, is the book (which would have been a scroll at that time rather than a bound volume). If the spiral was a book, it would make sense being held in the figure's right hand. (Ezekiel 2: "And when I looked, behold, an hand was sent unto me, and lo, a roll of a book was therein". Ezekiel's vision of God and seraphim is the vehicle for a prophecy to the people of Israel: a fitting subject for the memorial of a priest, preacher, or teacher (if this is what the carving was).

Another text that fits well with the Llangammarch Spiral is the Book of Zechariah. It is visionary and prophetic, and uses powerful images, such as coloured horses, to represent the four directions. Its importance within a Christian missionary context is that it alternately encourages and threatens its readers to heed the laws of God, and many of its prophetic visions clearly

prefigure the life of Christ. (Zechariah 2:1: "I lifted up mine eyes again, and looked, and behold a man with a measuring line in his hand... Then I said, Whither goest thou? And he said unto me, to measure Jerusalem, to see, what the breadth thereof, and what is the length thereof... The people do not listen... oppress not the widow, nor the stranger... And I scattered them with a whirlwind among all the nations whom they knew not. This the land was desolate after them, that no man passed through nor returned, for they laid the pleasant land desolate".

The spiral as water

When I first looked closely at the imagery, I reflected on the fact that the two rivers, Irfon and Cammarch, meet within a few yards of the church. Could the spiral suggest the confluence itself? Whirlpools and standing eddies are sometimes a feature of different flows of water coming together (Fig. 12). There are certainly some apt Biblical texts that fit well with this image, starting with some early verses from the first chapter of Genesis. "And the Spirit of God moved upon the face of the waters... And God said, let there be a firmament in the midst of the waters, and let it divide the waters from the waters. And God made the firmament and divided the waters which were under the firmament from the waters which were above the firmament... And God said, Let the waters under the firmament be gathered together in one place...". The imagery fits well with the spiral, but also the figure apparently holding or placing the ring-pellets, possibly in imitation of a creator god.

There are other watery features that would have probably resonated in pre-Christian and Christian times. Along the Irfon valley, both on the northern Cambrian side and the southern Epynt slopes there rise several highly mineralised springs, known locally as "stinking wells". Each spring tends to run through different mineral beds and so emerge with their own distinct and pungent flavours. The majority have a high sulphur content, although a significant spring just outside the village of Llangammarch has uniquely rich levels of barium chloride. (The Barium Wells at Llangammarch were rediscovered in 1837, when a lost pig turned up happily wallowing in its waters. The village became a spa centre until the Great War put an end to its development.)

However, there is an earlier reference to the wells when the antiquarian, Edward Lhwyd writing in the late-seventeenth century, said there was a medieval holy well at Llangammarch known as Ffynnon Gadferth.[18] Although the site cannot be precisely located from Lhwyd's vague description, it was probably outside the village.

Unfortunately, the locations of other "stinking wells" along the northern Epynt escarpment are poorly recorded, but there is another notable ancient church enclosure a few miles away, outside the village of Garth. Here, the

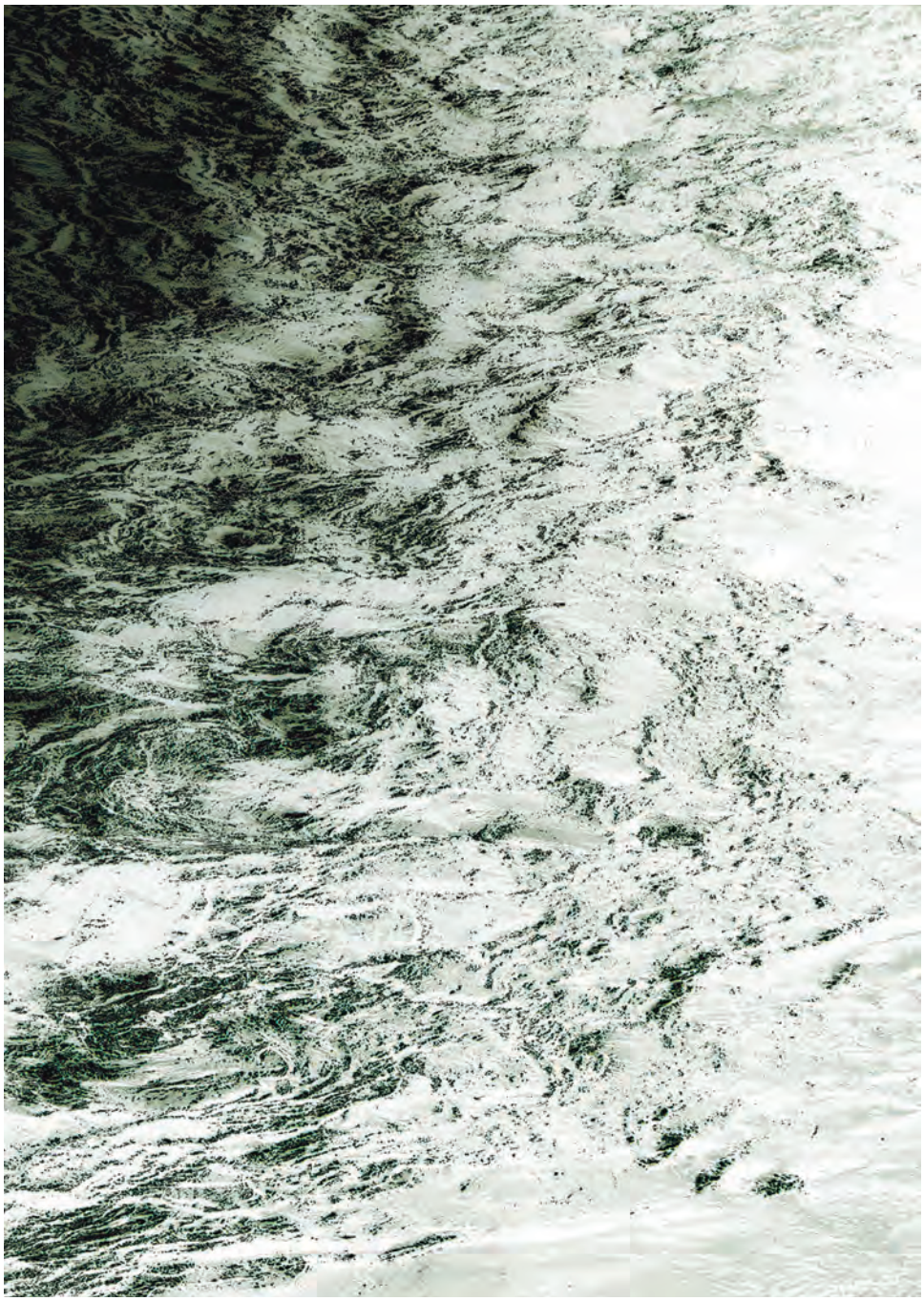

Figure 12. The shapes formed in the water at the confluence of the Irfon and Cammarch rivers. Simon Lilly

Church of Llanlleonfel is built adjacent to a sulphur spring known as Billy Wern Well, (or *beili wern*, meaning a farmyard marshy area).

Conclusion

The Llangammarch Spiral is associated with an ancient religious foundation at Llangammarch that seems to have had considerable value in the medieval period. The imagery is unusual both in its content and disposition, and seems to bear a closer resemblance to Iron Age Celtic figurative art on pre-Christian coinage than to any Irish or Anglo-Saxon monumental prototypes. If it is a memorial stone, it is more likely to have been for a priest than for a lay-noble. Any specific Biblical source for the imagery is inconclusive, but the motifs suggest texts linking to vision, prophecy, and priesthood. If the carving represents verses from Genesis, or defines the nature of the Trinity, then it would, perhaps, have served a pedagogical purpose. However, it may be that the most straightforward explanation is that the carving was at one time associated with a local holy well, later removed and incorporated into the church structure.

Notes

[1] Jones, Pughe, and Williams 1870: Volume 1: 178.
[2] The Taxatio 1291–2. https://www.dhi.ac.uk/taxatio/benkey?benkey=DA.BC.BU.02 (Accessed 1 February 2019).
[3] Jones 1909–30: Vol 2: 247.
[4] *Ibid*: 248.
[5] Redknap and Lewis 2007: Vol. 1: 202.
[6] Creighton 2000.
[7] Nash 1987.
[8] Williams and Creighton 2006; Pudney 2019.
[9] Aldhouse-Green 1992: Chapter 6.
[10] Williams 2010: 194-5.
[11] Hutton 2015: Chapter 6.
[12] Aldhouse-Green and Howell 2017: 108.
[13] Redknap and Lewis 2007: Vol. 1: 226.
[14] Lilly 2008.
[15] Aldhouse-Green 2010: 62, 200.
[16] Giles 2008: 64-5; Lilly 2008: 22.
[17] Chadwick 2005.
[18] Lhuyd 1695–98: Volume 3: 45-6.

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BRECON'S PRIORY WOOLLEN MILL: WEAVING THROUGH FOUR CENTURIES

SUE HILEY HARRIS

Background

"From the latter end of the sixteenth to the beginning of the eighteenth century, great fortunes were acquired in Brecon, and the vicinity, by the manufacture of woollen cloths", stated Theophilius Jones in his *History of the County of Brecknockshire* in 1805.[1] He also wrote of the ancient guilds with chapels in St John's Priory, "for the shoemakers and tailors on one side, and the weavers and tuckers on the other", and separated from the nave "by thin wooden partitions, on which are, partly carved and partly painted...the shears, shuttles and other instruments used in, or emblematic of, the different occupations or guilds".[2] Two of these guilds, those of the weavers and the tuckers, relate directly to the manufacture of woollen cloth. The tuckers, or fullers, scoured, washed, and fulled or compressed the cloth woven by the weavers. The tailors were, of course, responsible for making fully finished cloth into clothing. The presence of these guilds suggests that fulled woollen cloth of high quality was produced in Brecon. Generally, the craft guilds were responsible for keeping up standards with a system of master, journeymen, and apprentices. The weavers' and tuckers' guilds would have governed how cloth was both made and sold.

It was not unusual for woollen cloth to be called after the county, town, or village that was the original place of manufacture. 'Brecknocks', which evidence shows were exported through the port of Bristol in the mid-sixteenth century,[3] have been described by Geraint Jenkins in his 1969 history of the Welsh woollen industry as a "peculiar type of drab-coloured, rough cloth...that was exported in considerable quantities through the markets of Abergavenny, Brecon, and border towns". He suggests that it "seems likely that this was undyed, undressed cloth, sold directly to the buyers from the looms, without fulling".[4] This description seems difficult to reconcile with the high quality fulled cloth that would have been produced in the borough of Brecon under the guild system at that time.

The products of the woollen industry, however, may have differed considerably in the borough from those produced in the surrounding countryside, which would not have come under the jurisdiction of the weavers' and tuckers' guilds. It is possible, therefore, that 'brecknocks' were produced outside the borough in the county of Breconshire. Research into the woollen industry in the borough of Brecon has not yet revealed evidence of 'brecknocks'. Further research into the industry in the county may prove more fruitful.

Research by the author, a weaver with a practical knowledge of the processes of woollen cloth manufacture, has attempted to reveal the significance of the

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woollen industry, which led to the "great fortunes acquired in Brecon" described by Theophilus Jones. Little physical evidence of the industry remains today. A search of the gravestones in Brecon reveals a few weavers and Dainter Place, off St John's Road, is a reminder that this area was once the site of tenter frames for drying woollen cloth.[5] The research, in numerous archives,[6] has led to a database of spinners, weavers, tuckers, and clothiers, as well as considerable information about fulling mills and woollen manufacturers over four centuries. One constant in this research has been a mill associated with the woollen industry on the river Honddu, located below the present-day cathedral, on the site, off Priory Hill, that is now known as the Bishop Williamson Garden. The development of this mill over four centuries is the subject of this article.

Burges mill: fulling from the dissolution of the monasteries into the eighteenth century

Although Jenkins stated that the mill on this site was built in the early 1830s as a new building "where all the process of textile manufacturing were carried out",[7] there had, in fact, been a fulling or tucking mill[8] on the site since at least the early-sixteenth century. Wool carding machines were introduced around 1800 and spinning machines before 1824. It was not until 1886 that the woollen mill took over the whole of the building. The mill was known as Priory Woollen Manufactory, or simply 'the Factory', from the early part of the nineteenth century and, prior to that, as Burges mill.[9] It is not to be confused with Priory mill, which was primarily a corn mill, situated half a mile upstream on the other side of the Honddu.[10] Both mills were owned by Brecon priory until its dissolution in 1536 and both were owned by Lord Camden in the nineteenth century.

Traditionally, woollen cloth[11] was finished by treading or walking the cloth in water, by beating wet cloth by hand or with wooden hammers wielded by hand. This process was mechanised in the twelfth century and, by the thirteenth century, fulling mills had become widespread.[12] Water power triggered two large wooden hammers or stocks to rise and fall alternately to scour, clean, and full, or compress, the cloth immersed in water. Fulled cloth was stretched, or tentered, on racks to align the fibres and dry the cloth before the nap was raised and the surface of the cloth sheared.

Burges mill was the only fulling mill owned by Brecon priory at the time of its dissolution. In the twelfth century Roger, Earl of Hereford and Lord of Brecknock, had granted to the priory, amongst many other privileges, all the mills in the parish of Brecknock and the sole right to erect any other mill in the parish. The mill is included, with Usk mill, Llanfaes mill, two halves of the Honddu mill and Held mill, in a list of the priory's possessions in June 1536. It soon became a Crown possession. The accounts of the Court of Augmentation after dissolution include a copy of the Burges mill lease of 16

April 1521 between "Thomas Redyng prior...and Ieu[a]n Bann[ur], John ap John and Richard ap Thomas", the lessees. It was a 30-year lease at a rent of 53s.4d with the lessees responsible for keeping the mill "well and sufficiently repayred".[13]

On 21 December 1564, 13 years after the expiry of the lease with the prior, it was recorded that "the said myll is presently in great decaie, both in the waterworke standing uppon a very swifte and great streame and otherwise, and will not be repaired and maintayned without to excessive charge, which heretofore the Prince [the monarch] hath borne". John Lewell took on the lease, at an annual rent of £2.13s.4d, for a term of 21 years, "without fine and be bound for all repairs for they could get none other to take it thus without abatement of Rent".[14] Twenty-one years later, in 1585, it was noted that the "p[ro]fitt thereof is greatlie decaied by means of…other Tucking milles buylt nere unto this. But the last tenant John Lewell…is content to take the same agayne". John Lewell leased Burges mill under the same conditions, this time for a term of 31 years.[15]

The fast-flowing waters of the Honddu provided ideal conditions for mills and fulling mills could be particularly profitable. It is not surprising, therefore, that, after the dissolution, there was an increase in the number of fulling mills on the Honddu and a subsequent increase in competition. In 1556, Sir John Pryse of Hereford left "two tuck mills…situate sett lying and being within the parish of Saint John the Evangelist aforesaid in or neare a place called Strewd Inferior".[16] Although the exact location of these two fulling mills is unknown, the description places them on the opposite bank of the Honddu not far from Burges mill.

Contemporary wills provide an insight into the property and wealth of tuckers who may have fulled cloth in the mills on the Honddu. The earliest is that of Saunders Paynott, a tucker of Brecknock, written in 1551. He left property, including some in the parish of St John the Evangelist, to his three sons. He was a man of considerable wealth. Some was inherited, as he mentions leaving his grandmother's lands to John, his first son. To his cousin, Thomas app Gwatkyn, he left "lands goodes cattells plate or household stuff… Bequeathed unto me by Saunders…myn and his grandfather". His son, John, also received another house and workhouse and half his household stuff. His second son, Saunders, received a house in Morgannwg ward and a house "lying at Honthy Bridge", and his third son received "two houses and gardens with five tuckers racks". The women were catered for with his wife receiving, amongst other things, "wooll clothis and wood to the vallue of fourtie pounds".[17]

Not all tuckers were as wealthy as Saunders Paynott. William Evans, "Merchant Taylor and Citizen of London", left £100 "for and towards the better manyntenance and settings forward of poor Clothiers Tuckers Weavers

and suche like beyinge householders using any worke or dealings into or about the makinge of cloathe or frieze". He left instructions for the bailiff, aldermen, and chief burgesses to lend £10, without interest, to five tuckers and five weavers of Brecon for a period of three years, before the money was to pass to Carmarthen, then 'Llagharan', to be used in a similar loan scheme. It was then to be returned to Brecon to repeat the nine-year cycle of loans.[18] The administration was considerable and records of "the weavers and tuckers money" from 1669 to 1740 survive in a minute book of the borough of Brecon at Powys Archives. The first entry in a list of charitable donations inscribed on a board in St Mary's Church, Brecon, records the scheme in a more simplified manner: "1581. Mr William Evans gave £100 to be lent to 5 weavers and 5 tuckers, from 3 years to 3 years for ever without interest".

Burges mill would have been under lease to John Lewell in 1606 when John Speed made a preliminary sketch prior to producing his map of Brecon (Fig. 1). Neither the sketch nor Speed's 1610 engraved map includes the mill, although they do show tenter frames for stretching and drying woollen cloth to the south of the castle and to the southeast just outside the town wall.[19] Burges mill does appear, however, along with Usk mill and the two halves of the Honddu mill, in an account of all the King's mills throughout the counties of England and Wales in 1608.[20]

By 1635, 20 years after John Lewell's lease would have expired, "the said Mill called Burges Mill hath beene out of Lease for many years past, and is much in decay". Robert Chambers, 'gent', was prepared to lease Burges mill, as well as a mill in Montgomeryshire, from the Crown for a period of 21 years at a rent of 53s.4d and "keepe in repayre the said Mills during the terme and so being well and sufficiently repayred in the end of the said terme shall leave and yield up the same".[21]

Several years prior to the expiry of this lease, the mill was surveyed under the 1649 *Act for the Sale of the Honors, Manors, Lands etc heretofore belonging to the late King, Queen and Prince*. The survey of Burges mill, made in 1652, gives its exact location on the site now known as the Bishop Williamson Garden:

> All that fulling Mill with the appurtenances Commonly called Burges Mill situate neare Hunddye Bridge in ye said County with a garden thereunto adjoining, abutted on ye East by ye Hunddye River, on ye South by ye Honddye Bridge and ye way leading to the Pryorye, on the west by Mr Paynotts house and garden, And on ye North by ye pryory woods.[22]

It is interesting to speculate whether the house on the west of the mill belonging to Mr Paynott was the same house, "lying at Honthy Bridge", that Saunders Paynott had left to his son Saunders 100 years earlier.

The mill was valued at £4.10s. A memorandum to the survey states that the mill was in the "tenure and occupation of one Thomas Watkins who holds the

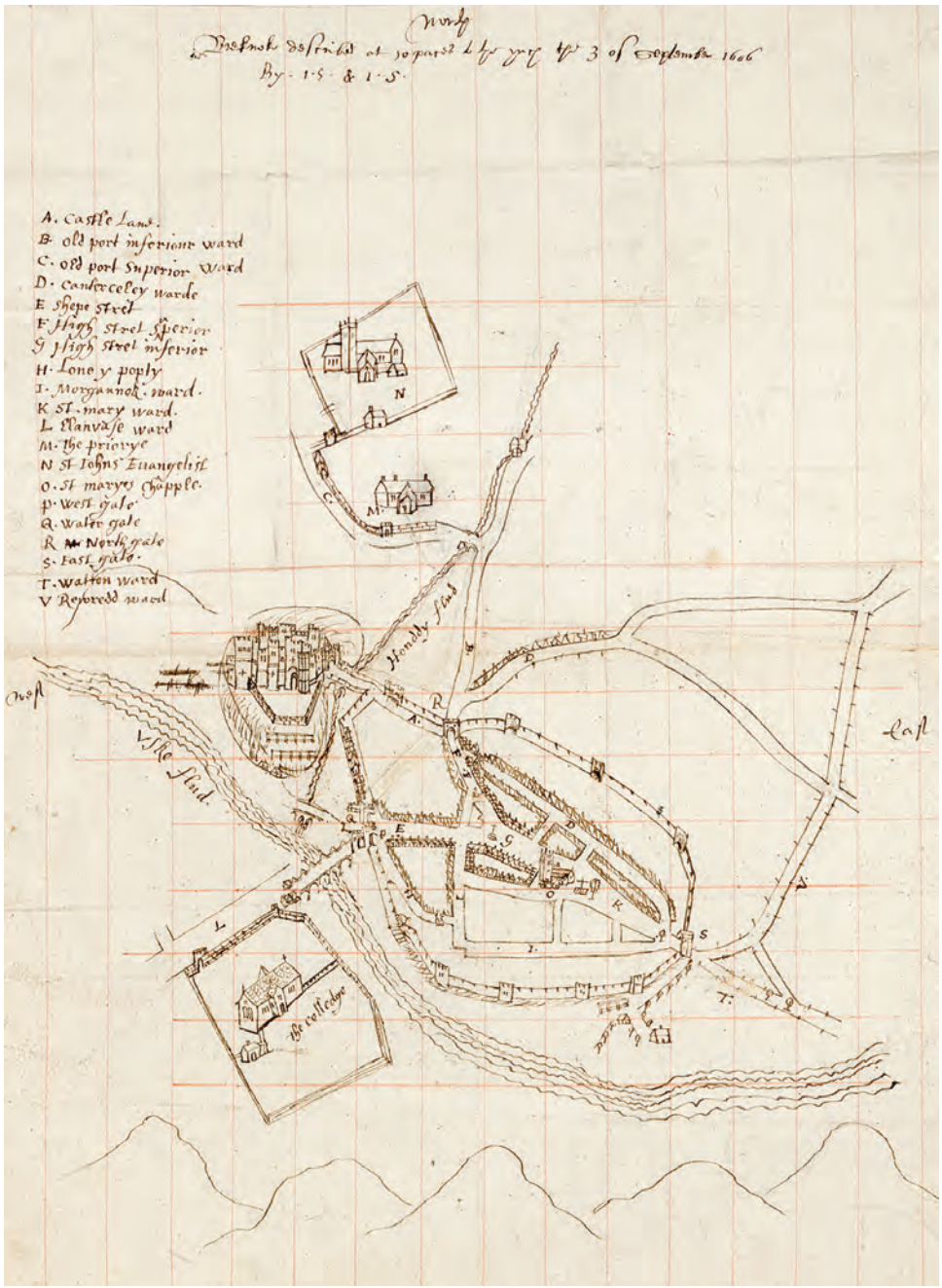

Figure 1. Hand-drawn plan of Brecknock by John Speed, 3 September 1606.

By kind permission of the Warden and Fellows of Merton College Oxford

same in ye right of Mr John Pryce But by what right ye said Pryce claimes to hold ye same wee know not though summoned thereupon".[23]

Although no other reference to this Thomas Watkins has been forthcoming, the surname Watkins is not unusual among tuckers in St John's ward in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and it is possible to imagine generations of Watkinses earning their living as tuckers on the Honddu. Contemporaries of Thomas Watkins of Burges mill include a John Watkins, a tucker of St John the Evangelist. The inventory of his belongings, after his death in 1645, includes cloth, wool, flock, and yarn for blankets as well as tools of the trade including "one tucking shears, 19 pairer of tuckers cards and 9 cottinge boards" valued at 5s.6d.[24] The surviving Brecon Borough rent roll of 1664 describes an Andrewe Watkin, tucker, as having a burgage in his own occupation in Old Port Inferior ward. He died in 1672 and his inventory includes "three pieces of blankets and one white cloath", valued at £1.10s., as well as "six weights of wool" valued at 12/-.[25]

The Crown survey of 1652 was made in preparation for the sale of the mill. A bargain and sale were duly made in 1653 to sell the mill to a Mr William Phillips of London and, yet, the mill continued to be leased by the Crown.[26]

In 1660, John Pryce of Wistaston Court, Herefordshire, great-grandson of Sir John Pryce of the Priory, Brecon, duly petitioned. He alleged that the lease of Burges mill "was granted (amongst other things) to Robert Chambers by lease in October 1635 at the rent of 53s. 4d" and "by Chambers assigned unto him". The Right Honorable Thomas Earle of Southampton, then Lord High Treasurer of England, noted that the lease to Robert Chambers "doth not appeare before mee". He recorded that the:

> Mill was granted to the beforementioned John Lewell in Consideration of his re-edifying thereof (the fulling mill being then wholly out of repair) and afterwards I find one John Paynard his Majesties ffarme thereof whose dyeing in possession thereof left the same to his widd[ow] by whom it is since come to one William Sanders who and is the present tennant thereof, and altogether that hee hath new built the same mill from the ground since the late warr & In consideration whereof he is a suiter to my Lord Exe[cheq]uer for a new lease of the same, but by what grant Paynard held wheather by assignment from Lewell or by immediate Lease from the Crowne doth not appeare to mee there being no lease of the premises Inrolled before mee since the aforesaid to Lewell.[27]

The situation regarding the mill ownership and the lease of the mill was confusing then, and is no less confusing now, although the 1635 lease to Robert Chambers, which did not appear before the Lord High Treasurer in 1660, can be seen in the National Archives at Kew. John Pryce's petition was successful and he was granted a lease for 31 years in 1660 at the old rent of 53s.4d as there had been "no petition from the purchaser". In 1666, the lease again

came into question when William Saunders the younger was in possession and it was then leased, with lands in Pembrokeshire and Carmarthenshire, to John Lewis for 31 years.[28] The lease to John Lewis expired on Lady Day 1697. It appears then to be leased again for 31 years at the same rent to Walter Baines, together with other properties in west Wales.[29]

Burges Mill: the eighteenth century

The Samuel Buck print of the *South-East view of Brecknock Priory, 1741* shows a number of buildings on the site now known as the Bishop Williamson Garden (Fig. 2). At the time, the mill was in the hands of Peter Saunders of Westbury-upon-Trym who left it to his widow, Mary, who remarried a William Phelps and was, again, widowed. She died in 1764 and left it in her will, along with other property in Gloucestershire and Somerset, to James Howe Esq. Eventually, in 1773, Burges mill came, with a yearly rent of £2.16s.8d payable to the Crown, into the possession of Andrew Maund, a carpenter of Brecon. The documents give a contemporary description of most of the buildings shown in the Buck print:

> All that burgage or dwelling house with its Appurtenances situate lying at the West End of a certain Bridge called Upper Honddy Bridge…Also all that Smith's Forge adjoining the said House…Also all that Malt House and Fold or Yard with the appurtenances adjoining and near the before mentioned House and lying on the South Side...Also all that Stable adjoining the said Malthouse…Also all that Garden with the appurtenances lying on the South Side of the said Malthouse…And also all that fulling mill and Garden thereunto adjoining lying above and near Upper Honddy Bridge aforesaid called Burgess Mill and held under the Crown at the yearly rent of £2-16-8…all situate lying and being in the Suburbs of the town of Brecon aforesaid in the Parish of Saint John Evangelist in the said County of Brecon.[30]

Burges mill, with its weir, is clearly seen in the centre foreground of the Buck print with the malthouse to the left and the dwelling house further to the left. It must have been a hive of industry in 1773 with Edward Edwards, nailer, at the forge, William Frew, maltster, at the malthouse, John Havard, tucker, at Burges mill, the stable kept by Evan Philbetch, innkeeper, and the garden near the malthouse used by John Griffiths, carpenter.

Churchwardens' accounts for the parish church of St John the Evangelist survive for the years 1782 to 1807 and record the payments of the church rate, "a rate or assessment made on the inhabitants and land holders within the Parish of St John the Evangelist towards the reparation of the Priory Church and other services". Each list for Old Port Superior ward includes Usk mill, Honddu mill,[31] and a third 'mill'. Thomas Griffiths was responsible for the church rate for the latter mill from 1782 to 1798, George Mainwaring in 1800,

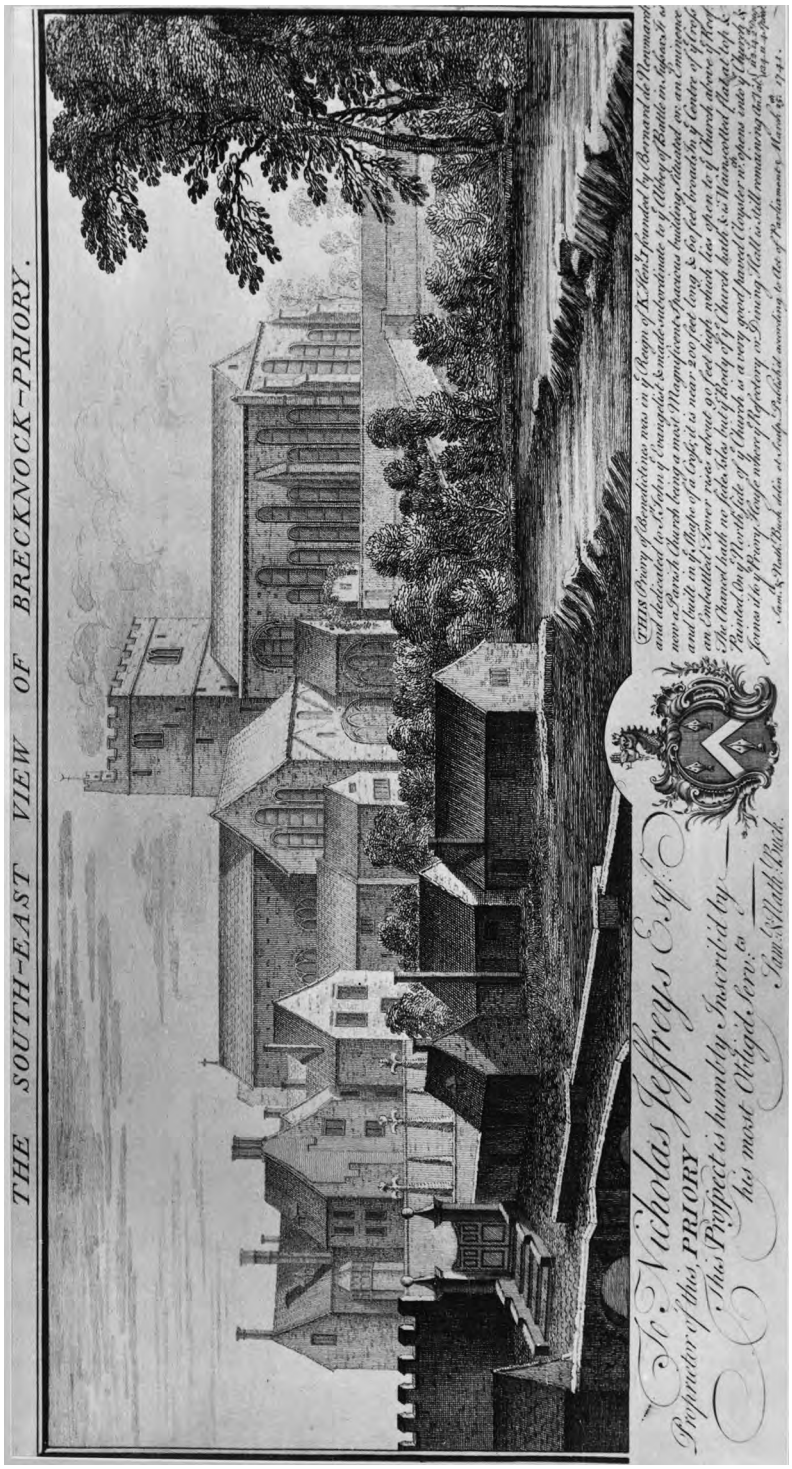

Figure 2. Samuel Nathaniel Buck. *South-East View of Brecknock-Priory*, 1741. By permission of Brecknock Museum, 510.7

and William Mainwaring from 1801 to 1807.[32] This mill is, undoubtedly, Burges mill. The entry for 1784 reads, "Mr Griffis Leather Dresser for a mill – 1s. 6d". This indicates that, for a relatively short time in its history, Burges mill was used for dressing leather, although it may have been done in conjunction with the fulling of cloth.

The same churchwardens who record the church rates report that, in 1784, "the weavers' company are but few in number and have refused to continue the repair of the Chapel allotted them commonly called the Weavers' Chapel, within the said Church or contribute in any degree thereto". They continue that the "Chapel is in a ruinous condition quite unroofed and very uncomfortable, and even unsafe to the Congregation in the Church" and order it "be repaired in a Decent manner at the Expense of the Parish".[33] Both these entries in the churchwardens' accounts indicate a decline in Brecon's woollen industry in the later part of the eighteenth century.

A corner of Burges mill can be seen in the foreground, on the left, in Warwick Smith's 1788 watercolour, *View of The River Honddy in its latter course near its Old Bridge—In Brecknock* (Fig. 3). The proximity of the river to the mill shows how vulnerable the buildings and weir would have been to flooding and damage. The sentence added to the title, "The Cluster of Old Cottages—The Small Cascade formed by the 'Clamorous Honddy' whose Stream washes the foundations of the Buildings on either side, marks Interesting Scenery at this Spot", adds to the sense of the power of the river on that summer's day in 1788.

Figure 3. Warwick Smith. *View of The River Honddy in its latter course near its Old Bridge—In Brecknock*. Watercolour, 13 July 1788.

By permission of Llyfrgell Genedlaethol Cymru/The National Library of Wales

The Factory: industrialisation in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries

The decline in the woollen industry in Brecon reflected a decline that was experienced in other Welsh towns during the industrial revolution and the rise of the Yorkshire woollen industry. For many years, since the mechanisation of fulling, the woollen industry had continued without change. Yarn was carded by hand, spun by hand, and woven on handlooms. The invention, in 1733, by John Kay of the flying shuttle, a simple addition to the handloom to allow the shuttle to pass from one side of the cloth to the other with the flick of a string, meant that the weaver could weave more quickly as well as being able to weave a wider cloth. Prior to the invention of the flying shuttle it took, perhaps, ten spinners to supply yarn for one weaver. Now, more yarn, hence more spinners, was required to keep pace with the weaver. James Hargreaves invented the spinning jenny in 1764. Originally developed for the cotton industry it allowed eight yarns to be spun at one time. Later developments included Richard Arkwright's water frame, patented in 1769, and the mule, invented by Samuel Crompton in 1779, which combined the best of the jenny and the water frame. The mule was more suitable for the woollen industry. The only record of a spinning jenny in Brecon that has so far come to light is in a copy of the Brecknock Agricultural Society's minutes made by the Reverend Henry Thomas Payne. At their meeting on 8 October 1788, it was agreed that they "lend Mrs Humphreys £10 towards enabling her to support a spinning jenny which she has brought into the county and is at work in Brecon".[34]

It soon became necessary to mechanise the opening and carding of the wool in preparation for spinning, to keep pace with the spinners and weavers. Richard Arkwright patented his Carding Engine, a development of Lewis Paul's carding machine, in 1775. Unlike the fly shuttle and the early spinning jenny, which were small enough to be accommodated in the home, the carding engine needed to be in a powered factory setting.

Burges mill, with its water power, must have seemed ideal. A draft lease for 21 years, dated 21 August 1801, of part of Burges mill "for carrying on the carding business" survives.[35] It is as interesting for the many words and sentences crossed out as it is for the re-writing. "Tucking mill" is regularly struck through to be replaced by "certain building". The lease "of and in a certain Building called Burgess Mill together with a wear and dam thereunto adjoining" is between William Mainwaring, skinner, and Richard and Walter Winstone, shopkeeper and stonemason respectively, all of Brecon. A margin note in the draft lease explains that they "did sometime back carry on in copartnership in the said building the business of carding of wool and other matters…and set up therein certain Engines Wheels A Tucking Mill and other Things". William Mainwaring, having dissolved his partnership with the Winstones, now leased them the first floor, which he called the engine room, and the part of the ground floor that they used for carding wool. He also leased

them the weir or dam, sluices, and banks for a term of 20 years for the annual rent of £12.12s. From the draft lease, it may be seen that both carding and fulling were carried out. It also gives an insight into the conditions in the engine room as the lessees were to "sufficiently repair and keep in repair the glass window" and William Mainwaring was to provide the materials for building a fireplace. Outside, he was to "repair and keep in repair the roof or tiling of the said building as well as 6 yards in length of the said wear from the said building upwards including the little sluice". Words that have been struck through show that William Mainwaring proposed that he should be able to "make use of the Tucking Mill Water Wheel" for six days every year for his skinning business.[36]

The 'Winstone' family, although known in Brecon for their pre-eminence as craftsmen, had been associated with tucking on the river Honddu for many generations. In 1660 Henry Winston, tucker of St John the Evangelist, died leaving "four sheares...eight boards...forty yards of racks", as well as "one lease of a house and allso on the mill".[37] In the following century, John Wilkins leased, in 1755, "All those two fields with the appurtenances commonly called and known by the name of Caye Cwmb y Felin and one Tucking Mill thereunto belonging late in the possession of William Wynston, tucker".[38]

In 1812, the newly created Marquess Camden (Earl of Brecknock) acquired Burges mill from William Mainwaring. It was noted that, "one part of the Leather Mill has been lately converted by Mr Mainwaring into a Clothier's Mill and Woolen Manufactory now in the occupation of…Richard and Walter Winstone… And the other part of the s[ai]d Leather Mill together with the Garden is in Mr Mainwaring's occupation and has been converted into Conveniences for carrying on the Skinning Trade".[39] Lord Camden had purchased at auction the malthouse, stable, and garden adjacent to the mill in 1805 for £140 and, in 1812, paid William Jones £250 for the "surrender of the remainder of a lease of 99 years of a Malt House Garden and Premises". He now owned the parcel of land that was to become the Bishop Williamson Garden.[40]

Richard Winstone, who leased the mill for his carding business, described himself as a clothier and shopkeeper in his 1824 will. He was a wealthy man, involved in several businesses, and left each of his nine children one or two houses in the Struet as well as a candlemaking business, warehouse, workshop, and shop. He also gave "unto my son Richard Winston immediately after my decease all the Utensils Working Tools and Carding and Spinning Machinery used and belonging to the Clothing and Woollen Manufactory".[41] Although little is known about the cloth that was being produced, the will does indicate that, by 1824, spinning machinery was installed in the Factory.

A list of electors for the borough of Brecon at the 1837 general election includes four weavers.[42] John Powell, of Newgate Street, is a reminder that there was also a woollen industry south of the river Usk in Llanfaes. William Lewis, of the Struet, was associated for many years with the Rock and Castle,

a woollen manufactory half a mile upstream from the Factory on the other side of the Honddu. It ceased business in the 1870s and the building was converted to four cottages. The other two weavers on the 1837 electoral list —John Price, whose residence is given as the Factory, and Samuel Edwards of the Struet— were probably occupying the Factory as undertenants of William Winstone, the brother of Richard Winston the younger. Price, whose entry in the 1841 census gives his occupation as a carder, and Edwards, a weaver, took over the tenancy of the Factory in 1849. They paid an annual rent of £21 for the Factory and £3 for the garden (Fig. 4).[43]

Figure 4. Joseph Murray Ince. Brecon – view of town and bridge, 1850. The Factory is clearly shown on the right with the weir in the foreground.

By permission of Llyfrgell Genedlaethol Cymru/The National Library of Wales

The river Honddu's sometimes turbulent flow brought regular damage to the weirs along its length. In February 1852, the Factory weir was inspected, and it was decided that a temporary repair, made with "fir poles and bottomed with straw and gravel", was needed to keep the machinery working until a more permanent repair could be made in the summer. The specification for the summer repair included "a dry wall to be Built along the line 108 feet long 2 feet thick and 4 feet High". It continues in great detail and with reference to a plan which, unfortunately, is not attached to the specification. The document concludes that the work was finished and signed by George Sevenoaks on 25 September 1852.[44] After the great flood of 1853, however, the *Illustrated London News* for 30 July described "the rush of the mighty waters" of the Honddu and

that "the weir at Mr Handley's mill was swept along with the current; the weir at the Rock and Castle shared the same fate".[45] It also reported that a correspondent of the *Hereford Times* had written that "the waters successively demolished the weirs at Priory-mill, Rock and Castle, and Struet Factory...and the last bridge of all—the pretty little Honddu-bridge, fell before the watery avalanche". The accounts for the Camden estate record that, on 1 March 1854, Sevenoaks was paid £10.11s.4d for "repairing the Factory weir & walls from the injury of the great flood of the 9th July 1853".[46]

The 1868 *Slater's Directory* lists Samuel Edwards as woollen manufacturer at Priory Factory and, three years later, the *Post Office Directory of Monmouthshire and South Wales* lists for it "Edwards and Sons". Two of Samuel's sons, John and William, had been working in the industry since they were boys. The 1871 census shows married son William, a woollen weaver, living in the Struet. Unmarried son John, a woollen manufacturer, was living with Samuel in Priory Hill with two grandsons who both worked in the woollen industry. John, aged 18, described as "an engine man", would have been responsible for feeding wool into the carding machine and Evan, aged 14, was a messenger boy.

It must, therefore, have been quite a shock for Samuel, aged 84, when his son John, about 34 years his junior, died early in 1874. A few months later, on 1 and 2 June 1874, he advertised the Woollen Manufactory in *The Western Mail:*

> ***Business for Disposal*** *Brecon – Woollen Manufactory to be disposed of, with immediate possession, the old established business carried on at the Priory Factory, Brecon, with the plant (worked by water power), stock-in-trade, etc, – Apply to Mr Samuel Edwards, Factory, Brecon.*

It is not known what response there was to this advertisement. Little information regarding the Factory or its occupants at this time exists except that the 1875 *Worrall's Directory* lists a William Phillips as the woollen manufacturer at Priory Factory.

Expansion of the Factory in the late nineteenth century

The Factory seems to have gone through a general decline until John Williams, born in Abergwesyn in Breconshire and a weaver from a young age, took on the tenancy. He was in residence not only in the Factory but also the house across the road, Bridge House or 10 Priory Hill, by the 1881 census. Before moving to Brecon, John Williams had been a woollen manufacturer at Esgair Moel mill, Llanwrtyd Wells, and lived nearby at Esgair Moel Isaf with his wife, two sons and several workers from the mill. The 1881 census shows John Williams living in Priory Hill with his wife, Jennet, his 12-year old son, John Lewis Williams, a domestic servant and a 25-year-old woollen weaver, Daniel

Jones, who boarded with the family. Ten years later, with his son also now described as a woollen manufacturer, an older widowed woollen carder and a young woollen weaver were boarding with the family.

John Williams made great changes to the Factory and revived its fortunes. In 1886, he took on a 13-year lease of the adjoining "malthouse with stable and premises adjoining" at an annual rent of £21 and, at his own expense, "put in a new floor above the present upper floor of the said Malt house communicating with the said factory and put a new roof covered with slate on the said Malthouse" (Fig. 5). John Williams was also to "paint all the external wood and ironwork...every third year with two coats of good paint mixed with oil and paint in like manner the inside of the said premises usually painted in the seventh and last year".[47]

The previous year, John Williams had purchased a new willowing machine for opening out the fleece prior to carding, priced at £8.10s., and 110 spindle "wharves collars and cuffs", from John Davies of Llanbrynmair, Montgomeryshire.[48] John Davies, "Machine Maker, Brass Founder, Millwright etc.", promoted himself as supplying "Machinery for Woollen Manufactories and all kinds of Agricultural Work". Iowerth Peate suggests that the willow or willey was the machine most generally supplied by Davies in the nineteenth century.[49] It was certainly not the only machine supplied. Condensers, spinning jacks, and fly shuttles, as well as small equipment such as bobbins, shuttles, and parts for repairing machinery, regularly left Llanbrynmair for the woollen factories of Wales. In the early 1890s, John Williams purchased, from John Davies, a 'condenser' to convert the carded wool into a form suitable for spinning for £8. In 1893, he also enquired about a warping mill. John Davies submitted an estimate for a "Warping Mill *all complete*...for the sum of £4.15s.0d. Delivered on Rails here. I guarantee that the workmanship will be of the best quality".[50] Peate explains that machinery for Brecon was paid for by John Davies as far as Llanidloes station, with the remainder of the journey being the responsibility of the buyer. In 1897, John Williams was in contact with George Hodgson, maker of power looms with a view to an experienced overlooker visiting Brecon to discuss power loom requirements for the Factory.[51]

An advertisement in Poole's *Eisteddfod Guide* of 1889, includes a full-page advertisement promoting "John Williams and Son, manufacturers of Cloths, Blankets, Tweeds, Lindseys, Flannels and every description of Welsh Woollen Goods", which gives an indication of the cloth woven at this time.[52] The mill, like many rural mills in Wales, also prepared, spun, and wove wool brought to the mill by local farmers. The wool was made primarily into blankets and tweeds, although there is a shawl in the National Museum Wales recorded as: "A nursing shawl of grey & green wool; fringed; made in 1889 at Brecon woollen mill for Mr & Mrs William Gwillim, Tredomen Court, Llanfilo, on the occasion of the birth of their first grandson; made from wool of their own

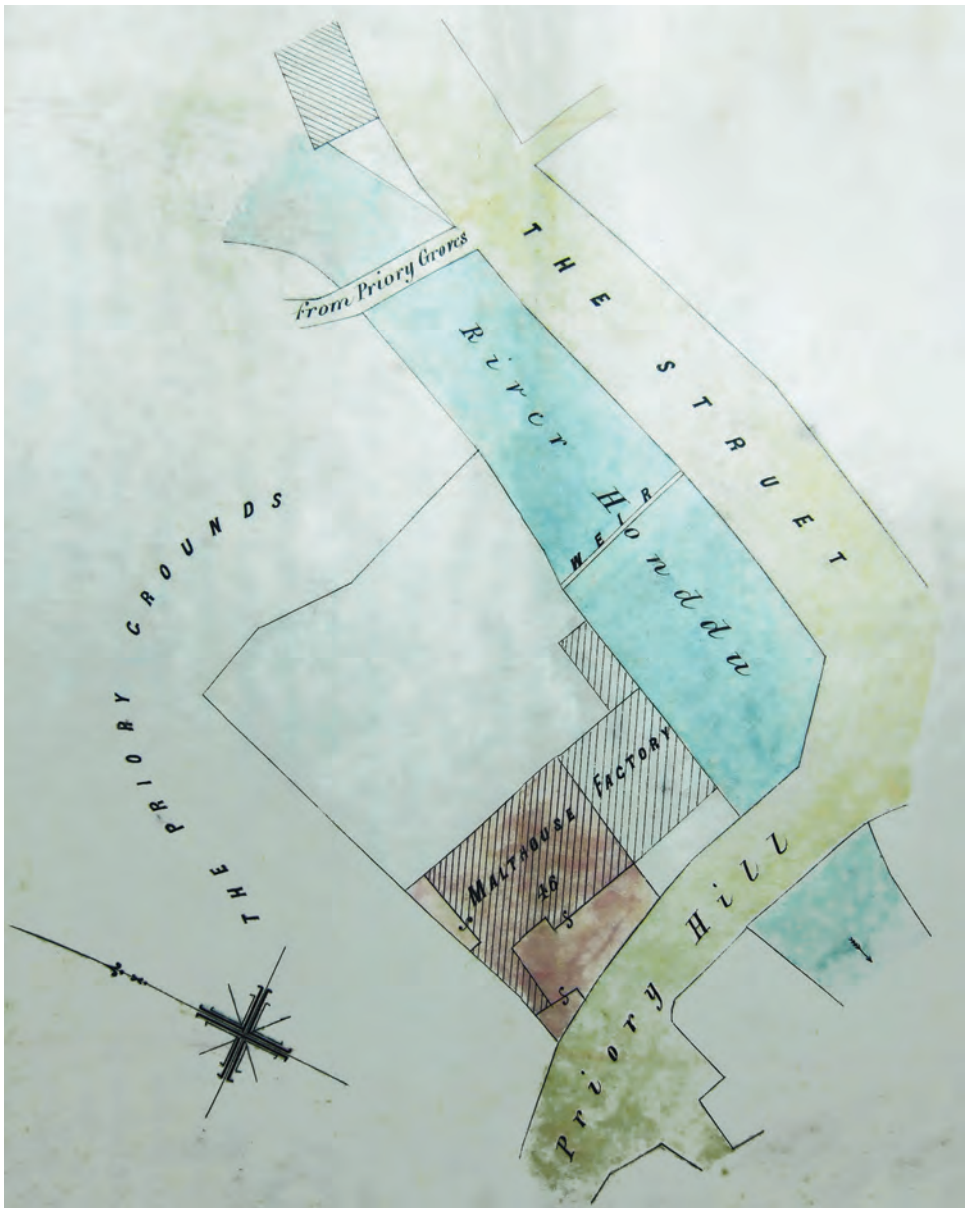

Figure 5. Plan attached to the lease of the Malthouse to John Williams, 4 October 1886. Kent History and Library Centre. Photo: Sue Hiley Harris

sheep" (Fig. 6). The Factory was the only woollen manufactory in Brecon at that date and is most likely to have been where it was woven. The shawl was made for 'Little Willy', the first of five children, who was born around 1890 but, sadly, died in early infancy. His mother kept it as a treasured possession

Figure 6. The nursing shawl made in 1889 for Mr and Mrs William Gwillim from the wool of their own sheep.

By kind permission of Amgueddfa Cymru – National Museum Wales. Photo: Sue Hiley Harris

until her death in 1952, which accounts for the pristine condition of this lovely shawl.[53]

John Williams made his mark on the town as well as in the Factory. He was voted onto the Brecon Town Council in late 1889 and, six years later, was elected mayor. *The Brecknock Beacon* of Friday 15 November 1895 reported the event of the previous Saturday when Alderman de Winton, who proposed John Williams as mayor, said that he "thoroughly believed that those men who had succeeded in business life and in the management of their own affairs were the most competent to discharge public duties". Seconding the proposal Dr James Williams spoke of John Williams as:

> …an upright, straight-forward and persevering man. He had revived an old trade in the county which had been very flourishing in olden times, and was now a very successful man of business. It had been pointed out that Mr Williams was unsuited for the office, because he was not so conversant with the English as with the Welsh language. That was his misfortune not his fault. He [Dr James Williams] felt sure that the Council would assist Mr Williams in every possible way.

In the mid-1890s, with more time spent on public duties, John Williams began to hand over responsibility for the mill to his son, John Lewis Williams, who was now in his mid-twenties. From 1895, the proprietors are recorded as "John Williams and Son".[54] He also reduced his commitment to providing accommodation for employees in his own home. The 1901 census shows that 10 Priory Hill was split into two households, with John Williams, aged 64, living with his wife and a domestic servant in one half, and Joseph Thomas, a 33-year old woollen weaver, living in the other half with his wife and four young children. By 1911, John Williams had retired from the Factory to farm at Merthyr Cynog and was living with his wife and two servants on the farm.

Throughout the later part of the nineteenth century, John Williams and his son employed many men to work in the Factory. Two particularly loyal employees, Edward Lumley and John David Jones, stayed with the Factory until it closed. Lumley, the son of a fuller, was born in Aberystwyth in 1867 and came to work, initially as a dyer and fuller, at the Factory around 1890. Both the 1901 and 1911 censuses, however, record him as a woollen weaver. John David Jones, born in Montgomeryshire in 1879, had worked as a "factory operative wool" since at least the age of 14. By 1901, though, he was working as a "woollen card room hand" at the Factory in Brecon and living nearby. In 1911, he was described in the census as a "woollen spinner" and, later, he would become the manager. (Figs. 7 and 8)

John Lewis Williams was in charge of the Factory at the beginning of the First World War and responded to an invitation for Welsh woollen mills to tender for a contract to weave grey cloth—*Brethyn Llwyd*—for the newly-formed Welsh Army Corps. It was hoped that the uniforms would provide a Welsh identity and thereby help to increase recruitment in Wales. It would also address the shortage of army uniforms and provide work for the remaining Welsh woollen mills. The grey cloth was to be made with 10 per cent blue wool, 40 per cent natural brown fleece and 50 per cent white fleece. John Williams responded to the request:

> We regret that we cannot offer samples of Natural Brown Cloth because we have no black wool to go on with, and fear it is very difficult to obtain in any considerable quantity in Welsh wool. We could not turn out more than about 150 yd a week, but could manage at least 150 provided we could obtain the wool. We are prepared to share in the work, however small, and of the average price of the other manufacturers for a similar quantity and make of cloth.[55]

The Factory was not one of the mills contracted to produce the cloth for about 9,000 uniforms for the Welsh Army Corps. They had, though, foreseen the problem of shortage of brown fleece. There was also a difficulty in producing a cloth of consistent colour and it was not long before *Brethyn Llwyd* gave way to khaki.

Figure 7. The river Honddu with the Factory on the right of the photograph, 1910.
Copyright The Francis Frith Collection

Figure 8. The river Honddu showing the mill weir and the Factory on the left of the photograph, 1910.
Copyright The Francis Frith Collection

Reports of the inquest into a fatal accident at the Factory in February 1916 give an insight into the operation of the machinery as well as the working conditions at the time. While feeding wool into the carding machine (Fig. 9), 14-year-old William Reginald Price severed an arm and died shortly afterwards. It was his fourth day working at the Factory. He had begun work at 6.30am and the accident happened at 5.45pm. John David Jones, giving evidence to the factory inspector at the hearing, reported that both he and Edward Lumley had warned William about the dangers of the machine and stressed that it was important not to touch the safety flap. The jury returned a verdict of accidental death attaching no blame to anyone at the Factory.[56]

Figure 9. The carding machines in the Factory. By permission of Brecknock Museum, A86 1/1/8

The last decades: the Factory between the wars

John Lewis Williams continued as proprietor until his death in the late 1920s when Mary, his widow, took over the business with John David Jones as manager. Jones had left school at a young age to work as a carder and spinner and now took on administrative tasks and the management of the Factory. His job was made more difficult as John Lewis Williams—who had been to Bradford Technical College when he was young—had been reluctant to pass on his knowledge.

As well as producing blankets and flannel to be sold in Brecon and markets in Hay-on-Wye, Builth Wells, and Abergavenny, the Factory regularly

encouraged farmers with advertisements such as "Farmers' own wool manufactured into Blankets, Cloths, Flannels, Yarns, etc."[57] and "NOTICE TO FARMERS. No demand for Wool — Why not support Home Industry? Send it to us, with full Instructions to make into Blankets, Cloth, Flannel and Knitting Yarns".[58] The slump in the wool price in the 1930s must have made this an attractive idea to farmers, who would have received little money selling their fleeces. David Morgan, who now farms at Leintwardine, rescued some blankets from his grandparents' farm at Llantilio Crossenny. Both his grandmother and grandfather, brought up near Brecon, had sent wool from their farm to the Factory to be made into blankets. One blanket, made for their son, David Davies, to take with him when he boarded at Christ College, Brecon, survives (see Fig. 17 on page 135).[59] The natural white blanket fits perfectly the description of the Factory blankets as "quite plain, no checks or anything, but just really solid good quality, a blanket that lasts fifty years".[60]

Some prominent weavers, aware of the decline in the Welsh woollen industry, visited the Factory in this period. By 1920, Ethel Mairet, who was to become influential in the resurgence of handspinning, hand weaving and dyeing, set up a weaving studio with a dyehouse and yard in Ditchling, Sussex, after visiting sculptor Eric Gill and the Guild of St Joseph and St Dominic. She was very much part of the life at Ditchling. Eric Gill carved a sign "E. M. MAIRET WEAVER & DYER" with a madder flower motif and Petra, Eric Gill's daughter, was one of her apprentices. Ethel Mairet took her inspiration from handspun yarns and colours of natural dyes. She travelled widely to examine and collect yarns and examples of woven cloth. The Welsh woollen mills with their rather outdated, even primitive, machinery required a great deal of skill to operate and this interested her as a handweaver.[61] One of her apprentices, Margery Kendon, toured Wales in 1934 and Ethel Mairet followed in 1937. Both, having visited the Factory, left journals giving a comprehensive overview of the mill machinery and products at the time.

In many ways, the Factory in Brecon was typical of the small to medium-sized factories described in the report on a survey of the Welsh woollen industry made on behalf of the University of Wales by William Crankshaw in 1926.[62] His recommendations to help save the mills included finding new markets and new fabrics as well as improving technical skills. He believed that by replacing the carding machines or, at least, renewing the carding cloth on the machine, a better yarn could be spun resulting in a finer and more consistent woven cloth. Crankshaw also believed that the mills needed a better marketing image and woven cloth of a good design that enhanced the quality of Welsh wool. To help realise these aims, a technical adviser was appointed and the Rural Industries Bureau agreed to fund a designer. Minnie McLeish was the first to advise on the design and production of new tweeds and furnishing fabrics but her designs were not a success. She was followed, for a short period in 1932, by

Margery Kendon at the suggestion of Ethel Mairet. Although Kendon found Wales interesting, she decided that she did not wish to work with machinery. The appointment of Gerd Bergenson, a Norwegian handweaver, and, then, Marianne Straub, a Swiss weaver with a solid training at Bradford Technical College and a student of Ethel Mairet's Ditchling workshop, saw a turn in the fortunes of many of the Welsh woollen mills.[63] Not all mills, however, were receptive to advice and there is no evidence that the Factory worked with either a technical adviser or designer.

Two years after her brief contact with the Welsh mills, Margery Kendon spent a fortnight travelling around south Wales by train, bus and, where she could find no other means of transport, on foot. She revisited some weavers and mills she had known from her days as design adviser, as well as seeking out some she knew only by reputation. It is not known if Kendon had visited Brecon previously although she was aware of the reputation for good blankets made at the Factory before her visit. She wrote in her journal:

> They are woven on a power loom at three yards wide and shrunk down to two. They are raised by hand. This is the only time I have seen this done. The blankets are stretched between two rollers and then brushed with a fine wire carder, just like we use for carding. It is hard work, and both sides need to be raised but it seemed to be well done. These blankets are sent all over the world and they do no wholesale trade at all...They use good wool, a pure bred Shropshire I think, hand fed carding machine and a self-acting mule. I saw the blankets tentered up out of doors.[64]

She also praised the flannel shirts which were made up by an old woman. "These shirts are very thick and are made with double flannel back and front of the armhole: the neck-bands are also of flannel. The farmers won't have cotton bands, they aren't warm enough. The shirts are stitched by machine, but the buttonholes are done by hand".[65]

Apart from blankets and flannel, the Factory worked mostly with fleece brought in by farmers to be made into goods or knitting wool for use by themselves. They employed a system of half-barter. A regular clip of about 270 pounds of fleece came to the mill each year from Lord Tredegar's flock of black Welsh mountain sheep (Fig. 10) and was noted by Margery Kendon in 1934. When Ethel Mairet made her visit to the mill, three years later, the black fleece had just arrived at the Factory ready to be carded, spun, and woven into natural black cloth for Lord Tredegar's outside workers.[66]

Ethel Mairet visited nine mills, including the Factory, on her Welsh tour in June 1937 (Fig. 11). Entries in her journal, while thorough, are sometimes in brief note form. She stayed at the "comfortable old large" Castle Inn and, as Margery Kendon had done three years previously, admired the "especially good blankets...single blankets 64" x 90" £2 a pair. Can be made longer. Double blankets 2 yds x 5 yds. A pair—£2.10s.0".[67] She noted that the mill was:

Figure 10. Shearing Lord Tredegar's black sheep, 1938. The man on the right may be dressed in cloth spun and woven from the black fleece at the Factory.

Museum of English Rural Life, University of Reading

> Run by water power with a small gas engine when the water gave out. An undershot water wheel. Very large iron warping mill (Fig.12). Parts of peg warping mill which used to be used. Old spinning wheel used for bobbins now (Fig. 13). One wide fly-shuttle loom for blankets. 2 narrow automatic tweed looms, 1 scribbler, carder, devil. 1 large hand-controlled mule, 150 spindles—doubling machine. Pressing and finishing apparatus. Bobbin winding machine and doubling machine. Employs 1 man and 2 girls. Can do any size wool. Also rug wool. Fulling machine. 1 dye vat copper and one enamel. Very few dyes, uses mostly natural colours. Unfadeable dyes – he likes to use the dark natural dye better than using the natural black as he says the natural fades.[68]

There were surprisingly few workers in the Factory at this time. As well as managing the Factory, John David Jones was responsible for spinning the yarn on the hand-controlled mule (Fig. 14). Maud Lumley wove tweed on the power looms (Fig. 15). Her father, Edward Lumley, who had trained as a fuller and dyer, looked after the finishing of the cloth—scouring, washing, and fulling the cloth before stretching it on the tenter frame in the garden (Fig. 16). Later, he

Figure 11. The Factory from Priory Hill, 1936. By permission of Brecknock Museum, A86 1/1/7

Figure 12. The large warping mill, with pieces of the old peg warping mill leaning against it, and, to the left, the fly-shuttle loom in the Factory, 1936.

By permission of Brecknock Museum, A86 1/1/10

Figure 13. Edward Lumley winding bobbins on the old spinning wheel in the Factory, 1936.

By permission of Brecknock Museum, A86 1/1/9

Figure 14. John David Jones spinning on the self-controlled mule in the Factory, 1936. Fox Photos/Hulton Archive/Getty Images

brushed the blankets to raise the surface (Fig. 17). Carding and other jobs were shared out and all hands would help where needed (Fig. 18). On the day of Ethel Mairet's visit, no-one was working. The "man", presumably Edward Lumley, was haymaking; Maud and another girl were having a holiday. Ethel Mariet thought that the mill was "a good going concern" with a "biggish stock, very good quality stuff". They had a shop in Brecon market as well as an outlet in Abergavenny market. She predicted, correctly, that when the lease came to an end it "will be taken over by the Cathedral and probably stopped as a mill".[69]

Ethel Mairet had presumed that the mill and land belonged to the cathedral but it did, in fact, still belong to Lord Camden and it was to him that Mary Williams sent notice to say that she would not renew the lease when it expired on Lady Day in the spring of 1939.[70]

The final years of the old Factory

By December 1938, Lord Camden was willing to open negotiations for the sale of the Factory buildings with the Dean and Chapter at Brecon Cathedral. They should, said Lord Camden's agent, "purchase the cottages in Church Row and Pendre School playground at the same time as Priory Factory". Lord

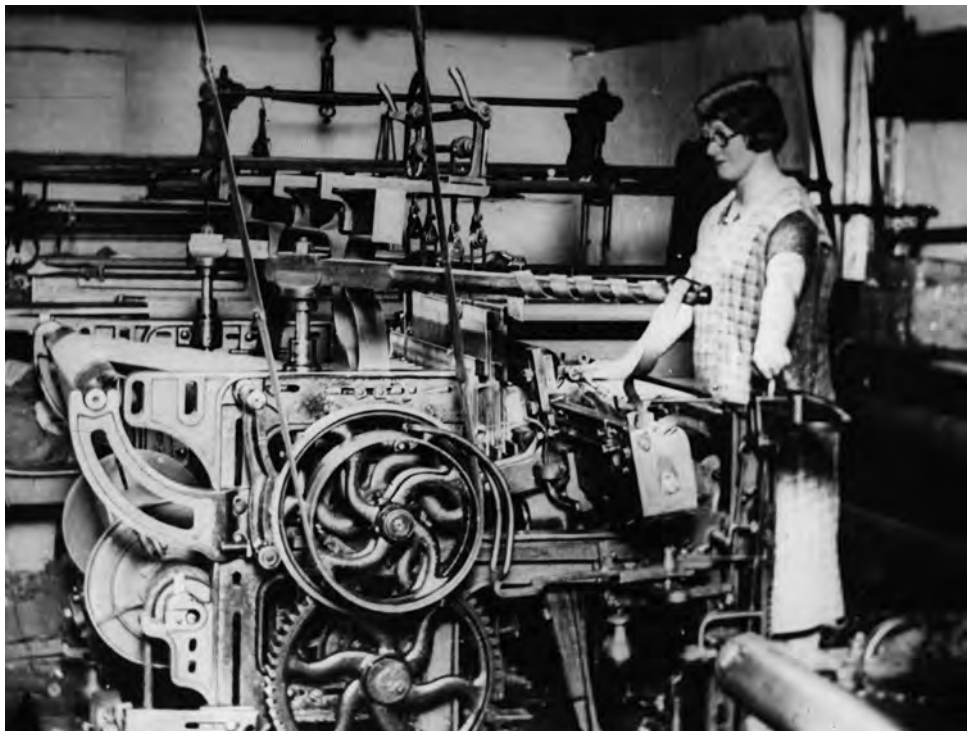

Figure 15. Maud Lumley weaving tweed on one of the power looms in the Factory, 1936. By permission of Brecknock Museum, A86 1/1/15

Camden, driving a hard bargain, wanted £1,500. On 27 March 1939, Mr Wilfred de Winton, for the cathedral, wrote that they had:

> already accepted price for fields, approx £120/acre including timber. £300 for cottages seems high even if you were trying to drive a hard bargain: 6 condemned—a liability; 2 remaining ones in main road must come down. Factory at £500 is out of the question when you consider what must be done to it, if any reasonable use is to be made of it. The moment it becomes vacant something must be done about it or it will be ruthlessly dispoiled... We had £1000 in our minds and the Lord Bishop tentatively offered £1100 and now we make a definite one of £1200. We ask his Lordship to make a generous concession to us of £300.[71]

Two days later, the offer was increased and "two fields, eight cottages and playground with Factory building were sold to the Dean and Chapter for £1350". The sale, supported by the Bevan Trust, was completed on 27 July 1939. Four hundred years since Burges fulling mill had been taken from Brecon priory during the dissolution of the monasteries, the land with the Factory buildings were returned to church ownership.[72]

Figure 16. Edward Lumley stretching woollen cloth on the tenter frame in the Factory garden, 1936. By permission of Brecknock Museum, A86 1/1/17

Figure 17. The plain white blanket, referred to on page 127, showing the well-brushed surface.

Sue Hiley Harris

Figure 18. Hanging skeins of wool to dry on the tenter frame in the Factory garden, 1936.

Fox Photos/Hulton Archive/Getty Images

The mill buildings are remembered by many people in Brecon, not always with affection, but as part of their childhood.[73] It was where children from the Postern and Pendre schools ate their dinners. Known as 'the old Factory', it was also used as a meeting room for organisations such as the Brownies, Guides, Young People's Guild, and the Girls' Friendly Society. It no longer served any industrial purpose. Eventually, the mill buildings were demolished and work was undertaken to convert the area into a garden. On 18 May 1968, the Bishop Williamson Garden opened in memory of Edward Williamson. He had become the third Bishop of Swansea and Brecon in 1939, the year the Factory ceased business, and he died in 1953.

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Notes

BL	British Library
BM	Brecknock Museum
BritM	British Museum
CSC	Craft Study Centre, Farnham
DM	Ditchling Museum of Art + Craft
KHLC	Kent History and Library Centre
MC	Merton College Oxford
NA	National Archives
NLW	National Library of Wales
NMW	Amgueddfa Cymru – National Museum Wales
PA	Powys Archives

[1] Jones 1805–09: Vol.1: 292.

[2] Jones 1805–09: Vol. 2: 27, 29.

[3] Jones 1998: 143; An example from the Bristol Port Books 1546-1576 is that of John Smythe, Bristol merchant, who in 1550 exported, from Bristol, 16 "brecknocks" valued at £16 and paid a subsidy of 16/–, Evan T. Jones (*pers. comm.*).

[4] Jenkins 1969: 328.

[5] Powell 1992–93: 19; Parry 2007: 58.

[6] See abbreviations for archives consulted.

[7] Jenkins 1969: 335.

[8] A water-driven mill in which the woollen finishing process of tucking or fulling is carried out. The terms fulling and tucking are interchangeable. In Wales, a tucking mill is often called pandy. In Brecon, the mills are referred to as fulling, tuck or tucking mills and no reference to pandy has been found. The men who worked in them were known as tuckers and, elsewhere, as fullers or walkers.

[9] The spelling Burges has been used throughout although the name is also spelled Byges or Burgess.

[10] NA E 317/Brec/6; NLW Castell Gorfed B/58. The Priory mill, formerly known as the Honddu mill, was a corn mill for most of its working life although it was referred to in a 1651 Crown survey as half water grist mill and half malt mill. For some time prior to 1755 it was a fulling mill.

[11] Woollen cloth refers to a woven fabric made of short-stapled wool, which has been carded and spun before being woven. Fulling or tucking is the process of finishing the cloth by walking on or beating the wet cloth to close up the weave. Woollen cloth differs from worsted cloth, which is made from long-stapled wool combed to remove any short fibres and spun to keep the long fibres parallel, resulting in a fine smooth fabric.

[12] Carus-Wilson 1941.

[13] NA SC6/HENVIII/4843.

[14] NA E310/34/204 Brecon 'Roll' 1: 47.

[15] NA Court of Augmentation 24 November 1585 204/22.

[16] NA PROB 11/37/515.

[17] NA PROB 11/34/311.

[18] NA PROB 11/76/86; Redwood 1990–92: 58; Llagharan is, possibly, Laugharne, Carmarthenshire, or, as Redwood has suggested, Llanharan, Glamorgan.

[19] MC. MS D.3.30/23; Bendall 2002.

[20] BritM. Landsdowne Collection [181] 165 (a) ff. 4-7 (as quoted in Owen 1900: 78).

[21] NA E367/477.

[22] NA E317/Brec/7.

[23] *Ibid.*

[24] NLW Brecon Probate Records BR 1645-5; The surface of woollen cloth was raised by brushing with tuckers' cards made of fullers' teasels set into a frame. Large tuckers' shears cut the raised nap to an even height on boards or tables. Wool cloth with a raised surface was often referred to as 'cotton'.

[25] *Towards a 17th Century History of Brecknock: Hugh Thomas' Essay of 1698 and the Borough Rentroll of 1664*, Brecknock Museum, 1976; NLW Brecon Probate Records BR 1672-10.

[26] NA E320/Y13; NA E304/8/Y13.

[27] NA LRRO/37/119.

[28] NA E367/2963; NA E367/2972.

[29] NA E367/2874.

[30] KHLC U840/T157.

[31] Honddu mill now refers to the corn mill at the lower end of the Honddu near the castle. The corn mill, previously known as Honddu mill, is now known as Priory mill.

[32] PA B/X/35/1.

[33] *Ibid.*

[34] NLW Minor Deposits 186-87 (Volume 2): 173.

[35] NLW Mayberry Papers 4561.

[36] *Ibid.*

[37] NLW Brecon Probate Records, 1660–1858, BR 1660-14 B I.

[38] NLW Castell Gorfed B/58.

[39] KHLC U840/T157.

[40] KHLC U840/T145.

[41] NLW Brecon Probate Records, 1660–1858, BR 1832-7.

[42] Thomas 1993: 219-223.

[43] KHLC U840/AW34.
[44] KHLC U840/EW48.
[45] Mr Handley's mill refers to the Priory corn mill.
[46] KHLC U840/AW33.
[47] KHLC U840/T150.
[48] NLW MS21215D. Willowing machine, willow, or willey opened out the fibres before carding. 'The spindles' presumably refers to the spindles on the spinning mule.
[49] Peate 1928: 81-82.
[50] PA A86/1/1(5).
[51] PA A86/1/1(3).
[52] Lindsey refers to a cloth with a linen warp and a wool weft.
[53] NMW F68.399.
[54] Bennets Business Directory 1895.
[55] NLW C14/7/21; NLW C14/7/57; NLW C14/7/58.
[56] Recorded in *Brecon County Times* and *Brecon & Radnor Express*, both 10 February 1916.
[57] *Brecon & Radnor Express*. This advertisement, or a variation, "Customers' own wool manufactured into material or yarns", appeared weekly from June 1927 to May 1930.
[58] *Brecon & Radnor Express*. This advertisement or a variation, "Farmers! Study Economy and bring your Wool to a Brecon Industry. Our WELSH TWEEDS, BLANKETS, Etc., are a Speciality", appeared from June 1930 weekly until February 1939.
[59] David Morgan (*pers. comm.*).
[60] DM. Margery Kenton's Welsh Letters, 1934.
[61] Mairet 1939: 25-30; Coates 1983.
[62] Crankshaw 1927.
[63] Coates 1983; Schoeser 1984.
[64] DM. Margery Kenton's Welsh Letters, 1934.
[65] *Ibid*.
[66] *Ibid*; CSC, Ethel Mairet Diary: Wales 23–29 June 1937.
[67] CSC, Ethel Mairet Diary: Wales 23–29 June 1937.
[68] *Ibid*.
[69] *Ibid*.
[70] NLW DP1-12 Uncatalogued items from Brecon Cathedral 1938–1939.
[71] *Ibid*.
[72] *Ibid*.
[73] Margaret Summers (*pers. comm.*).

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Sue Hiley Harris is a sculptor weaver living in Brecon by the River Honddu not far from the Bishop Williamson Garden, the site of the woollen mill. She was born and brought up in Australia where she studied fine art at Queensland College of Art. After moving to Britain, she studied handloom weaving in Bradford and science with the Open University. She is best known for the abstract woven sculpture she makes using natural yarns, nylon monofilament and silver or copper wire. *www.suehileyharris.co.uk*

NOTES AND QUERIES

A RARE DRAWING OF THE LLANGATTOCK RAIL WAY[1]

GEOFFREY J. WILLIAMS

In January 2016, William Gibbs gave an illustrated talk to the Brecon Beacons Park Society at The Bear Hotel in Crickhowell on 'Sir Richard Colt Hoare in Breconshire'. Colt Hoare (1758–1838) is well known for the record of his travels at the end of the eighteenth century, of which extracts were published in *Journeys through Wales and England, 1793–1810*.[2] In this are accounts of his visits to Crickhowell and the Usk valley. Lithographs of his drawings also appear in Theophilus Jones' *History of the County of Brecknockshire* and Archbishop Coxe's An *Historical Tour in Monmouthshire*.[3]

The narrative of Colt Hoare was most interesting in itself, but William then went on offer a fascinating postscript, featuring a hitherto almost unknown collection of drawings at the National Museum of Wales—then in the process of conservation—which had been brought to his attention by curator Beth Mcintyre. These are by Sir Richard's younger, half-brother, Peter Richard Hoare (1772–1849) who had married Arabella Green, daughter of James Green, M.P. for Arundel, who had a home at Llansantffraed Court, four miles east of Abergavenny. However, James Green had died in 1814 and most of Peter Hoare's drawings seem to be of the 1820s. This can be explained by the continuing Green association with the area, as Arabella Green's sister Mary Anne had married Edward Frere, manager of the Clydach ironworks who resided at Clydach House. It seems likely that Peter Hoare stayed there on his visits, so it is unsurprising that many of Peter Hoare's drawings feature industrial activity in the Clydach and Blaenavon area.[4]

One of Peter Hoare's drawings shown at William Gibbs' talk was entitled 'at Crickhowell' (Fig. 1), identified by him as, "the tramroad above Llangattock", noting it was, "an important record at the time when the trams were still working". This is indeed true, but the tramroad featured was not the familiar Bailey's tramroad—today forming the 'Hafod Road' between Llangattock Hillside and Brynmawr—but an earlier short tramroad, lower down in Onneu valley. This was part of what was called the 'Llangattock Rail Way' (spelt then as 'Langattock'), known to few today.[5] Its identification is clear from the drawing. The precipitous face of the limestone escarpment at the top of the drawing—the base of which was at approximately the level of Bailey's tramroad—is high above the line of the tramroad in the foreground.

The valley featured in the drawing is deeply cut into the escarpment, forming the north-eastern edge of the South Wales Coalfield basin, drained here by a headwater of the Nant Onneu, a tributary of the river Usk. This stream

Brycheiniog, 2019, Volume L, pages 140–146.

Figure 1. Peter R. Hoare's drawing of 1826 entitled 'at Crickhowell'.

Reproduced by permission, Amgueddfa Cymru – National Museum of Wales

descends steeply from a remarkable 'amphitheatre' at its head, probably a glacial cwm, now occupied by a raised bog (a landform complex now known as Craig y Cilau National Nature Reserve).[6] In a shaded north-easterly facing location, this is likely to have held ice long after the glacier in the main valley of the Usk had receded. The Onneu subsequently carried down huge quantities of fluvio-glacial sands and gravels, much of which was deposited in the lower part of its valley to form the fan which underlies parts of Llangattock village and Llangattock Park. This explains the relatively low gradient of this part of the Onneu valley, followed by the Llangattock Rail Way for much of its route between the canal wharf and the base of the incline.

Bailey's tramroad, connecting Joseph and Crawshay Bailey's ironworks at Nantyglo with the limestone quarries at Darren Cilau, was not built until 1830 (and was at a 3ft 4ins gauge). An earlier and higher level tramroad at 2ft 9ins gauge had been constructed from the works to quarry a higher member of the Carboniferous Limestone succession at Disgwylfa in 1814.[7]

The route of the later Llangattock tramroad is used today by what is known as the Hafod Road, between Daren Cilau quarries above Llangattock Hillside and Brynmawr. This tramroad would later be connected to the wharf on the Brecknock and Abergavenny Canal at Llangattock by linking with the earlier Llangattock Rail Way. This had its origins in 1813, when the Duke of Beaufort, under the canal's 'Eight Miles Clause', requested the canal company to construct a tramroad from Llangattock wharf to his quarries at the Darren. The work was undertaken by the Brecon Boat Company, formed in 1796 to promote the commercial opportunities offered by the new canal.[8] Unfortunately, the first-stage rope incline would reach only to about 700ft above sea level, well short of the Darren quarrying area at c. 1,100ft. This is shown on the Llangattock Rail Way plan (dated 1816, probably the date of its completion) as a single black line with yellow highlighting, heading off in a WNW direction from the short upper part of this initial stage of the lower incline that crosses the Duke of Beaufort's land (Fig. 2). It is the start of this short section of tramroad that is shown in Peter Hoare's drawing, sketched from a point close to where it joined the incline. Its objective was to reach the point where quarried limestone blocks—slid down the mountainside from the quarry far above—could be intercepted and loaded onto the waggons of the new tramroad.

This was known as 'The Shoot' [chute], the descent of the blocks being stopped below by the creation of a basin and bank to receive them. Undoubtedly, some were not stopped in this way, as is evident from an accumulation of limestone blocks obstructing the course of the river in the valley below. It was, of course, a highly dangerous activity and additional problems were caused by erosion of the slope and slippages. The Shoot is not named on the plan but is indicated by a coloured area descending from the 'Limestone Rock' of the Darren to the basin at the end of the tramroad branch from the incline. Today

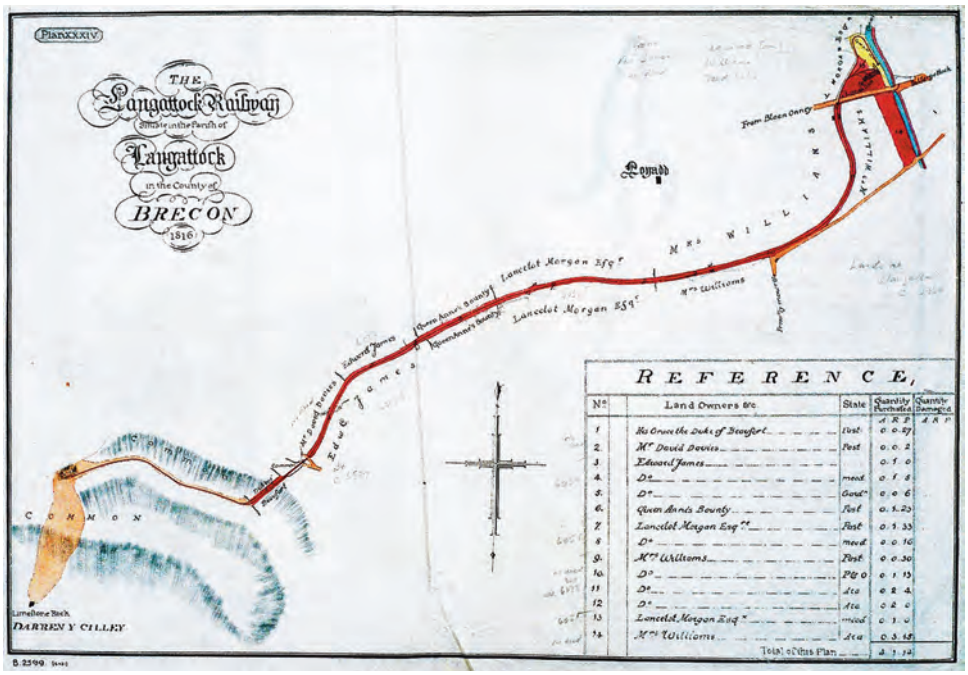

Figure 2. Plan 34, the 'Langattock Railway' from the Plan Book of the Brecknock and Abergavenny Canal, dated 1816, the probable date of completion. This and other plans of the canal were produced by David Davies, Surveyor of Llangattock.

the corrugated section of the hill slope, which marked the area of The Shoot, can easily be seen from the valley below in winter months, when the vegetation has died back, and the morning sun is low.

The completion of Bailey's tramroad in 1830 also saw it linked with the Llangattock Rail Way, achieved by first extending upwards, and more than doubling in length, the original incline, and then adding, angled to it, another lesser gradient incline of similar length. The completed zig-zag link (see Fig. 3) was well used, not only to carry limestone and coal from the Nantyglo area to feed the kilns at the wharf but also to supply coal to Llangattock and Crickhowell and other places along the line of the canal. Although shown complete on the Ordnance Survey's first edition 25-inch map (surveyed in the 1870s), the 1903 revision shows that the rails of the upper incline have already been removed and only the lower incline still in use. By that time, this was being used to bring down lintels and tile stones from two small quarries in a resistant bed of the Old Red Sandstone (lying below the Carboniferous Limestone), accessed from a short spur of tramroad located a short distance below the top of the extended lower incline (marked 'C' in Fig. 3). This was, of course, higher than the branch tramroad featured in Peter Hoare's drawing, but the separation of the two tramroads, narrows on the map due to the steepening of the slope as they

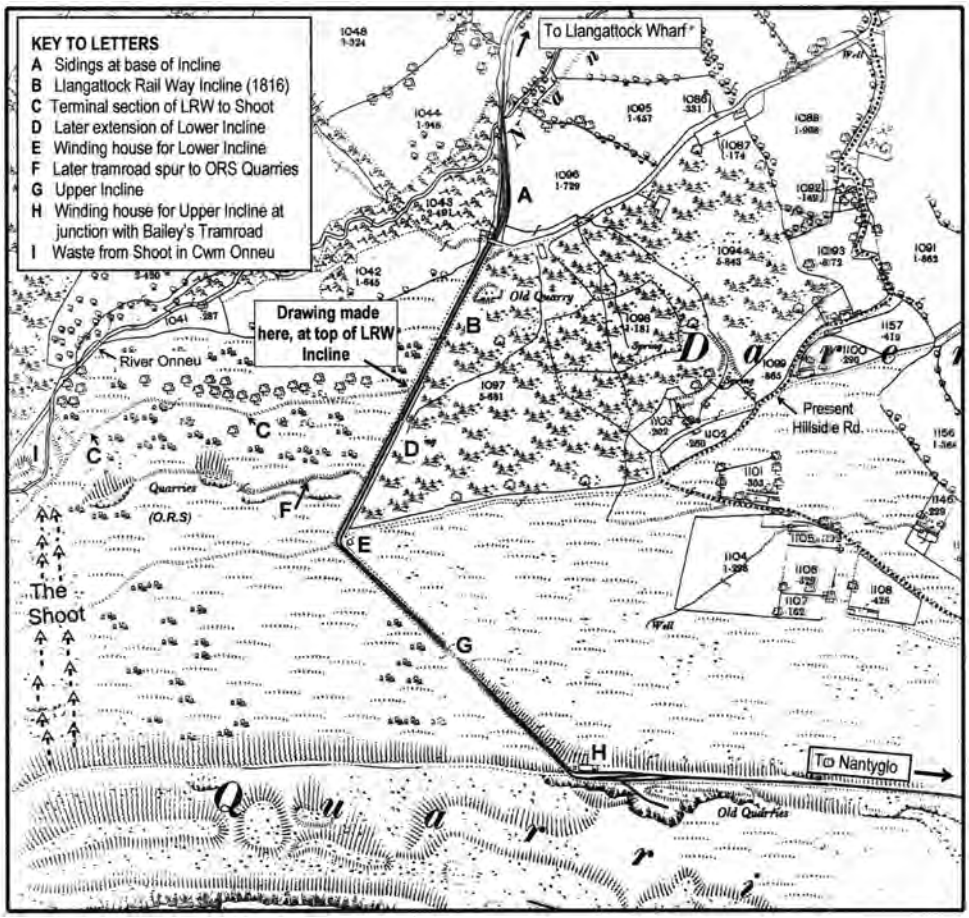

Figure 3. Annotated extract from the Second Edition Ordnance Survey 25 in. to one mile plan, surveyed 1903 (here reduced) to show features of the inclines and the point at which the drawing appears to have been made. LRW = Llangattock Rail Way.

approach the narrower upper part of the Onneu valley. Today, in the tangle of thorn trees and bramble, which extends over much of this precipitous slope, the relationship of the two tram lines is difficult to determine; in part, it would seem, because waste discharged downslope from quarrying on the higher line has extended over the terminal part of the lower and older branch tramroad below.

Note might be made on the unusual structure of the 'tramroad waggon' in Peter Hoare's drawing, also commented on by William Gibbs in his talk. Although the bed of the vehicle slopes down towards the viewer, and, at first sight, seems to have wheels only at the rear, closer examination suggests a smaller wheel at the front left (even though detail of the front right of the vehicle seems to be obscured by vegetation). Might it have been a waggon

designed with a sloping open-ended floor suitable for loading over-size stone blocks, perhaps similar to what appears to be a very large stone lying just behind it on the edge of the tramroad platform? An enthusiast with knowledge of the range of rolling stock used on tramroads might perhaps be able to provide an explanation for a future volume of *Brycheiniog*.

After the upper incline was abandoned, coal continued to be supplied along the canal, but now from Gilwern, the lower incline being used only to serve the sandstone quarry. This stopped working with the approach of the First World War, the waggons and rails being removed in a wartime scrap drive.

Acknowledgements

I am grateful to William Gibbs for making available to me notes and images from his talk at The Bear Hotel in Crickhowell, to Bethan McIntyre, Senior Curator, Prints and Drawings, and also to Sally Donovan, of the National Museum of Wales, who facilitated permission for Peter Hoare's drawing to be reproduced here. For the plan of the Llangattock Rail Way from the Canal Company's Plan Book, and indeed, for advice on the history of the Brecon and Abergavenny Canal, I am greatly indebted to John Norris.

Notes

[1] An earlier version of this paper appeared in the *Newsletter of the Crickhowell District Archive Centre*, No. 24, July 2016.

[2] Thompson 1983. Colt Hoare's published journals include accounts of his visits to South Wales, including the Crickhowell area, in 1793 and 1803.

[3] Jones, T. 1809: Vol. 1; (see also William Gibbs' article in this volume).

[4] Colt Hoare has an essentially antiquarian focus in his journal, making relatively limited note of the industrial development, at the time gaining momentum in this area of south east Wales. He does, however, note the scenic impact of charcoal burning on the woods, and "virgin oaks" in the vicinity of Crickhowell, caused by charcoal burning to supply the "extensive ironworks in the neighbouring hills" (Thompson 1983: 36). By contrast, Peter Hoare (of whom no journal is known), from the catalogue of his drawings, appears to have had, two decades later, a greater interest in the continuing development of the industrial elements of the landscape.

[5] The term 'railway / rail way ' is descriptive of the L-shaped iron plates fixed to stone blocks used at this early period to guide the wheels of the horse-pulled waggons. Today it tends to be associated with steam and later forms of motivation. Although it appears as 'Langattock Railway' in Fig. 2, I am assured by John Norris that it is usually referred to as the 'Llangattock Rail Way'.

[6] One of Wales's most outstanding botanical sites, it is now designated as *Craig y Cilau National Nature Reserve*. Countryside Council for Wales leaflet, n.d. http://www.breconbeacons.org/craig-y-cilau (accessed 2 February 2019).

[7] The detailed and well-illustrated account of Bailey's Llangattock tramroad, and the inclines linking it to the kilns and the canal at Llangattock wharf, found in Van Laun 2001: 92-120, has been used in preparing this short paper. The earlier Disgwylfa tramroad is also detailed: 87-91.

[8] See Rattenbury 1986 for the role of the Brecon Boat Company.

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Geoffrey Williams is a geographer, gaining his PhD for research on the glacial geomorphology of the middle and lower Usk, from University College Swansea. His first appointment was as National Park Assistant to the Breconshire County Planning Officer, before leaving for Sierra Leone in 1962 at the start of 25 years' lecturing at African universities with a final 13 years as Professor and Head of Geography at the University of Zambia, Lusaka. Returning to the UK in 1987 he became Director of Studies at Cumberland Lodge in Windsor Great Park. At retirement in 2001, the family returned to the cottage they had owned at Llangattock, on the Ffawyddog, since 1968. He was Chairman of the Crickhowell District Archive Centre from 2006 to 2017.

BOOK REVIEWS

Medieval Welsh Pilgrimage, c.1100–1500 *by Kathryn Hurlock*. 2018. Palgrave Macmillan. Hardback: 280 pages. £90.00. ISBN-10: 9781137430984. ISBN-13: 978-1137430984.

According to Kathryn Hurlock, the first reviewer of her new book, which looks at medieval pilgrimage in Wales from the Norman to the Tudor period, stated "This looks boring!". He may be excused, as the reviewer is Hurlock's six-year-old son, who must rank as her harshest critic; but he is wrong. The book is not boring.

I met Hurlock last summer when we shared a platform at Brecon Cathedral's St Eluned Day festival on 1 August (the saint's Feast Day). It was only by reading her book after the event that I learnt, that for attending the festival, medieval pilgrims of 1152 would receive a 40-day indulgence. I hope that still applies as every little helps. Hurlock writes about the famous Brecon Rood, now sadly vanished but for a few small traces, which divided nave from chancel in the Priory (now Cathedral). She tells of the belief in its healing properties, causing local poet Huw Cae Llwyd (*fl.* 1490) to sing "Iacha' golwg yw'ch gweled" ("I am healed by the sight of you"). Pilgrims believed that the act of travelling to sacred sites, and the interaction with the relics whilst they were there, changed them. Hurlock describes these places as having a 'holy radioactivity' that pervades the pilgrim, healing them of bodily and spiritual imperfections.

To the credit of her book, Hurlock goes beyond the usual description of pilgrimage to describe what it might have actually felt like to a medieval pilgrim. She talks about the brilliance of colour, for example, as representing the spirituality emanating from the relics or holy places. Holiness could reach out and enter a person, through the eyes first and foremost, but also through the smell of incense, the touch by hand or mouth of the relic, and the sounds of prayers and chanting. Hurlock implies that these sensations are being done to the pilgrim, who is portrayed as rather a passive receptor of all this sanctity (once they arrive at the sacred place). Nonetheless, I think she could have gone further. Modern studies of altered states of consciousness, brought about through the very sensations Hurlock describes (and most overtly when she speaks of the trance-inducing dancing at St Eluned's shrine, as recorded by Gerald of Wales), show that the mind can throw forth its own imagery and

sensation to merge with its surroundings. God does not just come to the people, but the people can move inwardly towards God, maybe even touching the sacred as an active agent in spiritual transcendence.[1]

Hurlock uses cross-cultural examples to illustrate her points but, for me, one of the most compelling pilgrimages outside the Christian tradition are those undertaken by the Huichol people of Mexico.[2] Hurlock does not necessarily consider the act of pilgrimage as entry into a sacred place or time and she rejects Turner's concept of liminality and the *communitas* (community) developed on the road.[3] She has good reason to do so, but I feel the Huichol pilgrimage does encompass these two elements and would have provided an interesting foil to her argument. For the Huichol, all along the pilgrimage they stop at sacred places, most ruined by modern development and neglect. However, this is not what the Huichol see. Through their eyes, the places are beautiful and emanate sacredness just as much as medieval relics. It is the very act of pilgrimage that changes perception. The final arrival at the sacred land of Wirikuta is enhanced by deliberately inducing altered states of consciousness through eating the holy peyote cactus. Thereafter, their experiences could be those of a medieval pilgrim beneath or upon the Brecon Rood.

Hurlock has written a book that goes beyond most studies of pilgrimage to describe, what she calls, authentic pilgrimage. She is not blind to the myriad shenanigans of pilgrims and the varied, and sometimes not so holy, reasons for undertaking a journey (one thinks of Geoffrey Chaucer's characters here). This was, after all, a period of day-to-day drudgery for many and pilgrimage was a temporary escape. Fortunately, Hurlock does not allow herself to be weighed down with such cynicism. She accepts that the experience of pilgrimage was something deeply meaningful and (to coin a much-abused modern phrase) 'life-changing' to those who reached the sacred places and experienced the relics they so revere. Not only that, but she describes why they felt the way they did. It is a superb book, clear, concise, and understandable by any interested reader. It fills a gap in existing literature and will, I hope, open a new debate on the meaning and importance of pilgrimage. However, there is a 'but'.

As with seemingly all academic works now, the book has not been well served by an editor. Typographical errors, which should have been removed in edit, are far too plentiful. Page 119 carries three. There are also phrases that have become jumbled in redraft; "…touched by owned by Christ" on page 93 could have a variety of meanings, depending on how a reader unravels the error. And, given the subject matter, often emphasising the rich splendour of the ecclesiastical past, not to have a single image in the book is disappointing. There is another, more profound disservice the publishers have afforded the book, and that is to price it at £90. This limits readership to those who are specialists in the field or those who frequent academic libraries. It is not a price that the interested lay reader will pay. And that is a travesty as the book deserves

a wide readership. Please, Palgrave, publish a paperback edition quickly and price it at £20 or less. The book will sell.

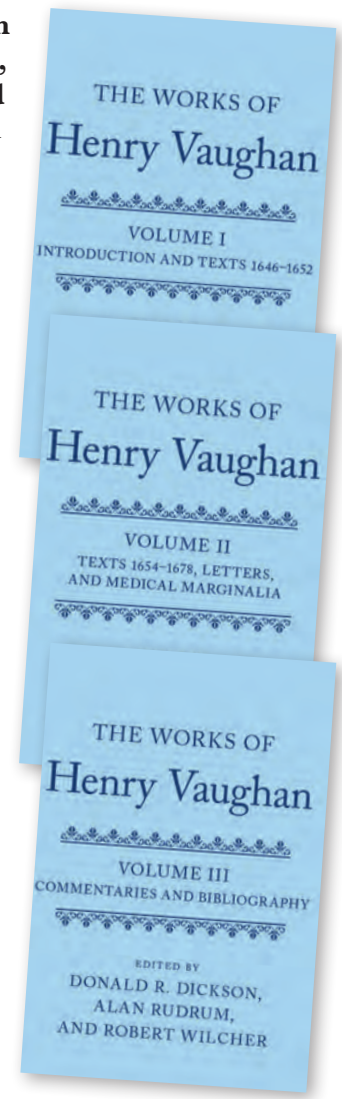
MIKE WILLIAMS
Editor of *Brycheiniog*

[1] d'Aquili, E. and A. Newberg. 1999. *The Mystical Mind: Probing the Biology of Religious Experience*. Minneapolis: Fortress Press.

[2] Myerhoff, B. 1974. Peyote Hunt: The Sacred Journey of the Huichol Indians. New York: Cornell University Press.

[3] Turner, V. 1969. *The Ritual Process: Structure and Anti-Structure*. Chicago: Aldine Publishing.

The Works of Henry Vaughan: Introduction and Texts 1646–1652; Texts 1654–1678, Letters, & Medical Marginalia; Commentaries and Bibliography by Donald R. Dickson, Alan Rudrum, and Robert Wilcher. 2018. Oxford University Press. Hardback [3 Vols.]: 1616 pages. £295.00. ISBN-10: 0198726236. ISBN-13: 978-0198726236.



The publication of the three volume edition of the works of the Swan of Usk, Henry Vaughan (1621–95), is the culmination of decades of scholarship and research by the three editors: Donald Dickson, Professor of English at Texas A&M University; Alan Rudrum, Professor Emeritus at Simon Fraser University, Canada; and Robert Wilcher, Emeritus Reader in Early Modern Studies at the University of Birmingham.

It is the first complete edition of Vaughan's poetry and prose since L. C. Martin's 1914 edition[1] and comes with a wealth of contextual, biographical, and bibliographical information. Volumes 1 and 2 present the texts in the order in which they were first published, together with introductory essays, images of the different frontispieces, and the date and circumstances of publication. Volume 2 also includes Vaughan's nine surviving letters with manuscript images of his handwriting (pp. 793-811)—a form of self image since we have no portrait—and the marginalia

found in the medical books that he owned. Volume 3 contains detailed commentary on the works, which will inform future reading and interpretation.

Some significant questions remain unanswered about Vaughan's life, not least his time at Jesus College, Oxford, and when, and how, he began to practice medicine. But, as we look ahead to the 400th anniversary of Vaughan's birth, in April 2021, the up-to-date biography in Volume 1, makes fascinating reading. For example, it provides some insights into his daily life in the Usk Valley, such as his interest in game birds and fishing (p. xxxv). It is also interesting to see a photograph (from the National Library of Wales collection) of the ruined Hollybush Cottage at Scethrog (no longer standing), where Vaughan spent his latter years; its lintel stone, of course, is at the foot of his grave at Llansantffraed (Fig. 3 and p. xxxvii).

There follows a detailed analysis of Vaughan scholarship and criticism, and a reminder of how his work was almost forgotten and then rediscovered. Two key figures in the rediscovery were Gwenllian Morgan, a local historian and genealogist—as well as the first lady mayoress of Brecon—and the Bostonian, Louise Guiney (the subject of an article in *Brycheiniog*[2] and the initiator of the campaign to restore Vaughan's neglected grave in 1895). The first of the modern editors' acknowledgements is appropriately to these pioneering scholars (p. v and lvi). There is also an interesting discussion of Vaughan's Welshness; a subject on which varying views have been expressed (pp. lxxxiii-vi).

Of local interest, and included in an Appendix of Miscellaneous Verses, we can also find the 1681 epitaph on Games Jones in Llansantffraed Church, which, "if this was indeed composed by Vaughan" would be a rare example of verse from his later years (pp. 813 and 1406).

At £295, the likely buyers are institutional libraries, but the Brecknock Society has purchased the full edition for y Gaer, and the publication will also be marked locally in April 2019, at the next annual meeting of the Vaughan Association and the annual Vaughan service at Llansantffraed church.

ELIZABETH SIBERRY
Brycheiniog Editorial Board
Trustee, Brecknock Society and Museum Friends

[1] Martin, L.C. 1914. *The Works of Henry Vaughan*. [Second Edition, 1957] Oxford: Clarendon Press.

[2] Nauman, J. 2017. Louise Imogen Guiney and Henry Vaughan. *Brycheiniog* 48: 98-121.

Tretower Court and Castle *by David Robinson*. 2018. Cadw, Welsh Government. Paperback: 20 pages. ISBN-13 978-185760513 6.

Llys a Chastell Tretŵr *gan David Robinson*. 2018. Cadw, Llywodraeth Cymru. Clawr meddal: 20 tudalen. £3.50. ISBN-13 978-185760514 3.

The publication of a new Guide to Tretower Castle and Court is a significant event for the Brecknock Society, especially given the role the Society played in raising the funds to purchase the Court for the nation from 1928, and, subsequently, passing it to the former Office of Works (now managed as part of the Cadw estate). The interest in the new guide is reinforced by the authorship of David Robinson, who is credited with having improved the quality of guidebooks, first at Cadw and, subsequently, at English Heritage.

C. A. Ralegh Radford, formerly Inspector of Ancient Monuments for Wales, wrote the first guides to Tretower (a guide to the Court, published in 1938, and a separate guide to the Castle, in 1950). Radford also published a substantial article in *Brycheiniog* of 50 pages, plans, and photographs in 1960, paying tribute to the role of Sir John Conway Lloyd in the preservation of the site.[1] The first combined guide to Castle and Court appeared in 1969, again by Radford. In 1986, this guide was revised and edited by Robinson, who has been engaging with Tretower for around three decades.

Robinson's latest guide builds on previous work. It is also is a reminder of how guidebooks have changed over time. Earlier guides issued by the Ministry of Works, often in pamphlet form, usually had a history, a description, and a plan, but few, if any, photographs. Over time, guides developed with more images, but now also have to try to fulfill the function of a guide for a well-informed audience and act as a souvenir and a marketing tool. The new guide has a large page format set by Cadw, badged on the cover with the inevitable 'Discover' theme with a range of (arguably distracting) logo-like symbols of other Cadw properties. A constraint has been the restriction

of the guide by Cadw to 20 pages, significantly less than allocated to guides of other major Cadw sites.

The page restriction makes Robinson's achievement more remarkable in dealing with these two major related structures over a span of 900 years or so. The guide consists of a history and tour of both the Castle and the Court, and a list of key dates, interspersed with special features on the furnishing of the great hall and services in 2009/10, and the medieval garden created in the 1990s. There are succinct narratives of the families involved, notably the Picards, the Bloets, and the Vaughans, but also the later Parry family.

Robinson's text encourages the reader to observe structure as a source for the history of the building, such as the two stages of significant stone building at the Castle and the woodwork in the great hall of the Court. While acknowledging Radford's very significant work at Tretower, some of his interpretations have been sensitively challenged, for example dendrochronology has helped to disprove Radford's idea that the north wing was built at an early date by the Bloets, and there is no firm structural evidence for his belief that the gallery on the side of the north range continued along the entire front of the west range.

The guide is profusely illustrated, including photographs of family-related tombs, a sixteenth-century estate plan, an eighteenth-century topographical print, and of the Court in its pre-conservation state. There is also an instructive bird's-eye-view by Terry Ball, cut-away illustrations by Ball and Chris Jones-Jenkins, colour-coded plans, and plentiful photographs of the sites as they are today.

This new publication is a must for all with an interest in Tretower and the history of Brecknock and is remarkably good value for money. The knowledge that Robinson was constrained by the page length set, and that he has more to say, should make his Sir John Lloyd Lecture of 2020, *A Pretty Castle and Fair Place: The Conservation and Interpretation of Tretower Court and Castle,* an event not to be missed.

NIGEL CLUBB
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[1] Ralegh Radford, C.A. 1960. Tretower: the Castle and the Court. *Bycheiniog* 6: 1-50.

Church Monuments in South Wales, c.1200–1547 by Rhianydd Biebrach. 2017. Boydell Press. Hardback: 220 pages. £60.00. ISBN-10: 1783272648. ISBN-13: 978-1783272648.

Dr. Rhianydd Biebrach's study of church monuments in south Wales is the first comprehensive study of medieval funerary monuments in this region, and a welcome addition to the corpus of literature on the history and art of Wales, which, of course, includes a number of articles published in *Brycheiniog*. Her approach considers not just the monuments themselves, but the context in which they were commissioned, the individuals they commemorated, their location, and the materials used. After an overview, chapters cover: patrons and subjects; materials, production, and supply; spiritual motivation; secular considerations; and the monuments' afterlife and depredations both during the civil war and at the hands of later 'restorers'. The book is well illustrated, although sometimes there is a loss of clarity in some of the black and white illustrations, which obscures the sculptural detail.

For a Breconshire reader, there is plenty to read about and absorb, informing future visits to Brecon Cathedral in particular. Some of the key Brecon memorials have also been discussed in Peter Lord's Medieval Vision in the Visual Culture of Wales series[1] but Biebrach adds further information and context. Not surprisingly, both writers highlight the fourteenth-century Aubrey monument, commemorating Walter Aubrey and his wife Christina and the important carving—sadly, not so clear in Biebrach's book (plate 22) but shown very clearly by Lord (p. 150)—of the crucifixion. Flanked by figures of Mary and St. John, Biebrach suggests it was "the most strident and eye-catching manifestation of Christ-centred devotion in South Wales", and a demonstration "of the inventiveness of monument designers in this period".

The book also points to details of the local life of the town, which can be drawn from the cross slabs in the cathedral, even those rearranged over the centuries. Plate 28 shows the cross slab for David Smyt, with a horseshoe and rasps, denoting his trade as a farrier; an interesting survival, which was apparently used at one stage to floor the roof gutter of the nave. There are also clues in lettering, with a mixture of Welsh and English names, and the cross slab to Leucu, wife of Anian ap Madoc of Builth, is an important example of a monument dedicated to a woman.

Local materials were obviously easiest and cheapest to use, for example, the old red sandstone cross slab in St. Mary's church, Brecon, and Biebrach notes that such slabs form the majority of monuments in the region. She suggests, however, that the presence of effigial monuments at Llanhamlach and Crickhowell can (or could) be explained by their position on the main road between Brecon and Abergavenny, both sites of significant religious foundations with attendant demands for stone workshops. A graph illustrates the sources of stone used in the region's monuments and, amongst those that used stone imported from the West Country, was the effigy of Sir Grimbald de Pauncefoot in Crickhowell.

The book concludes with a sad reminder of what has been lost, both through 'renovation' and vandalism, such as the triple-decker memorial to the Games family in Brecon Cathedral, now a mere single-story. There remains, however, much of interest, illuminated by Biebrach's scholarly research and insights.

The £60 hardback price will deter many potential readers but perhaps it will be possible to reissue in paperback form in the future?

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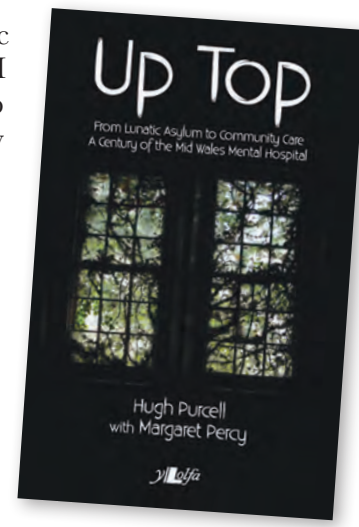
[1] Lord, P. 2003. *Medieval Vision*. Cardiff: University of Wales Press.

Up Top – From Lunatic Asylum to Community Care *by Hugh Purcell with Margaret Percy*. 2018. Y Lolfa. Paperback: 208 pages. £9.99. ISBN-10: 1784615919. ISBN-13: 978-1784615918.



When I was young, there was a large psychiatric facility just behind my village. My friends and I used to shudder as we passed it, and tell made-up stories of life inside, often with lurid imaginary crimes committed by the 'mad' residents. The facility opened as the Berrywood Asylum in 1876 and went through several stages—becoming a military hospital in the First World War—before its eventual closure, just as I had grown up. Some school friends worked there and, to our surprise, did not tell terrible tales of murder and evil, but reported that the residents were nice, ordinary people who were just going through a tough time.

I was reminded of that youthful awakening when I read Hugh Purcell's book on the Mid Wales Mental Hospital, situated on high ground above Talgarth, and known by locals, with a definite double meaning, as 'Up Top' (the title of the book). Like my experience, Purcell dispels the discomfort we may feel when observing the home of the mentally ill who, under different circumstances, could easily be us. I was struck by the overall kindness and consideration shown to residents—albeit not always, especially when staff shortages started to bite—who were treated with respect and dignity (with allowances for the time period under discussion) despite some being beyond cure. This was evident by how the bathing rules required a nurse to "[test] herself that the water is not too hot or too cold" before allowing a patient to wash.

The hospital opened in 1903 as the Brecknock and Radnor Joint Asylum, and Purcell takes the first Chapter to tell us what life was like there, both for the residents and the medical staff. He recounts brief stories about some of the residents, from a hysterical maniac, through a chronic depressive, to "a raving lunatic". Reading the fates of these people is chilling; many were to die at the asylum, whilst others (mostly women) were removed by embarrassed husbands and family as 'cured'. We can only imagine what happened to them.

Like the institution I knew, the Mid Wales Hospital (as it was later called) became an army hospital in the war, but this time, the Second World War. Many of those admitted were Prisoners of War suffering from "battle shock", what we might now term Post Traumatic Stress Disorder. There is a likelihood that Hiltler's deputy, Rudolf Hess, was hospitalised here, and the publisher makes a great play of this in the publicity surrounding the book. It was, however, a small episode in a far more wide-ranging story.

Despite the care afforded to the mentally ill—and staff certainly behaved in the way they *thought* would best help—treatments such as "frontal leucotomy" brought back visions of Jack Nicholson in *One Flew Over the Cuckoo's Nest*. The reality, it seems, was no better. Purcell describes the procedure, literally removing parts of the patient's brain, in an operation that, under good conditions, could be completed in six minutes. It led to what one doctor called "surgically induced childhood".

The later chapters recount the fate of the hospital, through its decline to its eventual closure, and have a definite melancholy feel. The mental hospitals may have harked to an outmoded past but were rapidly modernising to provide for the latest in psychiatric care. At the Mid Wales, I felt a community was being ripped apart to satisfy money-saving politicians and their pretence that care could be given in the community to equal that of specialist hospitals. The site is now a mouldering ruin. The Berrywood Asylum of my youth was divided for houses, and even kept a small mental unit, but the Mid Wales was abandoned and left to decay. 'Up top' may have spoken of the location and the residents who lived there, but it also describes those in power who let it go. The book is

fascinating, well priced, and deserves reading. It is amazing to think what lay hidden at the heart of us.

MIKE WILLIAMS
Editor of *Brycheiniog*

OTHER TITLES RECEIVED

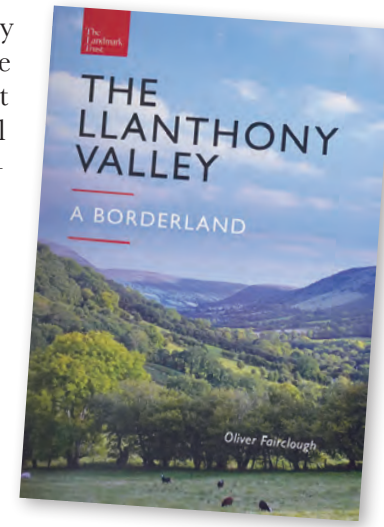
Secret Brecon *by Mal Morrison*. 2018. Amberley Publishing. Paperback: 96 pages. £14.99. ISBN-10: 1445672626. ISBN-13: 978-1445672625.

It is always a bit of a challenge to your readers when you call your book 'Secret', even if it is part of a successful and long-running series. Would I really learn anything in its pages that I did not already know? Delightfully, the answer is 'yes'. Author Mal Morrison was born and bred here and knows the town like the proverbial back of his hand. Dividing the book into thematic chapters, including Mountains and Rivers, Crime and Punishment, and The Holy Wells of Brecon, Morrison becomes our tour guide using his informative yet avuncular tone to guide us through the many aspects of town life. There are also two 'secret' walks that take readers past many of the sites he mentions, which are as enjoyable to read about as they are to follow on foot. Some references for further reading would have been welcome, especially for a book cramming so many facts into a relatively small space.

Profusely illustrated, albeit with a varying quality of images and photographs, and accompanied by a few 'Did you know…' boxes (the answer to which was often "no, I did not"), the book is an easy read. For example, did you know that the three rivers of Brecon are designated special areas of conservation for their rare fish, including bullheads (or 'bombies' as they are known locally)? Or that there is an Eye Well in the Priory Groves as well as the Priory Well? Or that the Cathedral graveyard contains a memorial to a French captain from the Napoleonic era, held as a prisoner and yet adopted into the town? Or that the site of the Co-op sits on the site of Dr Coke's Chapel, pulled down after a fire? Or… I could go on, there are gems on every page. It may not quite have enough new to satisfy a born and bred Breconian but, for a Johnny-come-lately such as I, it is fascinating and well worth the cover price.

The Llanthony Valley: A Borderland *by Oliver Fairclough*. 2018. Landmark Trust. Paperback: 116 pages. £11.50. ISBN-10: 1527220532. ISBN-13: 978-1527220539.

Dyffryn Ewias: Tir ar y Ffin *gan Oliver Fairclough*. 2018. Landmark Trust. Clawr meddal: 116 tudalen. £11.50. ISBN-10: 1916478603. ISBN-13: 978-1916478602.



I include this book in our Review section, not only because its author lives in our county and part of the Llanthony Valley sits in Breconshire, but because it provides details of Llwyn Celyn, a late-medieval house—just over the border in Monmouthshire—but typical of many upland houses in our county. I know that many of our readers will have visited it at the packed open days over the summer. The book itself is handsomely produced by the Landmark Trust, with a separate publication in Welsh. The Trust were responsible for the jaw-dropping beauty of the renovation at Llwyn Celyn (which itself has a handbook published in the same style). It takes a thematic look at the valley, considering its place through history, the many communities that have made it home, the buildings that dot its reaches, and an interesting take on the valley as inspiration for the artists and writers who flock there. It is profusely illustrated with well-chosen images that bring the text to life. Particularly interesting were the reproductions of paintings and drawings from modern artists, responding to the bleak attraction of the area today. There is a short but useful index, and a list of further reading at the end of the book, including a number of websites, for those who want to read further.

Notable buildings in the area that are explored, often with pictures, plans, and other associated images, include the Priory, named for the valley, Llanvihangel Court, with its mixed fortunes through the ages, Patricio Church, with its gorgeous rood screen, and Ty'n-y-llwyn, a cruciform house I knew before its restoration. The area also attracted individuals, often with an air of otherworldliness about them, as if drawn by the corresponding atmosphere of the valley. These include Walter Savage Landor, with his obsession for the landscape reflected in his poems and writings, Fr. Ignatius (Joseph Leycester Lyne), a favourite of mine, with his madcap idea of establishing an Anglican monastery he named Llanthony Tertia, and, of course, artist Eric Gill and his student David Jones, who were both inspired by the hash beauty of the terrain. At its price, this book is a steal and if it does not bring on hiraeth to visit the valley again, you have no soul.

Y Grŵp Cymreig yn 70 | The Welsh Group At 70 *by David Moore*. 2018. The Welsh Group. Paperback: 120 pages. £15.00. ISBN-10: 095608673X. ISBN-13: 978-0956086730.

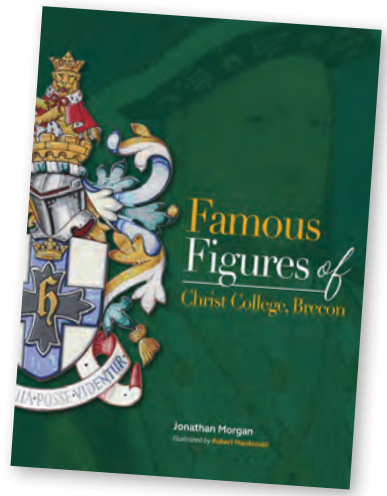
The Welsh Group is an artists' collective in Wales, where members are selected by secret ballot entirely on the strength of their work. Despite having artists from many backgrounds, 'Welshness' is an elusive yet informative quality of all their work, showcasing the finest of what our nation has to offer. I was introduced to this book at its launch, timed to coincide with an exhibition, also titled 'The Welsh Group at 70', held at Oriel y Bont in Pontypridd, commemorating the seventieth anniversary of the group. So why review the book here? Well, for a start, the author is David Moore, a former curator of Brecknock Museum & Art Gallery, well-known for his interest in the arts and his publications on the theme. Secondly, many of the artists featured in the book hail from the county and deserve the recognition the book affords them in the text, which is written in both Welsh and English. I will mention those artists hailing from the county in the order in which they were elected members of the Group.

Roy Powell is known for his still life paintings in oil, but more recently he has moved into watercolour paintings of flowers in glass containers, and to creating non-functional ceramics—which he makes and glazes by hand. Powell often exhibits locally and takes part in Brecon's Open Galleries event held each year. Robert Macdonald, with his lively, expressive, and colour-rich paintings in oil and watercolours, frequently takes local folklore as his theme, such as his painting 'The legend of Llangorse', used by the Brecknock Society to promote a conference in 2016 and published in our 2017 volume. Veronica Gibson, another artist with close links to the Brecknock Society, is a watercolourist and printmaker, perhaps best-known for her lyrical oil landscapes. Perhaps untypically, the book carries a reproduction of her work 'All the times I carried you', a collagraph print and collage, with its introspective and claustrophobic view of two stylised bodies and two cutaways. Thomasin Toohie hails from Hay and is known best for her slab like ceramics, carrying images from popular culture, folk art, and the spirit of place. She is also a folk singer and musician and something of this alternative creative spirit pervades her art. Pip Woolf is represented in the book by her phenomenal 'Woollenline', a giant landscape drawing in aligned bundles of wool situated in the Black Mountains. Drawing is what interests Woolf, in its many and varied forms, most recently responding in ink sketches to the sense of personal identity in people with dementia. Sue Hiley Harris needs no introduction if you have read her article in the pages of

this volume of *Brycheiniog*. She is a professional weaver, with a passion for three-dimensional woven sculpture. Although, more recently, she has rediscovered a love of drawing, with some breath-taking sketches of trees. They are, at the time of writing, on show in the Cynon Valley Museum. Philippine Sowerby also focusses on trees, but rather than drawing them, she sculpts their wood into forms expressive of emotional and spiritual concerns. She brings out both the strength of wood but also its fragility, echoing the environmental concerns of our modern world.

There are many more vignettes of authors outside the county, as well as an introductory but informative history of the Group over its 70 years. Images are, as they should be, exquisite and the format of the book is large enough to do them justice. If you love art and have yet to explore this extremely talented group, Moore gives you the perfect way in.

Famous Figures of Christ College Brecon *by Jonathan Morgan*. 2018. Cambria Books. Paperback: 118 pages. £10.00. ISBN-10: 9781916453203. ISBN-13: 978-1916453203.



Jonathan Morgan is well qualified to write a book on the famous figures of Christ College since he and nine members of his family were educated there; some of them, including Jonathan himself, form chapters in its pages. The illustrator is Robert Macdonald, part of the Welsh Group and featured in the preceding review. As this is a book primarily of personal reminiscence, there are no sources or references given. The book starts with the thirteenth-century roots of the college, with the building of a Friary on the site (and still standing today) by the Dominican Order of monks. The next chapter features a character Morgan dismisses as "a terrible man" but he earns his place in the book by allowing the earliest school to be built: Henry VIII. The people of Brecon needed educating, it was argued to Henry by the founder of Christ College, Bishop Rawlins of St David's, as they were "a parcel of illiterate and beggarly savages". It worked and Henry approved.

The list of those who have passed through the school is impressive and shows Brecon has been at the centre of enlightened education throughout the early modern period and, indeed, through to today. A few that caught my eye were John Penry, the martyr, Thomas Coke, co-founder of Methodism in America, Theophilus Jones, who needs no gloss in this journal, the television presenter

Jamie Owen, Lord Atkin, a Lord Justice of Appeal, the artist James Dickson Innes, the politicians and civil servants, Paul Silk, Simon Hughes, and Roger Williams, and, after girls were first admitted in 1987, Tori James, the first Welsh woman to climb Everest. Of Morgan's family, there is Guy Morgan, and Teddy Morgan, both captaining Wales and Teddy also captaining the British and Irish Lions. Then there is the book's author, Jonathan, getting a chapter all to himself. But any thought that perhaps his ego has run away with itself (after all, he gives himself four pages more than he afforded Henry VIII) is immediately dismissed upon reading the text. It is searingly honest and speaks briefly of his time in the Mid Wales Hospital, which also forms part of Hugh Purcell's book *Up Top* reviewed earlier. It is always said that a writer should write about what he or she knows. Morgan does this, both in his vast network of connections to many of the people he features in the book, but also in the terrible events and times he has witnessed.

MIKE WILLIAMS
Editor of *Brycheiniog*