

# BRYCHEINIOG

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2007

Edited by  
E. G. PARRY

*Published by*  
THE BRECKNOCK SOCIETY  
and  
MUSEUM FRIENDS

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## NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS

Sam Adams is a poet and critic who is a member of the Roland Mathias Prize Committee. He edited the *Collected Poems of Roland Mathias* which was published in 2002.

Nigel Jones has worked for the Clwyd-Powys Archaeological Trust for twenty years and since 1998 he has been the Senior Project Archaeologist supervising the survey of funerary and ritual monuments in the area.

Brynach Parri's interest in linguistics and local history is again demonstrated in his article analysing some enigmatic local placenames. In 2008 Brynach takes over as the Honorary Editor of *Brychieniog*.

As Chairman from 1996 Ken Jones has guided the Society through some difficult times with great energy and determination. It is his enthusiasm that has made the annual Sir John Lloyd Memorial lecture and the presentation of the Victor Jones Junior School History Prizes a notable event in the local history calendar.

Sister Bonaventure has been pursuing the story of Brecon's long and important links with the theatre for many years and is now working towards a Ph.D. at Oxford Brookes university on aspects of theatre studies.

A native of Ferndale in the Rhondda Fach Neil McIntyre is Emeritus Professor of Medicine at Royal Free and University College School of Medicine. He is currently president of the History of Medicine Society of Wales and also a member of the Council of the Cymmrodorion Society.

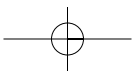
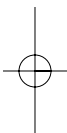
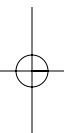
During the past twenty years Pamela Redwood has explored many aspects of the history of the area around Crickhowell where she has helped to establish the Resources and Information Centre.

## EDITORIAL

The Roland Mathias Memorial Prize was awarded for the second time this year; the report of the occasion reflects both the quality of the entries and the prestige which this competition has already achieved. Later in the year Roland Mathias died aged ninety-one and the tributes which appeared in the national press – Sam Adams wrote *The Guardian* obituary – testified to the high regard in which he was held for his contributions to Anglo-Welsh literature.

This year's Sir John Lloyd Memorial lecturer explored the career and private life of Frances Hoggan a pioneering woman doctor born in Brecon; Professor McIntyre kindly agreed to provide the article based on that paper. The work that the Clwyd-Powys Archaeological Trust does in uncovering our past is represented by the survey of funerary and ritual monuments written by Nigel Jones. The other four articles are by officers or members of the Society who have made many previous contributions to the journal during the past fifteen years. The President outlines the chronology and location of theatrical performances in Brecon over two hundred and fifty years while the Chairman concludes his comprehensive biography of Captain John Lloyd. My successor as Hon. Editor – Brynach Parri – shows what can be gleaned from the study of some rather intractable placenames in Breconshire. Finally Pamela Redwood makes her ninth contribution to the journal with an account of the visit of the Duke of Clarence to the county in 1890.

The Society has received a generous legacy from the late Mr Tony Elston whose family has played an important part in many aspects of Brecon life over the past hundred years. The Society is very grateful for the continuing support of Powys County Council and Brecon Town Council towards the publication of *Brycheiniog*.



## THE REGIMENTAL MUSEUM OF THE ROYAL WELSH, BRECON (The Royal Regiment of Wales Museum Trust)

The Regimental Museum's official name is now the Regimental Museum of The Royal Welsh (Brecon). This follows the formation in 2006 of the new regiment, The Royal Welsh, which united the regular and cadet battalions of The Royal Welch Fusiliers and The Royal Regiment of Wales plus the volunteers of The Royal Welsh Regiment. The Regimental Museum continues to represent all the forbears of the local regiment. Currently the bulk of the collection and displays predominantly reflect the long years as Dering's Regiment, the 24<sup>th</sup> Regiment, and the South Wales Borderers. Indeed, many in the local community refer to the museum as "The Borderers' Museum". As our collection evolves and as resources permit, the more recent history of our soldiers will also be represented and remembered. Curator Martin Everett has already contributed much to the new regiment, helping produce a paper on the design of new Colours and co-authoring *A Short History of The Royal Welsh* with Richard Sinnett of Llanfrynach.

David Rattray of Fugitives' Drift Lodge in Kwa-Zulu Natal was a great ambassador for and supporter of the Regimental Museum and his murder in January 2007 was a tragic loss. Martin Everett, a close friend and colleague, attended his funeral. David had just completed his extraordinary book, *A Soldier-Artist in the Anglo-Zulu War: WW Lloyd 1/24<sup>th</sup>*. This matches the 1879 watercolours and sketches of William Whitelocke Lloyd with David's photographs of the same places and tells the parallel stories of the Zulu War and Lloyd's travels with his regiment. It includes biographical notes by Martin Everett on characters mentioned plus a foreword by HRH Prince Charles. David's memory will live on in this book and in the work he did for the Zulu community.

A member of that community, Joseph Ndima, visited Brecon in September. Joseph had been trained by David Rattray as a guide to the battlefields of the Zulu Wars. His visit included a reception at the Guildhall, hosted by the Mayor and Town Clerk of Brecon, and a tour of the Regimental Chapel in Brecon Cathedral. The museum displays and archives made a great impact on Joseph. He was particularly delighted to see the Colours which were carried in 1879 – the efforts of Lieutenants Melvill and Coghill to save the Queen's Colour and their deaths at Fugitives' Drift feature prominently in his battlefield tours. We receive many visitors from South Africa who have toured the Zulu battlefields and comment on the value of seeing the conflict from more than one perspective.

All the Colours which are usually hung in the Regimental Chapel have been in the Regimental Museum while redecoration has taken place in the Cathedral. Most are in store in environmentally monitored conditions in containers constructed by the conservation and storage experts Framework. The 1958 Colours are being worked on by a conservator in Hereford. The Colours carried

in the Zulu Wars are on public display in the Regimental Museum on a custom-built plinth, attracting much positive comment from visitors. The aim is to return all the Colours to the Cathedral once works there are completed and the Regimental Chapel, such an important focus for the regimental community, is ready to receive them.

The community of veterans, their families and descendants for whom the museum is also an important focus has suffered several notable losses this year. Public focus has been on Sir Tasker Watkins VC, described by Rhodri Morgan as “One of the outstanding Welshmen of the twentieth century” who died in September. Local losses include Brigadier John Davey, Mrs Peggy Cresswell, Bert Perrett, and two long-serving museum volunteers who had been supporters of the Regimental Museum for many years. Yvonne Callaghan, widow of Sgt Paddy Callaghan 1/SWB and still a regular volunteer, died suddenly in March. SWB veteran Frank Wheeler died in October aged 96 after a long illness which he bore with characteristic dignity and good humour.

Many donations to the collection are received from veterans, their families and others, for which we are always immensely grateful. Donations in 2007 have included medals, a cameo and Coalport mug of Maj Gen de Berry (wounded at Chillianwallah); medals of Capt EE Mills MC 7/SWB WW1; an account ‘My Days in the Army 1943-47’ by Capt Cave-Browne-Cave DSO 6/SWB WW2; Home Service Tunic issued to 1172 Pte J Conway 1/SWB enlisted June 1884; medals of 21464 Pte JH Selby 10/SWB WW1; items relating to Lt Col RS Cresswell OBE; items relating to Col NO Roberts; medals of 4077565 LCpl CP Jones MM, SWB, MON and DLI WW2; medals of 18722 Pte F Powell 2/SWB WW1; medals of WO2 F Andrews 6/SWB WW2; medals of WO2 GT Collins MBE 1/MON WW1 and WW2; medals of Sgt PJ (Paddy) Callaghan 1/SWB (former museum volunteer); medals of Major CJ Vivian DSO MC 6/SWB WW2; Rorke’s Drift Bible of 1186 Pte Samuel Pitt 2/24<sup>th</sup>; and medals of 14685416 Pte RJ Davis 6/SWB WW2. All such items are valued additions to the regimental collection and are appropriately recorded and cared for.

Collection management is ongoing. Four large photograph albums have been fully catalogued on MODES (the computerised catalogue). Chelsea Out-Pension Ledgers for 1879-1881 held in National Archives have been digitally photographed. 1914/15 Star Medal Rolls for the South Wales Borderers and Monmouthshire Regiment held in the National Archives have been digitally photographed and indexed. Work continues on typing war diaries.

Media coverage helps bring the collection and work of the Regimental Museum to the attention of the wider community. Recent examples include an article about CSgt Frank Bourne in the July issue of *Kent Life*, and BBC Wales website reports on the unveiling of the plaque to Ivor Rees VC at Llanelli and Joseph Ndima’s visit to Brecon. The latter also featured in *The Brecon and Radnor*



*Express*, as did the visit to the Regimental Museum of a party from L'Ecole Edwards-Griffiths, Mondrainville, Normandy (the school named after two members of 3MON). Other media events have included assisting with the research and filming of S4C's *Wales Mastermind* and S4C's *TE Lawrence*.

Researchers from a range of academic institutions have visited or contacted the Regimental Museum. Help has been given to students and/or staff from the universities of Nottingham, Lampeter, Birmingham, Chester and Valladolid (Spain). With the increasing community interest in genealogy, many individuals and families also contact us with family research projects, and we provide as much help as we can. Sometimes we do not hold the information being sought, and therefore we direct researchers to other organisations such as the National Archives. As such huge numbers served in the regiment (e.g. over 2,500 called Jones in SWB in World War One), museums and other bodies are able to give more help where basic information about the soldier being researched is already known (e.g. full name, regimental number, where/when/with whom he served). Starting points for research are given on our website and in fact-sheets available at the museum.

Other notable visitors this year have included Dr Liam Fox MP, Suzy Davies (Conservative Parliamentary candidate), Ingrid Gallagher (Head of Brecon High School), the Joint Services Emergency Group (including Chief Constable Richard Brunstrom of North Wales Police), Col Charlie Knaggs and the Army Presentation Team, Eleanor-Mary Cadell (editor of David Rattray's book), Jim Hammond (Royal Welch Fusiliers Museum), Colin Fielding (the great-great-grandson of John Fielding/Williams VC), and Rhoda Chapman (to collect the replica VC medal group of her late husband, Ted Chapman VC). The 1879 Group of re-enactors held their AGM at the museum.

Members of the wider museum community have been assisted in a variety of areas. Advice on the MLA (Museums Libraries Archives) Accreditation Scheme has been given to The Royal Fusiliers Museum (Bury), The Queen's Own Hussars Museum (Warwick), The Royal Anglian Museum (Duxford) and the Wordsworth Museum (Grasmere). Educational advice has been shared with Lt Col John Baber [sic] of the Royal Military Police Museum (Fareham). The Regimental Museum's Annual Report is being used by CyMAL [sic] (Welsh Museums, Archives, Libraries) as an example of good practice, its Documentation Manual is used by MDA (Museum Documentation Association) for training purposes, and its education provision is being used as a model for regimental museum education provision by the MOD's Education Training Services. Customer Services Manager Celia Green has helped the Regimental Museum in Cardiff Castle (The Welch Regiment Museum) assess their merchandising policy and develop the stock, procedures and turnover of their shop. Liaison with Cardiff and with Regimental Headquarters over the move of

the Welch Regiment Museum's artefacts out of their current accommodation (some into storage in Brecon), and the development of the proposed new military display in Cardiff Castle (a joint project with the Queen's Dragoon Guards), is an ongoing and time-consuming commitment. Staff at Fort Louis at Port Louis in Mauritius who are preparing visitor interpretation panels are grateful to the Curator for providing copies of two photographs in our collection: these show the fort in 1865 and were taken by a member of the 24<sup>th</sup> Regiment.

As well as providing support for other museums and organisations, we know that we – as a museum and as individuals – need continually to develop our own knowledge, skills, and good practice. Curator Martin Everett has visited the Staffordshire Regimental Museum (Lichfield), the Shropshire Regimental Museum (Shrewsbury), and The Royal Fusiliers Museum (Bury). He has attended the AMOT (Army Museums Ogilby Trust) AGM in London, the MODES Annual Conference at Derby, the AGM of the Federation of Museums and Art Galleries of Wales (Builth Wells), CyMAL's Quantifying Diversity Conference (Aberystwyth), and continued to serve on the Council of the Federation of Museums and Art Galleries of Wales. He and Education Adviser Alison Hembrow attended the Welsh Libraries, Archives and Museum Conference at Llandrindod Wells. Alison Hembrow has visited the Durham Light Infantry Museum (Durham), The Kohima Museum (York), the Somerset Military Museum (Taunton), the 1940s Swansea Exhibition, and the Imperial War Museum North in Manchester to see our Regimental Mascot Taffy on display in *The Animals' War*. Celia Green has toured Western Front battlefields. Assistants Lucy Jones and Sylvia Davies completed a First Aid training day. Lucy Jones and Alison Hembrow attended a British Sign Language training day. The Regimental Museum hosted and provided case studies (using archive collections for family history research and digitising photograph collections) for a Specialist Subject Network training day on Archives in Museums.

Our links with the local community continue to grow and strengthen. We were delighted to host a successful fund-raising event as part of Macmillan Cancer Relief's "World's Biggest Coffee Morning", which was supported by large numbers of local residents and Barracks staff. We provided a three-month work placement for a student with special needs from Coleg Powys, and have been helped immensely by Terence Harrison's work on digitising images during his third spell with us on a New Deal work placement. Pupils from Ysgol Maesydderwen, Crickhowell High School and Monmouth School have successfully completed work experience here, and two pupils from Christ College Brecon are spending time here serving the community as part of their Duke of Edinburgh's Award Scheme requirements.

Student work experience placements often complement other aspects of our educational provision. For example, a work experience student from Ysgol

Maesydderwen was motivated to work with us by her day at the museum as one of our first primary school workshop participants. A young lady training as a primary school classroom assistant spent a morning with us, six years after she too participated in a primary workshop. Crickhowell High School, whom we help each year with their study of the Zulu War, regularly send work experience students: the two aspects can dovetail nicely to enhance the student's experience.

Educational group visits continue to increase. The majority of South Powys primary schools regularly use our Key Stage 2 National Curriculum workshops. This year we have been glad to build links with Ysgol Penmaes through their study of the Home Front in World War Two and their project on peoples of the world, and with Brecon High School through their A Level work on the Boer War. Our provision is now enhanced with the addition of a Welsh language option in the Home Front workshop. We continue to produce a termly *Newsletter for Schools* which is mailed to all Brecknockshire and Radnorshire schools. Amongst others, teenagers from Skillforce regularly visit for artefact handling sessions with Celia Green, and volunteer Arfon Williams often hosts cadet force visits. Volunteers such as Bill Cainan of the 1879 Group give illustrated talks to a range of societies and groups throughout South Wales. All these activities help strengthen our links with local communities.

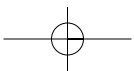
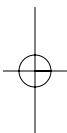
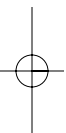
Museums are about people as much as they are about objects: the Regimental Museum is part of, is important to, and has responsibilities to many different communities for many different reasons. Grants from Brecon Town Council, Powys County Council and RRW Regimental Funds are invaluable in supporting the Regimental Museum's work in the community, and are gratefully acknowledged.

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ALISON HEMBROW



## POWYS COUNTY ARCHIVES

Throughout the year approximately 1,200 visitors used the Archives service, with around the same number making enquiries by letter or email. In addition, over 150 hours of research have been undertaken as part of our paid Research Service.

Staffing levels remain the same at the Archives. Catherine Richards, formerly Archives Manager has now become County Archivist for Powys. Dianne Foster, Research Assistant since October 2002, retired in October 2007. Dianne has a long association with Powys Archives having worked as a volunteer through the 1990s. Dawn Gill, Archives Assistant, was nominated for the Powys County Council Customer Service Awards 2007, and was commended for her work at Powys Archives. In total sixteen members of staff from Powys County Council were recognised for excellent customer service in a new council award scheme. Catherine Richards continues as Chair of the Welsh County Archivists' Group (WCAG). She also represents the WCAG at the meetings of the Association of Family History Societies (Wales), and continues to attend the meetings of Archives and Records Council Wales (ARCW) on behalf of Powys County Council.

In 2006 the National Archives (TNA) introduced a pilot self-assessment exercise for local authority archive services in England and Wales. The questionnaire completed by each service was arranged in five main sections, and the returns scored by staff from TNA. The scores achieved by Powys Archives compared with the Welsh and UK national averages were as follows:

	Powys Archives	Wales Average	UK Average
Section 1: Governance	49%	50.5%	52.5%
Section 2: Documentation of collections	39.5%	54%	53%
Section 3a: Customer Responsiveness	51%	58%	67%
Section 3b: Searchroom and other public services	56%	57%	59.5%
Section 4a: Buildings, security and environment	39.5%	45%	49%
Section 4b: Preservation and conservation	31.5%	46%	49.5%
Overall Score	44.5%	51.5%	55%

The scores achieved by Powys Archives allowed TNA to judge the service as one-star (the range of options were no-star, one-star, two-star and three-star). Services had to score at least 30% on all the sections listed above in order to achieve a one-star performance.

From April 2006 and through the Spring of 2007 Powys Archives contributed to two all-Wales projects funded by CyMAL (Museums, Archives and Libraries Wales). The first, *CatalogCymru*, which started in January 2006 and continued through 2006/7, is a national research project which aims to develop a strategy to increase access to archival collections in Wales through addressing the issue of uncatalogued collections. As part of this project uncatalogued holdings were accessed and scored against various factors, including increased pressure for access to material in relation to the Freedom of Information Act, the level of cataloguing required (high, medium or low), whether cataloguing was affected by conservation needs, and whether the collection could be considered to be of local, regional or national significance. At present Powys Archives does not have a large cataloguing back-log, but the audit now undertaken of our collections for the *CatalogCymru* project, and the scores which have resulted, will help us to prioritise our cataloguing programme in the long term.

The second CyMAL project saw the appointment of a Research and Development Officer, under the direction of Archives and Records Council Wales (ARCW). The aim of this project has been to collect information on users and non-users in order to create an audience development plan for archive services in Wales. Again this strategic project funded in 2006/7 laid the foundations for a further grant funded work for ARCW in 2007/8 which will include: the appointment of a programme manager to co-ordinate and manage a portfolio of projects for the creation of a virtual national archive for Wales; a review of previous consultation exercises, including *CatalogCymru*; and the development of a marketing strategy for archives in Wales.

With the help of grant funding worth £5000, Powys Archives has now acquired the CALM cataloguing system especially designed to help manage archive collections. Previously Powys Archives did not have a system which allows comprehensive index searching of our catalogues by personal-name, place-name or by subject – which is becoming increasingly problematic for those of you who want, and expect, our finding aids to provide the information you require more quickly and more efficiently. Over the next couple of years staff will be steadily inputting our catalogues into the CALM database.

Through 2007/8 free access to the Ancestry website has been extended by a further grant from CyMAL, again to all archive services, but also this year to include all libraries and museums across Wales. This hugely popular website with sources such as the British census 1841–1901, birth, marriages and deaths from 1837, and many more family history resources, is usually accessed by paying a subscription fee.

The Friends of Powys Archives group now has a membership of nearly 250 individuals, families or societies. Our quarterly newsletter, *Almanac*, continues to go to all Friends, Council Members, libraries and secondary schools. Newsletters are also exchanged with Archive Friends' groups across Britain. A new volunteer from the Friends group has joined the Archives team, and is making good progress with helping staff to catalogue unlisted collections. Ann Roberts from Llandrindod has completed the listing of the Milford Hall collection, a donation of records received by Powys Archives in 1999. The Milford hall collection contains family and estate papers from the Lewis family in Newtown, including correspondence from J M Barrie, the creator of Peter Pan, and the First World War poet Siegfried Sassoon. Ann is now assisting with other collections, including the cataloguing of Montgomeryshire inquest records, 1848–1957. Beth Williams, volunteer and Friend, continues her excellent work this year by indexing the patients' records from Talgarth Hospital. This year Beth has also worked on uncatalogued depositions and summary convictions from the Breconshire Quarter Sessions. She is currently indexing the Caersws workhouse admission register, 1844–1849.

A small number of Friends continue to transcribe and index school log books, by working on digitised copies of these volumes at home. This year, Angela Jones from Guernsey has completed the transcription of Gladestry school log books, dating from 1925–1987. Dorothy Baynham from Llandrindod has transcribed the Llanbister school log book, 1901–1952. Again all transcription work is now available for viewing.

This year, Powys Archives has been involved in a number of outreach activities in order to promote the service. For instance in May, Powys County Council held a "Learning at Work" day as part of Adult Learners' Week. Powys Archives was involved by placing a display in the Members' Lounge in County Hall and providing free goodie bags containing leaflets on family and house history research. On the day we also teamed up with the BBC Wales Bus that was parked outside the Archives, and provided free access to the Ancestry website to Council staff. In March 2007 Catherine Richards ran internet workshops at Coleg Llandrindod for International Women's Day. Also the display case outside the Council Chamber in County Hall continues to highlight collections held by the service and has housed seven small exhibitions over the past year, including records from Radnorshire Friendly Societies, an early collection of Breconshire Sales Particulars and a small collection of apprenticeship bonds from Llanfechain in Montgomeryshire. In October 2007 Powys Archives put together an exhibition, featuring around 35 postcards, for Llanwrtyd Town Council. This was part of a weekend of entertainment for visitors from Bromsgrove, Worcestershire. During the Second World War Bromsgrove School was evacuated to Llanwrtyd and since then strong links continue between the two communities.

Powys Archives 2006–2007 Annual Report was published in April. This summarises the work undertaken by staff and a full list of accessions received. Details of accessions received during 2007 with particular reference to Breconshire are as follows:

*Public and Official Records*

- Records from Tawe Uchaf Community Council: Minutes, some signed, 1993–2005, with gaps; Income & expenditure accounts 2000/1 and 2004/5 [Acc 1721]  
 Powys County Council committee minutes (unbound), 1995–2004 [Acc 1729]  
 Leaflets and booklets relating to Quarter Sessions, Friendly Societies, bye-laws, etc. from Breconshire, Montgomeryshire and Radnorshire, 1834–c1930 [Acc 1734]  
 Powys County Council committee minutes (bound), 1997–2006 [Acc 1735]  
 Calendars of prisoners for Brecknock and Radnor Assizes, 1942–1943 [Acc 1752]  
 Brecon Borough records, 1793–c1950; Brecknock Rural District Council records, 1906–1975; Breconshire County Council committee minutes and other records, 1964–1974; Brecknock District Council committee minutes and other records, 1974–1996; NALGO, Brecknock Branch, minutes, 1974–1990 [Acc 1758]  
 Records from Cynlais CP School, Ystradgynlais, Breconshire: Log Books 1884–1927 (Infants only); Admissions Registers 1892–1984; Stocks and Stores ledger, [1902]–1914; Punishment Book, 1955–1966 [Acc 1759]  
 Records from Breconshire Parish/Community Councils: Llanlleonfel, 1895–1942; Treflys, 1896–1964 [Acc 1765]  
 Records relating to turnpikes, railways and canals, Breconshire. Originally from Maybery and Cobb (subsequently Wilkins and Cobb, Cobb and Tudor, Tudor and De Winton), Solicitors, Brecon, C19th [Acc 1769]  
 Admission registers for Ysgol Maes-y-Dderwen, Ystradgynlais, 1945–1979 [Acc 1774]  
 Crickhowell RDC records: general ledgers, rate books, valuation lists, correspondence files, 1882–1974 [Acc 1782]

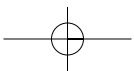
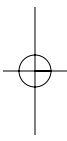
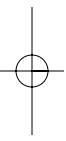
*Non-Official Records*

- Three postcards of Glasbury-on-Wye, and one of Hay-on-Wye, c 1900 [Acc 1719]  
 Photographs of the Davies family, the Rhiw, Llysdinam, Breconshire, late C19th–1918; Photograph (1936) and family history notes of the Price family, Llanfihangel Bryn Pabuan [Acc 1720]  
 Deeds relating to Ty'n-y-Cwm, Llanfilo, 1758–1918 [Acc 1725]  
 Second Edition OS 25" maps of Montgomeryshire, Breconshire and Radnorshire, 1902–1904 [Acc 1727]



- Album of photographs of Girlguiding Breconshire [Breconshire Girl Guides Association], c1910–1997 [Acc 1733]
- Three Documents relating to Llandefalle, Breconshire, 1864–1901 [Acc 1739]
- Builth Wells Chamber of Trade minute books, 1917–1936; 1954–1973 [Acc 1742]
- Deeds, orders and correspondence, 1824–1957, relating to: Groes-lwyd Chapel in Guilsfield, Montgomeryshire; Domgay [Domgae] Chapel in Llandysilio, Montgomeryshire; Siloam Chapel in Aberysgir, Breconshire [Acc 1744]
- Library catalogue from Castell Madog, Llanfihangel Fechain. The property of, possibly prepared by, Hugh Penry Powel, late C19th–c 1910 [Acc 1749]
- Additional records from the Plough Independent/Congregational/United Reformed Chapel, Brecon, 1908–2004. Including: annual reports 1929–1931 & 1969–2004; committee minutes 1980–1984 [Acc 1755]
- Account book, found in a house in Talgarth; 1844 [Acc 1763]
- Twenty one oral history interviews on CD, with transcripts, on life in the Upper Swansea Valley, Breconshire, before and after the 2nd World War, conducted in 2005–2006 by members of The Sleeping Giant Foundation [Acc 1767]
- Photograph and copies of photographs relating to Sennybridge; notes on Evan Mathias (1885–1962); transcribed extracts from the diary of Daniel Evan Price for 1895–1897; c1912–2007 [Acc 1768]
- Breconshire Girl Guiding records belonging to the late Mrs Annie Grant, 1926–2004 [Acc 1781]
- Local studies material relating to Sennybridge, Breconshire, 1993–2007 [Acc 1783]
- Eisteddfodau programmes, Breconshire, Montgomeryshire and Radnorshire, 1952–1964 [Acc 1752]

CATHERINE RICHARDS  
County Archivist



## THE ROLAND MATHIAS PRIZE 2007

Roland Mathias, a key figure in Welsh writing in English, generously endowed the prize that bears his name. It is awarded every other year for a book in any one of four categories that correspond to the areas of his major literary achievements – poetry, the short story, literary criticism, and history relevant to Wales. Writers who are Welsh by birth or who now live in Wales are eligible.

The Prize, which is worth £2000 to the winner, was awarded for the second time at the end of April. It went to Dannie Abse for *Running Late*, a further revelation of the poet's deft ease, whatever the subject. In this predominantly elegiac book the familiar lightness of touch persists. The contents are leavened with a fair measure of wit and humour, and the weightier themes are greeted with a sad smile and shake of the head. What can one do, after all, faced with the accumulating evidence of entropy, and the loss of friends and loved ones? Yes, weep for the moment, treasure the memories, and treasure, too, what the seasons bring to our gardens and what remains of the familiar bric-a-brac of a lifetime. One of Abse's enviable gifts is story telling, the communication of message or moral in simple narrative without a wasted word; another is his ability to express human love – not the whirlwind of passion but abiding love – in a way unsentimental, yet deeply affecting.

The poet didn't come to Brecon to receive his prize. Instead, just in case, he sent an old friend and editor from Hutchinson with a letter of apology and gratitude. His reluctance to travel down from London was understood by all (he is now 84), yet it was a pity, for Roland Mathias was almost certainly the first critic to give lengthy, well-considered attention to Abse's poetry in a two-part article for the *Anglo-Welsh Review* (numbers 36 and 38) in 1966–67. Forty years ago, Mathias thought *Tenants of the House* the 'high plateau' of his subject's achievement, and that Abse had already established himself as 'one of the few successful contemporary poets of the extended symbolic concept', a point, he continued, 'as far from his beginnings in a natural, discursive eloquence as he could well reach'. The quality he most admired in the other's writing was that 'fundamental belief in man's spiritual potential and a willingness to look at a happy relationship or a pleasant possibility at least as carefully as others explore the counter-balancing glooms'. The reference to spirituality is perhaps wide of the mark in respect of a poet for whom 'Religion is beyond belief?' But, committed Christian as he is, this would not have dismayed Mathias. At the time, and interestingly in view of his own inventive employment of metre, he was more exercised about a dwindling away of that 'common humanity' that had been a characteristic of the earlier work as Abse began to develop more formal approaches. He need not have worried: the loss, if there was a loss, was temporary. It is the 'common humanity' permeating *Running Late* that holds and moves the reader.

The successful formula of the award ceremony requires the authors of the shortlisted books to read a sample of their work. In Dannie Abse's absence, Tony Curtis, another old friend of the poet, performed in his place. An appreciative audience was equally warmly disposed to the selection from Tony Conran's *The Red Sap of Love*, a big book of collected lyrics from fifty years of writing, read by the poet's wife. Conran, who was present but prevented from reading in person by the increasing handicap of cerebral palsy, is revered by many as a brilliant translator of poetry in Welsh, for his own stylish and dramatic utterance, and for his poetic loyalty to the community for which he writes. Many believe he has had less than his due of formal acknowledgement for a sustained and remarkable contribution to literature in Wales.

The other two writers whose books made the shortlist read for themselves. Tony Brown gave an extract from his monograph on *R. S. Thomas* in the Writers of Wales series, an excellent short study of the poet that shirks no issue. It casts more light than any previous critique on the major influence that Patrick Kavanagh's *The Great Hunger* had on Thomas's poetry, identifies inspiration and sources (Keidrych Rhys's magazine *Wales* significant among them), discusses the complex relationship between the poet and his wife, drawing on the remarkable sequence of poems written after her death, and simplifies what had seemed to be the thorny tangles of his unorthodox belief. Finally in the running order, Cornish born, Sussex University educated Philip Gross, who came to Wales as Professor of Creative Writing at the University of Glamorgan in 2004, read from *The Egg of Zero* (Bloodaxe), his first book of poems since arriving here. It was a striking performance from a book that is packed with fascinating ideas and images and, even while dealing with the commonplaces of life, such as family relations, shopping, the fear of burglars, dry rot beneath the floorboards (!), is often simply electrifying.

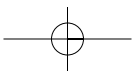
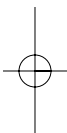
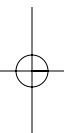
The shortlist for the prize bore out an earlier impression that, along with the inevitable dross, some splendid work has been published in the past two years: any one of the four books presented would have been a worthy winner. The Roland Mathias Prize itself is proving a winner too – not least because it is so well supported by the locality. It has a good start in being organised under the auspices of the Brecknock Society and Museum Friends and sponsored by BBC Wales. Another considerable advantage is that the award ceremony takes place in the historic Guildhall in Brecon, where among the paintings displayed is a grand full-length portrait of Sarah Siddons. (The great actress was born in Brecon, at the Shoulder of the Mutton Inn, where her parents, Roger Kemble and Sarah [Ward], were lodged during a provincial tour. That was not their daughter's only connection with the town. Brecon witnessed her first stage appearance and, while still a young woman, she precipitated a family crisis there by expressing her determination to marry William Siddons, another member of Kemble's company, when her parents had planned a more secure match to one of the minor landed gentry.)

*The Roland Mathias Prize 2007*

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As on the first occasion two years ago, the ceremony was preceded by a reading, which began with poems from Christine Evans, the inaugural prize winner, followed by novelist and poet Chris Meredith, who read a new short story, then more poems from Gillian Clark and Peter Finch, both consummate literary professionals, who have been doing this sort of thing for thirty years or more. The formula of preliminaries, which entertain and whet the appetite, before the main event, is a feature that other literary prizes might envy and perhaps seek to emulate. The size of the audience and the warmth of the applause at the Guildhall certainly suggest that the Roland Mathias Prize is already a firmly established and popular event in the cultural life of Brecon.

SAM ADAMS



## PREHISTORIC FUNERARY AND RITUAL MONUMENTS IN BRECONSHIRE

### *Introduction*

Between 1997 and 2006 the Clwyd-Powys Archaeological Trust (CPAT) carried out a survey of the prehistoric funerary and ritual monuments in mid and north-east Wales. Essentially, this comprised an examination of known Neolithic tombs and Bronze Age round barrows, stone circles and standing stones, as well as several other more sparsely represented types of monument. The survey was part of a pan-Wales project, carried out in conjunction with the other Welsh Archaeological Trusts, with funding provided by Cadw. The final phase of this work was the completion of the survey in Breconshire undertaken between 2003 and 2006. Other studies completed by CPAT cover Montgomeryshire,<sup>1</sup> Radnorshire,<sup>2</sup> Denbighshire and East Conwy,<sup>3</sup> and Flintshire and Wrexham.<sup>4</sup>

Surprising as it may seem, while many of these sites are well known, there has been no comprehensive survey of the monuments within the county until relatively recently. The Inventory produced by the Royal Commission on Ancient and Historical Monuments of Wales<sup>5</sup> in 1997 included the majority of sites that had been identified before the 1990s, and formed the basis for much of the present study. More recent fieldwork had, however, brought to light a significant number of newly identified sites which were of potential relevance to the study.

The present study was based on existing records within the regional Historic Environment Record (HER), held by CPAT in Welshpool, many of which have their origins in antiquarian reports or are known from a variety of 20<sup>th</sup>-century sources. Not surprisingly, there have been a great many changes since some of these sites were first recorded, both in the landscape in which they are set and in our perception of the monuments within that landscape. Unfortunately, some sites have been lost and those early reports then provide the only information available to us. On the other hand, academic advances have led to a greater understanding of some monuments and monument types, as well as the discovery of previously unrecorded sites, and significant modifications to the overall classification and interpretation of sites.

One of the primary aims of the survey has been to enhance the HER, not only to provide an updated description and interpretation of each site, but also to rectify inconsistencies and confusion within the record where, for example, the same monument might be mistakenly recorded under different names or at different locations. The country-wide nature of the study provides an ideal opportunity to standardize the terminology across Wales and develop a set of consistent definitions for monument types. This has been a key feature of the survey and one which should greatly assist future researchers. The categories

have, however, been left relatively broad, without detailed and potentially contentious sub-divisions.

The initial stage of the survey was a critical assessment of the existing records that led to the exclusion of a significant number of sites, the evidence for which had been previously misinterpreted, perhaps attributing the site to the wrong period or wrongly ascribing to it a burial or ritual function. Nearly all the remaining sites were then visited to assess their present condition, create new descriptions and produce a photographic record, which together provide uniform baseline data for future monitoring. Although it was not an objective of the project to search for previously unrecorded sites, a few were discovered in the course of the survey. Full use was made of recent technological developments which have, often for the first time, enabled accurate locations to be recorded for almost all the sites using a hand-held Global Positioning System (GPS).

The survey has not included artefacts and their find spots, nor unravelled the implications of place-name evidence, but all types of structures or sites have been investigated. These can survive either as earthworks and other upstanding features, or appear as cropmarks revealed by aerial photography, or emerge during excavations.

### *Survey Results*

The reassessment of monuments during the survey has led to major revisions of the existing records, recategorising and redescribing sites according to the revised monument type definitions. The results have been used to produce Table 1 which provides a summary of the relative numbers of sites and possible sites for each of the prehistoric funerary and ritual monument types currently listed in the regional HER. The overall distribution of the various monument types, broadly divided between 'burial' and 'ritual' monuments, is shown in Figs. 1 and 2.

Table 1: Summary of prehistoric funerary and ritual monument types in Breconshire

<i>Monument type</i>	<i>no. of probable and possible sites</i>	<i>Monument type</i>	<i>no. of probable and possible sites</i>
Cairnfield	5	Pit	0
Chambered tomb	15	Pit avenue	0
Cist	6	Pit circle	0
Cremation burial	1	Ring ditch	9
Cremation cemetery	0	Round barrow	447
Cursus	1	Standing stone	89
Henge	2	Stone circle	13
Inhumation	0	Stone row	10
Long barrow	1	Stone setting	6
Mortuary enclosure	0	Timber circle	1
Palisaded enclosure	0		



As might have been expected, round barrows, including cairns of several different forms, are by far the most numerous category of monument (447 sites), accounting for 74% of all sites. Standing stones, too, are well represented with 89 sites recorded, while the remaining monument types are present in comparatively small numbers. Not all of the monument types recognised across Wales are represented within Breconshire. At present it is not possible to determine whether this is the result of acknowledged regional variations in funerary and ritual monuments across Wales or, perhaps more plausibly, whether it reflects the limited number of excavations and lack of good cropmark evidence across much of Breconshire.

The county is dominated by extensive blocks of upland, principally the Brecon Beacons, the Black Mountains to the south-east, Mynydd Epynt in central Breconshire, and the area around Abergwesyn Common in the north. The general distribution of sites shows several noticeable trends, most obviously the concentration of monuments in the north of the county, in the uplands south of the Elan Valley. Elsewhere, there are distinct concentrations in the south-western Black Mountains, the Hepste valley in the southern Brecon Beacons, and on Mynydd Llangynidr, as well as a general trend for higher numbers of monuments in the upland areas. This distribution may to some extent be a reflection of the pattern of previous archaeological field survey, particularly in respect to the uplands of the Elan Valley and Abergwesyn Common, and the Black Mountains.

As part of the survey the condition of each site has been assessed, noting any active erosion and potential threats to monuments. Although the majority of sites (60%) have suffered at least some damage in the past, generally as a result of ploughing, robbing for stone, or antiquarian investigation, it is encouraging that 28% of sites survive intact or nearly so, and no more than 10% have been destroyed since they were first recorded, or can no longer be identified. In terms of their physical condition 76% of the monuments were found to be well preserved with little or no obvious erosion, while only 3% were identified as having serious erosion problems. As one might expect, where there is an erosion problem it is most commonly related to farming practices, which include not only ploughing, but also erosion by stock, general agricultural improvement, vehicle damage, and robbing for building and walling stone. Encouragingly, however, the majority of sites (84%) were not considered to be subject to any significant threat at present.

The form of any monument has considerable bearing on its susceptibility to erosion, and this is largely determined by its type and composition. Those constructed of stone, or with a high percentage of stone in their composition are likely to be less fragile than those made entirely of earth. The surviving height of the monument is also significant, since lower earthwork sites are not only more exposed to ploughing, but are also more likely to incur damage to the buried features and deposits preserved beneath them.

*Monument Types*

The general range of monument types has been listed in Table 1 and the following section presents a summary by type of those sites recorded within the county. Any named example is normally accompanied by a number, in parenthesis, which refers to its Primary Record Number (PRN) assigned by the HER, and this also appears on either Fig. 1 for burial monuments or Fig. 2 for ritual monuments.

*Chambered tombs*

The chambered tombs of Wales, comprising the communal tombs of the earliest, Neolithic farmers, are amongst the oldest surviving man-made structures in Wales<sup>6</sup>. Breconshire has an unusual concentration of chambered tombs, with twelve confirmed monuments and a further three possible sites, concentrated in the south-east of the county, on the lower slopes of the Black Mountains and the slopes overlooking the valleys of the Wye and Usk.

The majority of sites fall within a class generally referred to as 'Cotswold-Severn Tombs', and although each of the Breconshire tombs is distinct, their very eccentricity of plan defines them as a separate group from those in the rest of Wales or western England.<sup>7</sup> Although tombs within this group are very diverse, there is general agreement that they can be divided into three main sub-types: tombs with simple terminal chambers without a passage or transepts; those with terminal transepted chambers, which have a central passage entered from one end with side chambers arranged in pairs; and sites with multiple lateral chambers with independent entrances from one or both sides of the cairn. The most complex sites are those in the third category, with examples at Penywrlod Talgarth, Gwernvale, Pipton and Tŷ Isaf.<sup>8</sup>

The largest and most substantial long cairn of the Black Mountains group is located 400m south of Penywrlod Farm, near Talgarth (568). The site was only discovered in 1972 when agricultural quarrying exposed part of the internal structures. Limited excavations were undertaken at the time, examining and recording the disturbed areas.<sup>9</sup> The excavations revealed revetment walls at the north-east corner of the narrower, north-western end, around most of the south-eastern side of a forecourt with the remains of a dummy entrance, or false portal, and adjacent to the entrances of three side-chambers on the north-east side. So defined, the cairn was 52m long, and around 22.5m wide across the broader, south-east end, narrowing to 11m at the other end. The quarrying had removed much of the south-east corner of the mound, exposing two orthostats of the main chamber, while of the three lateral chambers on the north-east side, one had been almost totally destroyed, another had lost its coverstones and some of the side slabs, while the third was essentially undisturbed.<sup>10</sup> Despite the obvious damage, the cairn is still an impressive monument, the majority of which remains largely intact.

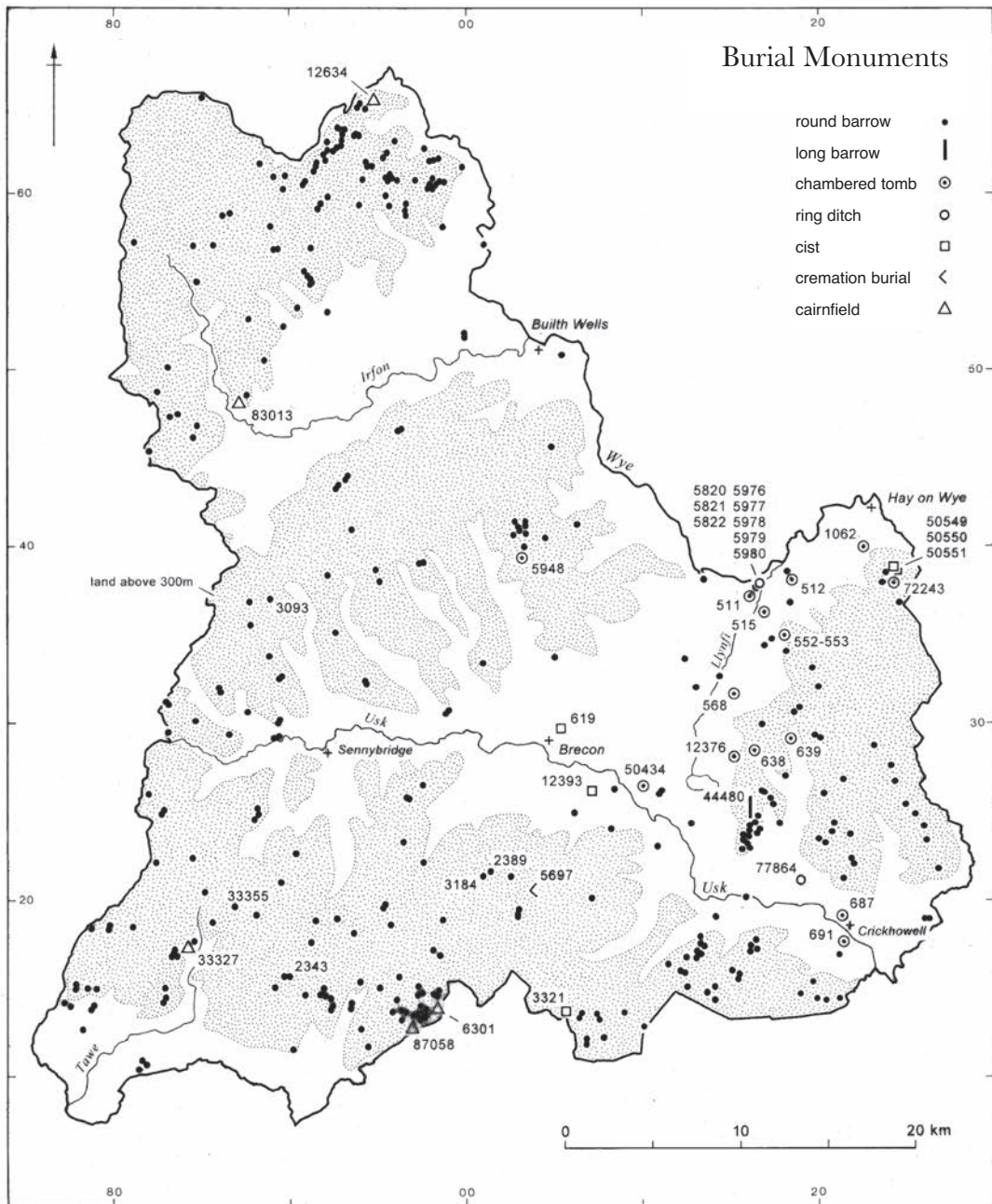


Fig. 1 Burials monuments in Breconshire

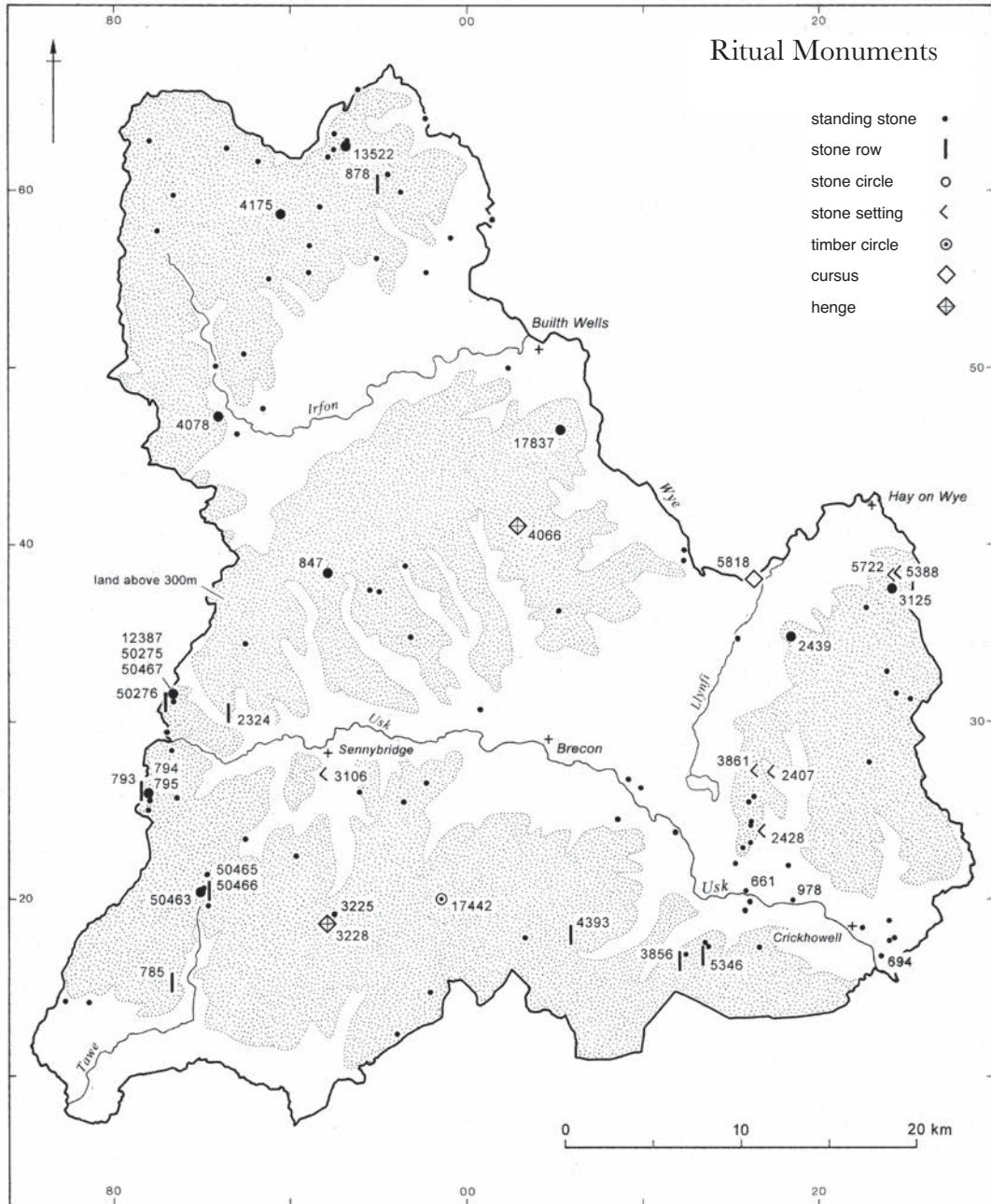


Fig. 2 Ritual monuments in Breconshire

Another lateral-chambered example is the long cairn at Gwernvale, near Crickhowell (687) which, by virtue of its position next to the A40, is the most accessible site in the county. It was the realignment of the road that led to a major excavation in 1977–78, prior to which only one chamber was visible, although the site had previously been the subject of antiquarian excavations in 1804. Sadly, the site today is but a poor reflection of its former state, sited on the roadside verge with only the main orthostats surviving and the extent of the cairn marked by concrete blocks.

The 1970s excavations revealed evidence for pre-cairn activity dating from the Mesolithic, as well as Neolithic occupation beneath the east end of the cairn. Double dry-stone revetment walls originally surrounded the cairn, which measured just over 45m in length, up to 17m wide near the east end, which contained a forecourt with a false portal, and narrowing to 6.5m at the west end. Originally the cairn would have stood to at least 2.5m high at the false portal dropping to perhaps only 0.5m at the west end. The cairn evidently had several phases of construction and use, beginning with the erection of the four chambers and their main passages. The chambers were opened and re-blocked intermittently, perhaps over a period of 600 years from its erection around the end of the fourth millennium BC.<sup>11</sup>

The tomb at Pipton (511) was excavated by Savory in 1949 for the Brecknock Society and the National Museum of Wales. The excavations revealed that the original cairn was wedge-shaped, 32m long, 16m wide near the north-east end, where the forecourt had a false portal 2.5m wide, and was around 10m wide at the south-west end. The cairn was up to 2m high, the tallest element being one of the two portal stones at 2.4m. Within the cairn only two chambers were identified: Chamber I was only 5.5m from the portal and was entered from the north-west side; and Chamber II was apparently a closed cist on the same side. An internal revetment wall curved across the cairn to the south-west of each of the chambers. The appearance of the cairn today is rather less impressive than the excavation results might suggest. Its main visible structure comprises two large slabs forming the portal at the north-east end and there are only two other stones now showing, both of which have previously been described as possible buttresses. One of them is midway along the south-east side, the other near the south-west end. There is a hollow in the mound between the portal and the position of Chamber I, and another hollow on the north-west side which marks the position of Chamber II.<sup>12</sup>

Like Pipton and Gwernvale, the present form of the chambered tomb at Tŷ Isaf (639), between Talgarth and Cwmdru, gives little impression of its complex structure. The site was discovered by O.G.S. Crawford in 1921, and was excavated by Grimes in 1938. Double dry-stone revetment walls surrounded a cairn aligned north to south, 30.2m long and at least 17m wide, reducing to

13.5m to the south, with a maximum height of 1.5m. A forecourt with a false portal at the northern end, was accompanied by a pair of chambers placed back to back and entered independently from the sides of the cairn, with a third chamber at the southern end, entered from the east. An unusual feature, distinguishing Tŷ Isaf from the previous three sites, was a double-walled rotunda towards the centre of the cairn which was linked with the revetment walls on the east side, and enclosed a large transepted gallery, entered from the south-east. The chambers had been used as ossuaries, with the deposition of disarticulated bones; two of the chambers collectively had the remains of at least 26 individuals, while one chamber had a single individual, with two burials in the passage, and the other chamber had only cremated bone and the base of a Bronze Age cinerary urn.<sup>13</sup>

Ffostyll, lying 2.5km north-east of Talgarth, is unusual in having two chambered tombs in close proximity, both of which were investigated by Vulliamy between 1921 and 1923. The southern tomb (552) had been disturbed in 1875 when quantities of human bones were uncovered during quarrying for road stone. Vulliamy's excavations uncovered the main chamber, which measured 3.3m by 1.2m, the floor of which was covered by a large quantity of human bones and teeth, representing nine or more individuals of both sexes and various ages, as well as some remains of domestic animals. Further burials were revealed outside the chamber, as well as some pottery and pieces of flint and chert. The available evidence suggests that this may have been a form of terminally transepted tomb. The remains of the cairn now consist of a long mound around 36m long and up to 23m wide, which tapers slightly from the north, standing up to 2m high at the northern end, but no more than 0.5m towards the south. Seven upright sandstone slabs are visible towards the northern end, defining the remains of the chamber.<sup>14</sup>

The northern tomb (553) is the larger of the two and had also been disturbed before Vulliamy's excavations of 1922, the exposed eastern chamber having been robbed. A western chamber was discovered, as well as a covered cist located in the middle of the north side of the mound. The chamber contained human remains, together with those of domestic animals, some flint flakes and pottery. The cist contained the remains of six or seven individuals, including two children. The cairn has clearly seen significant past disturbance and now measures 41.5m in length and is up to 22.0m wide, tapering towards the west. The exposed slabs of the eastern chamber form a striking feature with five upright stones well-set within the mound. Although the western chamber comprised two widely-spaced massive side-slabs, these are no longer visible, although the position is marked by a slight hollow.<sup>15</sup>

Another variation on the terminal chambered tomb is the site at Penywrlod, near Llanigon (1062). The site was excavated by the Woolhope Club in 1920–21,

who cleared the main chamber and revealed a second, smaller chamber at the western end. The main chamber measured 1.7m by 0.7m, defined by large upright slabs, and this remains the most impressive surviving feature, although part of the other chamber is also visible. The surviving mound is irregular, measuring around 18m in length and up to 9.5m wide. As well as primary burials, the excavation spoil also yielded various Roman artefacts, including a coin of Crispus (AD 317-326).<sup>16</sup>

Sited on the north side of the col between Mynydd Troed and Mynydd Llangorse is another chambered tomb (638) which may also belong to the terminal-chambered group. The site was discovered by O.G.S. Crawford in 1921, when only two uprights were visible, and trial excavations were undertaken in 1966 by Crampton and Webley. This revealed a revetment wall surrounding the cairn, which measured around 26m in length and up to 15m wide, standing to a maximum height of 1.4m. The cairn is known to have had at least one chamber, defined by three upstanding stones, while hollows suggest the presence of two other chambers.<sup>17</sup>

Of those sites with more simple chambers, Tŷ Illtud (50434) is perhaps the more interesting on the basis of its later use. Set slightly apart from the rest of the Black Mountains group, Tŷ Illtud lies west of Llangors, overlooking the Usk valley. It is possible that this was the site referred to by John Aubrey around 1612, which is the earliest known reference to a megalithic tomb in Breconshire. There is a single chamber within the body of the cairn, which has been denuded by quarrying and ploughing. The chamber is formed by two large upright side slabs and an end slab supporting a massive capstone. (Plate 1) The chamber opens to the north, beyond which are a further five stones, possibly associated with another chamber, or perhaps part of a forecourt. What is of particular interest is the range of graffiti with over 70 symbols carved on five of the stones, including dates of 1510 and 'mcccxi', leading to suggestions that the site may have been used as a hermit's cell.<sup>18</sup> Sadly, the sandstone is now laminating and many of the carvings have been lost or are no longer apparent.

The Little Lodge tomb (512), near Three Cocks, was first described and is still best known from excavations by Vulliamy in 1929, which revealed a major chamber complex just south of the mound's centre, with a contiguous pair of small chambers in the south end. The main chamber contained many unburnt human bones, representing one youth and four adults, mostly male. The site is extensively robbed, and survives to a maximum height of only 1.8m, with a number of large, upright slabs exposed, giving some impression of the chambers. The surrounding mound forms a broad platform 55.5m long north to south, with a maximum width of 22m, although this has clearly been truncated by ploughing.<sup>19</sup>

Perhaps the best preserved, but consequently least understood, chambered tomb is that referred to by Theophilus Jones around 1800, who recorded a site

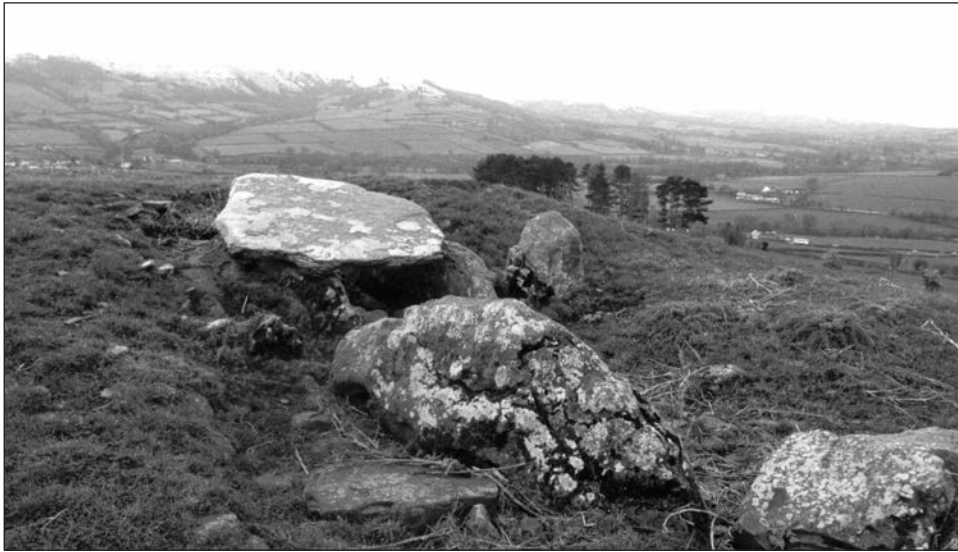


Plate 1 Tŷ Illtud chambered tomb (50434)

called Twyn-cae-yr-eithyn (72243), 'at some distance from Twyn-y-beddau, on the left hand of the track leading to Llanthony, and not far from the mouldering ruins of an old public house called 'Rhydwrnen'.<sup>20</sup> During the 1990s a trapezoidal mound was identified between the Twyn-y-beddau barrow and Pen y Beacon stone circle, the appearance of which suggested a long barrow or chambered tomb. The mound, which is orientated south-west to north-east, is 27m long and up to 14.5 wide tapering to 11m at the north-east, with a height of around 1.8m high. The south-western end is slightly raised, with three stones visible through the turf, suggesting a possible chamber.<sup>21</sup> The site appears to correlate well with Jones's description, particularly when one considers that although it is some distance from the present road, the Ordnance Survey Surveyors' drawing shows that the road previously passed immediately to the west of the cairn.

Two chambered tombs are only known from antiquarian sources and their exact location has since been lost. The more authentic of the two is at Croes Llechau (515), which was described by Edward Lhuyd around 1700 and appears to have included a main chamber at the eastern end with a possible false portal nearby, a second chamber at the west end and a small side chamber. The monument survived in some form at least until 1802 when it was noted by Colt Hoare.<sup>22</sup> The nature of the second site is more uncertain, the only record dating from 1909 when the Reverend Daniel Lewis mentioned 'the remains of a cromlech' at Cwrt y Prior (12376), of which 'there was only one stone of considerable dimensions remaining'.<sup>23</sup>



In addition, there are two unusual monuments, the nature of which is far from clear. A large earth and stone mound (691) was discovered by workmen near Llangattock in 1847. The mound was recorded as containing a 'cist or cromlech . . . of four rude uprights under a covering stone', inside which 'a quantity of human bones were discovered'. The mound still survives to a height of 1.4m, measuring 17.4m in diameter, with two upright stones and the possible capstone still visible. Opinion is divided as to whether this is a Bronze Age round barrow, or a Neolithic chambered tomb.<sup>24</sup> A more unusual site as located at Bailey Bach in central Breconshire (5948), comprising what appears to be a burial chamber or very large cist, with a large slab set on top of two edge-set stones to form a chamber measuring around 1.5m by 1m internally. The stones are sited on the crest of a ridge in a hollow which has been formed, at least in part, by sheep scour, but there is a slight bank along the south-east side which may suggest that material has been excavated from around the stones. There is no suggestion of a surviving mound, although the area has clearly been improved and ploughed in the past.

#### *Long barrows*

Long barrows are roughly rectangular, trapezoidal, or markedly oval earthen mounds which are presumed to have been used for burial and ritual activity during the early to middle Neolithic period. There are no confirmed long barrows in the county although an elongated mound on the east side of Blaen-y-cwm col (44480) in the Black Mountains, has been proposed as a possible site. The mound, which is orientated north-west to south-east, is 14m long, 7m across, and up to 0.7m high, and although it is suggestive of a long barrow, the location would be unusual and the site is far from convincing.

#### *Cursus Monuments*

Cursus monuments are long and narrow ditched enclosures with parallel sides and closed ends, and are associated with ritual activity of Neolithic date, often being spatially associated with other funerary or ritual monuments of Neolithic or Early Bronze Age date. The only known examples in Wales have been identified from cropmark evidence, but earthworks, normally defined by a bank and external ditch, are known elsewhere in the British Isles. One potential cursus monument has been recognised at Spread Eagle, near Pipton (5818), where cropmarks show two parallel ditches orientated south-east to north-west, 15m apart and traceable for some 130m, though with no visible terminals. A closely grouped cluster of eight ring ditches occupy a gravel terrace some 150m to the east.

*Henges*

Henges are characterised by a circular area enclosed by a bank and (usually) an internal ditch, and are perhaps the best known ceremonial monuments of the later Neolithic period. There are, however, no true henges recorded within the county, but there are two sites which fall into the sub-type of hengiform monument. The most impressive is at Llech Llia (3228) on the north-eastern side of Fan Nedd. The site comprises an inner ring-bank separated by a ditch from an outer bank with traces of an outer ditch and, around the south and south-east, the traces of a third bank. The monument is roughly circular, with the outer bank 19.3m in diameter and 2.7m wide. The inner bank is 13.2m in diameter and 3m wide, with an entrance on the east side, although the outer bank appears to be continuous but is much flattened at this point and there is a corresponding gap in the lower ditch.<sup>25</sup> The second site is at Twyn y Post (4066) on moorland in central Breconshire. This comprises a turf-covered ring-bank between 12.5m and 11.7m across, 2.8m wide and 0.3m above the surrounding ground level. There is a possible entrance on the east side and the interior is 0.3m below the exterior ground level and the centre is occupied by a mound 5.0m in diameter and 0.3m high.<sup>26</sup>

*Stone circles*

The stone circles of Wales are one of the more emotive groups of monuments, yet despite much study their role in prehistoric society is still not well understood. Generally thought to date from the Early Bronze Age, they are assumed to have had a ritual function and are often located in association with other ritual and funerary monuments, such as stone rows, standing stones and barrows. Of the thirteen potential sites recorded in Breconshire, only eight survive to any great extent, one has been reconstructed, one is in a poor state of preservation and four are either lost or uncertain.

Perhaps the most impressive stone circle, in its setting and associated features, is at Cerrig Duon (50463), set on a natural shelf looking down the upper reaches of the Tawe valley to the south. The circle is around 18m in diameter and consists of 20 surviving stones, all of which are small, the largest standing to no more than 0.6m high. Immediately to the north is the impressive standing stone known as Maen Mawr which, together with two smaller upright stones, forms a short stone row (50465). An avenue of small stones approaches the circle from the north-east, but it is not aligned with the circle (50466).

In the far west of the county, south of the Usk Reservoir, is a complex of monuments in the Nant Tarw valley, including two stone circles and a stone row. The western circle (794) is nearly 20m in diameter and has 18 surviving stones ranging in size from one barely visible above the turf to the largest at 1.05m high.

Together with one obvious stone hole on the south side the surviving stone spacings are fairly regular, suggesting that the circle may have originally comprised at least 28 stones. There is also a very large recumbent slab just to the east of the circle. The eastern circle (795) comprises sixteen identifiable stones, some of which are barely visible above the turf, but with the largest standing to 1.25m high, and six are now recumbent. The spacing suggests that there were originally perhaps 21 stones.

There are also two stone circles on Mynydd Bach Trecastle, the larger and north-eastern (50467) of which is 22–23m in diameter and consists of 25 visible stones, some of which may have been reset. The stones are all small, between 0.1m and 0.5m high, and the general spacing together with several hollows suggests that originally there may have been at least 36 stones, with a possible entrance on the south-western side of the circle. There is a low irregular mound about 6–7m in diameter within the northern part of the circle which may be the remains of a cairn. The south-western circle (50275) is around 8m in diameter and now comprises four large slabs each about 0.9m high, as well as one smaller stone. There are five hollows signalling the former position of stones, so that originally the circle may have had twelve stones. A possible third circle (12387) has been suggested 170m to the north-west where three stones form an arc, one of which is upright, one recumbent, and the other a boulder.<sup>27</sup>

The least recognisable of all the stone circles in Breconshire is at Pen y Beacon (3125), on the plateau below Hay Bluff; it was first identified as recently as 1970. Only one stone is now clearly visible, although other smaller stones survive, defining a circle around 30m in diameter. The largest stone may be the one known in local folklore as ‘The Ancient King’.

Perhaps surprisingly for a such large upland plateau, there are only two known stone circles on Mynydd Epynt. The circle at Ynys Hir (847) now lies within the military training area and was excavated in 1940 prior its formation. The site has since been reconstructed but at the time of excavation comprised 27 stones forming a circle 17m in diameter. The other circle lies on open moorland on a slight east-west spur of Banc-y-celyn (17837) and has 24 visible stones forming an oval 18.5m east to west by 15m north to south. Of these, nineteen lie roughly on the circumference of the circle and of the remaining five, three stones are lying flat, two of them outside the circle, while the third lies within a sort of entrance formed by the emplacement of two uprights.<sup>28</sup>

There is only one stone circle in the north of the county, at Crugiau Bach (13522), to the south of the Elan Valley. The circle measures *c.* 22m in diameter and is composed of 21 visible stones, with a further two now covered by turf. All of the stones are small, averaging 0.5m by 0.3m and up to 0.3m high, and are set at intervals of 2–3m. Surrounding and incorporating the stones is a slight earth bank 2–2.5m wide and rising no higher than 0.2m above the general ground surface, and in the centre is a large slab 1.2m long by 0.5m wide.

The remains of a possible stone circle are located at Bwlch y Ddau Faen (4175), near Llanafanfawr; four upright stones appear to form the northern part of a circle roughly 29m in diameter, although one of the stones does not lie on the projected circumference. Two other stone circles are now only known from antiquarian sources, one 400m south-east of the Ffostyll chambered tombs (2439), and the other at Llanwrtyd (4078), in an area which has since been afforested.

### *Timber Circles*

Timber circles are currently a rarity in Wales and are only known as a result of excavations which have identified a number of sites with one or more concentric settings of upright posts set in individual postholes. Such sites are assumed to be associated with funerary or ritual activity of later Neolithic or Early Bronze Age date. In 1989 the excavation of a small circle of edge-set stones (17442), revealed as a result of visitor erosion on the path from Pont-ar-daf to Corn Du, identified a bedding trench which contained close-set timbers, each *c.* 0.15–0.2m in diameter, forming a small timber circle 3m in diameter, surrounding a large central slab. Radiocarbon dating places the site firmly in the Bronze Age, with a date which calibrates to either 1905–1852 or 1850–1762 BC.<sup>29</sup>

### *Stone Rows*

A stone row is defined as one or more roughly parallel rows of three or more upright stones. There are ten potential stone rows in the study area, most of which are of simple character, though one site is a multiple stone row and another is classed as a stone avenue. Some of the stone rows are associated with other types of ritual monument, such as stone circles, and thus constitute a prehistoric monument complex. On the whole stone rows are thought to belong to the early Bronze Age, although avenues may be Neolithic in date.<sup>30</sup> One of the ten sites which have been identified in the county no longer survives, a short row of three stones near Llywel (2324) which had reportedly been incorporated into a field bank and was later destroyed by road widening.

Two of the sites are associated with the Cerrig Duon stone circle (50463). To the north-east of the circle is an avenue of low, upright stones (50466) formed by two rows which converge towards the south-west. The north-west row is the longer and better preserved, with fifteen visible stones which form an irregular row *c.* 42m long, while the south-east row comprises ten visible stones in a row *c.* 19m long. Earlier plans appear to show both rows being longer than at present, with more stones, and it is likely that some stones are now buried beneath the turf.<sup>31</sup> The large standing stone known as Maen Mawr, which lies to the north of the stone circle, has two very much smaller upright stones in line to the north of it. Together the three stones form a row 5.8m long aligned to magnetic north (50465).

There are two other sites which may be associated with stone circles, one of which is at Nant Tarw, in the western Brecon Beacons, where a short stone row (793) lies about 115m to the east-south-east of one of the stone circles (794). It consists of one large recumbent stone and two much smaller uprights aligned east-west, with a large stone at the east end. The other site may be associated with the two stone circles on Mynydd Bach Trecastle where there is a north-east to south-west alignment of four small stones (50276), which lies to the south-west of the smaller circle (50275), extending for a distance of c. 24m. A further three stones lie between the two circles, on the south-east side, and appear to continue the alignment. Other small stones in the area of the stone circles may have formed part of a field boundary.<sup>32</sup>

Perhaps the most impressive stone row is Saith Maen (795), which lies on the edge of the upland plateau near Dan yr Ogof. As the name suggests, the alignment consists of seven stones forming a row 13.5m long, aligned north-north-east to south-south-west. The stones are evenly spaced at intervals of 1.2 to 1.5m, and two are now recumbent. Rather confusingly there is a second row which also goes by the name of Saith Maen, although this is located in the north of the county on Abergwesyn common (878). Again there are seven stones which are obviously part of the monument, although another stone may also be associated, forming a single row 6.5m in length, aligned east to west, overlooking the headwaters of Afon Chwefri. This is probably the site recorded by Theophilus Jones in 1809: 'On the road from Llandovery and Llangammarch to Rhayader are seen stones placed irregularly in the ground, which have given a common partly in this parish and partly in Llanafan, the name of Rhos saith maen, or seven stone common'.<sup>33</sup>

On the northern end of Mynydd Llangynidr there are two stone rows, the more impressive of which (5346) is 7m long and has six stones aligned north-east to south-west, with an outlying stone 45m to the north-east. The row comprises a large recumbent stone at the south-west end and five uprights which are not spaced equidistantly. The other (3856) lies 1.5km to the south-west and has three upright stones slabs with what appears to be a natural limestone slab at the north end of the row.

There is an unusual multiple stone row (4393) at the head of Glyn Collwn, west of the Talybont Reservoir, with three rows aligned north-east to south-west following the contours on a steep south-east facing slope. The majority of the stones are upright and well-set with the upper row comprising six stones spaced between 2.8m and 5.25 m apart, the middle row, which is between 3.6m and 4.6m downslope, has only five stones spaced between 2.5m and 4.2m apart, and the third row a further 3.8m downslope, containing only two stones, 20.7m apart. There are also other stones further downslope, suggesting that the monument may have been more extensive.

*Standing stones*

Standing stones are defined as single, or occasionally paired, upright stones, generally assumed to belong to the Bronze Age. Their very nature, however, inevitably means that they can easily be confused with later features such as boundary markers, gateposts and rubbing posts, and it is of course possible for prehistoric stones to have been reused as such. The function of prehistoric standing stones remains uncertain although they would appear to mark significant places, and may be associated with routeways or boundaries.

Breconshire has a large number of standing stones, and 89 potential sites have been recorded, of which 67 are still upright, nine are recumbent, three stones are known to have been destroyed, and a further ten could not be identified on recent visits. Although most are single stones, there is a pair of stones on Abergwesyn common and perhaps another pair, now lost, in Llangoed Wood near Llyswen. The sites are too numerous to describe individually in this article.

It is notable that Breconshire has a relatively large proportion of very large standing stones, with 16 stones (23% of the erect stones) standing to over 2m high. Most of the stones, however, are of more modest dimensions, with some as small as 0.3 to 0.4m high, although a height of between 0.7m and 1.5m is more typical. It is also interesting that the three largest standing stones are all located close to Crickhowell, the most impressive of which, measuring 4.5m high, 1.2m wide and 0.45m thick, is the so-called Fish Stone (978) (Plate 2), overlooking the Usk in Penmyarth Park. Also on the north bank of the Usk, just east of Llangynidr, is another impressive stone (661) 4.3m in height, while the third lies at the entrance to the Cwrt y Gollen military camp (694). Although not as tall, Maen Llia (3225), in the valley between Fan Nedd and Fan Llia, is also impressive. In general the stones reflect the local geology, but in some instances glacial erratics appear to have been utilised.

The distribution of standing stones in the county reveals significant concentrations in the south-east, the north, and overlooking the Usk Valley, while there are relatively few stones on Mynydd Epynt. Their general locations appear to give further credence to the suggestion that at least some may have been erected as route markers. At least fifteen stones lie close to routes crossing the uplands, either in a pass, or close to one; thus three stones lie at the head of the Tawe valley, another three near Capel-y-ffin and, most prominently, Maen Llia, which lies close to the route later followed by Sarn Helen. A further nineteen stones lie in river valleys which could have acted as major prehistoric routeways.



Plate 2 The 'Fish Stone' in Penmyarth Park (978)

*Stone settings*

A stone setting is the term applied to an arrangement of upright stones that is not readily definable as either a stone row, a stone circle or any other well-defined type of megalithic monument. They are difficult to define, to date and to interpret, and although six sites have been classified as such, only three were confirmed during recent field visits. There is an unusual setting of four stones at Pen-yr-heol (2428), on Cefn Moel, sited on a natural shelf at the base of a south-facing slope. The stones occupy an area of around 4.5m by 3.4m, and comprise one edge-set stone on the south side, a large edge-set stone on the west side, a boulder, possibly natural, on the east side and a recumbent stone on the north side. Another unusual group of stones is sited on Mynydd Llangorse (3861) where a number of parallel, edge-set stones with a large slab that may be a fallen upright or possibly a displaced capstone, suggest the remains of a cairn, although it is possible that this is a natural formation.

On the northern end of the Black Mountains, close to the Pen y Beacon stone circle (3125), are two small edge-set stones c. 2m apart (5388). A slight bank surrounds the stones although this may be a result of ploughing. The stones appear to be arranged on an arc which would extend to the south-east, and other small stones are visible through the turf suggesting a ruinous stone circle, the diameter of which would be 12 to 15m, although this is rather conjectural.

Three possible stone settings were recorded in antiquity, but can no longer be verified. Three upright stones (5722) were recorded by Poole in 1886 on the south-west side of Twyn y Beddau cairn and were 'said to mark the burial places of as many chieftains', although this possibly refers to the kerb stones of the cairn. A group of seven stones were recorded by Lewis in 1842 on the mountain adjoining Llywel in the west of Devynock parish (3106). The site has since been destroyed and the stones have been incorporated into the wall of a sheepfold. Finally, a group of stones some 1.5m square was recorded on the south-west side of Mynydd Troed (2407), possibly representing a burial chamber or cist, and a standing stone, although the site has not been accurately located.

*Round barrows*

The term round barrow encompasses a wide range of stone and earth-built funerary monuments which may also have had a certain ritual significance. As noted above, these burial monuments of the Early Bronze Age comprise the vast majority of sites recorded by the survey. When excavated, round barrows are normally found to cover burials, either inhumations or cremations, placed within a pit or, more commonly perhaps in upland areas, a stone-lined cist. The nature, composition and size of barrows are subject to considerable variation, but their construction materials usually reflect the local geology, so that upland sites



normally appear in the form of stone-built cairns, while lowland sites are typically earthen mounds surrounded by ditches. The majority of sites now show as simple earthen or stone mounds, although a number have significant distinguishing features. Some cairns, termed 'structured cairns', are notable for their more elaborate construction, perhaps with well-built kerbs of larger, or edge-set stones. The most conspicuous examples are the cairns on the summits of Pen y Fan (2389) and Corn Du (3184), both of which were excavated by CPAT during the 1990s because of serious visitor erosion, and have since been reconstructed. Both cairns were shown to have been originally constructed from peat and turf, with a later capping of overlapping sandstone slabs and larger slabs around the edges. Of the two, Corn Du was the more complex with a central cist surrounded by a setting of orthostats around which the turf mound was later erected. Two concentric lines of close-set, upright slabs were present within the mound, dividing it into three zones, although they clearly were not structural in the sense of forming revetments. Pen y Fan also had a well-constructed central cist, but lacked other internal structures.<sup>34</sup>

The complex internal structure of a cairn may not always be readily apparent, however, as the slippage of cairn material, stone robbing, and later field clearance, can easily have modified its appearance. Earthen barrows may also have originally incorporated more complex structural elements, such as palisades or stake circles, or have been constructed on the site of earlier activity, the evidence for which can only be identified through excavation. The excavation of platform cairns, which are low, flat-topped cairns, has frequently revealed internal structures, although none of the sites in the county have been investigated. The largest platform cairn is sited on Cefn Ty Mawr, 3km west of Newbridge-on-Wye; it is 21.5m in diameter and 0.5m high, with an outer stony bank around 3m wide surrounding a level interior composed of stone rubble.

Ring cairns, recognised by their raised circular ring banks enclosing flat interiors, may not be primarily burial monuments, and can often be confused with hut circles, small circular enclosures, embanked stone circles or even badly robbed barrows. Excavations have demonstrated that they were used for rituals connected with the deposition of charcoal and other material, perhaps ancillary to burials, and that human bones were only interred there at a later stage in their individual histories.<sup>35</sup> Perhaps the best example in the county, a ring bank 20m in diameter, up to 5m wide and 0.4m high, lies on moorland west of the Nedd Fechan valley (2343).

Finally, there are a number of small cairns, known as 'kerb cairns', which are usually less than 5m in diameter, and have an outer kerb of disproportionately large stones. They can be similar in appearance to small ring cairns, with a hollowed or flat central area.

There are 447 round barrows or possible round barrows of various forms

recorded in Breconshire, of which 28 are earthen mounds and 343 are stone-built cairns. Thirty-six structured cairns, 27 ring cairns, seven platform cairns and six kerb cairns constitute the remainder. The majority of sites (54%) are rather small, measuring less than 10m in diameter, with 34% between 10m and 20m in diameter, and nineteen sites in excess of 20m, one of which, at Bryn Melin (3093), on Mynydd Epynt, is just over 30m in diameter.

The distribution of the various types of barrow reveals several trends, the most notable and predictable of which is a general transition from earthen barrows in the main river valleys to cairns in the uplands. This is, of course, largely a reflection of geology, since in upland areas stone offered the most readily available construction material. The central uplands of Mynydd Epynt are notably lacking in cairns with any obvious structure, and have only one ring cairn, while the remaining upland areas all have more variety of types. There is a clear trend for round barrows to be sited in prominent locations, with 62 set on summits, the most obvious examples being those on Pen y Fan and Corn Du. Elsewhere in the Brecon Beacons and Black Mountains there are also summit cairns on Fan Nedd, Fan Llia, Carn Bica, Pen y Gader Fawr, and Pen Cerrig Calch, as well as a significant number in the north of the county, such as Drygarn Fawr. Others are positioned not on the highest point, but on a false crest (19 sites) in order to appear on the skyline when viewed from much of the area below, as on Fan Gyhirych and Hay Bluff. Ridge top locations are also well represented (58 sites), with good examples along the ridge between Pen y Gader Fawr and Disgwylfa, forming the watershed between the valleys of Grwyne Fawr and Fechan, where there are six cairns, each in a prominent position. It is conceivable that these sites may have had a territorial function, as may those few which are sited in passes and on routeways through the uplands,<sup>36</sup> such as the Nant-y-moch ring cairn (33355) which is sited on the col forming the watershed between the Afon Cria and Nant Tywyn, a route now followed by the A4067.

There are a number of areas where there is a perceptible grouping of barrows into what might be termed a 'round barrow cemetery', comprising two or more barrows in close proximity, and apparently associated. There is a particularly good example in the Black Mountains, comprising three large, well-preserved and prominent round cairns forming a line north to south alongside the footpath from Cefn Moel to Mynydd Llangorse. Another group of three cairns can be found at Twr Pen Cyrn, between Llangattock and Bryn Mawr, the largest of which measures *c.* 17.5m east to west by 15.3m north to south, and up to 1.8m high, with another nearby which is around 15m in diameter and 1.7m high, with a smaller cairn to the west. Pairs of barrows are more common, as at Cefn yr Ystrad, where there are two large cairns, each around 2m high and 16m in diameter.

*Cairnfields*

In upland areas of Wales in particular there are several distinctive clusters of small cairns within close proximity, which are assumed to be associated with funerary and/or other ritual activity of Neolithic or Bronze Age date. These cairnfields are, however, difficult to distinguish from clearance features. Five such groupings have been identified in Breconshire, three of which are on the south side of the Brecon Beacons. There is a fairly extensive cairnfield sited on the broad, low ridge of Carreg Saith-troedfedd (6301), comprising four definite and two probable funerary cairns, together with at least seven less well-structured cairns which may be from field clearance. The more obviously funerary cairns range in diameter between 5.5m and 12m. Around 1.8km to the south-west is a second group on Cefn Esgair Carnau (87058), comprising numerous clearance features amongst which are three well-constructed small cairns, and a distinct group of larger funerary cairns that are mostly sited towards the eastern end of the cairnfield. A group of four small cairns has also been identified on the edge of the upland plateau near Dan yr Ogof (33327).

A further two cairnfields lie in the north of the county, the more extensive of which is sited on Carn Gafallt (12634); nine small cairns between 3m and 5.8m in diameter occupy a slight col about 600m north-north-east of four round barrows which form a distinct group. Seven of the cairns have the appearance of being funerary rather than clearance cairns, although there are other clearance features in the area. The second cairnfield is sited on the southern part of a ridge known as Garn Dwad (83013) and comprises eight small cairns. They are all generally circular, measuring between 2.5m and 4m across, and are now predominantly turf-covered. Again, a clearance function cannot be discounted.

*Cists*

Most prehistoric burials were normally covered by a mound, yet simple cist burials are also known throughout Wales, particularly in upland areas. The lack of surviving evidence for a covering mound should not, necessarily be taken as an indicator that none originally existed. Six possible cists have been recorded in the county, none of which can now be positively identified. Three stone lined graves (50549-51) have been recorded close to Twyn y Beddau round barrow, although their precise position is not known. The close proximity of the barrow suggests that they may belong to the Bronze Age, although a later date is also possible. A possible cist (12393) was recorded during the excavation of a Roman villa bath-house and other buildings at Maesderwen, near Llanfrynach, in 1783. This was referred to as a 'rude stone coffin', containing some human bones and fragments of an urn, and although found on the site of a Roman villa, the finds might well be of Bronze Age date.<sup>37</sup> Of more certain date is the cist which was revealed by

the plough in 1900 at a location that is now likely to be beneath the Taf Fechan reservoir (3321). The cist was formed by four edge-set slabs covered by a capstone and contained a beaker, a probable cremation and a barbed and tanged arrowhead. More recently a pentagonal cist was uncovered during the construction of the playing fields for the Boys' Grammar School in Brecon (619). Although the cist contained at least one adult burial, no evidence of dating was recorded.

#### *Cremations*

Cremation burials generally date from the later Neolithic to middle Bronze Age, although the practice was also common during the Romano-British period. They are often isolated, but can occur in groups, and consist of small pits holding the cremated remains of an individual, sometimes placed within a ceramic vessel and possibly accompanied by grave goods, but not associated with surface features. The only recorded cremation burial in the county (5697) was discovered in 1981 when erosion revealed an urn on the summit of Fan y Big in the Brecon Beacons. Small-scale excavation revealed two cordoned urns, with a cremation, a possible bronze razor, and fragments of flint, which may all have been placed within a small pit.<sup>38</sup>

#### *Ring ditches*

Ring ditches are normally identified as cropmarks, or occasionally during excavations, and consist of one or more concentric ditches without visible surviving internal mounds. To date, nine cropmark ring ditches have been identified in Breconshire, eight of which are grouped at Spread Eagle, near Pipton. These range in diameter between 6m and 20m and lie in close proximity to a possible cursus monument. Ring ditches of this size are likely to represent the ploughed out remains of round barrows.

#### *Conclusions*

The survey has clearly demonstrated the wealth and diversity of Breconshire's prehistoric past, identifying over 600 funerary and ritual monuments, many of which are sufficiently significant and well-preserved that they are considered to be of national importance. In many ways the monuments in Breconshire appear to be broadly similar to those in other areas already studied. As elsewhere, round barrows and cairns predominate while other site types, with the exception of standing stones, are relatively poorly represented. One of the features which sets the county apart, however, is the concentration of chambered tombs in the Black Mountains which clearly suggests that this area was of particular importance during the Neolithic period. The size of some of the standing stones is also a

notable feature, with a significant number of large stones, including three which are amongst the tallest in Wales.

It is hoped that the data collected and deposited with the regional HER will provide a useful basis for future studies which may further advance our knowledge of this rather enigmatic period. As the distribution maps indicate, there is an apparent sparsity of monuments recorded in the main river valleys, a situation which almost certainly reflects the impact of centuries of cultivation. Previously unrecorded sites still await discovery or recognition as new cropmarks are identified and more fieldwork is undertaken, so that the summary afforded in this article should be seen very much as a statement at one particular point in time of work which will hopefully remain in progress. Further information on this and other projects can be obtained by contacting CPAT at their offices in Welshpool, or via their website: [www.cpat.org.uk](http://www.cpat.org.uk)

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## NOTES

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- <sup>29</sup> Gibson, A.M. Excavations at Pont-ar-daf, Brecon Beacons, Powys–Oct 1989. *Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies* 40 (1993), 173–89.
- <sup>30</sup> Burl, H.A.W. *From Carnac to Callanish: the Prehistoric Stone Rows and Avenues of Britain, Ireland and Brittany* (1993), 23. London.
- <sup>31</sup> RCAHMW 1997, 150–3.
- <sup>32</sup> RCAHMW 1997, 155.
- <sup>33</sup> RCAHMW 1997, 157–8.
- <sup>34</sup> Gibson, A. Survey, excavation and palaeoenvironmental investigation on Pen-y-Fan and Corn Du, Brecon Beacons, Powys: 1990–92. *Studia Celtica* 31 (1997), 1–82.
- <sup>35</sup> Lynch 1993; Lynch 2003, 28.
- <sup>36</sup> Gibson 2002, 25.
- <sup>37</sup> RCAHMW 1991, 136–7.
- <sup>38</sup> Briggs, C. S., Britnell, W. J. & Gibson, A. M. Two cordoned urns from Fan y Big, Brecon Beacons, Powys, *Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society* 56 (1990) 173–8.

## SOME PROBLEMATIC PLACE-NAMES IN BRECONSHIRE

Place-names are a source of eternal fascination, and have been widely interpreted in many works on Welsh toponymy, in the case of Breconshire notably and thoroughly by R. F. Peter Powell in two very interesting works.<sup>1</sup> Interpretation depends on many factors, and requires the evidence of early forms, not always available. Some names however, are difficult to interpret, and may well remain so. The following suggestions regarding some difficult and controversial names are offered in a spirit of enquiry.

**ABERHONDDU:** The Celtic languages possess three different forms for confluences, all from a Celtic root [*\*ber<sup>2</sup>*], to flow. Aber, the most common, refers to an outflow, usually of a smaller water into a larger, and is found in Scotland, Wales and Brittany. Cymer, the meeting of waters, is common in Wales and occurs also in Brittany (Kemper *Quimper*), and occasionally as *Comar* in Ireland<sup>3</sup> but the third, Inbhear, an inlet of the sea, is restricted to Scotland and Ireland. Aberhonddu *Brecon* is thus the place where the Honddu, flowing from Epynt, joins the Usk.

The traditional explanation of the town name *Aberhonddu* has assumed the name of the river to be *Hodni* in its original and earliest recorded form.<sup>4</sup> The change from *Hodni* to *Honddu* appears to have taken about a hundred years or so before the new form fully and permanently superceded the older, but the change is entirely explicable in terms of the local pronunciation of Welsh, and can be attested by reference to similar sound changes in other examples.

Firstly, the change of the final *-i* to *-u* is of no phonetic significance: it is only north of the Dyfi<sup>5</sup> that *-u* has retained its distinctive sound, similar to a French ‘*u*’ [phonetic symbol *y*], but unrounded, although it is also recorded as surviving amongst older speakers in the Maesteg area of South Wales.<sup>6</sup> Elsewhere, the *-u* has lost its distinctive high frontal nature and fallen together with *-i*. A spelling with *-u* can be described as ‘folk-etymology’: an attempt to explain an obscure element by linking it with a known term, in this case *-du* ‘black’.

The softening (lenition) of the *-d-* to *-dd-* and the metathesis, or ‘swop-over’, of the *-n-* and the *-dd-* serve to ease the pronunciation, and both are paralleled in Breconshire dialect by the local word for the fox. The *llwynog* of the north, and the literary language, and the *cadno* of the west, is *canddo*<sup>7</sup> in Breconshire dialect, with a plural *cenddi*, attested in Theophilus Jones<sup>8</sup> and a number of farm names in Breconshire, Gwent and Dinefwr. Further evidence for this easing or softening tendency in Breconshire Welsh is to be found in the name of the river flowing north from Llyn Safaddan at Llangors to join the Wye at Aberllynfi – Llynfi is precisely the same name as Llyfni in North Wales, and derives its name from the adjective *llyfn*, smooth. The same change is to be found in the identical river name in the Maesteg area – Llynfi.

However, although we can explain the morphological changes in the name Honddu, the actual meaning causes difficulties. The river name has been taken as a derivation of *hawdd* – easy, smooth,<sup>9</sup> but there are firm reasons for seeing this as unsatisfactory:

Firstly, as regards the sound itself, the soft -dd- in *hawdd* is paralleled by the soft consonants in related words in Cornish – ‘*hauth*’ – and Breton – ‘*aes*’,<sup>10</sup> and therefore predates by several centuries the hard -d- of *Hodni*. It would be anachronistic to explain the modern form of *Honddu* with the modern word *hawdd*, without taking cognizance of the earlier form *Hodni*. Furthermore, all early recorded forms of *hawdd* contain the diphthong, and no forms in older Welsh reduce the sound to -o. This would exclude *hawdd* – as indeed does the very nature of the river itself: Edward Lhuys<sup>11</sup> describes it as “*an ugly torrent which falls with much noise and violence into Uske*”, and numerous violent floods over the years, when *Honddu* boils down from Epynt in a red torrent, belie any description as ‘easy’.

Secondly, it has been suggested that the use of ‘easy’ for a turbulent stream is ironic,<sup>12</sup> but this would be very unusual indeed in place-names. Another explanation would be something similar to ‘taboo’ names of wild animals, in particular in Russian and Albanian, where the wolf and the bear must not be mentioned by name for fear of antagonising them.<sup>13</sup> In the *Jägersprache*<sup>14</sup> of the German hunting scene, wild boar, deer and badgers are never called by their normal names, but are referred to by huntsmen as “*Schwarzwild*”, “*Rotwild*” and “*Grauwild*”, (black, red and grey game) probably also originally for taboo reasons, but now only as a ‘secret’ cant or slang amongst devotees of the hunt.

There is however no evidence of similar conventions in Welsh or in Wales, unless we count the ‘*Tylwyth Teg*’ – the ‘*Fair Folk*’ or fairies, whose actions in Welsh folktales are marked far more by malice than any fairness, and whose other name, *Melltith y Mamau* – *the Curse of the Mothers*, much better reflects their baby-snatching activities. They were also referred to euphemistically as *Bendith y Mamau* – *the Blessing of the Mothers* – once more to avoid their wrath.

The name *Honddu* occurs twice in Breconshire, at Brecon and at Llanthony in the Vale of Ewyas, originally *Llanddewi Nant Hodni* – *St David’s in the Vale of Hodni*, and this second *Honddu*, like its Brecon namesake, is a turbulent stream liable to sudden floods following heavy rain – this time on the Black Mountains, rather than on Epynt.

It has been assumed that the earliest forms represent *Aber-hodni*, but a different division, indistinguishable in pronunciation, would give us *Aber-rhodni*, which would lend itself to a much easier explanation.

*Geiriadur Prifysgol Cymru*, the four volume University of Wales Dictionary,<sup>15</sup> lists *rhodni* as *idler, waster, rascal*, and *rhodio* as *to gallivant, go on a pleasure trip*, and the later derivative *rhodiannu*, first recorded in 1620, as *to ramble, loiter, saunter, gad about, gallivant, jaunt*.



The term *rhodni* is widely used and understood in both English and Welsh throughout the South Wales Valleys (Bridgend, Brynmawr, Maesteg, Merthyr Tydfil, Nantgarw, Rhondda, Troed-y-Rhiw), where it occurs in connection with the last train<sup>16</sup> or bus home from the larger towns and cities of Newport, Cardiff and Bridgend. These are known as ‘trên y rhodnis’, ‘the rhodnis’ train’, ‘the rodneys’ bus’ – bearing a crowd of *rhodnis*, young revellers returning from a night out in the fleshpots, the equivalent of this century’s binge drinkers’, last century’s ‘lager louts’, and not very congenial company on the last train or bus for the more respectable members of society!

The wild behaviour of such lads is mirrored in the turbulent and unpredictable nature of both rivers, and these short rivers (The Epynt Honddu 12 miles, the Ewyas Honddu 162 miles), are junior to the major rivers Usk and Monnow into which they flow. Both characteristics, boisterous wildness, and junior status, are reflected in the name Aber-Rhodni, later Aberhonddu, *the mouth of a boisterous, but minor, river*.

ABER-IÂL: [SO159199 ] This farm name refers to a short stream joining the Usk at Llangynidr, and is the same as Iâl, a commote of Denbighshire, centred on Llanarmon yn Iâl, and incidentally the origin of the name of the American University of Yale, founded by Elihu Yale of Wrexham near that district. The meaning is difficult: apparently it denotes cleared land, although ‘*glacial fan*’ or ‘*outwash*’ has also been quoted as an alternative meaning in the Denbighshire case. However, an early reference to the church at Llangynidr calls it ‘Eglwys Wiail’<sup>17</sup> the *wattle and daub church*, and the whole series of house and stream names may refer back to this description of the church. There are other examples of church architecture giving rise to place-names: Pontllanfraith *Bridge of the Speckled Church* in Gwent is also reflected in the original Welsh name of Falkirk in Scotland – Eglwys Fraith.

BOCHRWYD (RADS): Although technically outside Brycheiniog, Bochrwyd may owe its name to a feature straddling the boundary between the two counties which it shares with Llyswen. Several implausible explanations are recorded for the name Bochrwyd, the most improbable being Bach-rhyd – little ford, which is completely erroneous: rhyd is feminine, so the ‘little’ element would have to be ‘fach’, and as an adjective it would naturally follow the noun as is normal in Welsh, the only exceptions which precede the noun being ‘hen’ ‘old’ and ‘unig’ ‘only’, and, with poetic licence, in the ‘gwrol ryfelwyr’ – *the manly warriors* – in the National Anthem, Hen Wlad fy Nhadau. Furthermore, a noun following an adjective would mutate, giving ryd, not rhyd, so this explanation is wrong on three counts. However, a glance at the topography of the village gives a logical explanation of the name: Boch: *cheek* or *pouch*, and rhwyd: *net* – the netting pool, referring to the river loop, or pouch, just behind the church of St. Gwen or

Gwenddolen, now St Mary, (but once dedicated to Cynog) in Llyswen across the river.

BRONLLYS: ‘The Court on the Breast’ describes very well the position of the castle where Bernard de Neufmarché’s only son was killed by a falling stone during a fire, but the earliest record we have is of the poet Bedo Brwynllys<sup>18</sup> (Bedo is the hypocoristic or ‘pet’ form of Maredudd). In this case, the first element is brwyn *rushes*, and not bron *breast*. Since this equally well describes the site, and since there is no other evidence available, we should record both as possibilities.

BRYNICH: The name of this brook, with its associated toponyms (*Blaenbrynich*, *Brynich*, *Cefbrynich*, *Aberbrynich*, *Fan Frynich*), is sometimes confused by non Welsh speakers with Brynach, the patron saint of Llanfrynach, although there is no connection at all between the names. Brynach has churches dedicated to him here in Brecknock<sup>19</sup> and near Cowbridge in the Vale of Glamorgan,<sup>20</sup> but he is commemorated widely in the Preseli area and along the Carmarthenshire-Pembrokeshire border.<sup>21</sup> His full title is Brynach Wyddel, *Brynach the Irishman*, as he seems to have been the apostle of the Irish settlement on the North Pembrokeshire coast, which played an important rôle in the legend of the birth of Brychan Brycheiniog. The Irish dynasty of Dyfed, descendants of the expelled tribe of the Déisi, eventually emerges into historicity with the marriage in the 10<sup>th</sup> Century of Elen, daughter of Llywarch ap Hyfaidd, last King of Dyfed, to Hywel Dda, our Lawgiver. Ironically, Brynach, or Breathnach, is the Irish term for Welsh, or Brythonic, but this contradictory title would confirm his dual role as a Welsh-born cleric, ministering to an Irish settlement on the West Wales coast, and his close association with Brychan explains his presence here in Breconshire in an outlier of Irish influence.

Brynich occurs as the name of two streams in Brecknock, the first flowing southwards from just south of Felinfach in the Talgarth Gap [SO081310] to the Usk near the Aqueduct at Aberbrynich [SO070275], and the other north north west from Fan Frynich [SN958228] in the Beacons near Forest Lodge to just south of Defynnog, where it joins Senni [SN 932258].

The name Brynich has been the subject of a long and very detailed explanation by one of the most eminent Celtic philologists, the late Professor Kenneth Jackson,<sup>22</sup> since it is the singular form of the name that appears as Bryneich, the Welsh name for the old Anglian kingdom known in English as ‘Bernicia’. This, with Deira, was one of the two constituent kingdoms of Northumbria, situated in the Cheviot region of northern England, near the site of the battle of Catraeth, *Catterick* recorded in *The Gododdin*, Aneurin’s heroic poem of the disastrous battle between the British of what is now southern Scotland, and the English about 600 AD. Professor Jackson interprets the name

Bryneich as being related to the Irish *barna*, gap, and meaning ‘The Low Passes’, presumably referring to the ‘easier’ passage across northern England north of the high Pennines and south of the Cheviots.

The ‘Felinfach’ Brynich rises just north of the farm Blaenbrynich, at the watershed between the Usk and Wye systems, and indeed is a perfect match for Bryneich in northern England. At 700 feet above sea level Blaenbrynich (Blaen – *headwater*) stands at the highest point on the road between Brecon and Hereford, although the ‘pass’ is so shallow as to be almost imperceptible.

The other Brynich, near Libanus, is less obviously an ‘easy pass’, although it does mark the route of the ‘Rhiddings’, (*the fringe*) the A4215 road connecting the A470 and the A40, just below the open mountains, and south of the moorland of Mynydd Illtyd.

CRAIG CERRIG GLEISIAD: This massive north-facing precipice alongside the A470 [SN960220] is remarkable for its sub-arctic flora, but the name is curious: ‘gleisiad’ is listed in *Geiriadur Prifysgol Cymru*<sup>23</sup> as *young salmon, grilse*, which seems unconnected with this high spot. The secondary figurative meaning listed is ‘priest, clergyman, especially one in training’, but this too is enigmatic. The full explanation of the first meaning however does hint at the colour of the fish, “a salmon in its first year when it has a silvery blue back”, and it may be this feature that gives its name to The Crag of the Silvery Blue Stones, an apt description.

CWM LLWCH/MAESLLWCH: Llwhch in modern Welsh means ‘dust’, but the word with that meaning is probably a contraction of ‘lluwch’, which nowadays is usually confined to fine blown snow, as in *lluwchfeydd* – *snowdrifts*. The earlier llwhch is a cognate of the Scottish Loch, Irish Lough, a lake, and it occurs in two places in Breconshire – Cwm Llwhch – *the Valley of the Lake*, which has produced in its turn the tautologous Llyn Cwm Llwhch – *Lake of the Valley of the Lough* [SO 002220], and Maes Llwhch, [SO 173404], the *Meadow of the Lake*. Llanllwhch in Carmarthenshire, threatened with inundation in Merlin’s prophetic warning of the destruction of Carmarthen, also contains the same element.

DEFYNNOG: this name has been the subject of wide speculation over the years. Cynog, eldest, but illegitimate, son of Brychan Brycheiniog, is the patron of Brycheiniog, and of Defynnog, and his baptism in the waters of Llyn Safaddan *Llangors Lake*, by the Roman St Castayn (at Llangasty) is described in full John-the-Baptist terms in the early legends. He is patron of a series of parishes in Brycheiniog, at Defynnog, Ystradgynlais, Penderyn, Battle, Llangynog in Llanganten and of course Merthyr Cynog, and further afield in Carmarthenshire (Llangynog near Llansteffan), Pembrokeshire (a now lost chapel at Llawhaden), Montgomeryshire (Llangynog), Radnorshire (Bochrwyd, later dedicated to St Gwen and now St Mary), Herefordshire and Gwent (both Llangunnoch). In

Cornwall he is linked with Pinnock and Boconnoc nearby, and with Padstow, in Brittany with Plogonnek north west of Quimper, and there are Irish references to him as Mochonóc, Pilgrim of Cell Mucraisse and Gailinne in Delbna Ethra (Gallen in Co. Laois). Cynog was killed at y Fan Oleu [SO010359] (or possibly at the 'Camp' at Fan nearby at SN984355) in a skirmish with Saxons, or Picts, or a rival local tribe, on a surprisingly precise date given as 11 February 492, although local oral tradition gives a slightly different slant, and maintains he was captured for ransom near Capel Dyffryn Honddu, now Upper Chapel. However, even if we introduce the 'dy' element (thy servant) which occurs in Llandyfalle and Llandyfaelog, we would arrive, not at Dyfynnog, but at Llandygynog, or Dygynnog if we follow the other Breconshire examples (Llywel, Llowes) where the saint's name occurs alone. Other saints have been suggested: Brittany has a Landevennec, and Dyfnog has been put forward as a claimant. However, we may be dealing here not with a personal name, but rather an extinct river-name.: dyfynnu is 'to quote' and a derivative, dyfynnog, would imply a 'babbling brook' – other river names referring to sound are Senni – 'shouting, insulting' nearby, Clywedog – 'audible', Ieithon – from iaith, 'language' – Brefi, 'bleating' – Annerch, *addressing*, Llafar – *speaking*, Trystian – *rumbling*, and even the opposite occurs: the whole family of names – Tafwys (*Thames*), Teifi, Taf, Tawe, Tyfeidiog (*Teme*) and Tywi – all stem from a root connected with taw – *to be silent*.

GELLI GEILIOGES: This delightful farm name in the parish of Llanddew [SO 056319] has been taken as Gelli – *grove*, Geilioges – *a female cockerel!* The suffix -es is a common ending for a female animal: llwynoges – *vixen*, llewes – *lioness*, teigres – *tigress*, and, similarly, ceiliog, *cockerel*, taking a feminine ending, would mutate to geilioges as a feminine noun. However, even though the occurrence of hens with apparently male plumage has been recorded, when they have revealed their gender by laying an egg, it is more likely that what we have here is in fact a collective noun: similar forms are recorded in 'Derwas' *place with many oaks*, 'Bedwas', *place with many birch trees*, 'Rhugos', *place with much heather*, Gyrnos, *place with many hillocks*, from derw, bedw, grug and gyrn, and would suggest 'The grove with many (wood)cocks', disappointingly not quite as interesting as the Grove of the Female Cockerel.

GWESYN: The diminutive form of gwas – '*servant*' – like 'Honddu', describes a river which is junior to Irfon as Honddu is junior to Usk. The 'Little Servant' flows into Irfon – the river with a 'green' 'greasy' or 'slippery' ('*ir*') bed or base ('*bôn*').

LLANDDEW: This ancient ecclesiastical site is now dedicated to Dewi Sant, *Saint David*, and naturally gives rise to the assumption that the name is in fact Llanddewi. However, Theophilus Jones is ambiguous on the matter of the

dedication, quoting it as both Llan-Ddewi *the Church of David*, and Llan-Dduw, the *Church of God*.<sup>24</sup> On the other hand, Giraldus Cambrensis, who had his Archdeacon's palace next to the church here, is quite unequivocal in his *Journey through Wales* that it is Llan-Dduw,<sup>25</sup> and, indeed, the local Breconshire pronunciation (*Llanddw* or *Llanddiw*) would bear this out. It does seem an unusual dedication in Wales, where most 'Llan' names commemorate an individual saint, but we do have Llandrindod – The Church of the Trinity – and Llan-y-Crwys – Church of the Cross – not far beyond our borders. However, this does bring us back to the original meaning of Llan, which is related to the word 'llain', a strip of land. Nowadays this is used for the wicket on the cricket field, and is to be seen on motorway signs saying Dim Llain Galed – *No Hard Shoulder*. Originally, in our Age of Saints, native Christian preachers and teachers were often granted land free of the usual communal tribal ownership, thus exempting them from the duties of fighting for the tribe or king that that implied, hardly suitable for a man of God. Such early exclaves are often signalled by the presence of a large round churchyard, said to have been produced when demarcating the land by drawing a circle with a rope attached to a stake at the centre of the patch of ground. This piece of land, the llan, became the early saint's dwelling and preaching centre, and, when the simple cells were replaced with a church building, they often took on the name of the saint – the *Gazeteer*<sup>26</sup> lists over 600 of them. Sometimes, the modern name refers to the site of the church, and in Breconshire we have Llangoed – the church in the Wood, Llanfaes – the Church in the Meadow and Llanynys (where Llywelyn heard mass on the morning he was killed) the Church in the River Bend. There are also numerous Llan- names referring to the numbers of saints involved, from Llanddeusant (2 Saints) via Llantrisant (3), Pumsaint (5), Llan-y-nawsant (9) to the Welsh record, Llanydeuddegsant (Church of the 12 Saints) an earlier alternative name for the important church at Llangors, or perhaps its neighbour at Cathedin.

LLANDEFALLE: This parish name [SO 108357] is very revealing. We can dismiss out of hand the present dedication to St Matthew, as recorded on the Mothers' Union banner in the church – we have no native dedications to Matthew, which would give us Llanfathew, anywhere in Wales, and, apart from Mair, the number of dedications to Biblical Saints is quite restricted. The original saint would have been Maethlu, who is also recorded in Llanfaethlu on Anglesey. The replacement of the -thl- with -ll- seems to be an over-correction of what had been heard as an Englishman's inability to pronounce the -ll. The -de- element is not unique, especially here in Breconshire, where we have Llandefaelog Fach and Llandefaelog Tre'r Graig, both dedications to Maelog, (who also puts in an appearance as the joint patron of Llowes near Clyro). Maelog is also evidenced in Llandyfaelog in Carmarthenshire, where the '-dy-' element is correctly spelt and clearly reveals its meaning, showing that the linking element should be -dy-

‘thy’, a dedicatory form similar to Mo- an Irish prefix meaning ‘my’ which appears in many saints’ names, such as our own patron Cynog in his Irish guise of Mochonóc, and the similar Mal or Maol, (Welsh moel – bald), meaning tonsured servant, which occurs in numerous names in Ireland (Malcolm – Maol Colm – the tonsured servant of Columba). A similar Welsh element, Gwas, *servant*, appeared in now vanished mediaeval surnames such as Gwasmair, *Mary’s servant*, and Gwasmihangel, *Michael’s servant*. Thus Llandefalle gives us *the Church of Thy Servant Maethlu*.

LLANEGLWYS: Earlier editions of the Ordnance Survey maps show Llaneglwys delineated by a dotted line, symbol for a parish boundary, and would lead to the impression that this is a parish in its own right. However, this is not so, and careful perusal will show that Llaneglwys is a detached part of the parish of Gwenddwr nearby. The name is rather anomalous: Llan, as we have seen above, is the word for a religious enclosure, synonymous in our minds with Parish, or Saint, or Church. The other element, Eglwys, obviously the church, would seem to give us ‘Religious enclosure with a church’. No similar name occurs anywhere else in Wales – Llan appears either with a saint’s name, a description of the site (Llangoed, Llanynys, Llanfaes etc.) or sometimes a headcount of saints (Llanddeusant). Cornwall and Brittany do however evidence Lanteglos and Lanilis, the equivalents of Llaneglwys. However, a perusal of the history of the area shows we are dealing with Nanteglwys,<sup>27</sup> in modern Welsh Church Stream, but in earlier days the Church’s Valley – Nant Eglwys, together with the Parish of Gwenddwr, was part of the failed Breconshire Cistercian foundation of Trawsnant. The Abbey, later Grange of Trawsnant, was a daughter foundation of Abbey Dore in present day Herefordshire. However, in earlier times, Dore was part of Ergyng, the Welsh kingdom south of the Wye, later absorbed into Herefordshire, and it is seen as a Welsh Abbey. The confusion between Nant and Llan occurs elsewhere, most notably in the name Llancaf, on the Glamorgan coast, site of the prestigious early religious ‘University’ originally called Nant Carfan, ‘*Valley of the Stag*’. However, Trawsnant was reabsorbed by Abbey Dore as a Grange, or out-farm, before anything as remarkable as Cwm Hir or Strata Florida could be constructed. On the banks of the stream are Llaneglwys Uchaf and Llaneglwys Isaf, which would have been Glan-nant-Eglwys, Church Valley Bank, and in the neighbouring valley to the north, likewise part of Gwenddwr detached, is Nant-y-Mynach, ‘*Valley of the Monk*’. This explains the puzzle as to why Llaneglwys has no church or even church ruin, since it was never a parish in its own right, nor ever possessed a church of its own.

LLANELLYW: Llanellieu, the modern English spelling of this beautiful little church, between Talgarth and the Black Mountains, is of little help in establishing the original name of the saint. It is now deconsecrated, and under the protection of

the Friends of Friendless Churches, and well worth a visit. One of the monuments inside has a simple verse in Welsh referring to the Harp School founded for the blind by Carnhuanawc, the Reverend Thomas Price of Llanfihangel Cwm Du, and both the primitive painted rood screen and the totally rural setting are delightful. The name of the saint is chameleon-like, and has been attributed to a whole range of women. The nearest extant woman's name in Welsh is Ellyw, but she is also linked to Elli, the patron of our own Llanelli, birthplace of the Industrial Revolution in Wales, and also of the larger Llanelli, 'City of the Sosbans', yet another of the myriad reputed daughters of Brychan Brycheiniog. She is also linked with Almedha, saint, virgin and martyr, the patron of the former chantry of Penginger, now ruined and lost, on Slwch near Brecon. Giraldus records both her feast day on 1<sup>st</sup> August, and the strange ceremonies that marked it, where entranced parishioners on a gambo would re-enact their sins in mime, which was later, and rather unsurprisingly, suppressed. A charter of the time of Henry VIII refers to her chantry as that of Saint Alys.

LLANGAMARCH: Is the church named after the river, or the river after the church? Cammarch, cam – *bent*, march – *stallion*, is a good description of a strong and winding river, but reference is also made to a Saint Cammarch, or even to a dedication to Cynog Cammarch – the patron is now Cynog, so there are three possibilities: Llan – *Religious enclosure* a) *on the River Cammarch* b) *of saint Cammarch* or c) *of Saint Cynog Cammarch*.

LLANWRTYD: Gwrtyd is listed as the original saint of this parish, now dedicated to Dewi Sant. Gwrtyd derives from gŵr – *man*, and tud '*the people*', giving a pious name 'man of the people'. This hints at a fashion amongst our earliest saints to adopt a 'pious' name, which has sometimes survived alongside the original name, as is the case with Tudful, known in the lists of Descendants of Brychan Brycheiniog as Tangwystli, the name still surviving in that of a farm above Aberfan. Tudful is '*the People's Beast of Burden*'; Tangwystli possibly from tân '*fire*' and gwystl '*hostage*', a truly pagan name. More frequently, the pious name supplanted the pagan name, as in Llanwrda – gŵr '*man*' and da '*good*', and probably here in Llanwrtyd too.

ONNEU: This stream flows from Mynydd Llangynidr to the Usk at Llangatwg, and is named after onnen '*ash tree*', a common feature of our countryside. However, the normal plural of onnen is ynn, and an alternative plural 'onenau' is listed in *Geiriadur Prifysgol Cymru*<sup>28</sup> as 'rare'. However, Onneu is found over a wide area of South East Wales, and also over the border in parts of Herefordshire and Shropshire as the stream name Onney, and would seem to represent a dialect plural form of Onnen.

PANT-Y-LLEFRITH: The name is perfectly clear – pant ‘hollow’ and *llefrith* ‘milk’, but the term *llefrith* is normally restricted to north of the Dyfi, where it is the usual word for milk, *llaeth* being the classical word, and the only form used in the south, usually pronounced *llâth*, although *llefrith* has been recorded as ‘fresh’ or ‘sweet milk’ in the south.

PONT-Y-BAT: Pont-y-Bat is the bridge over the Dulais stream [SO 120 339] which forms the boundary between the parishes of Llanfilo and Llandefalle, and it has lent its name to the adjacent house, Pont-y-Bat Cottage, (earlier Pont-y-Bat Fach), to a farmhouse on the A470 nearby, and to the crossroads where the A438 from Hereford joins the A 470 from Builth, as well as the very dangerous Pont-y-Bat Straight, beloved of speeding motorists south of Bronllys.

The first element in this name, *pont*, meaning bridge, is clear, being the Welsh development from the Latin *pons*, *pontem*, which has however changed its gender from a Latin masculine to a Welsh feminine, accounting for the feminine mutations that occur in names like Pen-y-Bont.

However, the last element of this name is more obscure, and has caused much speculation as to its meaning. It does not seem to fit any recognisable Welsh form, since very few words in Welsh that end with a hard consonant have a short vowel as in this name. The nearest equivalent word in Welsh would appear to be the South Wales dialect word ‘*bad*’, which is pronounced with a long ‘a’, as in the English word ‘calm’. This Welsh word is an early borrowing from the Old English ‘bat’ (also with a long ‘a’), meaning ‘boat’, first recorded in Welsh the 13<sup>th</sup> century. The final ‘t’ of the English word has been softened to ‘d’, in line with normal Welsh usage.

For this final consonant to revert from a soft ‘d’ to a hard ‘t’, we would have to look to the Welsh dialect of South East Wales. In this Gwenhwyseg or Gwentian dialect, many consonants are hardened: for example ‘*gwybod*’ *to know*, becomes ‘*gwpot*’ throughout the Valleys area. However, this dialect never extended much further into Breconshire than the Crughywel/Llangynidr area, where it does account for the name Llangattock or Llangatoc near Crickhowell, which appears as Llangadog in West Wales.

The form of the word makes it very unlikely that we are dealing with ‘boat’ here, which is hardly surprising, since Dulais, the stream at Pont-y-Bat, is hardly deep enough for a coracle, let alone a boat.

Another suggestion has been the English mammal name ‘bat’, but although these mammals do sometimes roost under bridges, there is no evidence anywhere for the adoption of the English name instead of the normal Welsh term ‘*ystum*’.

However, reference to older maps does give us a clue: the now vanished leet or mill-race for Trebaried Mill [SO127 343] lower down the river started on the north side of the bridge at Pont-y-Bat, and ran on the north western side of the



Dulais for about a quarter of a mile. Since the land drops, this gave a good head of water for the mill before running back into the Dulais.

The flow of water from the stream into the leet for the mill would have been controlled by a sluice gate, or, as in lock-gates, by a paddle, and the 'bat' in question would appear to be this Paddle or Sluice used to regulate the flow of water.

TARELL: This river flows north from below Cadair Arthur – *Arthur's Throne*, the old name for the central Beacons peaks of Pen-y-fan and Corn Du – to join the Usk at Llanfaes. The name is not easy, although the ending -ell does occur locally a few times, for example in Caerfanell at Tal-y-Bont, Madrell in Brecon and Marchell near Clyro, and would seem to be an ending simply meaning stream or river. The first element – tar – is however far from clear, and a few possibilities present themselves: tarw, a bull, perhaps from its charging action, as there are other rivers named after animals – for example Twrch in Breconshire, 'rooting' through the earth like its namesake the boar, or taran, *thunder*, after the sound it makes – see Defynnog above and cf Teifi, Taf etc. Alternatively, it may be related to taradr, an auger, something boring or burrowing its way through the soil. Even Derwen, 'oak' has been suggested, without any explanation of the change from Der- or -Dar back to Tar.

YSTRYWAID: Nowadays the name, and its English derivative The Struet, is used for the street leading north from the centre of Brecon towards the Hay Road. The initial y- has been mistaken for the Welsh definite article, and accounts for 'the' in the street name in English, in a town remarkably fond of street and place names with a definite article (viz. The Bulwark, The Watton, The Dainter, The Gwtws, The Gwrra, The Crug and, further afield, The Login, The Aber).

However, in the fifteenth century poems, the Cywyddau of the Holy Rood,<sup>29</sup> where the name is recorded for the first time, the name is clearly used differently, as the Rood, the miraculous cross in the Priory Church, now the Cathedral, is placed firmly 'yn Ystrywaid'. It is patently not in the Struet, but, as Ieuan Prydydd Hir<sup>30</sup> says, *uwch Hodni*, above the River Honddu on a rocky eminence.

Furthermore, the references to the name Ystrywaid in Welsh poetry of the 15<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> centuries consistently refer to the Priory Church of Saint John as being *yn Ystrywaid*, *in* Struet, and not *ar Ystrywaid* as would be usual for a street name in Welsh. This must lead us to conclude that the Church stood in an area, or district, called Ystrywaid.

The name in its earliest form has usually been given a derivation ultimately from the Latin Strata, a Roman Road, or, as in Ystrad Fflur/Strata Florida, a wide-bottomed valley '*The Vale of Flowers*'. However, both these seem highly improbable in the case of the Struet: there is no evidence whatsoever of a Roman Road at this point, despite Theophilus' references<sup>31</sup> to Strata Julia, and a

derivation from *ystrad* (like its Scottish derivative Strath, meaning a flat bottomed and wide valley), bears no resemblance to the actual topography of the Honddu as it emerges from what is more like a gorge extending from the nick-point at Rhyd Ledan (SO 029356 in Llanfihangel Fechan where Lower Chapel Bridge now stands) to the Groves footbridge just below the Cathedral.

An alternative suggested by M. P. Bryant-Quinn<sup>32</sup> would derive the name from the Norman French *estroit*, implying a narrow place or strait or defile, which does correspond very well to the topography of the river gorge itself. The position of the cognate term Penystroywaid/Penstrowed between Caersws and Newtown in Montgomeryshire, where the Severn Valley is suddenly restricted, would tend to bear out the interpretation of the name as a defile, but that is also the course of the Roman Road from Newtown to Caersws. I am however reluctant to accept this Norman name for an area in Brecon outside Bernard's Norman Borough, and probably pre-dating it, although there is evidence of borrowing from Norman French into Breconshire Welsh in the name *beili*, adopted locally as the usual term for a farmyard. South of Breconshire, it occurs with a specialised use in Merthyr Tydfil, where it refers to a small strip of garden or paved yard in front of ironworkers' and miners' cottages. A large number of farms<sup>33</sup> in Breconshire and surrounding areas bear the name Beili, but evidence for the date of these names is unobtainable. An alternate derivation, from the Irish *baile*, homestead or town, would be fascinating, but unlikely.

Another more interesting suggestion links the word with *ystryw*, listed by Salesbury<sup>34</sup> as 'industry, skill'. The usual modern meaning of *ystryw* is *artifice, trick*, but it is also listed in *Geiriadur Prifysgol Cymru*<sup>35</sup> as '*ability, skill, industriousness*'. If we take the latter meaning of *ystryw* and add the *-iaid* ending which occurs frequently as a description of people (*offeiriaid, priests, ceidwaid, keepers*), then Ystrywaid would mean 'the place of artisans'.

The Speed map of Brecon also calls the Struet Gate 'The Old Port', the only gate deserving this epithet, implying that it was older than the others, leading perhaps into an area already settled before the establishment of the Norman Borough.

It is in the area around the present day Cathedral that we encounter the earliest evidence for industry in Brecon – the sadly now demolished forge near the Priory Mill, the Priory Mill itself, y Deintyr, now Dainter Street, the place for drying washed fabric on tenterhooks, the later woollen mill at the Priory bridge, and indeed the brook name Madrell, either 'polluted stream' or 'stream where madder grows'. Madder was the source of the red dye used for Welsh flannel, evident in Ince's painting of the Struet in 1831, and either explanation would lend the now culverted stream an industrial flavour. All would seem to support the theory that Ystrywaid refers to an industrial settlement, not confined to the Struet, but including the whole area to the north-west of the later Norman Settlement, with the Priory Church, on an earlier Celtic foundation, at its centre.

It is difficult to see any logical basis for the foundation by the Normans of a new church outside the enclosures of both Town and Castle, unless an earlier holy site was already established where the cathedral now stands. Indeed, St Mary's, and the lost chapel of St Nicholas within the Castle compound itself, were soon established as chapels-of-ease for town and castle, although the development of the Priory Church soon eclipsed both.

The area referred to in the mediaeval poetry as 'Ystrywaid' would seem to have been a settlement of artisans, centred on their own original Celtic church, making this district an excellent candidate for the 'Old Town' referred to by Bernard de Neufmarché, Norman Conqueror of Brecon, in the transfer of church and lands to the Abbey at Battle, Hastings. References to this 'vetus villa' have traditionally been accepted as referring to the Roman Fort at Y Gaer, near Aberysgir, but Sir Mortimer Wheeler's<sup>36</sup> exemplary excavations at the Gaer found no evidence whatsoever of any post-Roman occupation of the site, apart from a temporary and rough re-fortification wall which he dates to the period immediately preceding the final convulsions of the Norman Conquest in 1093. Since the transfer of the church took place in the early years following the defeat of Bleddyn ap Maenarch, last native ruler of Brycheiniog, the description of an 'Old Town' must refer to a pre-Norman settlement around the original church.

BRYNACH PARRI

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<sup>15</sup> Geiriadur Prifysgol Cymru, Caerdydd, Cyfrol III, p. 3084.

<sup>16</sup> Dr Ceinwen Thomas quotes her mother as saying: *Ma'n gas gen i ddod lan o Gaerdydd ar y trên ola', ma hwmw'n wastod yn llawn rodnis'* (*I hate coming up from Cardiff on the last train – that one's always full of rodneys*).

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## CAPTAIN JOHN LLOYD AND BRECONSHIRE 1796–1818

*Prologue*

Captain Lloyd's son, John Rees Lloyd (1797–1875), who was a poet of some distinction, decided to write an account of his father's life because, 'It has often occurred to me that some account of the life and adventures of my late father (Captain John Lloyd) if not useful or entertaining to the world, would at least be interesting to his descendants or even to the general reader . . .' However, he only wrote 300 words.

The next member of the family to provide information about Captain John Lloyd was the grandson, John Lloyd the Radical (1833–1915). His books, *The Early History of the Old South Wales Iron Works*, *The Great Forest of Brecknock* and his two volume *Historical Memoranda of Breconshire* are still consulted by historians but he never wrote about his grandfather. However, he saved from destruction the important letters from, to and about his grandfather which provided the primary source material for the article in Brycheiniog, '*The Personal Life and Private Trade of Captain John Lloyd*.'<sup>1</sup>

In 1947 Sir John Lloyd, (1878–1954), the great-grandson of Captain Lloyd wrote, 'This is the third attempt by his descendants to place on record the events of the life of Captain John Lloyd'.<sup>2</sup> However he also noted that 'many years ago I got from a searcher in at the India Office [Library] full notes on my great-grandfather's voyages' and 'in the move from Dinas to Abercynrig in 1941 I found letters in my great-grandfather's writing to his solicitor Walter Powell. These must have been rescued from the stables at the back of Messers Jeffreys and Powell by my Uncle John.' The notes that he subsequently made date from 1947–1952. During this period his sister, Naomi Rosamond Lloyd (1881–1969) became equally interested in the life of her great-grandfather and provided her brother with information she obtained in London from, what was then known as, the India Office Library.

Aunt Rose, as she was always referred to in the family, lived alone in London and was regarded as slightly eccentric. But inspired by her brother she undertook further research and produced a 65,000 word manuscript, *The Adventurous Welshman – The Story of Captain John Lloyd in the Honourable East India Company's Service*.<sup>3</sup> In May 1957 she wrote to Miss A. B. Jones, the Headmistress of the Brecon Girls' Grammar School who was a leading figure in the Brecknock Society, that 'a very good London Publisher has accepted my book and we are busy going through the story ready for printing'. This was wishful thinking since the book never appeared. It contained much of the material prepared by Sir John and some new information resulting from her own research but it is supplemented by the imagination of Aunt Rose and in places the text reads like romantic fiction. Probably, the most appropriate description of it would be faction, a mixture of

fact and fiction. Fifty years later some post-modernist historians would argue that it is as acceptable and valuable account of the life of Captain Lloyd as any of the articles I have written.

This is my fourth article about Captain John Lloyd of Brecon to appear in *Brycheiniog* in the last six years. Such extensive coverage, I hope, is warranted, first, because his life and achievements are interesting. Secondly, he is representative of the five men associated with Brecon – Walter and Jeffreys Wilkins, David Price, Frederick Jones and John Lloyd – who in the second half of the eighteenth century had distinguished careers in the English East India Company.<sup>4</sup> However, Lloyd is the most intriguing. He not only had a particularly adventurous life, which included ten voyages to the East, shipwreck, two sea battles and almost two years imprisonment in India, but when he retired, as a wealthy man, he contributed to the administration, economic development, and political life of Breconshire, for almost the rest of his days.

But, this article is not only about John Lloyd. More than in my earlier accounts of his life an attempt has been made to place him in the historical context of Brecon and Wales during the closing years of the eighteenth and the early nineteenth centuries. The economic, social and political changes and challenges of the time affected the pattern of his life and, in turn, he had an influence upon the repercussions of those changes on the community in which he lived.

### *Background*

Between 1780 and 1795 Captain John Lloyd is likely to have lived in Breconshire for only around six months, which was considerably less time than he would have been at sea, in London, Calcutta or prison in Mysore! In August 1785, after an absence of at least four years and eight months, Lloyd had returned to Llanwrtyd to discover that his mother, father and grandmother were dead and all the family's property in the Llanwrtyd area, including the family home of Dinas, was mortgaged and rented to tenants. Therefore he no longer had a home there and it is unknown where, or with whom, he lived during the few months before returning to London in October to prepare for his next voyage as First Mate [Officer] of the *Manship*.

After his marriage to Elizabeth Williams of Brecon in November 1787 he lived in London until his next voyage began a month later and when he was at sea Elizabeth probably stayed with her brother William Williams in Brecon until she returned to London in May 1789 to await her husband's return.<sup>5</sup> In August 1789 the Lloyds lived in Crutched Friars, London, about three hundred yards from the East India Company Headquarters in Leadenhall Street in the financial and trading heart of the City. Like other EIC captains in the maritime service he spent a considerable amount of time in the Jerusalem Coffee House, Fleece

Passage, off Cornhill, which was also near the EIC HQ. The Jerusalem was not just a place to drink coffee with fellow EIC captains, since by 1776 it was a meeting place for, 'all those who had anything to do with India.'<sup>6</sup> Twenty years later it was described as, 'Frequented by gentlemen who are, or have been in the service of the honourable East India Company ships and by the managing owners of ships employed in their service; also by the merchants, policy and insurance brokers concerned with the East India trade, and to this coffee house and Lloyd's are transmitted the earliest accounts of the departure, arrival and loss of ships in the company's service and of all important events that happen.'<sup>7</sup> Copies of various newspapers, pamphlets and broadsheets were available to be read and discussed. Consequently, there can be little doubt that Lloyd was more familiar with the debate and turbulence in Britain created by the French Revolution than if he had been in Wales.

During Lloyd's time in London from July 1789 to April 1791 Dr Richard Price, a fellow Welshman and Unitarian minister living in London, published his radical sermon, *On the Love of our Country*, which stimulated Edmund Burke, the eminent M.P., to write *Reflections on the French Revolution*, in 1790, which was his rebuttal of all that the French Revolution stood for. Thomas Paine's *The Rights of Man* soon followed, and this attacked the British system of government and supported the establishment of a republic. Within a comparatively short time hundreds of thousands of copies of these pamphlets had been printed, sold and also summarised in newspapers and broadsheets. It is not known what Lloyd thought about the issues raised in these and other pamphlets but it would not be surprising if he felt that so long as what was happening in France did not result in war that it was nothing to do with Britain. Successful East India Company captains were not only very experienced sailors and commanders of men but were hard-headed business men whose ambition was to obtain the wealth which would eventually enable them to achieve the status on land which they enjoyed as East India Company Commanders. During the early years of the French Revolution there is evidence that businessmen and manufacturers, as well as those who strove for parliamentary reform, did not wish to become involved in a war with France. Adam Smith expressed the view that during wars the stability of the economy was endangered because, in the main, labour and capital was used unproductively.<sup>8</sup> This intellectual argument was much quoted by the business and political opponents of a war with France. Certainly, by the time Lloyd left on his first voyage, as Captain of the *Manship* in April 1791 there was no serious discussion of, let alone support, for armed conflict with France.<sup>9</sup>

But by the time Lloyd returned to London in November 1792 the possibility of war had greatly increased. Austria and Prussia had concluded an alliance in February 1792 and they attacked France in April only to see their professional armies defeated in September by the largely untrained French troops at the battle of Valmy. Anxiety amongst the mercantile community greatly increased

when it became clear that the French intended to reopen the great port of Antwerp which not only threatened the commercial interests of London but was the perfect embarkation point for an invasion of the south-east of England. On 21 January 1793 Louis XVI was executed and in spite of the still considerable opposition in Britain to war William Pitt, the Prime Minister, came to the view that war was inevitable. Diplomatic relations broke down and on 1 February the French Convention declared war on Great Britain and the Dutch Republic.

During the period of Lloyd's first voyage as Captain of the *Manship* the tension in Britain escalated between those who wished to reform the British political system and to achieve civil rights for non-Anglicans, and their 'Church and King' opponents. In many towns mobs who declared themselves 'True Britons', burnt effigies of the radical Thomas Paine and destroyed the chapels of Dissenters. The *Rights of Man* was translated into Welsh and reform societies were established in Cardiff, Merthyr and Brecon and as late as 1798 there was apparently a Jacobin society in Brecon.<sup>10</sup>

About the same time as Lloyd returned to London from India in early November 1792 the Association for the Preservation of Liberty and Property against Republicans and Levellers was established by John Reeves and, supported by men of property.<sup>11</sup> Once Lloyd returned to Wales he would have learnt that there were also branches of the Reeves Associations in Wales, that Loyalist declarations from Talgarth, Radnor, Presteigne, Beaumaris, Laugharne, Caernarfon, Swansea and Cardiff had been sent to London and Tom Paine had been burnt in effigy in Llandovery, Cardiff and Carmarthen. Reformers, and very often – quite unjustly – Dissenters and Methodists in Wales, were, at best, stigmatised as lukewarm patriots and, at worst, as traitors.<sup>12</sup>

It is believed that by the last quarter of the eighteenth century the majority of the adult population in Wales were able to read Welsh and this meant that the printing press was particularly effective in developing popular support for both the Loyalists and the Reformers. In 1793 Morgan John Rhys wrote, and had published at Trevecca, near Brecon, a pro-constitutional reform quarterly magazine, *Cylchgrawn Cymraeg*, which survived for five issues. This was followed by Iolo Morganwg's *Poems and Lyrical Ballads*, which expressed reforming political ideas as did, *Y Dryssorfa Gymmysgedig* (The Miscellaneous Repository) of the Rev. Thomas Evans (Tomos Glyn Cothi). In Wales as elsewhere in Britain prosecutions were brought against authors, editors, nonconformist preachers and radicals who argued for parliamentary reform.<sup>13</sup> Undeterred by the hostility of the Loyalist Associations and the ever increasing number of prosecutions John Jones (Jac Glan-y-Gors), published *Seren Tan Gwmwl*, (A Star Under a Cloud) which familiarised the Welsh with Tom Paine's ideas and attacked the system of government in Britain. *Y Geirgrawn* (The Magazine) even published a Welsh translation of the *Marseillaise* before it was closed by order of the authorities in October 1796.



It is impossible to know how aware Lloyd, who was brought up to speak and read Welsh, was of these reformist publications in Welsh, or how widely they were read, but it is doubtful if they enjoyed such a wide readership as the well financed Loyalist pamphlets. These anti-Jacobin writings such as the *Charge to the Grand Jury of Middlesex* by Judge Ashurst were soon translated into Welsh, which was, ‘the Language of the Generality of the people of this country’ to ensure that ‘these unhappy people should not in future plead ignorance’.<sup>14</sup> Reeves realised that what was required to reach the common people was something more like a tabloid Red Top newspaper than a closely argued pamphlet. The result was the production of a short, simply written, illustrated tract, *One Pennyworth of Truth from Thomas Bull to his brother John* which in early 1793 was translated into Welsh with the title, *Cinagwerth o Wironedd*. The gentry bought these penny pamphlets and they were almost certainly distributed in Breconshire, as in the rest of Wales, to the ‘common people’. The views of Thomas Allen, who lived in what Fenton in 1804 described as ‘a modernish mansion on an Eminence in the Park, called the Lodge’<sup>15</sup> at Gwernyfed, Talgarth, were probably not untypical of the Breconshire gentry, who believed that ‘no inhabited corner of these kingdoms, in their present state, is too insignificant to exert itself in support of our excellent constitution.’<sup>16</sup> Thomas Allen was the legal adviser to Walter Wilkins M.P. for Radnorshire and his brother, Henry Allen, owned the Old Oak House in Brecon, which was to become the home of Captain John Lloyd and his family and the land on which the Brecknock Museum and Art Gallery is built. Like Lloyd, Henry Allen became a Deputy Lieutenant of Breconshire but, unlike Lloyd, a Lieutenant-Colonel in the Loyal Breconshire Voluntary Infantry.

### *Resignation*

Elizabeth Lloyd probably went to London in mid-1795 awaiting the return of the *Manship*. On this occasion she had to wait considerably longer than usual because of the six weeks the *Manship* spent at St. Helena as the result of the capture of seven Dutch East Indiamen by one English naval ship, accompanied by English East Indiamen, and the diversion of the convoy to the Shannon to await a strong naval escort up the Channel.<sup>17</sup>

On the 17<sup>th</sup> September *The Times* reported that the *Manship*, and the other ships in the convoy from India, had not only reached the Shannon in Ireland but they had been accompanied by eight captured Dutch East Indiamen. This news must have caused considerable rejoicing amongst the families of the crews of the English East Indiamen because they would have been well aware that there was likely to be considerable prize money. Five days later there was a further report in *The Times* which named the captains of the various East Indiamen, including that of ‘Captain John Lloyd of *The Manship*’. Elizabeth Lloyd and John Lloyd’s friends in Brecon and Llanwrtyd would have been relieved to receive this news

because captains, as well as ordinary crewmen, were equally vulnerable in naval combat and it would have been assumed that the capture of the Dutch Indiamen involved a sea battle. Then on 23<sup>rd</sup> September the *Hereford Journal*, which was one of the two 'local' papers read in Brecon, carried an account of how, 'The Pursers of the *Manship* and Airley Castle, East Indiamen, came as passengers in the *Carteret*, [to Fishguard] and set off immediately for London with an account of the safe arrival of the homeward bound East India fleet, in the river Shannon, Ireland.'

On the 4<sup>th</sup> November 1795 the *Manship* reached Deptford. In early January Lloyd submitted to the Court of Directors of the East India Company, his wish, 'to resign the Command of that ship [*Manship*] in the ensuing voyage'. The Directors were not inclined to accept the resignation of such an experienced captain, especially since at that time the British government was commissioning East Indiamen to bring rice from India because of the shortage of grain in Britain.<sup>18</sup> Lloyd presented a new 'Request', this time giving ill health as a reason for his wish to resign. On the 27<sup>th</sup> January 1796 the Court of Directors, 'Resolved that Captain John Lloyd of the *Manship* be permitted to resign the Company's service.'<sup>19</sup>

By January 1796 John Lloyd was close to fifty and he had completed almost thirty eventful years in the maritime service of the English East India Company.<sup>20</sup> For almost half of that time England had been at war and was now engaged in another war with France which already showed signs of being a protracted and hard-fought conflict. Through careful management of his finances he had amassed by the end of 1795 a considerable sum of money, which when the prize money for the capture of the Dutch Indiamen was paid and his private trade sold, would enable him to purchase a country estate. It is also relevant that by January 1796 he had been married for eight years, his wife was 41 and their one child had died in 1794. In such circumstances it was very understandable that he wished to retire and he must have been relieved when he was permitted to do so and no doubt he anticipated a peaceful retirement as a country gentleman in Breconshire.

#### *Return to Breconshire*

In 1766 when Lloyd left Llanwrtyd the three most populous boroughs in Wales were Wrexham, Brecon and Carmarthen.<sup>21</sup> The eventual arc of ironworks from Hirwaun to Blaenafon and the industrialisation of north-east Wales and the lower Tawe valley were in the early stage of their development. Within a short time of his retiring the largest boroughs in Wales, according to the 1801 Census, were, Merthyr (7705), Swansea (6099) and Holywell (5567), and Brecon (2576) had slipped to twelfth place. Twenty thousand people lived in the industrial belt from Wrexham to Holywell and 10,000 in a similar arc from Hirwaun to

Blaenavon.<sup>22</sup> The thriving cottage based flannel industry contributed to the prosperity of the towns of Welshpool, Llanidloes, Llanfyllin and Newtown whose joint populations were 7,500. There was also the development in north Breconshire and Radnorshire of the small spa towns of Llanwrtyd, Builth and Llandrindod: in June 1779 the *Hereford Journal* reported ‘much improved accommodation’ for visitors to the wells at Llanwrtyd. However, Wales was still overwhelmingly a poor, sparsely populated, agricultural country and whereas the population of the 12 largest towns in Wales in 1801 with more than 2,500 inhabitants totalled around 50,000 in England there were 44 towns with more than 10,000 inhabitants.<sup>23</sup>

For hundreds of years only the most adventurous and determined English visited Wales unless they had business or military reasons for venturing across the border. During the last decades of the eighteenth century the image of Wales began to change from a semi-barbarous adjunct to England, where the natives spoke an incomprehensible language, to a land of beauty, antiquities and mystery. The trickle of visitors greatly increased in the 1790s partly as a result of the Romantic Movement, the war with France, and no doubt the improved road system resulting from the various Turnpike Acts. The distance between fantasy Wales and reality is illustrated at its widest by the comment of Jane Austen’s sister-in-law, Eliza Austen, Countess de Feuillide, that, Wales was the perfect place for ‘resigning from the world’.<sup>24</sup> In her view Wales was, ‘not really somewhere that *one* lived; it was somewhere to have sublime feelings about, like a Gothic ruin or a mountain crag’.<sup>25</sup>

The 1796 *Cambrian Register*, a volume of 572 pages, contains a rather jaundiced thirty-four page article, *Cursory Remarks on Welsh Tours or Travels* by ‘Cymro’, who was Theophilus Jones of Brecon.<sup>26</sup> The work of eight authors is commented upon and *Cymro* is particularly critical of the comments of a Miss/Mrs Morgan on the living conditions of the Welsh people she encountered. ‘When this lady asserts that the lower kind of people in Wales do not live poorly, I fear she only exposes her want of knowledge of their general situation . . . Their usual food consists of coarse barley bread . . . Their drink water . . . they have to tumble into a bed, into a fireless house, scantily covered with thatch, through which the rain penetrates . . .’<sup>27</sup> Theophilus Jones later commented with regard to the plight of ‘day labourers’ during the late 1790s and early 1800s, ‘The price of labour ought surely to bear some proportion to existing circumstances and the increased prices of the necessaries of life’.<sup>28</sup>

About 1720 Dafydd Thomas produced a set of verses *Hanes Tair Sir a’r Ddeg Cymru* (History of Welsh Counties and Towns) in which he described Brecon as, ‘*Y dref gyfoethocaf yng Nghymru*’ (The wealthiest town in Wales). However, during the middle fifty years of the eighteenth century there is little evidence of much growth in the population, the erection of new buildings or the economy of Brecon ‘commensurate with its earlier status’.<sup>29</sup> This period of comparative

stagnation came to an end with the passing in Parliament, in spite of the opposition of Penoyre Watkins, of the Brecon Town Improvement Act of 1772. This not only resulted in improving access to the town by removing some of the town gates but more importantly established a group of Commissioners charged with overseeing the proper supply of drinking water, in addition to paving, cleaning and lighting the streets and eventually stimulated a new period of building and a modest growth in population. Some twenty years later the passing of the Act of Parliament authorising the building of the canal encouraged John Lloyd to believe in the potential growth of the local economy.<sup>30</sup>

Between 1770 and 1818 at least ten English travellers, William Gilpin, H. P. Wyndham, the Hon. John Byng, the Rev. Richard Warner, W. F. Mavor, the Rev. J. Evans, J. T. Barber, Richard Fenton, E. I Spence and Thomas Rees wrote about Brecon in the accounts of their travels in Wales.<sup>31</sup> While their opinions have to be treated with caution since they are based on fleeting visits by authors who it appears stayed only one or two nights in Brecon, the great majority of them agreed – as have the writers of tourist guides ever since – on the attractive location and the charming walks near the town. They were almost unanimous that during the period of John Lloyd's retirement that there was an increasing number of substantial houses occupied by 'genteel' families. But it is also clear from several of the descriptions that much of the population lived in squalid conditions, as would have been the case in every town in Great Britain. What the writers did not think worthy of comment is that between the extremes of affluence and poverty, there were approximately 750 people (30%) in Brecon whose housing and living conditions would have been below those of the gentry but considerably better than those of the labourers, shop assistants, servants and the unemployed. In comparison with other Welsh towns Brecon had a high proportion of professionals, that is clergy, attorneys and surgeons as well as 'traders', who with the 'gentlemen', composed the 'principal inhabitants' and were the nucleus of an emerging 'middle class'.<sup>32</sup> When the Brecon survey for the Universal British Directory was undertaken in 1796, there were in addition to the 9 gentry living on their estates within 10 miles of the town, there were 9 'gentlemen', 27 professionals, consisting of 10 clergy, 12 attorneys and 5 surgeons, and 142 'traders' living in Brecon. Those classified as 'traders' consisted of 30 innkeepers, numerous self-employed craftsmen and shopkeepers as well as 3 teachers, 3 excise officers, 2 booksellers, 2 peruke makers and 3 hairdressers. If it is assumed that each of these 169 professionals and 'traders', was the head of a family of 4.5 persons there were some 750 people living in what would have been regarded as good accommodation attached to their business premises or in one of the new houses built in the Watton, Llanfaes and the Struet towards the end of the eighteenth century.<sup>33</sup>

The table in Appendix A outlines the comparative situation regarding the major towns in South Wales, for which there is information, Hereford,

Dorchester and Ludlow. Builth and Crickhowell are the only other towns in Breconshire for which details are available but since they are so much smaller, 677 and 566 respectively, than the other towns it would be misleading to compare the percentages of the different groups in these towns with the larger towns.

When Lloyd returned to Brecon the families of the 9 gentry living outside the town on their estates and the ‘principal inhabitants’ provided a core audience for various cultural and social activities. Even before 1796 Brecon was the only Welsh town regularly visited by such well-regarded professional theatre groups as those of John Ward, the Kembles and John Boles Watson. At first the entertainments were performed in the ‘Great Rooms’ of the Bell Inn and the Golden Lion and from 1783 in ‘The Theatre’ for seasons of three months playing three nights a week.<sup>34</sup> Art exhibitions were occasionally held in Brecon and it was possible not only to buy books in the town but the sheet music of such composers as Haydn.<sup>35</sup> Brecon was the undoubted social centre for a small but well-established network of English-speaking gentry and professional families, many of whom were related by marriage, who either lived in the town or within a few miles of it. In addition it was regularly visited by such wealthy and important families as the Morgans, Camdens and Somersets, who maintained large houses in the town.

During the winter months there were regular ‘assemblies’ (balls) and dinners, especially around Christmas which was, the ‘festival which requires a more than ordinary share of private balls and large dinners to proclaim its importance.’<sup>36</sup> The larger assemblies were held in the Golden Lion, the Guildhall and from 1812 at the Castle Hotel, which cost around £500,000 in current value to build and furnish. Musical evenings were also held in large country houses like Penoyre. At these functions the daughters of the gentry, professional classes and the wealthier traders, ‘came out’ when they reached the appropriate age. By the end of the eighteenth century Brecon could rightly claim to be one of the very few towns in Wales, in which, during the winter ‘season’, there was ‘A whole urban life . . . which aped in a limited, provincial and bourgeois way the Bath of Beau Nash and Regency London.’<sup>37</sup>

Captains of the maritime service of East India Company were of high social status and, in Breconshire, John Lloyd was certainly the only Captain of an Indiaman, the most important British merchant ships of the eighteenth century. Lloyd was also descended from a distinguished Welsh family, which could trace its lineage back to Elystan Glodrydd, the eleventh century ruler of the territory between the Wye and the Severn. Consequently, Lloyd and his wife would have been accepted as members of what has been described as the ‘near feudal and socially-graded society’ of Brecon. However, this was not a society in which social mobility was impossible, as witness the rise of the Bold family in two generations from blacksmiths, to Trumpeter to the Corporation, to eminent

lawyers and bailiffs of Brecon.<sup>38</sup> Lloyd's status was confirmed when within a year of his return he was appointed a Deputy Lieutenant of the county – a position he held until his death – and two years later he was Sheriff of Breconshire.

When John Lloyd returned to Breconshire in 1796 he had no immediate family living locally. His wife's parents were dead but she was 'the daughter of the wealthy Roger Williams' a prosperous Brecon mercer and had relations in Brecon and was well connected to other significant local middle class families, such as the Chaberts and Mrs Hay.<sup>39</sup> Also her brother, William Williams, was a well-established trader in the town and in time he would become a Burgess and then Bailiff.

Although John Lloyd would almost certainly have become acquainted with a number of the 'principal inhabitants' of Brecon, during his visits to the town between voyages, the indication in his correspondence with Walter Powell, his solicitor and friend, is that his circle of close friends in the town was limited to the Powell family and 'our friends in Wheat Street.'<sup>40</sup> But possibly more significant is the comment in a letter to Walter Powell when he asked him to, '... call in Wheat Street and make my best respects – the same to all you may esteem my real disinterested friends – this will not require a long Walk.'<sup>41</sup> Also a letter to Walter Powell in February 1790, at a time when it was virtually certain that he would soon be promoted to the prestigious rank of Captain of an Indiaman, makes it clear that he did not feel himself well enough acquainted with Walter Wilkins, the former senior merchant of the EIC and joint founder of the Brecon Old Bank of Wilkins & Co, to approach him directly to ask Wilkins to speak on his behalf to a Mr Woodhouse one of the Directors of the EIC.

In 1796 Lloyd would have been one of the richest residents of Brecon but there is no evidence that he was socially acquainted with the families which dominated the politics and governance of Brecon and Breconshire such as the Morgans of Tredegar, the Williamses of Penpont, the Davieses of Abercamlais, the Powells of Castle Madoc, the Jeffreys of the Priory and the Bolds. The development of an appropriate social life for himself and his wife amongst the dominant 'genteel' circle in the town and county would require living in a prestigious house in the town and eventually owning a suitable estate. In the meantime they moved to temporary accommodation in The Struet before renting in 1797 one of the largest houses in Brecon.

#### *Private life*

It is not known when John and Elizabeth Lloyd returned to Breconshire after his retirement from the East India Company. Probably before Lloyd retired he and his wife had made the decision that when that event took place they would live in Brecon where there was a good chance that a property suitable for a family of their social status would become available and where they would be close to Elizabeth Lloyd's relations.

*Captain John Lloyd and Breconshire 1796–1818*

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On the 23<sup>rd</sup> September 1795 the following advertisement appeared in the *Hereford Journal* for the Old Oak House:

Brecon – To Let

And entered upon Michaelmas next [25 September 1796]

Furnished or Unfurnished

A convenient Dwelling House desirably situated on the Bulwark; comprising on the ground floor, A Hall, Dining Parlour and Drawing Room, an excellent Kitchen and Back Kitchen; on the first floor, five Bed-chambers, with Rooms for Servants over them; a Coach-house, spacious Yard and Stabling for Six Horses; also a good Garden, completely walled round, most part with brick.

For further particulars apply to Miles Meredith, Brecon.

The Old Oak House was one of the largest houses in Brecon and was built in the third quarter of the seventeenth century. It was the only significant house on the Bulwark until the late eighteenth century.<sup>42</sup> Cantre Selyf in Lion Street, built in the same period, is an almost identical building.



Figure 1 The Old Oak House c. 1796

The original mullioned windows would have been replaced by sash windows in the early eighteenth century and in the 1830s an additional floor was added.

*Computer reconstruction by Mike Turtle of Cuprum, Ship Street, Brecon*

The limited information which exists about the private life of the Lloyds from 1796–1818 comes from two letters, a small number of entries in the diary of Captain Frederick Jones, two medical bills, the draft will of John Lloyd, Parish Records, and above all the Household Account book kept by Elizabeth Lloyd from 21 January 1797.<sup>43</sup> An entry of 25<sup>th</sup> June 1797, twenty-two days after the birth of their son John, ‘Pd the woman clearing the house in the Struet, 4s-0d’ suggests that after they left London, they may have initially lived in the Struet and moved into the Old Oak House in January 1797 after it had been prepared and furnished for them.<sup>44</sup>

The Household Account Book of Elizabeth Lloyd contains information relating to the periods 1797–1800, 1805 and 1807.<sup>45</sup> In 1797 the accounts were kept from 21<sup>st</sup> January to 30<sup>th</sup> December while the Lloyds established themselves in Brecon society, but in 1798 the accounts were only from January for 137 consecutive days, in 1799 for 155 days, 1805 for 72 days and 1807 for 132 days. This, and the fact that in official documents until 1808 John Lloyd is referred to as ‘John Lloyd of Dynas’, suggests that the Lloyds were only resident in Brecon during the winter and spring and spent most, if not all, of the rest of the year, at Dinas, Llanwrtyd.

One of the problems in analysing these accounts is the impact of inflation, which was rapid during the war with France from 1793–1815. £1 in 1797 would be worth around £80 in 2007 but in 1807 would have fallen to £61.<sup>46</sup>

In 1797 the accounts were kept meticulously. They record the purchase of food, such household necessities as coal and crockery, and such minor expenditure as 2d for Fullers Earth, plus the regular monthly payment of 2s-3d to the woman who did the washing plus an extra 1s for the ironing. Occasionally there were exceptional items recorded such as those in July associated with the birth of their son John in June, ‘Pd. Charles for the Bill of John’s Crib 8s-0d’, ‘Gave Mrs Williams my nurse £1-11s-6d.’ and two months later, ‘8 packets of diapers for John 19s.’ However, what is not recorded is the amount of money spent on clothes or clothing material apart from the occasional entry for ‘flannen’ at 3s a yard. The total expenditure recorded for 344 days in 1797 was £87, that is an average of 5s a day, which would have made the total for the full year of around £91 [£7,300 in 2007 values] or £1-15s a week for food, household necessities and some exceptional expenditures, of which it is calculated that close to £1-12s was spent each week on food. Occasionally the purchase, in 2007 values, of £68 of veal, beef and mutton on the same day, up to eight chickens and 200 oysters on other days suggests that the Lloyds during the first year in Old Oak House entertained friends.<sup>47</sup> Based on the average daily expenditure in these years the annual estimated housekeeping expenses were £91 in 1797, £57 in 1798, £60 in 1799, £47 in 1805 and £51 in 1807. It is interesting that accounts of an unknown family in the Ruthin area in 1785 totalled £78-12s-8d or around £7,700 in 2007 values compared with the Lloyd’s expenditure of £7,300.<sup>48</sup> The accounts show that while the overall expenditure on food was not lavish it establishes that in 1797 the Lloyds lived well and entertained.



Although a wide variety of food prices are listed it is rarely possible to compare them with current prices or even prices recorded in other household accounts of that period, because the quantities are only occasionally stated, the exception being tea at 5s-0d [£20] for 1lb. but for which there is only one entry in 1797. However the accounts are interesting since they show the range of food eaten by a wealthy gentry family. In addition to such basic weekly commodities as bread, fish, butter, eggs, poultry, veal, vegetables and milk, such items as sugar, coffee at 6s-8d per 1lb, oranges 3d-6d each, lemons and oysters 12d to 16d per 100 also regularly appear. It is surprising that in 1797 there is no indication of wages paid to servants but the details of servants' wages are given for various times from 1804–1812, for instance in 1804, 'Molly Lewis came to live here Nov. 31<sup>st</sup> 1804 her wages are £8-8s-0d' and 'Robert came to live here Dec. 27 1804 his wages are £16-16s-0d.' and the wages of Sally the cook in 1811 were £9 and 'to find her own tea'. One of the most surprising entries is in 1807 on 28 March, 'My subscription to the Chari[ty] [for] Girls 10s-6d.' [£33]. In the second half of the eighteenth century charities for orphan girls were established in many towns and in 1882 the Lloyds established a home in Dinas Row 'for the reception and maintenance of children bereft of both, or one, of their parents' and where they trained until 'fit for service.'<sup>49</sup>

While £141 a week in 1797 was generous but not lavish, the 1805 total of £52 a week for a family of three and two servants is unrealistically low. This suggests that the increase in the price of food, which represented around 90% of the Lloyd's household expenditure during the ten years from 1797–1807, was considerably less than the general rise in the cost of living in Britain, as measured by the various calculations which have been made of the national increases in prices. However, there is little doubt that after the first year of comparatively carefree expenditure in 1797 of £91 that more attention was paid to household expenditure in subsequent years. It is noticeable that in 1805 in addition to there being sub-totals at the end of each page there are weekly sub-totals which might have been because more attention was being paid to household expenditure.

One of the major sources of information about the personal and social lives of Brecon gentry during the period of Lloyd's retirement, 1796–1818, is the diary of the very gregarious Captain Frederick Jones, formerly of the Bombay Artillery of the East India Company and the brother of the artist Thomas Jones of Pencerrig.<sup>50</sup> The short, and sometimes cryptic, entries in the diaries read like a 'Who's Who' of the Brecon and Breconshire gentry and professional classes. When in Brecon he regularly held dinner parties 'ch[ez] nous' and was invited to many such private functions as well as attending the major assemblies during the winter season and civic dinners.

Jones remained in contact with the former servants of the East India Company, Walter and Jeffreys Wilkins and Major David Price throughout the time he was living in Brecon but the first mention of Lloyd is 10 November 1808,

'Lloyd dined ch.n.'. There is no further reference to Lloyd until 1815. Towards the end of 1815, at the start of the winter 'season', Jones recorded more social functions than usual. These, presumably, were not only to celebrate the final overthrow of Napoleon in June and in Jones's words the signing in November of a 'Treaty of Peace with France' which officially marked the end of the war, but also the anticipated easing of the severe tax burden. On 16 November 1815 Jones was 'At Captain Jn. Lloyd's party' and the following month, on 22<sup>nd</sup> December, 'Party at home; David Williams and family, the Dyffrins, Browns, Lloyds etc. Carriage and chairs.' It is not known who the other people were at this function whereas at Jones's previous party on 22<sup>nd</sup> November the guests included the Bolds, Wynters, Morgans and Colonel Wood, people of considerable note in Brecon. On the 16th December 1817 he, as one of the Trustees of the Brecon Turnpike roads, attended the, 'Turnpike meeting at T[own]. Hall, John Lloyd there.'

There is also one other rather intriguing entry concerning Dinas, Llanwrtyd, where John Lloyd was brought up and which he still owned. On 18<sup>th</sup> August 1817 Jones, his wife and four others visited Llanwrtyd and Abergwesyn and stayed in the area until 16<sup>th</sup> September in spite of 'Raining and stormy weather ever since our arrival.' The party was probably taking the waters at the Llanwrtyd spa. On 21<sup>st</sup> August, a few months after the death of Elizabeth Lloyd, the Jones party visited, 'Church and Dinas House'. Unlike the imposing Georgian mansion at Llwynderw which was built in 1796, about four miles from Dinas and which was owned by David Jones, Lloyd's wealthy kinsman, Dinas house, although in a very attractive location, was an unlikely place to visit unless there was somebody, such as Captain Lloyd, you wished to visit.<sup>51</sup>

### *Social tension*

During the months Lloyd was in London from November 1795 until he returned to Wales he would have become aware of and have been disturbed by the social unrest in Wales, as well as in England, primarily caused by the massive increase in the price of grain.

Bread was the essential food for the great majority of the people living in Wales during the eighteenth century. It has been estimated that in the late 1780s 60% of the earnings of agricultural and industrial labourers in Wales went on buying bread and many people lived at subsistence level. Hunger, and near starvation, amongst the 'labouring poor' increased sharply between 1794–96 because the very bad harvests and the war with France increased the price of bread by at least twice as much as the increase in wages.

The acceleration in the price of wheat, barley and oats between 1794–1795 was unprecedented and this stimulated Sir Frederick Morton Eden to undertake his mammoth survey, *The State of the Poor*. In November 1795 while in Monmouth he reported that, 'The people complain, that the farmers do not bring their corn

to market, and ascribe the high price of corn to badgers, or corn-dealers.’ While in Presteigne, a comparatively prosperous town on the Welsh/English border, he was told by one of the parish officers that, ‘last summer [1794 before the price rise more than doubled in 1795] during the very high price of corn, the earnings of labourers here was so small, that the Poor were literally starving; and that two poor people, who came to crave relief from him, were in a state of such unfeigned distress, that they actually fell down in his house, through hunger.’<sup>52</sup>

In Brecknock the price of wheat rose from 6s-10d per bushel in September 1794 to 14s-10d in August 1795 which made it the most expensive in Wales, but fortunately it dropped to 10s-8d the following year.<sup>53</sup> The price in Crickhowell and Abergavenny increased from 7s-3d to 10s in 1794 and to 25s in 1795.<sup>54</sup> Frederick Jones rarely commented on other than family or social events but on 10<sup>th</sup> November 1795, he noted, ‘County meeting abt. produce of grain.’<sup>55</sup> The increase in particular of the price of wheat, but also of barley and oats, was not only the result of the shortage of corn but the way an increasing number of ‘forestallers’ or ‘regrators’ purchased corn on its way to market and then resold it at a profit. This development of the market economy whereby the price of corn was based not on its production cost but what corn producers and speculators were able to charge, was alien to the traditional expectations and values of the great majority of the ‘labouring poor’. Also, when corn was in short supply local people, sometimes including magistrates, objected to the increasing practice of it being sent out of the area in which it was grown, for sale at inflated market prices.

1795 has been described as, ‘the year of what might be called the revolt of the housewives’ since they faced the increasing problem of not having enough money to purchase the most basic food for their families.<sup>56</sup> Most of what became known as the ‘Corn Riots’ were conducted with the minimum of violence. There was little pillaging but it is unquestionable that people transporting or storing corn were alarmed and corn was either surrendered to the rioters because of fear of violence or taken by force from them. The usual practice was for corn to be seized, then sold at what was considered to be a fair price and the proceeds were then sent to the farmer or corn merchant. Those involved in the corn riots believed that what they did was a crude way of fixing prices to what was a fair and reasonable level.<sup>57</sup> The authorities and country gentry in Wales were particularly disturbed when it was reported that in February 1795 in Bridgend that the magistrates could not quell a disturbance because ‘those employed as constables rather lean to the country people’ and towards the end of the year it was reported that the Fishguard Fencibles helped a rioting mob to unload butter in Fishguard harbour.<sup>58</sup>

The corn riots were not long in coming in Wales. Before May 1795 disturbances had broken out near Conway and Bangor Ferry in Caernarvonshire where ships leaving for Liverpool with corn were stopped from sailing and at

Aberystwyth corn storehouses were broken into. In South Wales the first recorded disturbance occurred in Brecon, in the parish of St John the Evangelist, on 3<sup>rd</sup> May 1795 when William Thomas, a turner, and two labourers, Jenkin Jenkins and Thomas Watkins together with ‘divers other evil disposed persons to the number of twenty and more’ did seize, ‘ten sacks of flour of the Goods and Chattels of James Price of the parish of Hay in a wagon and then and there being unlawfully and riotously did seize the said flour and cast it abroad in contempt of our said Lord the King and his laws to the great damage of the said James Price to the evil example of all others in the like case offending and against the peace of our said Lord the King his Crown and his Dignity’.<sup>59</sup> This incident was followed in August in Hay when Jane Thomas of Hay and Mary the wife of John Barber, ‘took one hundred pounds weight of Wheat Flour and Rye Flour mixed of the value of Twenty Shillings and one Hundred pounds weight of Barley Flour to the value of ten shillings of the Goods and Chattels of John Carpenter Jenkins’ and divided it out the following morning in the market house.<sup>60</sup>

When the price of wheat in South Wales trebled some local authorities made appeals to the Home Office for aid and boats loaded with corn were sent to Chepstow and Milford Haven. Corn dealers and speculators in south-west Wales began to ship corn for milling to other parts of the country so late in 1795 the Cardiganshire magistrates warned the Home Office that the labouring classes were, ‘much discontented and restless at the present exorbitant Price of all grain in the County’, and passed a resolution ‘that no Exportation of any Grain from this County should be permitted till the next Harvest, if it is, such in all Probability will cause Riots.’<sup>61</sup>

In a country suffering from such social tension while engaged in a war which threatened the very existence of an independent Britain, gentlemen with the qualities of determination and courage, which Lloyd had demonstrated on many occasions, would be expected to fulfil leadership roles in the areas in which they lived. John Lloyd was such a man.

### *Public Life*

#### DEPUTY LIEUTENANT OF BRECONSHIRE

The first extant document relating to John Lloyd after his retirement is dated 1 December 1796, ‘I the most noble Henry Duke of Beaufort . . . Lord Lieutenant of Monmouth, Leicester and Brecon . . . having nominated John Lloyd of Dynas in the County of Brecon Esq. as a fit and proper person to be a Deputy Lieutenant . . . and having been laid before and approved of by His Majesty and so the said John Lloyd having delivered to the Clerk of the Peace for the said County a description of his qualifications . . . I appoint the said John Lloyd one of my Deputy Lieutenants for the said County of Brecon to do those things which the Duty of a Deputy Lieutenant doth belong.’<sup>62</sup>

The 1673 Test Act excluded Roman Catholics, Protestant Dissenters and followers of the Jewish faith from holding civil or military office so on 4<sup>th</sup> January 1797 when John Lloyd appeared at the Brecon Quarter Sessions before Philip Champion Crespigny, Sheriff of Brecknock and various J.Ps., he took the following oath: ‘I hereby declare that I believe that there is no Transubstantiation in the Sacrament of the Lord’s Supper or in the Elements of the Bread and Wine at or after the Consecration thereof by any Person or Person Whatsoever.’ This oath established that the person making the oath was not a Roman Catholic and it is unclear why Dissenters and Jews were required to make it since they did not believe in transubstantiation. The only other Deputy Lieutenant required to take this oath on his appointment was Hugh Bold, a notable Dissenter and at the time that Lloyd took his oath so did six dissenting ministers.<sup>63</sup> The family of John Lloyd’s father, in north-west Breconshire, were well known Dissenters.<sup>64</sup> However, there is no evidence that religion was a matter that concerned him greatly. East India Company captains were instructed to hold a religious service every week when at sea. This rule was ignored by the great majority of captains, but very few could have been so indifferent to this edict as John Lloyd who during his last voyage to India as captain of the *Manship* only held one religious service.<sup>65</sup> Also although Lloyd was one of the eminent local gentry in north-west Breconshire and the Lloyds had lived very near St David’s, the local church, for a hundred years, neither John Lloyd nor his father apparently paid any attention to its condition. Theophilus Jones commented about the church, ‘There is nothing deserving notice in this miserable fabric’.<sup>66</sup> Neither is there any record of Lloyd, or his parents, ever providing any benefactions to St David’s church. This indifference to the Church of England appears to change around 1814 when he made his first contribution to The Clerical Charity for the Relief of the Distressed Widows and Orphans of Clergymen in the Archdeaconry of Brecon. Also, in 1814 *The Cambrian* reported that Lloyd became one of the twenty-four members of the committee of the Auxiliary Bible Society of the County and Borough of Brecon and subscribed two guineas to the Benevolent Schools in Brecon which had been established in 1811 by prominent figures in the Church of England.<sup>67</sup> It is significant that when the Old Oak House was relet after Lloyd’s death in 1818 one of the additions to the advertisement, when compared with that of 1796, was, ‘Two good pews in St. Mary’s Church.’<sup>68</sup>

Deputy Lieutenants were also supposed to be landowners worth at least £444 but in 1791 the total rental of Lloyd’s property in Llanwrtyd and Brecon was only around £130 as he had not yet acquired the 1,600 acres he purchased near Brecon and in the Llanwrtyd area.<sup>69</sup> However, the fact that Lloyd, in addition to being the descendant of one of the oldest gentry families in the county, was used to the responsibility of command must have been a qualification.

The 1757 Militia Act made the counties responsible for maintaining and administering the militia, commanded by the Lord Lieutenants of the counties.

Recruitment to it and its administration was the responsibility of the Deputy Lieutenants. A series of further militia acts between 1761 and 1802 transformed the militia from a local defence force, which was also used to keep law and order, into a reserve for the national army which was posted to various parts of Great Britain and, on occasions to Ireland, during the wars with France from 1793–1815. The militia was also still used to support the local authorities during times of civil disturbance, but usually not in their own counties where they might have had to confront people with whom they sympathised.

Within a month of his appointment Lloyd informed the Rev. Richard Davies, the Vicar of Brecon, ‘Notice is hereby given unto you that you are chosen by Lot to serve in the Cavalry [of the militia] of the County of Brecon and that you are to appear at the Guild Hall in Brecon on Monday the 2 day of January 1797 at the Hour of Ten in the forenoon, before the Deputy Lieutenant and Justice of the Peace . . . to take the oath in that behalf required, and to be enrolled to serve in the Cavalry of the said County as a private soldier during the present War, and for one Calendar month after the end thereof; or otherwise to provide a fit person to be there and there approved by the said Deputy Lieutenant and Justice of the Peace who shall take the said Oath, and be there and then enrolled as aforesaid.’<sup>70</sup> It was not unusual to pay for substitutes to take the place of men balloted for the militia and from 1795 advertisements regularly appeared in the *Gloucester* and *Hereford Journals*, as well as in the London papers, that, ‘A Militia Society is now established for the purpose of Providing Substitutes for such of Leisured Persons on whom the Lot may fall to serve in the Militia. Balloting is now about to commence and will continue until November 1796. Premium Five Shillings and Sixpence.’ It is assumed that the Rev. Davies provided a substitute but he was clearly not opposed to military activity as in 1803 he was gazetted as Major in the 1<sup>st</sup> Battalion of the Brecon Volunteer Infantry.<sup>71</sup>

Unfortunately the Minute Books of the meetings of the Breconshire Deputy Lieutenants prior to 1805 have been lost but it is known that two meetings were held in 1804. In 1804 Breconshire was one of the five Welsh counties which had failed to complete the required government returns detailing the number of men eligible to take up arms and join the volunteer corps and how many men were already enrolled in the militia.<sup>72</sup> At the meeting held in September 1804, the three members present were, John Lloyd, Walter Jeffreys and John Wilkins when action was taken to, ‘give notice to the churchwardens and overseers of the poor . . . to cause the deficiencies which have risen in the royal army of reserve in the said county to be filled . . .’<sup>73</sup>

From 8 October 1805 to 28<sup>th</sup> December 1818, 21 Deputy Lieutenants attended the 85 meetings at different times.<sup>74</sup> No individual is named as Chairman of the meetings and the Lord Lieutenant of Breconshire, Lord Beaufort, attended on only one occasion, 28<sup>th</sup> August 1807, when he informed the Deputy Lieutenants that their purpose was ‘to carry into execution an Act

passed in the 47<sup>th</sup> year of his present Majesty's Reign, Entitled, An Act for the speedily completing the Militia of Great Britain and increasing the same under certain Limitations and Restrictions.' This involved providing by ballot, 153 men for the militia.<sup>75</sup> Consequently it is not surprising that discussions regarding the militia were the only subjects considered at 48 of the 55 meetings held between 1807 and December 1816. There was no established regular date for the meetings and the number held in any one year varied from none in 1806 to 16 in 1812. Also there was no set quorum but on thirty occasions the meetings were adjourned when three or fewer Deputy Lieutenants were present. However, at the meeting in October 1812, attended by only John Lloyd and Hugh Bold, the apportionment by Hundreds of 816 men from the county to serve in the militia was decided. The numbers varied from 154 (7%) of the males, in 'Penkelly' [sic] to 90 (3%) in Talgarth. This decision was appealed against and on the 24<sup>th</sup> November Pencelli was reduced to 100 (5%), the same percentage as all the other Hundreds, apart from Talgarth, which remained at 3%.

Eight Deputy Lieutenants served throughout the whole period from 1805-1816. John Lloyd was present at 25 meetings but the three most diligent attendees were Edward Morgan, a barrister and County Recorder (48 meetings), the Rev. Richard Davies, Vicar of Brecon, (40), and Hugh Bold, Stamp Distributor, (36). Penry Williams, Jeffreys Wilkins, and Henry Allen attended 22, 18 and 16 meetings respectively. One of the features of Lloyd's attendance is that between 1805 and the end of 1811 he only attended six of the 40 meetings, in 1812 he was present at 12 of the 14, in 1814 on all but two of the eight occasions and in 1815 and 1816, when he was approaching 70, he attended three of the 15 meetings. Lloyd, unlike several of the other Deputy Lieutenants was not an officer in the Loyal Breconshire Volunteer Infantry, which consisted of 1,340 men.<sup>76</sup> Penry Williams, Henry Allen and Roderick Gwynne were, respectively Lieutenant-Colonels and Commandants of the 1<sup>st</sup>, 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> Battalions; the Rev. Richard Davies and Walter Wilkins were Majors and Hugh Bold, Edward Morgan and John Parry Wilkins were Captains. This is somewhat surprising since, unlike Lloyd, none of the appointed officers had heard a shot fired in anger. In March 1797 when French troops landed in Pembrokeshire, Henry Allen was commended for the way he swiftly arranged, '... to march his corps for Haverfordwest, and in consequence of the activity of the officers and the readiness of the whole body, they marched from Brecon in two hours after the arrival of the express, and reached Llandovery [20 miles] in five hours!' On the following day, after the French had surrendered they were ordered to return to Brecon, 'where they were ushered into the town by the band of the Staffordshire Militia amid the applause of thousands.'<sup>77</sup>

## SHERIFF

The first Sheriff of Breconshire was appointed in 1539 after the Act of Union in 1536 between England and Wales. The process of appointing a Sheriff was – and still is – for three names to be presented to the monarch who pricks the name of the chosen person with a bodkin. The powers of the Sheriff gradually declined and by the seventeenth century complaints were being made about how the office was, ‘much trouble and expense’.<sup>78</sup> By the eighteenth century although the office was considered to be even more burdensome and it was unusual for leading county families, such as the Morgans in Breconshire to hold the office, it was still a highly prestigious position for country gentlemen and it was ‘coveted by every gentleman who wished to set the seal on his local standing, but only the wealthiest could afford to allow their names to be brought to the king’s view.’<sup>79</sup> In 1784 it was estimated that a sheriff had to spend £400 to £500 [£45,000] in his year of office as the result of being in attendance upon and entertaining judges during the twice yearly Court of Great Sessions and also, ‘entertain[ing] all the gentlemen of the county at dinner and supper.’<sup>80</sup> Very occasionally, individuals, for example Captain Frederick Jones, in December 1818, declined to be nominated for the position of Sheriff of Radnorshire, giving as his reason that he was, ‘an officer on half-pay with a family and slender means.’<sup>81</sup>

The Privy Council Records reveal that in Breconshire, as elsewhere, a person was often nominated three times before being ‘pricked’.<sup>82</sup> Captain Lloyd’s kinsman, John Lloyd of Aberannel was nominated in 1788, 1789 and 1793, and John Rees Lloyd, Captain Lloyd’s son, in 1829, 1833 and 1839, before they were appointed to the position of Sheriff. The short-listed nominees for 1798 were John Lloyd of Dinas Esq., who was a first time nominee, John Llewellyn of Baileybrith, Esq., and Thomas Hughes Phillips of Pontywall, Esq. On February 10<sup>th</sup> 1798 *The London Gazette* announced that ‘John Lloyd, of Dinas, Esq.;

had been appointed Sheriff of Breconshire, ‘By His Majesty in Council for the Year 1798’.

As well as being in attendance on the visiting Judges during the Court of Great Sessions the Sheriff also had to be present during the Quarter Sessions conducted by Justices of the Peace and subsequently to sign the Record of the proceedings. Also, during his year as Sheriff, John Lloyd chaired a meeting of, ‘His Majesty’s Deputy Lieutenants and Justices of the Peace for putting into execution, “An Act to enable this Majesty more effectively to provide for the Defence and Security of the Realm.” Resolved – That the thanks of Meeting be given to John Lloyd, Esq., Sheriff, for the conduct in the Chair.’<sup>83</sup>

JUSTICE OF THE PEACE AND THE QUARTER SESSIONS<sup>84</sup>

All Justices had to have an estate, ‘of the clear value of £100’ but knowledge of the law was not essential and neither was an unblemished character, as witnessed by the case of a Justice in Merioneth who before being appointed had been



found guilty of assaulting an attorney at the Court of Great Sessions.<sup>85</sup> Until 1887 the Justices of the Peace, through the medium of the Quarter Sessions, were the legislative and executive power in the Welsh and English Counties. In addition to being responsible for the justice system their remit included setting and raising local taxes, bridge repairs, the regulation of markets and weights and measures, granting of licences, administration of the Poor Law, appointment of constables, the upkeep of goals and houses of correction. Minor misdemeanours were dealt with in the Petty Sessions, conducted by single Justices, such as in June 1804, ‘Wednesday last, Joseph Kenchley, a labourer employed on the [Brecon and Abergavenny] canal was convicted before the Rev. Charles Griffiths, one of His Majesties Justices of the Peace of using unlawful nets to catch fish and fined £5 [£300].’<sup>86</sup> The Quarter Sessions held in Brecon usually heard all the more serious criminal and civil cases, but indictments involving such capital offences as treason, murder, forgery and animal theft were referred to the spring or autumn Court of Great Sessions held in Brecon.<sup>87</sup> However, very occasionally, apparently minor cases were sent to the Court of Great Sessions in Brecon as in the autumn of 1795 when it was reported that, ‘there was but one prisoner tried and he was only a petty larceny radical’, the reason probably being that during the heightened tension in Britain in 1795 ‘radicals’ were regarded as potential traitors.<sup>88</sup>

During the twelve months, April 1798 to March 1799, when John Lloyd was Sheriff, there were around 120 Justices of the Peace in Breconshire of whom, as was common, only a small number took an active part in the Quarter Sessions. Justices were unpaid, the meetings sometimes lasted two days and were held a considerable distance away from the homes of many of the Justices, and they were, ‘occasions for expensive social conviviality’.<sup>89</sup> The records of the Breconshire Quarter Sessions do not indicate the status or profession of the Justices but of the four named in the Record Book of the Quarter Sessions during John Lloyd’s period of office as Sheriff three are listed in the 1796 Brecon entry in the *Universal British Directory* as, Thomas Williams a Brecon barrister and Bailiff of Brecon in 1781; Walter Jeffreys, Gentleman, Bailiff in 1796 and Sheriff in 1791; and Thomas Price, Taylor (sic). ‘John Lloyd of Dynas’, is first mentioned on the Roll of Justices in July 1795, even though at that time he was a Captain in the maritime service of the English East India Company and at sea.<sup>90</sup> From 1798 to 1805 a ‘John Lloyd’ regularly attended the Quarter Sessions then there is a gap until 1811–12 when a ‘John Lloyd’ attended all four Sessions.<sup>91</sup> However, it is not known whether the ‘John Lloyd’ recorded in the minute book is Captain Lloyd or John Lloyd of Aberannel, who although over 80 was an active magistrate, or possibly sometimes one and sometimes the other!

In 1798 much time was devoted to considering the condition of the Crickhowell, Llangynidr and Irvon bridges and the Usk Bridge in Brecon and authorising the necessary payments of £8 to £15 to repair them. An important duty was deciding on the amount of local tax to be collected from the inhabitants

of the County to meet the administrative costs. During the year 1798–99 the constables in the Hundreds were instructed to raise a total of £540. By 1811–12 the figure had increased to £1,800. Routine administrative duties included the appointment of chief and deputy constables in the various Hundreds, the payment of coroners and the surgeon and gaoler for Brecon gaol, the removal of paupers and pregnant unmarried mothers back to their home parishes and the licensing of Friendly Societies. During the war with France the Justices would sometimes authorise special payments to indigent wives and children of men who were enlisted in the army or the militia. For instance in July 1798 it was agreed that, ‘A payment of £13-13s-6d to be paid by the overseers of the poor in Crickadarn for the relief of the wife and child of William Vaughan now serving in the Militia of the county as a substitute for Thomas Williams of the said parish of Crickadarn.’ Also, in the same year a payment was made to the clerks of the Hundreds for organising the required recruitment of eight men from the county for the navy and agreeing to give £20 to each of the men. The largest single payment made during the year was £22-17s-0d to the county Gaoler, for ‘attending the removal of Edward Williams and William Price two convicts under sentence transportation of seven years from the county Gaol to the Stanislaus Hulk in the River Thames.’

During 1798–9 indictments were made against nine men for separate assaults and one for ‘stealing 2 Iron sledges’ but none of these cases was brought to trial. Of the five assault cases tried one resulted in one month in prison, one in a fine of £6-6s, two in a fine of 6d and one woman prisoner was discharged because, ‘the prosecutor not appeared’.

In April 1798 a Rees Davies was indicted for assaulting a John Thelwall.<sup>92</sup> This case would have undoubtedly caused considerable interest, particularly amongst those who read national newspapers and such periodicals as, *The Gentleman’s Magazine*. For at least three years John Thelwall had featured frequently in the newspapers, as one of the leading radicals in Britain. He had been tried for treason and found not guilty, in spite of the efforts of William Pitt, the Prime Minister. The more literary minded might also have been aware of his reputation as a poet and that Wordsworth and Coleridge had recently visited him at his farm in Llyswen. Captain Frederick Jones clearly knew of Thelwall since he made one of his very few visits to the Quarter Sessions to witness the trial. His typically terse comment in his diary for the 10<sup>th</sup> July was, ‘Q[uar]ter Sessions Mem[orable] Thelwall’s speech.’ Unfortunately there are no details of the speech in the Quarter Session record which simply states, ‘The King at the Prosecution of John Thelwall Gentleman against Rees Davies for an Assault. The Defendant having pleaded Guilty and the prosecutor inclining to be Lenient. It is Ordered that the said Defendant be fined Six Pence and enter into Recognizance to keep the Peace for Two Years and then be discharged which he having immediately done It is further ordered that he be discharged accordingly.’ Some years later

when Lloyd and Samuel Homfray, the Merthyr ironmaster were members of the Common Council of Brecon, Lloyd may have heard from Homfray about the alleged involvement of Thelwall in the 1800 Merthyr riot and he might have been inclined to tell Homfray that he had witnessed Thelwall's generous behaviour to the man who had assaulted him.

It is likely that John Lloyd remained a Justice of the Peace until his death but the last time he is mentioned by name in the minutes of the Quarter Sessions is in October 1811. Earlier that year John Lloyd, Edward Morgan and Hugh Bold were given the responsibility of arranging for the Guild Hall to be redecorated and purchasing a 'new cloth for the Table and new cushions'.<sup>93</sup>

### *The Brecon Common Council*

Until the passing of the Municipal Corporations Act of 1835 the Borough of Brecon was governed by the arrangements stated in the Charter granted in 1556 during the reign of Philip and Mary. The Charter established a Common Council consisting of the bailiff [mayor], two aldermen and twelve capital burgesses who were to hold office 'as long as they conducted themselves well' and they were to be chosen from the 'better and honest' burgesses. The burgesses, who originally had to be resident in the town, consisted of local gentry, lawyers, merchants and masters in various guilds. Of the fifteen original capital burgesses two were bakers, one was a butcher and one a glover and in 1585 the bailiff was a haberdasher.

In the first quarter of the eighteenth century the population of Brecon was approximately 2,000 and there were 200 burgesses, that is about half the men over 21, and in 1713 and 1723 around 150 voted in contested elections for the Brecon seat in parliament. However, by the time John Lloyd became a burgess in 1808, 'the number of capital and other burgesses in this borough, are nineteen; fifteen of whom, including the bailiff, recorder and aldermen, are common councilmen; the present chamberlains are also burgesses, and consequently have votes in the election of a representative in parliament.'<sup>94</sup> When a burgess retired or died his replacement was chosen by the common councilmen and it became usual for that new burgess to be elected as a capital burgess in the following year. It is unclear how this reduction in the number of burgesses had been achieved but Theophilus Jones while accepting that, 'Brecknock, which undoubtedly antiently was a *democratic* borough, it is now an oligarchy; let not the reader regret the change, or lament that individuals are thus deprived of a right; let him not call it a misfortune to the place or the public, [un]till he has been present at a popular election, where he may *feel* the evils that contests of that nature produce, while perhaps he is estimating the benefits likely to ensue from the general exercise of a franchise, so eagerly sought after by the unthinking multitude, for the mere purpose of abusing it.'<sup>95</sup> A reading of the minutes of the

Common Council suggests that membership of the Common Council was sometimes, 'regarded more as a privilege to be enjoyed than as a duty to be performed.'<sup>96</sup> Occasionally decisions were taken which might be interpreted as members of the Council benefiting themselves or their families, such as when in 1814 the Common Council 'Ordered that a lease of a Parcel of Land in Llanvaes Ward bounded on the West by the College Lands, on the South by the Green, and a Close of John Lloyd Esq on the East by the River Usk, be granted to the said John Lloyd for the Term of twenty one years from Michaelmas one thousand eight hundred and fourteen at the yearly Rent of One Pound and One Shilling (saving and reserving the Rights of Way over the said Parcel of Land) and that the Rent be payable to the Bailiff for the Time being for the use of the Corporation'.<sup>97</sup> This appears to have been the land on which Dinas Lodge was subsequently built and while John Lloyd may have been given first option on the land, a rent of £1-1s was certainly not a preferential rate for this small area. There were other instances when the Common Council allocated leases of land to one of the Council but there is no evidence of large-scale corruption. The significance of such comparatively minor misdemeanours pale into insignificance when compared with the transformation in the eighteenth century of Brecon, into a Parliamentary Rotten Borough, with fewer than nineteen electors, dominated by the Morgans of Tredegar who supplied the M.P. for Brecon for over a hundred years.

When Captain Lloyd returned to live in Brecon in early 1796 the Common Council consisted of two of the Bolds – one of whom was Bailiff – two of the Morgans of Tredegar, Walter Jeffreys, Edward Morgan, Thomas Meredith, Charles Pritchard, Henry Davies, Thomas Williams and William Jones. They usually met twice in the year, late in September and early October, when a significant part of the business was the election of the bailiff for the forthcoming year and the selection of the burgesses and capital burgesses to replace those who had died, left the area, retired or, as in the case of Hugh Bold in 1818, 'removed from the office of Alderman'.<sup>98</sup> The other business recorded between 1796 and 1818 concerned tolls from the fairs and markets, the allocation of rents and leases of council property, enforcing the traditional right that only the freemen and burgesses of Brecon traded in the town and attempting to ensure that the streets were cleaned and that the water was pure.

The parliamentary seat for Brecon was not contested between 1740 and 1832 and the Morgans of Tredegar were well aware that the most important power that the Common Council possessed was the right to select or reject one of their family, or a man who married into the family, as the Member of Parliament for Brecon. The Brecon seat was regarded by the Morgans as the stepping stone to becoming the Member for Breconshire, for which around 2,000 freeholders had the vote and which was sometimes vigorously contested. Consequently, they not only demonstrated their interest in Brecon by attending almost all the Common

Council meetings but also by being generous benefactors. In February 1807, ‘Last week, Sir Charles Morgan of Tredegar, gave a donation of £50 to be distributed amongst the industrious poor of the town of Brecon, which was laid out in the purchase of coals and blankets, furnishing a seasonable relief to many necessitous families. Such an example is worthy of imitation.’<sup>99</sup> Two years later the council passed a resolution thanking Charles Morgan of Tredegar for his generosity in providing the £500 [£25,000] necessary to repair the Town Hall and in October 1814 Charles Morgan ‘contributed one Hundred Pounds as a Mark of his satisfaction at the Glorious Termination of the late War, to be distributed by the Bailiff among the poor of Brecon during the ensuing winter.’<sup>100</sup>

The Morgans increased their influence in the Common Council when in 1798 Samuel Homfray, the ostentatiously wealthy son-in-law of Charles Morgan, and the owner of the important Penydarren ironworks in Merthyr was nominated as a burgess of Brecon. The following year, as seems to have been the common practice, he became a Capital Burgess and on 22<sup>nd</sup> September 1800 was, ‘elected into the office of Bailiff of the said Borough for the ensuing year’. In the opinion of Justice Hardinge in 1801 Homfray was ‘a very dangerous person for those who are connected with him and for others’ and he has since been described as ‘a bull-necked, sub-nosed bruiser, vengeful and abusive.’<sup>101</sup>

The importance Homfray attached to this appointment is illustrated by the fact that even though he was a magistrate he left Merthyr the day that the first serious industrial riot in Merthyr, which started in Penydarren works, took place ‘even though the first notice of a concerted enterprise against the peace of the town [had taken place] between Saturday the 20<sup>th</sup> and the 22<sup>nd</sup> September’.<sup>102</sup> At the trial of three of the rioters Hardinge commented on the ‘indolence, or blind credulity of the Magistrates.’<sup>103</sup> The letters to and from Homfray on the 22<sup>nd</sup>–24<sup>th</sup> September 1800 suggest that he was shocked by the extent of the violence and even anticipated that the rioters might ‘proceed forward for Neath and Swansea and so on all through the Mines into Pembrokeshire &c.’<sup>104</sup> Homfray also believed that, ‘Political principles have in some degree influenced the Minds of the lower Class of People’ and ‘When the cryer proclaimed in the public Market of the Workmen of the four works near Merthyr for taking into consideration the high price of Provisions Mr Thelwall was at no very great distance.’<sup>105</sup> John Thelwall, one of the leading radicals in Britain, was at that time living in Llyswen, seven miles from Brecon.

Around 1800 Charles Morgan anticipated being elevated to the peerage and Homfray was groomed to succeed him as M.P. for Breconshire.<sup>106</sup> Morgan did not become a peer but in 1806 decided to retire as M. P. for Breconshire because of ‘my advanced age & severe attack of Rheumatism’.<sup>107</sup> He wished to be replaced by Samuel Homfray but after several months of political manoeuvring Homfray withdrew his candidature before the election. The reason Homfray gave for this decision was that ‘the peace of the County [is] not to be disturbed’

but in the words of Richard Crawshay of Cyfartha, who had business and personal reasons for having reservations about Homfray, 'I am of the opinion Sam Homfray is a very unpopular character in Brecon.'<sup>108</sup> Homfray continued to be a member of the Common Council but he did not attend another meeting until 22 September 1817 when 'Sir Charles Morgan Baronet, Charles Morgan Robinson Morgan Esq, George Gould Morgan Esq, Rowley Lascelles Esq and Samuel Homfray Esq . . . tendered their resignations'. However, they were all re-appointed the following day. On 4 June 1819 Homfray and Lascelles resigned again and this time the Common Council agreed, 'The considerations which appear to have weighed with them to adopt this Step are entitled to the entire Approbation of the Members of this Body and that the Thanks of the Corporation be given to them for service while they constituted a Part of the Same'.

#### BURGESS AND BAILIFF

The evidence suggests that from 1798-1808 the Lloyds lived in Dinas, Llanwrtyd for most of the year and came to Brecon during the winter. This had changed by 3<sup>rd</sup> October 1808 when the Common Council, 'Ordered that Samuel Morgan, Town Clerk of the said Borough, John Lloyd of the same place Esq., and Samuel Church of the same place, attorney in law be severally submitted and sworn Burgesses of the said Borough.' The following September it was agreed, 'John Lloyd of the said Borough Esq. and one of the Burgesses of the said Borough to be a Capital Burgess of the same Borough in the room and instead of Hugh Bold the Elder [who had died]'.<sup>109</sup> Then in September 1810 the minutes of the Common Council recorded, 'John Lloyd elected in the Office of Bailiff of the said Borough for the ensuing year.'<sup>110</sup> Those present were Thomas Meredith, Bailiff; Hugh Bold, Alderman; Charles Morgan; Walter Jeffreys; Henry Davies; Edward Morgan; William Williams, [Lloyd's brother-in-law] and John Lloyd.

It was traditional for a feast to be given to mark the appointment of a new Bailiff and until 1810 they seem to have been comparatively modest occasions as on 6<sup>th</sup> October 1806: 'Monday last the Rev. Thomas James was sworn into the office of Bailiff of Brecon for the ensuing year; on which occasion all the members of the Corporation and a very numerous party of his friends partook of a splendid entertainment given at his own house.'<sup>111</sup> However on 6 October 1810 *The Cambrian* reported, 'On Monday last John Lloyd Esq., was sworn into the office of Bailiff of Brecon for the ensuing year; and a very splendid dinner was given on the occasion at the Golden Lion Inn, which abounded with every profusion of the season, and was very numerously attended, the invitations having been very general both to the inhabitants of the town, the gentlemen in its vicinity and also to the officers of the First Regiment of Carmarthen Local Militia commanded by Col. The Right Hon. Lord Dynevor who on Friday last

commenced twenty days permanent duty in that town. Among the company were noticed Sir Robert Salusbury, Bart., member of the borough, Sir Charles Morgan, Bart. Etc. etc. In the course of the evening several loyal toasts were given and festivity prevailed till a late hour.'

These more elaborate and expensive bailiff's feasts continued until 1819 when the Common Council resolved, 'We the Common Council Men and Capital Burgesses of the said Borough whose names are herewith subscribed having taken into consideration the great and unnecessary Expense of the public Entertainment usually given on the new Bailiff's Fest day deem it proper to recommend that the Dinner on that Day be confined to a few of the Bailiff's Friends and the Gentlemen of the Corporation so that the Expenditure be as near and proper to the income of the Office.'<sup>112</sup> At the same meeting a resolution was passed very reminiscent of the decisions of Powys County Council in 2007, 'Resolved that the Bailiff and Aldermen be requested to take Measure for Ascertaining the Quantity and Extent of the corporation's Property and if they shall deem the same necessary, to have it surveyed, mapped and valued'.

During John Lloyd's year of office he persuaded the Common Council to address the question of unruly behaviour and traffic problems in the town. The result was the issuing of a circular stating that 'Whereas many idle and disorderly persons have been guilty of divers irregularities within the Borough, contrary to law, the Bailiff requests the inhabitants to assist him in executing the following regulations: [including] No person shall sell, give or set fire to any squib, or other firework whatsoever in the streets of the Borough; No person shall leave any wagon, car or carriage or other nuisance or obstruction in the streets'. The constables were then warned, 'to execute the above regulations and any neglect of duty on their part will be punished.'<sup>113</sup> However, this injunction by the Common Council, which has a twenty-first century ring about it, did not resolve the problem of unruly behaviour in the streets of Brecon so in 1813 another resolution was passed to take account of troublesome matters; 'Ordered that the Bailiff, Recorder, Aldermen and Town Clerk of the said Borough for the time being, be appointed a committee to inquire into all Incroachments and Nuisances within the said Borough – That they act thereon as Circumstances may require and afterwards report the same.'

On 5 October 1812 the minutes record, 'Charles Morgan Esq., the eldest son of Sir Charles Morgan, one of the Common Council Men of this Borough, be admitted and sworn Burgess of the said Borough.' The following day, instead of waiting the usual one year after being sworn as a Burgess, Charles Morgan was elected as Common Councilman and Capital Burgess and this made him eligible to be elected as the M.P. for Brecon. Three days later he was elected by 'the major part of the electors [the members of the Common Council] to serve for the said Borough in Parliament'<sup>114</sup> Those present included John Lloyd. At this time Charles Morgan was only 20 and too young to vote in a parliamentary election,

a clear demonstration both of the influence of the Morgans and how Brecon had become a Rotten Borough. Election to the House of Commons while still legally a minor was unusual but not unknown and in the 1812 election three minors were returned.<sup>115</sup>

John Lloyd continued to attend all the Common Council meetings until October 1815 and on 5 October 1818 it was recorded, 'Because of the death of John Lloyd, David Price Esq., one of the Burgesses of the said Borough to be one of the Common Council or Capital Burgesses of the said Borough in the Room and Stead of the said John Lloyd.' Price was a former Major in the army of the East India Company and in 1819 was elected Bailiff of Brecon.

### *Man of Property*

When John Lloyd retired from the East India Company and returned to Breconshire he owned several small properties in Brecon of which the total annual rent came to about £23 of which the most significant was £16 for a house in Ship Street. It is unclear exactly how much land he owned in the Llanwrtyd area in 1797 but it was around 500 acres consisting of the farmhouses and land at Dinas, Cwmirfon and Cwmbach. About 300 acres was rough hill grazing land so the total rental income in 1791 was only £91 or less than 4s an acre. He was also involved in several complex agreements regarding an unknown amount of land titled 'Pentwyn' and 'Nant y Cae Ycha' which was subsequently mortgaged in 1816 to a Rev Isaac Edwards.<sup>116</sup> In 1798 he purchased a further 750 acres, of which the most significant acquisition was 300 acres of good valley land listed as the 'Maesgwylied Estate of Mr T.H. Gwynne'. Although by 1799 John Lloyd owned some 1,250 acres in Llanwrtyd it would not have been regarded as a 'gentleman's estate'. In 1800 the opportunity arose for John Lloyd to acquire an important estate very close to Brecon.

Abercynrig 'House and Demesne' had in the sixteenth century belonged to the scholarly, wealthy and very influential Dr William Awbrey. In 1621 it was sold to Jeffrey Jeffreys a wealthy Brecon mercer and eventually to William Flower of Castle Duroy in Ireland whose son was created Viscount Ashbrook in 1751. In 1800 the third Viscount Ashbrook decided to sell his 3,800 acres in the Brecon area and Lot I in the sale was the 'Abercundrig Demesne' of 745 acres, which included 'a large good Mansion House and 339 acres in the occupation of Mrs Mary Morgan; seven farms and Davoden meadow.' According to the advertised particulars the various properties produced a total rent of £430.<sup>117</sup>

On the 25<sup>th</sup> March 1800 Walter Powell, John Lloyd's Brecon solicitor, wrote to Charles Deare, Temple, London expressing an interest in Lot I and was informed that the price was, '£12,900 exclusive of timber which is valued at £560'.<sup>118</sup> Powell then made an offer but was informed that a Mr Strutt of Essex had already made an offer however on the 3<sup>rd</sup> July Powell was apprised that Mr



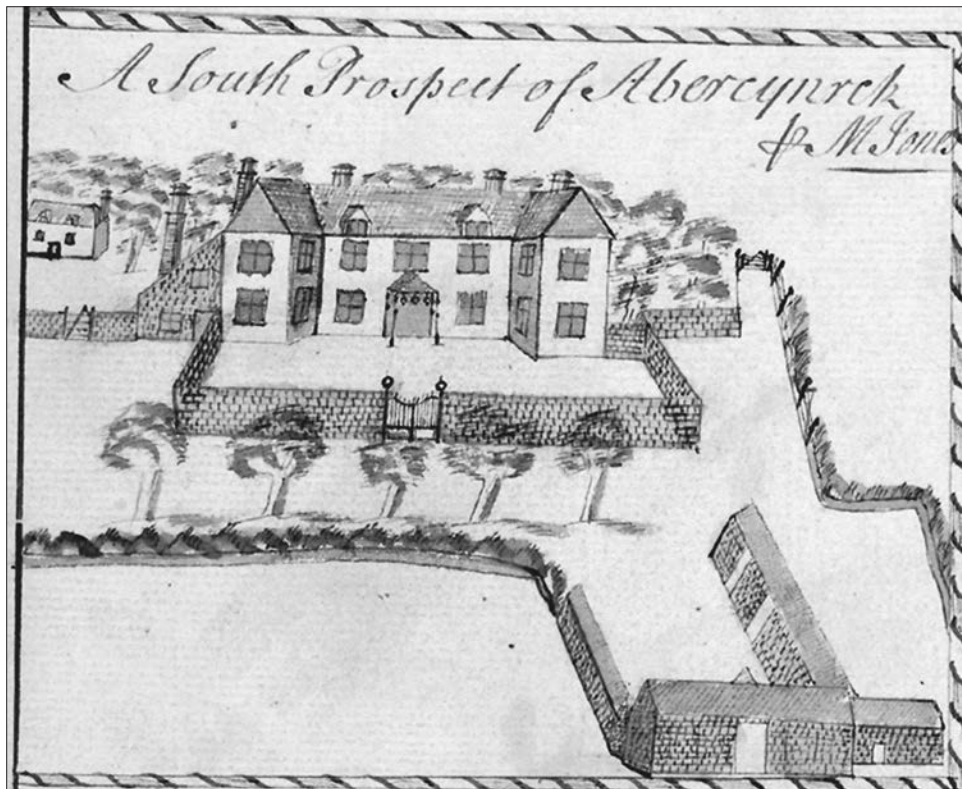


Figure 2 'A South Prospect of Abercynrick' by Meredith Jones 1749

Between 2001–3 Richard Lloyd restored Abercynrig to its 1749 appearance. Copies of the original detailed maps of the Abercynrig estate are in the Brecknock Museum and Art Gallery.

Strutt's offer had been rejected. Prolonged discussions then took place and in February 1801 John Lloyd agreed to pay the asking price of £13,460 [£713,000] and made an advance payment of £4,000 which Mr Deare informed Walter Powell, 'I beg it to be understood with respect to Captain Lloyd's £4,000 that if it is to be in Bank notes or something I can immediately negotiate. I should be glad to receive it but not otherwise.'<sup>119</sup> But the sale was not completed until September 1801 largely because of uncertainty regarding Lord Ashbrook's title to the estate.

During the course of the negotiations the rental value increased to £590-4s-0d. The rents averaged about 15s an acre, varying from 8s an acre for the 68 acre Penylan farm to £3 an acre for Davoden water meadow next to the Usk. After 1801 this meadow was rented to the Brecon Boat Company of which John Lloyd was one of the major shareholders. In 1802 John Lloyd also purchased by

auction for 935 guineas [£67,000] the Rhue farm of 73 acres, which was separated from the rest of his land by about one and a half miles.<sup>120</sup> The adjoining 893 acres of the Ashbrook estate were sold in 1802 to Jeffreys Wilkins [de Winton] on which he subsequently built Maesderwen house and where de Wintons still live. Captain Lloyd never lived at Abercynrig and the first of his descendants to live there were Sir John and Lady Lloyd who moved into the Granary when Dinas House, Brecon, which was built in 1832, was requisitioned in 1941 as a military hospital. In 1947 Sir John and Lady Lloyd moved into the main house where the Lloyds have lived ever since.

Mrs Mary Morgan, who did not die until 11 December 1801, must have agreed to relinquish her tenancy before it had been finally agreed that John Lloyd was to become the new owner. On 2<sup>nd</sup> February 1801, 'John Lloyd of Dinas' entered into an agreement with Roger Prosser of Tredustan Court during the discussions regarding the sale to let Abercynrig and 540 acres, 'for the term of 14 years at and under the yearly rent of Five Hundred and Sixty Seven Pounds' and in return Lloyd was to provide Prosser with, '300lbs weight of good clover seed, 20 bushels of good rye grass and 400 barrels of lime'. He also undertook to build at Abercynrig, 'a pig's cot, a shed for young cattle, a stall or feeding place for 10 head of cattle, a wain house, a granary, a calve's cot, a drying kiln for use of the mill – to put several dwelling houses and cottages and all singular outhouses and other buildings in proper and sufficient repair' and 'to repair fences and walls in the fields'. However, if, 'the Rt. Hon William Lord Viscount Ashbrook will not carry out his agreement with the said John Lloyd into execution or cannot make a good title to the said premises this agreement shall be void and of none effect.'<sup>121</sup>

Roger Prosser continued to live at Abercynrig, and in August 1814, it and the Rhue Farm were advertised for rent by John Lloyd as, 'Abercynrig, with Water Corn Grist Mill . . . The Mansion House of Abercynrig is calculated for the Residence of a genteel Family . . . Limestone in great abundance with a convenient Kiln, also an excellent threshing machine worked by a full supply of water which afterwards may irrigate a considerable part of the land. For a view of the Premises and for further particulars apply to the Proprietor, John Lloyd Esq., or to Messers Powell and Jones, Solicitors, Brecon; if by letter postage paid.'<sup>122</sup> However, Prosser's lease must have been extended since he was still living at Abercynrig at the time of the death of Captain Lloyd in February 1818.

Soon after his father's death, John Rees Lloyd had a survey undertaken of the Abercynrig estate and in 1819 the house and 311 acres were let to a Mr Robert Archibald of Eye, Herefordshire who in 1818 had rented Dinas, Llanwrtyd almost immediately after the death of Captain Lloyd.<sup>123</sup> Within a few weeks John Rees Lloyd, the 21 year old son of Captain Lloyd, had vacated the Old Oak House and was living in an unidentified house in The Struet.<sup>124</sup> This may well have been the house which was referred to in 1797 in Elizabeth Lloyd's

household accounts as in The Struet and which had belonged to Elizabeth Lloyd's brother, William Williams. Then on 4 April, about six weeks after the death of Captain Lloyd, the Old Oak House, in Brecon, now modernised with, 'water conveyed into the house by pipes' was advertised in *The Cambrian*, by Henry Allen, the owner, as being available for rent.

#### *Involvement in the local economy*

During the second half of the eighteenth century, 'India beckoned because of the prospects of a swift fortune' and many large fortunes were made in India by the successful merchants, administrators, army officers and captains in the maritime service of the East India Company, who survived.<sup>125</sup> These nabobs, as they were known when they returned to Britain, often used their wealth to purchase large country estates and sometimes, seats in the House of Commons, but they did not 'regard their fortunes as capital for further venturing in trade or manufacturing in Britain.'<sup>126</sup> Professor Huw Bowen has pointed out that while some former successful captains of East Indiamen 'sought little more than a fashionable country seat and a comfortable lifestyle in retirement' there were those such as, 'John Lloyd . . . [who] . . . invested in local industry and infrastructure . . . which had a significant bearing on local economic activity.'<sup>127</sup>

#### *The Dinas Lead Mine*

John Lloyd's grandfather had been involved in several unsuccessful commercial ventures, which probably included an attempt to find and mine lead on his land.<sup>128</sup> In 1791 John Lloyd decided to renew the search for lead and from April 1793 – March 1794 he contracted John Lowe to develop the mine. Small amounts of copper ore and Black Jack – a low-grade soft slate-like substance that looked like coal but didn't burn – were found.<sup>129</sup> It is not known how much money John Lloyd invested in the attempt to develop the mine or whether any of the copper or Black Jack was sold. When it was proposed in March 1794 that a further investment of £150 was required to access the main source of copper of between 15 and 20 tons which it was believed could be sold at £20 a ton, John Lloyd declined to invest more money in the mine. Some fifty years later a thirty-one year lease was signed between the sons of John Lloyd and John Lowe for Lowe to provide all the equipment and labour to work, 'Minerals under Dinas Farm' and in return John Lloyd was to receive, 'one twelfth of the ore or minerals obtained'.<sup>130</sup>

#### *The Brecknock to Abergavenny Canal (B & A)*<sup>131</sup>

As an astute businessman and somebody whose life had been involved in the trading of goods by water, it is not surprising that Lloyd was well aware of the

potential economic significance of building a canal to Brecon. Before the Act of Parliament authorising the canal was passed in March 1793, Lloyd had already written to his friend and solicitor, Walter Powell, about how the canal would not only reduce the price of coal in Brecon but also, 'how the farms will flourish in the Vale of Brecon.'<sup>132</sup> Seven months later in October 1793 his letter to Powell shows how he anticipated that there would be, 'a full flowing Canal from one end to the other boarded with full numberless barges with rich cargoes.'<sup>133</sup> There is little doubt that he appreciated that whoever had the right to transport goods on the canal would develop a successful and profitable business.

The Brecknock and Abergavenny Canal Act of Parliament provided for £100,000 to be raised in 1000 shares of £100, the maximum shareholding being limited to 50, which were to be 'called' for as work progressed. The Act also stipulated that a further £50,000 could be, and was raised, by additional calls on existing shareholders, but by April 1804 the funds were exhausted and a further Act of Parliament authorised the raising of an additional £80,000.<sup>134</sup> The minutes of the first General Assembly of the B&A in May 1793 record how the shares had been allocated. Six individuals held 12 or more shares: Gwynne of Buckland and the ironmaster John Hanbury of Pontypool had 20 shares each; the Rev. Richard Davies, Thomas Powell, Walter Wilkins and Jeffreys Wilkins of Brecon 12 shares. A further 21 shareholders had acquired between 10–11 shares and another 32 people held 5–9 shares.<sup>135</sup> By the October 1794 General Assembly a considerable number of shares had changed hands; for instance, Thomas Hanbury had disposed of all his, Thomas Harcourt Powell had reduced his holding to 12 and Samuel Homfray, who in 1813 described himself, with what justification is not known, as, 'Father of the Canal' increased his holding from 5 to 15.<sup>136</sup> Captain John Lloyd, who was used to trading in the volatile Indian markets, was not an initial shareholder. Five years later the building costs were running ahead of the estimates and there were shareholders interested in selling so as to avoid the obligation of further 'calls'. Lloyd then acquired eleven shares for which he almost certainly paid around 25% less than the initial £100 per share.<sup>137</sup> Once he became a shareholder Lloyd took an active part in the business of the Canal Company.

In 1809 he lent the Canal Company £300 and in September 1811 the minutes of the company refer to Lloyd receiving £25, half a year's interest on a loan of £1,000.<sup>138</sup> When the canal was linked in 1812 with the Monmouthshire canal the traffic increased and it became more profitable but seven years later when the Stamp Duty Administration of John Lloyd's estate was completed his '10 shares in the Brecon and Abergavenny Canal [were valued] at £70 per share'. However, in 1826 when £450 of the £1,000 1811 loan was converted into three shares, for Captain Lloyd's son, they had recovered to £150 a share.<sup>139</sup>

*The Brecon Boat Company*

In 1797, three years before the canal reached Brecon, Jeffreys Wilkins, John Lloyd, John Powell, John Pierce, and Walter Powell of Brecon agreed, ‘to enter into co-partnership and continue to be partners and joint traders in the business of boat owners and coal dealers on the Brecknock and Abergavenny Canal and in any other business as they should jointly agree upon for the term of twenty one years.’<sup>140</sup> Walter Powell soon withdrew from the partnership and was repaid the money he had contributed. The Brecon Boat Company began to operate before the canal reached Brecon and on the 25<sup>th</sup> April 1799 at the general meeting of the Canal Company it was ‘Ordered that the Thanks of this meeting be given the Boat Company for their Exertions in establishing a Trade upon the Canal.’<sup>141</sup>

In 1800, as the canal neared completion, the Brecon Boat Company built a wharf between The Watton and the canal some 500 yards along the canal west of the Watton Gate. In 1802–3 the Canal Company established a public wharf close to the Watton Gate and what is now Bridge 165. The Company built a further wharf in 1814 by the side arm at the start of the canal, close to the present Brecknock Museum and Art Gallery, and Hugh Bold, a member of the Common Council also established a wharf on the side arm.

Between 1797 and 1805 John Lloyd, Jeffreys Wilkins, John Powell and John Pierce invested £9,400 in the Boat Company and on the 5<sup>th</sup> January 1805 the four partners signed a new Indenture regarding the Company. By this they agreed not to ‘be concerned either alone or in partnership with any other person or persons in any Boat or Boats on the Brecknock and Abergavenny Canal or in the business of Coal Dealer or in any other trade or business between Clydach [where they leased a colliery] and the town of Brecon.’<sup>142</sup> Also, they agreed not to dispose of their share in the co-partnership without first making an offer in writing to the other co-partners and that any future capital would be contributed in equal proportions, but there is no evidence that there were any demands for more capital. They invested not only in boats, which by 1812, after the link-up with the Monmouthshire canal, numbered twenty, but also in wharves, buildings, land from which to extract limestone and they leased lime-kilns at Brecon, Llangynidr, Llangattock and Govilon. They also invested in a colliery at Clydach, coal travelling via the Canal Company’s Clydach Rail Road to the wharf at Llanelly.<sup>143</sup>

The value of their sales of coal in Brecon peaked in 1814 at £8,397, which represented around 90% of the tonnage of coal shipped on the canal, and of lime in 1813 of £3,680. Between 1806 and 1814 each of the four investors received an annual ‘partner’s dividend’ of around £500 [approximately £25,000] which represented an annual return of 25% on their initial investment.<sup>144</sup> This was clearly the most successful economic enterprise in which John Lloyd was involved when he returned to Brecon.

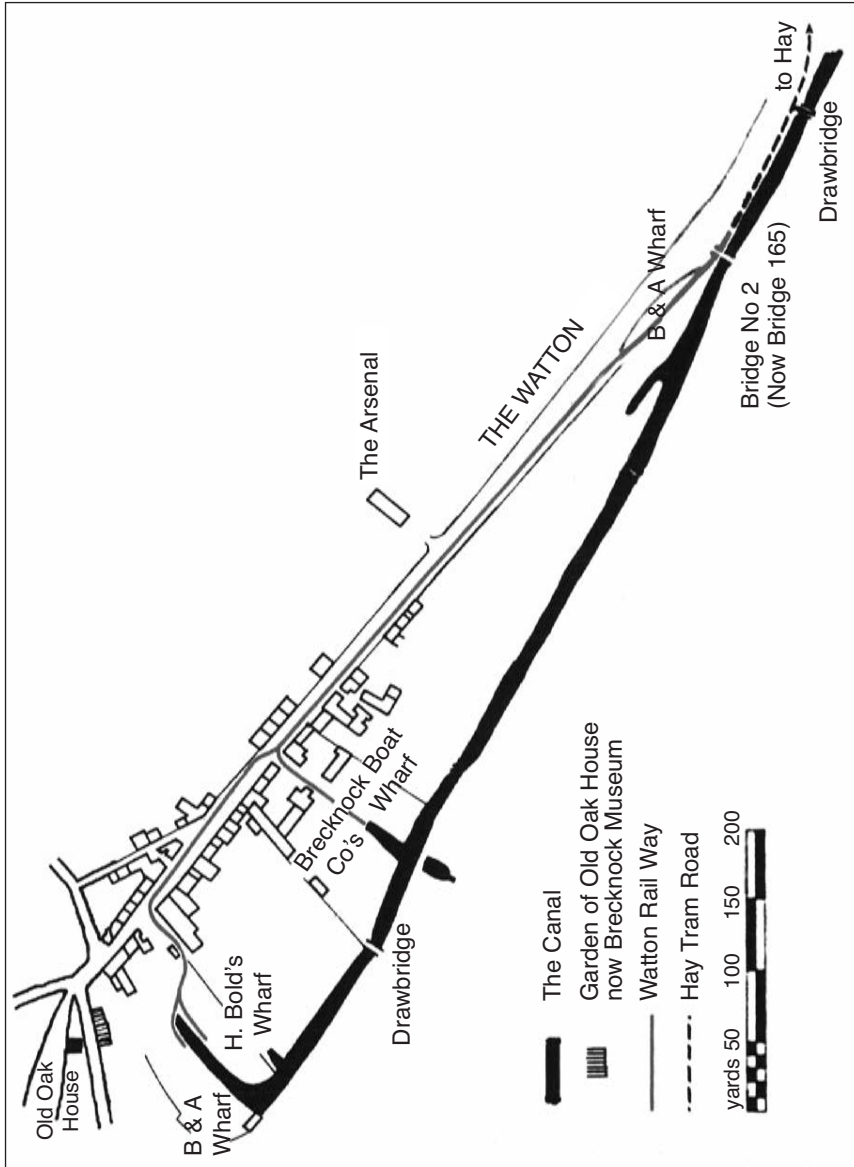


Figure 3 : The Canal Wharves in Brecon and the Watton Rail Way 1816  
 Based on Wood's 1834 'Plan of Brecknock' and the diagram of the 'Watton Plateway' in *Tramroads of the Brecknock and Abergavenny Canal*  
 by Gordon Rattenbury published by the Railway and Canal Historical Society, 1980.

*The Hay Tram Road and the Watton Rail Way*<sup>145</sup>

On the 11<sup>th</sup> June 1793, one month after the inaugural meeting of the Brecknock and Abergavenny Canal Co. it was proposed that an extension should be built from the proposed aqueduct and lock at Brynich, two miles outside Brecon, to Whitney-on-Wye. This was the period of canal-mania and the proposal resulted in £47,000 being promised at the meeting. Within a year the plan had been shelved but the vision of an improved communication link from the northern rim of the South Wales coalfield in the Nantyglo and Beaufort area via tramways to the B & A canal and then on to Herefordshire did not die. On 9 March 1805 the *Cambrian* reported that subscriptions had been opened at the Brecon Bank of Wilkins & Co., 'for the purpose of ascertaining the most eligible level for a railroad from the Monmouth and Brecon Canal to the river Wye.' Some three months later the *Hereford Journal* announced that six Brecon businessmen, one of whom was John Lloyd, were arranging a meeting to be held in Hay of those interested in developing what was now known as the Hay Tram Road. Once again nothing happened.

By 1810 it was known that it would not be long before the Brecon and Abergavenny canal joined up with the Monmouthshire canal and therefore a tramroad from Brecon to Herefordshire would vastly improve access from Herefordshire to the seaport of Newport and the rapidly increasing markets for agricultural produce in Monmouthshire and from the industrial districts of Monmouthshire to Herefordshire. The result was that seventeen influential landowners and businessmen, including John Lloyd, Jeffreys Wilkins and Walter Powell, (acting as the executor of his brother John Powell), of the Brecon Boat Company, initiated another meeting to discuss the project. This time action was taken. A surveyor was employed and a subscription list opened and it was agreed to apply to Parliament for the necessary Act. In November the surveyor estimated that a single-track tram-road could be built for £42,000 and even after an annual maintenance charge of £1,000, which was increased to £1,379, the estimated annual profit would be £6,000. The necessary Act of Parliament received its first reading on 19 February 1811, was amended in April after lobbying by the B & A Canal Company, to extend it to the public wharf of the B & A Canal at the Watton in Brecon instead of starting at Brynich, and received Royal Assent on 21 May 1811.

The subscription list was now opened and on the 23<sup>rd</sup> January 1812 the *Hereford Journal* reported that £13,600 had already been raised from sixty-three subscribers. These included the Earl of Oxford, (£2,000), Charles Morgan (£2,000) and Walter Wilkins M.P. (£2,000). By the 20<sup>th</sup> February £51,300 had been subscribed. John Lloyd of Aberanel subscribed £1,000 and Jeffreys Wilkins of the Brecon Boat Company £500, but Captain John Lloyd was not a subscriber even though he had been closely involved in promoting the project.

The construction, which included the building of the longest tram-way tunnel in Britain under 'the said Hill or Mountain known as Keven North in the Parishes of Llanhamlach and Llangasty Tallylyn', started in 1811.<sup>146</sup> On 25 May 1816 *The Cambrian* reported, 'Tuesday the Tram Road from Brecon to Hay was finished and several wagons with coal arrived at the latter place. This event diffused satisfaction throughout Hay and its neighbourhood.' And thus, 'Brecon had effectively extended its market area in western Herefordshire, Radnorshire and north west Breconshire.'<sup>147</sup> The Hay Tram Road from Brecon to Eardisley in Herefordshire remained operational until 1864.

By the time the Hay Tram Road opened John Lloyd was 68 and his health was not good. However, in 1816, as one of the three surviving partners in the Brecon Boat Company, he must have been involved in the discussions regarding the development of the Watton Plateway. The opening of the Hay Tram Road placed the wharves of Hugh Bold and the Brecon Boat Company at a disadvantage compared with the B & A's wharf close to Watton Gate. Consequently two months after the Hay Tram Road was opened the Brecon Boat Company and Hugh Bold applied to the B & A Canal Company to be allowed to connect a 'Rail Way, from their wharves, through the public Wharf of this company near the Watton turnpike to join the Hay Tram Road at that place and they having offered to advance the sum necessary for completing the same according to the Plan and Estimate now produced not exceeding Four Hundred Pounds . . . Resolved that the Offer be accepted.'<sup>148</sup>

The 'Rail Way' of 710 yards down the Watton was completed by early November 1816 and on 22 March 1817, less than ten months before the death of John Lloyd, a lease for 21 years at a rent of £17 per annum was signed, 'Between The Company of Proprietors of the Brecknock and Abergavenny Canal Navigation of the first part, Jeffreys Wilkins of Maesderwen in the County of Brecon Esquire, John Lloyd of the town of Brecon in the same County Esquire and John Pierce of the forge in the same County, the said Jeffreys Wilkins, John Lloyd and John Pierce being the surviving partners carrying on a canal concern under the Title of the Brecon Boat Company.'<sup>149</sup> The cost of the Watton Rail Way has been calculated at £340 divided equally between the Brecon Boat Company and Hugh Bold for which they were given promissory notes by the B & A Company and were not repaid until 1838.<sup>150</sup>

#### *The Fulling and Tucking Mill on the Honddu*

It is not known how John Lloyd came to be the owner of the property known as the Rock and Castle which was located on the Honddu about a hundred yards beyond the last of the houses in The Struet. In 1790 there were negotiations to lease the property to a weaver for six guineas a year but no agreement was signed. Two years later a skinner rented it for £5 a year and he occupied the



property for an uncertain number of years. Around 1799 Lloyd had a three-story, 'Fulling mill and other buildings' erected on the site.

In 1800 a twenty-one year draft lease was drawn up between John Lloyd and David Rees of Brecon for the ' Dwelling house commonly called and known by the name of the Rock and Castle with the fulling Mill and other buildings lately made by the expense of John Lloyd' at a rent of £14-14s a year.<sup>151</sup> The lease between Lloyd and Rees was not finalised until February 1802 and by then the rent had increased to £19-10s a year.<sup>152</sup> Nothing is known about this mill except that in 1907 it was recorded that, 'There was, some thirty years ago a woollen factory at the Rock and Castle, near to the Flour Mill there, but this building was removed and houses substituted.'<sup>153</sup>

### *The Final Years*

On 28 April 1813 John Lloyd wrote to Walter Powell, whom he described in his letter as 'my only friend', from Bath which provides some information about his health, how he depended on Walter Powell to handle certain financial matters and his future intentions. 'Many thanks for your letter and payment to Mr Hopkins – you must feel that you are the man we all depend on in all difficulties. . . . I have the happiness to say that my health is improving every day – in short I feel neither pain or any unpleasant sensation of any sort . . . John [his son] leaves us on Thursday with his face to the East – the Old Woman and Old Sailor intend setting sail to the Westward, that is if we can clear the Coast – this cannot be done without your assistance – At the foot of my paper I have sent you an Order on the Bank for Seventy Pounds which I trust they will honour – which you will have the goodness of sending me in Two orders on London (as before) – One of the Orders for £47.9.0 to Mrs M... Denton. The remainder of the Seventy to John Lloyd's Order by way of getting me out of this hobble [awkward situation] – expedite by next Saturday's post as time grow short.

As to the farm and many other pursuits, I intend to allow them just a very small share of my attention, I now begin to think it too valuable to be thrown away on trifles – I have a real friend, was like to take my advice, w[oul]d do the same. [Lloyd is suggesting to his old friend Walter Powell, who was about the same age as Lloyd, that he should also take life a lot easier.]

Make our best wishes and esteem known to Mr John Jones [in John Lloyd's draft will of 1814 John Jones, Attorney at Law, is named as one of the two Trustees], as he stands very high on the List of real worth in our opinion.<sup>154</sup>

On the assumption that the medical bills incurred the following year were for John Lloyd and not his wife it is clear that his health was deteriorating. On 16 September 1814 Dr J. Williams of Brecon signed a receipt, 'Received of John Lloyd Esq. Thirty Pounds [£1,500] for Medicines and Attendance'.<sup>155</sup> However, there is no other record of medical bills until 1816 'Rec'd the 18<sup>th</sup> August of John

Lloyd Esq. the Sum of Fifty pounds, a handsome remuneration for Professional Services. Thomas Pendrill<sup>156</sup> This bill could well have been for Elizabeth Lloyd who died the following year.

Although Lloyd's health was not good he still maintained an interest in significant local issues. In 1816 he was one of the 441, 'Inhabitants of the Town of Brecknock' who signed a Petition to the 'Honorable Commons of the United Kingdom' . . . 'with feelings of apprehension and dismay, the Taxes in Contemplation as Substituted for that on Property and especially at a time when they looked forward with a pleasing hope that the conclusion of Peace would have given great relief to the Middle and Laborious Classes of the Community on whom it is ascertained by your Petitioners the now Proposed Taxes will fall with accumulated weight.'<sup>157</sup> Also, in December 1817 Frederick Jones recorded in his diary, 'Turnpike meeting T. Hall, John Lloyd there.'

In 1817 the diarist recorded, '27 March Mrs J. Lloyd dec[eased].' and on the 29<sup>th</sup> March, *The Cambrian* reported in the obituaries column, 'Yesterday morning at Brecon, Mrs Lloyd, wife of Captain Lloyd, of that town.' She was buried on 1 April in the parish church of St John the Evangelist and the burial record states that her place of abode was in the ward of, 'Old Port Superior' not in the ward of St. Mary in which the Old Oak House was located.<sup>158</sup> In spite of considerable research no trace can be found of her grave either in St John's church, or its graveyard, whereas given her status as the wife of a former Sheriff of the county and Bailiff of the town it would have been usual at that time for her to be buried in the church. Also, there is no trace of her grave in St David's Brecon, which was the nearest church to Wern Ddu, her family's farm just outside Brecon, or in Cilycwm, Carmarthenshire, where her family lived before coming to Brecon, or in Llanwrtyd.

#### *The Will of Captain John Lloyd*<sup>159</sup>

According to Sir John Lloyd the will of Captain John Lloyd was 'rescued from the stables at the back of Messers Jeffreys and Powell's office by my Uncle John' along with 108 other documents and letters written by, to or about Captain John Lloyd.<sup>160</sup> John Lloyd wrote the will in 1814 when he was recovering from illness. It is difficult to read and in some places is indecipherable; as with most wills and marriage settlements of the period much of it is repetitious.

The 1814 document consisted of 12 pages of approximately 2,000 words. On page 11 there is the insertion 'Vide Rider A' which consists of pages 13–14 and some 250 words. These additional pages specify what should happen to his son's inheritance if he married but had no children. If this situation occurred his son's widow was to receive £300 – the original wording of £800 was deleted – in lieu of her dowry or 'thirds at the Common Law'. The will concludes with the declaration that, 'This is my last Will and Testament cont[aine]d in 7 sheets of

Paper and set my Hand and Seal to the other sheets thereof my Hand this 18 Day of (crossing out) in the year of Our Lord 1814'. Also there is the witness statement, 'Signed, sealed, published and declared by the s[ai]d Testor John Lloyd as and for his last Will and Testament in the presence of us who at his request and in his presence and also in the presence of each other here submit our names to the . . . in Testimony thereof, William Winstone, Shopk[eepe]r Brecon; . . . Morgan, clerk to Wm. Powell Brecon; . . . Evans clerk to . . . Jones, [presumably John Jones the attorney mentioned later in the will] Brecon.'

There are five main provisions in the 1814 will. First, in the event of it being necessary to dispose of any property to pay any debts the first part of his estate to be sold was to be, 'in the s[ai]d parishes of Llanwrtid and Llangamarch aforesaid which I have purchased since my Marriage.' Secondly, his widow was to receive, 'For her natural life such an annuity or Yearly sum as together with the annual rent of Produce of the Property settled upon her by the Deed of Settlement made prior to our Marriage may make up in the whole the am[ou]nt Sum or Income to her of £400.'<sup>161</sup> Thirdly, the estate was left in charge of, 'My Friends David Thomas of Wellfield House, Radnorshire and John Jones of the town of Brecon Att[orne]y at Law . . . on behalf of my son John Rees Lloyd during the Period of his natural life without Impeachment.' Fourthly, 'I give and bequeath unto my said Wife the sum of £50 to be paid her immediately upon my Decease . . . my Household Goods . . . Effects and Personal Linen and China subject to the payment of my just Debts and my Funeral Expenses' and 'I give and bequeath the Rent, Residues of Rent, Residues of Rent of my lands chattels Effects of personal Estate whatsoever unto my son John Lloyd for his own absolute property forever.' Fifthly, in the event of the death of his son without a male or female heir the trustees were instructed to manage the estate for, 'the three younger children of my s[ai]d nephew (Thomas Lloyd of Vron in the parish of Gwenddwr) namely Rees, Richard and John singularly and respectively in such order of rotation.'

After the death of Elizabeth Lloyd in March 1817 all references to her were crossed out and the necessary amendments made, including changing the date to April 1817, to ensure that everything was left to his son. However, these deletions and amendments were not initialled by John Lloyd or witnessed. A further 8 pages numbered 5–7 and 11–15, dated 1817, are included in the solicitor's wrapper, but these were not signed by John Lloyd, witnessed nor, as far as can be made out, do they appear to add anything of significance to the main document.

John Lloyd's life in the maritime service of the East India Company and his involvement in the administration and economic life of Breconshire demonstrate that he was a well organised and methodical person. This confused and unclear will is untypical of him and added to the 1813 letter from Bath and the medical bills suggests that for much of the last five years of his life he suffered from ill health and may have been rather confused. One of the unusual features of the

will is that, unlike the common practice of the time, there are no minor bequests to his family or close friends like the Powells who figure frequently in his letters from London between 1787 and 1796.<sup>162</sup>

There can be little doubt that although the will came into the possession of his solicitor the fact that the various amendments were neither initialled by John Lloyd nor witnessed resulted in it being judged not to be a valid will so John Lloyd died intestate.

*The last letter*<sup>163</sup>

John Rees Lloyd was a pupil at Christ College, Brecon, and then Eton and at the age of 17, went to Balliol College, Oxford from where he graduated in 1818 with a degree in *litteris humanioribus*. He was admitted to Lincoln's Inn on 1 April but he was still resident at Balliol in March 1818.<sup>164</sup> It was to Balliol that Captain Lloyd wrote his last letter to his son, which shows that although his ill health persisted he was still actively involved in farming activities, especially in tree planting which was a constant theme in his life. The reference to 'Penlan', one of the farms on the Abercynrig estate, shows that he was at this time living in Brecon.

'17<sup>th</sup> February 1818

My D[ea]r D[ea]r John,

Lest you should be Alarmed I put pen to paper – my health is, I trust on the mending R[oa]d – I have been very unwell but not I think in any imm'd danger.

We are very busy – many at work planting and repairing the ring fences around upper Penlan – Expect the cart down to take up ab 1000 larch and 3 hundred ash plants and the roots of those begin to fail in consequence of being to thick –

In general Ash survives best after planting by being cut down to about 3 or 4 inches of ground.

Mrs Bold . . . her Love . . . to Ms Mary Ann all Well – Walter will like to give you all the small talk and gossip of Brecon – My new tenant at Dynas began to occupy the Farm etc and J Lloyd to repair for him what may be truly Necessary.

W[oul]d write more had I more strength

Am your ever affectionate

J Lloyd'

Two days later on 19 February he died.

John Lloyd's death was noted in the obituary columns of the *Hereford Journal* on 25 February and in the *Gloucester Journal* on 2<sup>nd</sup> March. By this time *The Cambrian* was establishing itself as the local paper for South Wales and on the 28<sup>th</sup> February it reported, 'At Brecon, suddenly, aged 70, John Lloyd Esq. of Abercundrig, near that town, formerly a Captain in the East India Company's service.' This announcement is interesting in that it states that his death was

sudden and that there is no additional comment about him unlike the announcement in *The Cambrian* about the death in January 1819 of Jeffreys Wilkins, ‘On Saturday last, at his seat, Maesderwen, near Brecon, aged 70 years, Jeffreys Wilkins, Esq. one of the partners of the Brecon Bank, and a gentleman well known and deservedly esteemed.’

### *The Funeral*

Frederick Jones does not mention John Lloyd’s death in his diary but on 27<sup>th</sup> February recorded, ‘Capt Lloyd’s funeral at Llanwrtyd’. In the parish burial records for Llanwrtyd his ‘Place of Abode’ is given as ‘Brecon’ but it does not mention the ward. However, since the Old Oak House was almost immediately re-let after his death it is likely that he died there. The unusual delay of eight days was probably the result of having to contact his son who then had to travel from Oxford. Also the weather may have been inclement which would have made it difficult for the hearse to be taken to Llanwrtyd.

In his notes regarding the Lloyd family of Dinas, Llanwrtyd, the noted local historian D. L. Wooding (1828–91) has the following intriguing comment about the funeral of John Lloyd. ‘He married Elizabeth, dau[ghte]r of the wealthy Roger Williams of Brecon, died in 1818, and brought in a Hearse through Llangamarch – and by mistake passed Gwarafog [?] the word is indistinct], which was the way his Cyhoraeth had been heard passing, sometimes previous.’<sup>165</sup> A ‘Cyhoraeth’ was a phantom funeral, usually heard but not seen, and regarded as a death omen.

Captain Lloyd was buried in St David’s church a few hundred yards from the family home of Dinas. A stone was placed on the floor of the aisle which stated,

‘SACRED TO THE MEMORY OF JOHN LLOYD ELDEST SON OF REES LLOYD OF DINAS. WHOSE MURAL TABLET IS PLACED ON THE EAST END OF THIS CHURCH. HE DIED FEBY 1818 AGED 70’.

The mural tablet is now on the wall next to the pulpit and the inscription was composed by his son, John Rees Lloyd.<sup>166</sup> Since it is referred to in the stone in the floor it must either have been written before that stone was installed or the tablet on the wall is not the original tablet but a new one placed on the wall when the church was restored in 1862. The marble wall tablet reads,

SACRED TO THE MEMORY  
OF  
JOHN LLOYD  
ELDEST SON OF REES LLOYD  
OF DINAS  
AND CAPTAIN OF THE HON EAST INDIA COMPANY’S SHIP MANSHIP  
WHO LEFT THIS HIS NATIVE PARISH AT THE AGE OF SIXTEEN

WITHOUT FRIENDS OR INTEREST  
 BUT BY GOOD CONDUCT AND PERSERVERANCE  
 ACQUIRED BOTH:  
 AND AFTER 32 YEARS OF ACTIVE NAVAL SERVICE  
 AND 12 VOYAGES TO INDIA  
 IN THE COURSE OF WHICH  
 HE TWICE SUFFERED SHIPWRECK  
 AND  
 A CRUEL IMPRISONMENT  
 IN THE HANDS  
 OF TIPOO SULTAN  
 OF MYSORE  
 RETURNED TO DISPLAY THE SAME ACTIVE  
 AND ENTERPRISING SPIRIT  
 IN PROMOTING THE WELFARE  
 AND CULTIVATING THE RESOURCES  
 OF HIS NATIVE COUNTY  
 HE DIED FEBY 1818  
 AGED 70

This is a good summary of the life and achievements of John Lloyd but it does contain a few small errors. His naval career lasted for 30 not 32 years, he was shipwrecked once not twice, and he made five voyages to India and China and five to India.

*Administration of the estate of Captain Lloyd*<sup>167</sup>

Since John Lloyd was judged to have died intestate it was not until a year later that it was recorded that, 'On the twenty second day of March (1819) Administration of the Goods, Chattels and Hereditis of John Lloyd late of the Town of Brecon in the County of Brecon Widower deceased was granted to John Lloyd Esquire the natural and lawful Son and only Child having been first Sworn duty to Administer'.<sup>168</sup> A further statement added, 'Administration to be completed before 31 September 1819. True account by last day March 1820.'<sup>169</sup>

John Rees Lloyd was now responsible for administering his father's estate and subsequently submitting 'Form No. 3 Legacy Duty on Residue of Personal Estate, etc' to the government Stamp Office.<sup>170</sup> In 1818 the rate of tax to be paid by children of the deceased on 'Legacies, Annuities and Residues of the Amount or Value of £20 or upwards' was '£1 [£55] per Cent'. Form No. 3 was a very detailed document divided into three main sections, 'Money Received', 'Payments out of Money Received as above' and 'Property Constituting the Residue', plus a 'Declaration'. What follows is not an analysis of the form but a summary of the information on it.

The total of 'Money Received' was only £862, which consisted of 'Cash

arising from the REAL Estate by the Will of the deceased, directed to be sold or mortgaged'. It consisted, for example, of cash in the house of £7-14s-0d, rents due £200, and the sale of farming stock £300, household goods and furniture £200. There was no cash in the bank.

The 'Payments out of Money received as above' totalled £7,744-17s-8d. The two largest amounts being '£3,150 Debts on Mortgage, with the interest to the time of payment', and £3,870 'Debts on Bond and other Securities to the time of payment'. Also there is a charge of £143-13s-2d for obtaining the letters of Administration and a further charge of £250-10s-0d [£14,000] for 'Expenses attending the Executorship or Administration'. However, no funeral expenses are recorded. Receipts of only £862-14s-0d were provided for these payments so the 'Balance of Cash overpaid by the Administrator' was £6,882-3s-8d.

The 'Property now constituting the RESIDUE' consisted of, 'Shares in any Canal, Dock or other Company' of £2, 700, consisting of '1/4 share in a joint concern called the Brecon Boat Co. £2,000' and '10 shares in the Brecon and Abergavenny Canal at £70 per share £700', 'Bonds, Bills, Notes or other Securities for £1,250 with £33-15s-0d interest £1,283-15s-0d. Also listed valuations of 'Plate, Linen and China £100; Books, Prints, and Pictures £50; Wearing Apparel £10; Jewels, Trinkets and Ornaments £5; Wine and other Liquors £40, Horses and Carriages £30. Finally £20 for the value of goods given away. The Total in this section was £4,783-15s-0d. The Deductions section notes 'Property constituting the Residue of £4,783-15s-0d' from 'The Balance of Monies overpaid by the Administrator of £6,882-3s-8s' which resulted in 'Clear Balance remaining to the Administrator [John Rees Lloyd] of £2,098-8s-8d.' The Stamp Duty Form is unsigned and undated which suggests that it is a copy. The signed copy would have been returned to the Stamp Office. A search has been made in the National Archives but it was not possible to find the signed copy because, 'Unfortunately, this series of documents has been heavily weeded.'<sup>171</sup>

Probably the most baffling aspect of this Document is that there is no money recorded in a bank. John Lloyd's General Bank of India account book is in the National Library of Wales but the pages which presumably contained details of the account, have been neatly removed.<sup>172</sup> If the Stamp Duty Office was aware of this account it apparently did not ask the General Bank of India for these details. John Lloyd minimised his declared assets to the extent that the Stamp Office decided that, 'John Lloyd, sworn sum under £5000'.<sup>173</sup> The final result was that 'No tax was to be paid' by John Rees Lloyd.<sup>174</sup> However by the time John Rees Lloyd got married in 1828 he had enough money, in spite of falling returns from his father's investments in the Brecon Boat Company and the B&A canal, to purchase a further 1,400 acres of land, build Dinas House on the Abercynrig estate at a cost of about £10,000 [£700,000] and lived the life of a prosperous, cultured country gentleman. By 1840 his estate in Breconshire had increased to

2,825 acres.<sup>175</sup> When he died he owed £1,453-17s-8d almost all of which was to local traders.<sup>176</sup>

### *Epilogue*

While all the extant primary source evidence about the life of John Lloyd has been examined there is much about his life about which one can only speculate. This last article leaves many questions unanswered, for example, why was his wife not living in the Old Oak House when she died and where is she buried; why was his will so confusing? However, based on the information available it is possible to make some judgements about his character. During his thirty years in the maritime service of the East India Company he had shown that he was a brave, determined, ambitious, tough, commercially astute and frugal businessman. At the same time, as was not unusual with captains of ships, he became something of a loner who was not very concerned about social relationships. He had a sense of duty to his parents whom he helped out of debt, and above all to his son to whom he left a substantial fortune and a secure position in Breconshire society. Finally, he recognised that 'gentlemen' should make through public service a contribution to the community in which they lived.

### *Note regarding sources*

The primary source material has been obtained from the National Library of Wales (NLW), Powys Archives (PA), the National Archive (TNA), the British Library (BL), the Oriental and India Office Collection of the British Library (OIOC), the John Lloyd papers in the Brecknock Museum and Art Gallery (BMJLD) and private Lloyd family documents (LFD). It is hoped that the BMJLD papers will eventually be placed in the Library of the Brecknock Museum and Art Gallery when that library is functioning again.

I am grateful to Ruth Bidgood, Jean Sutton and John Norris for sharing their vast knowledge of the families of north-west Breconshire, the maritime service of the English East India Company, the Brecon and Abergavenny Canal and the Brecon Boat Company. They have also corrected many of my original errors. Readers should thank Edward Parry for gently persuading me to reduce my text from 30,000 to its present length of 21,000 words.



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## Appendix A

Statistics derived from the *Universal British Directory 1793-1798*

<i>Town</i>	<i>Population</i>	<i>'Principal' -inhab.</i>	<i>Gentry</i>	<i>Profess- ionals</i>	<i>Clergy **</i>	<i>Attorneys</i>	<i>Surgeons</i>	<i>Traders</i>
Merthyr	7705	133 (1.7)	16(0.2)	9 (0.1)	3 (0.04)	3 (0.04)	3 (0.04)	108 (1.4)
Hereford	6828	361 (5.3)	38 (0.6)	55 (0.8)	23(0.3)@	17 (0.2)	15(0.2)	268 (3.9)
Swansea	6099	368 (6.0)	51(0.8)	27 (0.4)	6 (0.01)	11(0.2)	10(0.2)	290 (4.8)
Carmarthen	5548			30 (0.5)	3 (0.05)	16( 0.3)	11 (0.2)	
Ludlow	3897	312 (8.0)	51(1.3)	25(0.6)	7(0.2)	6(0.2)	12(0.3)	236(6.1)
Monmouth	3345	306(9.1)	43(1.3)	31(0.9)	19(0.6)	6(0.2)	6(0.2)	232(6.9)
Brecon	2576	178 (6.9)	9 (0.4)	27 (1.0)	10 (0.4)	12 (0.5)	5 (0.2)	142 (5.5)
Abergavenny	2573	214(8.3)	12 (0.5)	18 (0.7)	8 (0.3)	5 (0.2)	4 (0.2)	185 (7.2)
Dorchester	2402	193(8.0)	7(0.3)	31(1.3)	16(0.7)	9(0.4)	6(0.3)	155(6.5)
Cardiff	1870	195(10.4)	12 (0.6)	8(0.4)	2 (0.1)	3 (0.2)	3 (0.2)	175 (9.4)
Builth	677	88 (13.0)	8 (1.2)	4 (0.6)	1 (0.2)	2 (0.3)	1 (0.2)	76 (11.2)
Crickhowell	566	36 (6.4)	9 (1.6)	7 (1.2)	5 (0.9)	1 (0.2)	1 (0.2)	20 (3.5)
Wales <sup>177</sup>	541546	2902(0.5)	245(.05)	315(.06)	124(.02)	100(.02)	91(.02)	2342(0.4)

The figures in brackets are the percentage of the total population of the town,

@ excludes 21 clergy associated with the Cathedral

\*\* only includes Church of England clergy

The UBD does not give figures for 'gentry' or complete figures for 'traders' in Carmarthen.

<sup>1</sup> Jones, K., 'John Lloyd, Personal Life and Private Trade', *Brycheiniog*, Vol. XXXVII, (2005), pp.45–80.

<sup>2</sup> LFD.

<sup>3</sup> LFD.

<sup>4</sup> In 2001 an exhibition, 'Brecknock and the East India Company' described their lives. The accompanying document for the exhibition is in the Brecknock Museum and Art Gallery and the Brecon Library.

<sup>5</sup> BM, JLD, 3.

<sup>6</sup> Hickey, W., *Memoirs*, II, pp.97–98.

<sup>7</sup> London Street Directory 1798.

<sup>8</sup> Smith, A., *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations*, Book II Chapter III & Book V, chapters I & III.

<sup>9</sup> Cookson, J.E., *The Friends of Peace*, (1982), pp 55–58.

<sup>10</sup> Jones, D.J.V., *Before Rebecca: Popular Protest in Wales 1793–1815*, (1973), p. 33.

<sup>11</sup> Philip, M., *The French Revolution and British Popular Politics*, (1991).

<sup>12</sup> Davies, H.M., 'Loyalism in Wales, 1792-1793', *Welsh History Review*, Vol. 20, (2000/2001).

<sup>13</sup> TNA, HO 42/43 Letter from R. Bevan, April 1798.

<sup>14</sup> *ibid*, p.692. This comment was made by Edward Barnard Davies and Thomas Bold in a letter to John Reeves, 7 December 1792. BL Add MS 16,921 f.44. It is not clear if this Thomas Bold is the Thomas Bold of Brecon who was Bailiff of Brecon in 1815, 1817 and 1832 and the agent of Sir Charles Morgan.

<sup>15</sup> Fenton, R., ed. John Fisher, *Tours in Wales 1804-1813*, (1917), p. 22.

<sup>16</sup> *ibid*, p.712, Allen to John Reeves, 17 December 1792; BL Add MS 16,922 f.153.

<sup>17</sup> Jones, K., 'John Lloyd – An Adventurous Welshman', *Brycheiniog*, Vol. XXXIV, (2002), pp.104–9.

<sup>18</sup> Information from Jean Sutton author of, *Lords of the East – the East India Company and its Ships 1600–1874*, (1981).

<sup>19</sup> OIOC (Oriental and India Office Collection – British Library) CD B122 p.1187.

<sup>20</sup> *ibid*, Jones, K., Vols. XXXIII, XXXIV, XXXVII (2001, 2002, 2005).

<sup>21</sup> The population figures for the eighteenth century are very approximate and are based on parish returns. Of the 790 parishes in Wales 191 failed to make a return. See Wrigley, E.A. & Schofield, R.S., *The Population History of England 1541–1871*, (1989), Appendix 7, p.597; Carter, H., *The Towns of Wales*, (1965), pp.50–57.

<sup>22</sup> Davies, J., *A History of Wales*, (1990), p.329.

<sup>23</sup> Corfield, P., *The Impact of the English Towns 1700-1800*, (1982). This book considered English towns with a population of more than 2,500. A similar study of Welsh towns with a population of more than 2,500 at this time would have been a very slim volume.

<sup>24</sup> Gilson, D., *The Austen Papers 1704–1856*, ed. R. Austen-Leigh, (1995), p.174.

<sup>25</sup> Noakes, D., *Jane Austen*, (1998), p. 232.

<sup>26</sup> *The Cambrian Register for the Year 1796*, Printed 1799, E. & T. Williams, London (Editor not stated).

<sup>27</sup> *ibid*, pp.439–440.

<sup>28</sup> Jones, T., *History of Breconshire*, (1805) Vol. I, pp. 329, (The approximate 12,000 words on agriculture and agricultural workers in the 1805 edition is reduced to 7,000 words in Vol. II, 1909 of the Glanusk edition).

<sup>29</sup> Carter, H., *The Growth and Decline of Welsh Towns*, in, *Wales in the Eighteenth Century*, Ed., Moore D. (1976); Jones, S.R. & Smith J.T., 'The Houses of Breconshire, Part III', *Brycheiniog* Vol. XI, (1965).

<sup>30</sup> BM, JLD, 49.

<sup>31</sup> Gilpin, W., *Observations on the River Wye and Several Parts of South Wales*, (1770); Wyndham, H.P., *A Tour Through Monmouthshire and Wales June and July 1774 and June, July and August 1777*, (1781); Byng, J., Hon., *The Torrington Diaries – Containing the Tours Through England and Wales*, (1787); Warner, R., Rev., *Walks Through Wales*, (1797). Also see, Gant, R.L., *The Townscape and Economy of Brecon*, *Brycheiniog*, Vol. XV(1972) and Jenkins, R.T., *John Hughes the Antiquary (1776–1843)*, *Brycheiniog*, Vol. XVIII (1982).

<sup>32</sup> Barfoot, P. & Wilkes, J., *The Universal British Directory* (1793–8). This is a 4,080 page survey of towns in England and Wales.

<sup>33</sup> Jones, S.R. & Smith, J.T., *The Houses of Breconshire*, *Brycheiniog*, Vol. XI, (1965), pp. 117–120.

<sup>34</sup> Information from Sister Bonaventure Kelleher, see also her article in this edition of *Brycheiniog*.

<sup>35</sup> Kelleher, B., *Brycheiniog*, Vol. XXV, (1992–3), pp.79–84; NLW, MS 23794C, Jones, F., *Diary of Captain Frederick Jones, 1789–1818*. A summary of the Frederick Jones Diaries and excellent commentary on the entries by R.C.B. Oliver is to be found in the *Transactions of the Radnorshire Society*, Vols. 53, 54, 56 & 60 (1983, 1984, 1986, 1990). Although Mr Oliver gives the background to many of the events which Frederick Jones commented upon he omitted some regarding Brecon which he must have felt were of little interest to the members of the Radnorshire Society. Consequently, the only way to find these entries is to read the original diary.

<sup>36</sup> Austen, Jane, *Sense and Sensibility*, p.112.

<sup>37</sup> Carter, H., *The Towns of Wales*, (1965).

<sup>38</sup> Morgan, W. I., ‘Walter Churchey (1747–1805),’ *Brycheiniog*, Vol. XVI, (1972), pp. 79–102; Morgan, G.E.F. *Old Wales*, (1907) Vol. III pp. 55–56; Davies, R., *Hope and Heartbreak*, (2005), p.91.

<sup>39</sup> NLW, Wooding D L Facs. 631.

<sup>40</sup> Jones, K., ‘John Lloyd – Personal Life and Private Trade’, *Brycheiniog*, Vol. XXXVII, (2005), pp.45–80

<sup>41</sup> BM, JLD, 31.

<sup>42</sup> *ibid*, Jones & Smith, pp.104–120.

<sup>43</sup> It is known that the Household Accounts were kept by Elizabeth Lloyd because the writing is identical to that in her letters BM, JLD, 3 & 4.

<sup>44</sup> BM, JLD, 108, *Household Expenses of John Lloyd whilst living in the Old Oak House 1797–1812*.

<sup>45</sup> These detailed accounts are worthy of a more searching analysis since they are the only such accounts relating to Brecon at this period. There are seventy-eight pages in the book of which the last eleven have been removed. Forty three of the pages give details of household expenditure, twenty are concerned with the amounts of wheat and malt taken to ‘the Mill’, presumably the mill close to Dinas, Llanwrtyd, ‘receipts’ (recipes) appear on six pages, two of the others are concerned with the sale of butter, five with the hire of servants and the remaining two pages contain miscellaneous items.

<sup>46</sup> Over long time spans the multipliers used to calculate changes in the value of money, although useful, are only approximate. This is partly because of the change in the quality of goods, the introduction of new products and the change in the social, economic and political composition of society. However, during the eighty year time span of the life of John Lloyd these multipliers clearly indicate the influence of inflation. When Lloyd was born in 1748 the equivalent of £1 then would be around £130 in 2006, by the time he went to sea in 1766 £1 is the equivalent of £94, when he retired in 1796 £1 would be worth £72 in 2006. The war with France from 1793–1815 resulted in rapid inflation and the time the war ended the comparative value of £1 with 2006 had declined to £60. The impact of inflation was particularly serious for farm and other labourers and it has been calculated that the index of farm labourers living costs in England based on an index number of 100 in 1770–4 increased from 124 in 1804 to 180 in 1810–14 and their earnings did not

increase at a similar rate. A useful website to examine these issues in more detail is, 'Measuring Worth.com' composed by Lawrence H Officer of the University of Illinois and an article by G. Clark, 'Farm Wages and Living Standards in the Industrial Revolution in England 1670–1850' of the University of California.

<sup>47</sup> Oysters occur at least once a month in the household accounts. In the eighteenth century Oystermouth on Swansea Bay was one of the major sources of oysters in Britain. There is evidence that the Romans in Wales consumed large quantities of oysters which probably came from Swansea Bay. The trade in oysters from Swansea Bay and Gower continued to grow until in the mid-nineteenth century around 600 people were employed in the industry and around 10 million oysters a year, with an estimated value of £50,000, were scrapped off the sea-bed. They were cooked in various ways and became a staple, and compared with meat, a cheap part of the diet of many Welsh people. Research by Gerald Gabb, Swansea Museum.

<sup>48</sup> NLW, MS 12471 B.

<sup>49</sup> 1916/17 *Report of The Dinas Home*.

<sup>50</sup> *ibid*, Oliver – see footnote 35.

<sup>51</sup> Fenton, R., *Tours in Wales (1804–1813)*, (1917), p.17.

<sup>52</sup> Eden, F.M., Bart., *The State of the Poor or an History of the Labouring Classes in England*, (1797), abridged and edited by A.G.L. Rogers, (1928) This work of some 900,000 words in three volumes considered the situation in 165 English towns and 7 Welsh towns and parishes, Wrexham, Llanferras, Abergavenny, Monmouth and Presteigne.

<sup>53</sup> *ibid*, Jones, D.J.V., Table 2, p.18.

<sup>54</sup> Edmunds, H, *History of the Brecknockshire Agricultural Society, 1755-1955*, *Brycheiniog*, Vol. III, (1957).

<sup>55</sup> *ibid*, Jones, Frederick, *Diary 1789–1818*, p.55.

<sup>56</sup> Hammond, J.L. & Hammond, B., *The Village Labourer, 1760-1832*, (1912) pp. 95-98.

<sup>57</sup> Thompson, E. P., 'The Moral Economy of the English Crowd in the Eighteenth Century', *Past and Present*, Vol.50. This is regarded as the definitive analysis of this subject

<sup>58</sup> *ibid*, Jones, D.J.V., pp. 29-30. Fencibles were fulltime soldiers recruited for home service only and were used, when necessary to augment the part-time militia regiments.

<sup>59</sup> NLW, Great Sessions Records, Brecknock, 389/8.

<sup>60</sup> *ibid*.

<sup>61</sup> Home Office Letters and Papers (HO) 42/37, quoted in Jones, D.J.V., pp.16–17.

<sup>62</sup> NLW, Dinas Estate Records, F/1/4/1.

<sup>63</sup> PA, Q/RO/2.

<sup>64</sup> Bidgood, R., 'Churches and Gentry in the Abergwesyn Area', *Brycheiniog*, Vol. XX1, (1984/5), p.39.

<sup>65</sup> This information has been provided by Jean Sutton author of, 'Lords of the East' (1981), an authoritative work on the maritime service of the English East India Company. OIOC L/MAR/B 363D.

<sup>66</sup> *ibid* Jones, T., Vol. II (1809), p.222.

<sup>67</sup> NLW, Mayberry, 4284.

<sup>68</sup> *The Cambrian*, 4 April 1818.

<sup>69</sup> BM, JLD,32.

<sup>70</sup> LFD.

<sup>71</sup> *The London Gazette*, 1 November 1803, Issue 15638, p.4.

<sup>72</sup> Colley, L., *Britons – Forging the Nation 1707–1837*, (1992), p. 328.

<sup>73</sup> Poole, E., *The Military Annals of the County of Brecknock*, (1885), p. 21.

<sup>74</sup> PA, B/QS/2/3.

<sup>75</sup> *ibid*, 4 October 1807.

- <sup>76</sup> *The London Gazette*, Issue 15638, 1 November 1803.
- <sup>77</sup> *Hereford Journal*, 8 March 1797.
- <sup>78</sup> Miles, D., *The Sheriffs of the County of Pembroke 1541-1974*, (1974), p.11.
- <sup>79</sup> Gladwin, G., *The Sheriff: The Man and His Office*, (1974).
- <sup>80</sup> Marchant, J., *A Frenchman in England in 1784*, (1933), p. 137.
- <sup>81</sup> *ibid*, Jones, F., , 14<sup>th</sup>, 31<sup>st</sup> January & 1<sup>st</sup> February 1818.
- <sup>82</sup> TNA, PC 13, Privy Council Office Sheriffs' Lists, 1774–1950.
- <sup>83</sup> *Hereford Journal*, 2 May 1798.
- <sup>84</sup> PA Quarter Session Book of Orders, B/Q/S0/6. The quotations in this section can be found at the appropriate date.
- <sup>85</sup> Williams-Jones K, *A Calendar of the Merioneth Quarter Sessions Rolls*, (1965). This is a rare and detailed analysis of the Quarter Sessions in the eighteenth century. Unfortunately no such analysis exists for Breconshire.
- <sup>86</sup> *The Cambrian*, 23 June, 1804.
- <sup>87</sup> Davies, D., *Law and Disorder in Breconshire, 1750–1880* .
- <sup>88</sup> *The Cambrian Register*, 1795, p.453.
- <sup>89</sup> Howell, D.W., *Patriarchs and Parasites*, (1986) pp. 140–170.
- <sup>90</sup> PA, B/QS/JC/1795.
- <sup>91</sup> *ibid*, Book of Orders.
- <sup>92</sup> PA Q/SX Docket of Indictments Easter 1798.
- <sup>93</sup> *ibid*, Book of Orders, p.463
- <sup>94</sup> *ibid*, Jones, T., Vol.II, (1809) p. 25.
- <sup>95</sup> *ibid*, p.15.
- <sup>96</sup> Thomas, W.S.K., *Georgian and Victorian Brecon*, (1993) pp. 95-104.
- <sup>97</sup> PA, B/BR/100/2.
- <sup>98</sup> PA, B/BR/100/1 19 June 1818.
- <sup>99</sup> *The Cambrian*, 18 February, 1805.
- <sup>100</sup> PA, B/BR/100/2 p.52.
- <sup>101</sup> TNA HO 42/61 fo.527, Hardinge to Duke of Portland 11 April 1801 quoted in, Evans, C., *The Labyrinth of Flames – Work and Social Conflict in Early Industrial Merthyr Tydfil*, (1993), p.124.
- <sup>102</sup> PA, A83/1/1 The Professor John Evans collection of letters and papers, *Mr Justice Hardinge's Charge and Address to the Convicts who were tried before him*?
- <sup>103</sup> *ibid*
- <sup>104</sup> TNA, HO 42/51.
- <sup>105</sup> TNA, HO 42/51/, 42/52 : 22, 23, 24 September and 1 October 1800 Letters to Homfray from Merthyr and from Homfray to General Rooke.
- Jones, D., The Merthyr Riots of 1800 : A study in Attitudes, *Bulletin of Celtic Studies*, Vol. 23 1968–70.
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- Corfield, P.J. & Evans, C., John Thelwall in Wales, *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*, Vol. LIX, (1986).
- <sup>106</sup> *ibid*, Evans, p.134.
- <sup>107</sup> NLW Wood mss A29/2/3 quoted in, Parry, E., The County Election of 1818, *Brycheiniog*, Vol. XXVII, (1994–1995), pp. 84–86.
- <sup>108</sup> *ibid*, Parry, E., p.85.
- <sup>109</sup> PA, B/BR/100/2 Sept. 1809.
- <sup>110</sup> PA, B/BR/100/2 Sept. 1810. All other quotations from the minutes of the Brecon Common Council have the same reference.
- <sup>111</sup> *The Cambrian*, 6 October, 1806.

- <sup>112</sup> PA, B/BR/100/2 4 June 1819.
- <sup>113</sup> Quoted in Davies, D., *Brecknock Historian*, (1977), pp. 97-97.
- <sup>114</sup> PA, B/BR/148/18.
- <sup>115</sup> Thorne, R.G., *The House of Commons 1790-1820*, (1986), p.279.
- <sup>116</sup> BM, JLD 103.
- <sup>117</sup> NLW Mayberry Papers 5717-8; Jones-Davies, J., *Abercynrig*, (1972).
- <sup>118</sup> BM, JLD 56.
- <sup>119</sup> *ibid*, 64.
- <sup>120</sup> BM, JLD 85 &97.
- <sup>121</sup> *ibid*, 63.
- <sup>122</sup> *The Cambrian*, 13 August, 1814.
- <sup>123</sup> NLW, Mayberry 5714.
- <sup>124</sup> BM, JLD 107.
- <sup>125</sup> *ibid*, Davies, R., p.139.
- <sup>126</sup> Marshall, P.J., *East Indian Fortunes*.
- <sup>127</sup> Bowen, H., *The Business of Empire: The English East India Company and Imperial Britain, 1756-1830*, (2006), p. 295.
- <sup>128</sup> NLW, DEP (Dinas Estate Papers) P. 2/4-25.
- <sup>129</sup> Jones, K., 'The Personal Life and Private Trade of John Lloyd,' *Brycheiniog*, Vol. XXXVII, pp. 65-67, (2005).
- <sup>130</sup> BM, JLD 84.
- <sup>131</sup> Much of the information in this and the following section has been provided by John Norris who is one of the leading authorities on the B&A canal and the Brecon Boat Company.
- <sup>132</sup> BM, JLD 40.
- <sup>133</sup> BM, JLD 49.
- <sup>134</sup> TNA, B & A Canal Minute Books, Refs: TNA, RAIL 812/1-15; NLW, Mayberry Papers; PA, The Fowler Papers; Pollins, H., Brecknock and the Industrialisation of South Wales – Canals and Railways', *Brycheiniog*, Vol. VII (1961) pp 47-50; Eyles, J., *Cruising along the Mon and Brec Canal* (1972), pp.16-29; and Thomas, *ibid* pp.16-22.
- <sup>135</sup> TNA, RAIL 812/1.
- <sup>136</sup> NLW, Mayberry 522.
- <sup>147</sup> This calculation is based on the fact that after April 1798 the full sum of £150 per share was likely to be called for and a prospective purchaser is unlikely to have paid for shares as much as had been paid for in calls, that is £72.10s, knowing that there could be a further call over the coming years of £77.10s to pay. Information provided by John Norris and abstracted from the minutes of the B&A.
- <sup>138</sup> TNA RAIL 812/5 Committee minutes 10 September and 13 December 1811
- <sup>139</sup> NLW, P/3/11.
- <sup>140</sup> BM, JLD 99 This document is the 1805 Brecon Boat Company Copartnership deed but it refers to and quotes from the original 1797 agreement.
- <sup>141</sup> TNA, RAIL 812/1.
- <sup>142</sup> BM, JLD 99.
- <sup>143</sup> NLW, Penpont Papers February 1813 and 1815.
- <sup>144</sup> These are estimates by John Norris based on the Rough Journals of the Boat Company, TNA, RAIL 812/9 and 10.
- <sup>145</sup> This is often described as a 'Plateway' but in the minutes of the B&A Canal it is described as, Rail Way, Rail Road, Tram Road, tramway but never as Plateway. On these 'Rail Ways' or 'Tram Roads' the wagons were pulled by horses.
- <sup>146</sup> London Gazette, No. 16523, 17 September, 1811.

<sup>147</sup> Grant, R. L., 'The Townscape and Economy of Brecon 1800–1860', *Brycheiniog*, Vol. XVI, (1972).

<sup>148</sup> PRO: RAIL 812/6 Brecon & Abergavenny Canal Company's committee minutes 19 July 1816, information provided by John Norris.

<sup>149</sup> NLW, John Lloyd Collection Vol. I, Records of Industrial Unrest No.169; NLW, Mayberry 981.

<sup>150</sup> Rattenbury, G., *Tramroads of the Brecknock and Abergavenny Canal* (1980), p.130.

<sup>151</sup> NLW, Mayberry Papers 4560; Bowen, E., *Traditional Industries of Rural Wales*, pp.45–46, (2000).

<sup>152</sup> NLW, DEP, L893.

<sup>153</sup> Jones, T., *History of Breconshire*, (1907), Vol. II, p. 122.

<sup>154</sup> BM, JLD 102.

<sup>155</sup> NLW, DEP M/10/4/10.

<sup>156</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>157</sup> NLW, MS 4940.

<sup>158</sup> PA, MP3 St. John the Evangelist No.293.

<sup>159</sup> BM, JLD 105.

<sup>160</sup> Kelleher, B. & Jones, K., 'Captain John Lloyd – A Research Note', *Brycheiniog*, XXXV, (2003).

<sup>161</sup> Unfortunately this Marriage Settlement has disappeared which is surprising since the Marriage Settlements of his grandfather, father, son and grandson are available in the National Library of Wales.

<sup>162</sup> *ibid.*, 'John Lloyd – Personal Life and Private Trade'.

<sup>163</sup> BM, JLD 106.

<sup>164</sup> Bellis, F., Lincoln's Inn Library, 13 May 2004.

<sup>165</sup> Jones, T. *ibid.*, 1809 p. 264, 'on the southern side of the river (Irvon) is a mansion called Gwarfog, or summer bank, which is the name of hamlet in this parish, comprehending all the lands on that side of the water, extending to the Epynt'.

<sup>166</sup> *ibid.*, Jones, T., (1909), Vol. II, p. 217.

<sup>167</sup> NLW, DEP M/10/4/13.

<sup>168</sup> Family Record Centre, Prob. 6/195 Folio 130.

<sup>169</sup> NLW, DEP, P/3/11.

<sup>170</sup> NLW, DEP M/10/4/13.

<sup>171</sup> TNA website.

<sup>172</sup> NLW, DEP M/10/4.

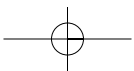
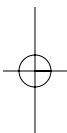
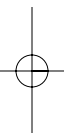
<sup>173</sup> Prerogative Court of Canterbury Prob. 6/195 Folio 130.

<sup>174</sup> TNA, IR26/209.

<sup>175</sup> NLW, Mayberry 4560; Kerr. R., *The Gentleman's House*, (1865), NLW, 1838–40, Tithe Survey.

<sup>176</sup> NLW, P/3/13/5.

<sup>177</sup> Howell, D., *The Rural Poor in 18th Century Wales*, (2000), p. 28.





## SITES AND PERFORMANCES IN BRECON THEATRICAL HISTORIOGRAPHY

This article aims to link outlines of two aspects of early theatre history in Brecon in a way not previously available. First, the sites used for performances between approximately 1755 and 1871: the Great Room of the Bell Inn and the Georgian Playhouse on the Watton. Secondly, the sequence of professional acting companies who performed in these premises during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

There is a basic problem because these activities are not recorded by contemporary local historians. Until the publication in Brecon of *The Silurian*<sup>1</sup> in 1836, theatre history materials are very scarce. Newspapers circulating in this area were *The Gloucester Journal*<sup>2</sup> (1722) and *The British Chronicle or Pugh's Hereford Journal*<sup>3</sup> (1770). Their four closely-packed sides contained weekly national and international items with comparatively little that was 'local' in any news sense. However, the extent of the distribution area is indicated by the number and names of towns listed regularly under the heading, 'Advertisements and letters to be taken in by . . .' In Brecon the agent was Mr Michael Jones, a local bookseller. That a Brecon inn-keeper, Thomas Longfellow, and a visiting leader of a Performing Company, John Ward, both used *The Gloucester Journal* suggests their shrewd, confident management. But without a well-defined paper trail, legends have accrued. So this article proposes to offer factual citation for these two strands, mindful of Clark's warning about similar circumstances, admitting that 'evidence is scarce, fragmentary, tedious to uncover, and difficult to piece together.'<sup>4</sup> Hence the chronological format.

1664 is still probably the earliest date of recorded occupancy of both sites, noted in *The Rent Roll of the Borough of Brecon for the Year 1664*<sup>5</sup> beginning with The Bell: In High Street Inferior Ward (p. 72), William Herbert (originally Harbottle, Mercer), Gent, and his son, Lancelot, owned considerable property 'with Two Stone Pillars that supporteth his house.' Lancelot Herbert's will (1691)<sup>6</sup> bequeathed this property 'called The Bell' to his son, William Herbert. By about 1740 the property had been acquired by the Longfellow family, who may have altered the street frontage. They also owned and advertised the Golden Lion Inn as 'commodiously repaired and ready for the reception of Gentleman, Ladies and others, where such, who are pleased to favour the said inn with their custom shall meet with civil usage and entertainment.'<sup>7</sup> Thomas Longfellow was about to develop it as the terminus for the first London-to-Brecon direct coach route into Wales in 1756, eventually extending it to Carmarthen. This is also the initial period of interest for theatre history in Brecon, between the early 1750s and 1783.

The Bell Inn was sold by the Longfellow family about 1792, listed in *The Universal British Directory* as 'John Turner, Victualler, Bell.' It is marked and listed (No. 36) on the *1834 Plan of Brecknock from Actual Survey*. Externally the building is

largely unchanged but the interior has been altered considerably. (Plate 1) A central division, with each part separately owned, resulted in brewery and public house occupancy which continues in The Punch Bowl at ground-floor level. During the last two hundred years the building has been used as an inn, an art studio – by Sam Garratt, a noted local artist – and as a residence for owners of the ground-floor fruit and vegetable business. Other uses include a military store, Boys' Club, hotel, café, and delicatessen. It is currently undergoing conversion to flats and shop. The front, first-floor windows, facing the street, mark the location of the Great Room which served as the theatre.



Plate 1 Bell Inn showing first floor of Great Room (front view).

Next, the Watton location, also to be a theatre site, listed also in *The Rent Roll for the Borough of Brecon 1664*:

(E)dward Winter Esqre. For one burgage nowe in the occupation of James Jenkins sould to the county for a house of correction xijd. ['xijd' = rent 12d.]

'Burgage' was a form of land or dwelling tenure involving a fixed money rent paid by a free burgess. The arrangement here may have been according to Burgess Tenure, a form peculiar to boroughs. It gave the tenant the free disposal of his land or property, paying only a nominal rent.

A 'House of Correction' was a type of minor county gaol, especially one built in accordance with the Acts of 1575–6 and 1603–4, which were new laws to suppress vagrancy. These regulations enabled structures to be built, administered by local Justices of the Peace, where able-bodied idlers, rogues, vagrants and the unemployed were to be sent to work. Later, unmarried mothers, and parents who had left their children chargeable to the parish were also included.

By 1698 this structure had been enlarged, according to Hugh Thomas in *An Essay towards the History of Brecknockshire*.<sup>8</sup>

By the Watton Gate in the East part of the Town without the walls stands the County Gaol and House of Correction built A.D. 1690 which in its bigness is as strong and handsome as any on this side England and Wales.

But the history of penology subsequently shows that there was a nation-wide decline in conditions across the range of these institutions. Attitudes, theories, policies and practices varied, and there was a basic problem that prisoners' fees were the payment for jailers. Conditions generally were squalid and wretched. Brecon was no exception, as was discovered by 1776 when it was one of the institutions in Wales visited by John Howard during his campaign for penal reform.

The second strand of interest in this article, the contact between Brecon and contemporary theatre, had its origin in what might seem remote events in London, 160 miles away.

The world of the playhouse, generally flourishing after the Restoration re-opening of the theatres, was affected in early Hanoverian London by its metropolitan problems at a time of rapid expansion. Social unease and the fear of violence were caused by the floating population of vagrants, itinerants, demobbed soldiers, sturdy beggars, 'rogues and vagabounds' – all mobile without means of support or habitation. Sir Robert Walpole was himself the target for satire and derision, his government lampooned by Henry Fielding in his farce *The Historical Register for the Year 1736* at the small Goodman's Inn Fields playhouse. The play had mocked the Prime Minister as a fiddler to whose tunes the members of parliament danced. The two larger theatres, Covent Garden and Drury Lane, resented the growing popularity of the smaller fringe houses. When Fielding proposed further action by developing a sequel in this line of political satire, Walpole moved swiftly, and the 1737 Licensing Act became law. It moved with full force of specific penalty against 'vagrancy' of all types, and it included Strolling Actors in the 'sturdy beggar' category, reinforcing Elizabeth I's legislation.

The Licensing Act affected theatre in Britain both immediately and far into the long term. Politically motivated, it appointed the Lord Chancellor as Censor: texts of all new plays had to be submitted to his Office. (Henry Fielding, to avoid

the censor's interference, turned to the less restricted form of the novel). It limited playing for hire, gain or reward to two licensed London theatres, Covent Garden and Drury Lane from September to May. This immediately put large numbers of performers out of work, and diminished future prospects. It limited the granting of short-term licences for performances in the provinces to the discretion of country magistrates. In this uncertain situation, there could be no building of provincial playhouses, and companies fortunate to get licences would have to find and hire rented accommodation for whatever limited period was granted. The Act reinforced previous legislation which classed strolling actors as 'Rogues and Vagabonds' if found touring or strolling without money in their pockets. 'Strolling' became a contemptuous term, and at least two classes of performers emerged.

'Banditti', a word used to describe strolling bands of performers, was first used by Tate Wilkinson,<sup>9</sup> himself an actor and theatre manager. Though a sweeping generalisation, which may be modified through further research, it remains to label the roving groups who, without fixed acting locations, survived precariously. Price<sup>10</sup> noted: 'Any town that was celebrating a fair, mart-day, horse race or cock-fight could expect them. Their drum would beat; they would hand out their bills. They had a score of more or less famous Tragedies at their tongues' ends. They would butcher any play to order.' In contrast, the well-managed groups were similar to later touring companies. They were rich and stable enough to advertise their movements and programmes in local newspapers, having secured the appropriate licence for a suitable venue and performance period.

It was Brecon's good fortune to be on such a circuit. The manager, John Ward, born in London in 1704, was a professional actor who had played in both Lincoln's Inn Fields and Drury Lane theatres, and also in Dublin with Peg Woffington (Ophelia to his Hamlet). He had set up his Company by 1746, and in the years since then had visited and revisited towns such as Stratford-upon-Avon, Gloucester, Coventry, Warwick, Ludlow, Hereford, Ledbury, Bromyard and Leominster.

In the absence of any recorded information, one can only surmise reasons for his coming to Brecon. By 1755 he was an experienced, successful manager, and looking at the above list of towns, it is possible to see similar business prospects in Brecon. For example, these prosperous towns in the Marches border area between England and Wales were influential and central to their counties, some with an M.P. Potential theatre patronage could be expected from local gentry some of whom were magistrates, from Army officers, and particularly from members of the thriving legal profession. These market towns had Guild Halls, and substantial inns. Brecon was within comparatively easy reach of the other towns visited. It seems unlikely that crossing the border into Wales would have

any particular significance, assuming a predominantly English-speaking town. This may be inferred from contemporary material such as the Records of the foundation and early meetings of the Brecknockshire Agricultural Society in March and April 1755 at the Golden Lion Inn.

The earliest recorded visit of John Ward's company to Brecon was announced in *The Gloucester Journal* advertisement of 13th May 1755. As was his practice, the notice recorded his current performance of *Julius Caesar* at the School House in Leominster:

From whence they go to BRECON, where they will open the Monday following with Rowe's *Tragedy of Tamerlane* with *The Fall of Bajazet*, *Emperor of the Turks*, the principal characters entirely new-dressed in proper habits lately arrived from London; to which will be added a Farce (never performed there) called *The Englishman in Paris*. The Company will continue performing every Monday, Wednesday and Friday for 8 weeks, beginning exactly at seven o'clock.

The chosen performance venue for this and for all succeeding Ward and Kemble visits was the Great Room of the Bell Inn, similar in dimension to Leominster School Room. Ward and his family lodged at the smaller Shoulder of Mutton Inn, where his grand-daughter, Sarah Kemble, was born during this visit. In *The Gloucester Journal* on 16th July, Ward announced the final performance of the season, thanking the 'polite and crowded audience' in Brecon, and planning to open on 21st July at the Guild Hall in Ludlow with a comedy, *The Provok'd Husband*.

Unfortunately, no precise records of Ward's circuits survive; fragments of information such as the following catch glimpses of the activity: Price noted a schedule of Roger Kemble's takings for 17 April 1758 as 'Brecknock £15 10 0' but there are no further details.<sup>11</sup>

Fortunately, *The Gloucester Journal* for 4th March 1760 carried an advertisement:

We hear that, for the benefit of Mr and Mrs Ward, at the Bell Great Room in Brecon, on Thursday evening next, will be acted a celebrated Comedy, called *The Suspicious Husband*, with a new occasional Prologue on The King of Prussia and the Present Times, addressed to the People of Great Britain, to be Spoken by Mr Ward; To which will be added a Ballad Opera never performed there, called *The Contrivances, or More Ways than One*, the Songs and Music by Mr Carey; with Singing and Dancing between the Acts.

The season continued into April, with the following notice:

We hear from Brecon that on Easter-Monday, at the Bell Great Room in the Town, will be acted the celebrated play of *Macbeth*, with a Farce, and a Prologue on Shakespeare written by Rev. Mr Greene . . . With an Epilogue written by Dryden in the character of Shakespeare as he stands erect on his monument in Westminster Abbey, concluding with his Epitaph, written by Milton. Being positively the last week

of the Company's acting in the Town this season. From Brecon they go to the Hay to continue a short time.

From a Gloucester notice it is clear that Mr Ward's Company was at the Bell Inn Great Room: during April–May 1764, but no details are yet available. The Company may have relied for advertising on the distribution of paper handbills, and hardly any of these survive.

Mr Ward finally handed over management of the Company to his son-in-law Roger Kemble on 24th May 1766. Since 1746, within the constraints imposed by the 1737 Licensing Act, Ward had organised a 25-town successful circuit. He presented the best of the old and the new plays, and was topical in his love of spectacle, processions, costume and ceremonies. Price commented that 'Ward made the temporary theatre in Guild Hall, inn, schoolhouse or barn the centre of "polite" rural life, bringing London tastes and diversions to the country.' He retired to a property which he had purchased in Leominster, where he died in 1771; a memorial donated by Mrs Siddons and J. P. Kemble marks his burial place. In the following years, under Roger Kemble's management, there are only brief references to this part of the circuit, other than the tradition that he wintered in Brecon. It is a pity that no sketch of the Bell Great Room has ever been discovered.

By August 1776 a matter of deep concern was to engage attention in Brecon, connected with the visit of the philanthropist and prison reformer John Howard, with several of his colleagues, to Brecon Gaol and House of Correction. Their Report, according to Poole<sup>12</sup> and Davies,<sup>13</sup> was extremely grim. 'The building was out of repair, and debtors and felons were huddled together indiscriminately in two wretched courts which were nothing more than dark dungeons . . . Prisoners were almost starved to death by the gaoler.' The unfavourable Report at first roused local resentment, but finally events moved swiftly, and they are well documented in relevant files at Powys Archive Office.<sup>14</sup> In brief, the decision was reached to build a new gaol at the opposite side of the town, at the Tarrell bridge. Plans were ordered to be drawn up by Mr Andrew Maund who in 1770 had already worked on building the present Guild Hall and various other local structures including bridges. In 1778 advertisements for a Contractor for the work appeared in several issues of *The Gloucester Journal*, the newspaper then circulating in these areas. Andrew Maund got the contract, and as part of the settlement for £500 he was given the old Gaol and House of Correction premises.<sup>15</sup> A considerable amount of documentation covers the building activity, including lists of fittings, both retained and new, with costs.

By 1781–2 the new gaol was completed, and the prisoners were transferred there. The vacated premises were now available for use by Andrew Maund, variously described as carpenter, joiner, builder and architect. Unfortunately



Plate 2 Tower, Theatre and New Inn revealed from Peace Garden.

there is no paper trail of plans, but that he owned and developed the property is proved by assessment entries for both the New Inn and the Theatre in the Churchwardens' Accounts.<sup>16</sup> The Maund family retained ownership of the entire property until 1892. Perhaps it is at this point that the strands of 'Sites and Performances' begin to converge. Initial clearance of the Gaol site enabled Maund to build the New Inn, a building still fronting the Watton, adjacent to the recently-planted Peace Garden. (Plate 2)

At almost the same time, Roger Kemble reviewed his situation as manager of the circuit. He had been successful, but by now his family – all performers – were ready to move away into the wider theatre scene in London and Dublin. He announced that the manager to succeed him was an actor friend, John Boles Watson, publishing this letter in *The Gloucester Journal*, in September 1783. Watson, originally of successful merchant Quaker stock in Ireland, was already well-established in management in the Cotswold area. Based at wealthy, fashionable Cheltenham, he welcomed the opportunity to extend his business by acquiring the old Ward-Kemble circuit. He may also have sensed growing theatre interest in a wider audience, less opposition from evangelicals, and some optimism that the conditions of the 1737 Licensing Act might be reviewed. Visiting Cheltenham in July 1782, King George III with Queen Charlotte and the Princesses, attended performances at Watson's Theatre.<sup>17</sup> For their final visit,

the playbills for *The Midnight Hour* were printed on satin, and henceforth Watson advertised his Theatre Royal – a significant asset to the Manager.

Watson's Cheltenham Company arrived in Brecon with a flourish in 1783, complete with an eight-week licence, offers of a guinea subscription ticket, and the promise of a beautiful set of scenery from Cheltenham. The puzzling factor is that he does not name the location where he played! It may still have been at the Great Room of the Bell Inn which was used in 1790 for solo performances by a touring London actress, Mrs Hudson (who merits a column in the *Biographical Dictionary*).<sup>18</sup> Or, possibly, the setting was in the simple Georgian style seen at Richmond in Yorkshire: a plain stone-built rectangle with a single pitch-roof, almost like a warehouse, to be completed by 1787. I am inclined to support the latter view because no other [building] site is mentioned. Watson returned in January 1784 with plans for eighteen subscription nights, including performances of Sheridan's *The School for Scandal*. All this was fashionable and very successful. Ranger commented: 'Watson entered upon management with an energy that never flagged as long as his health held out.' His letter to the 'Ladies and Gentlemen of Brecon' claimed that 'he found himself wanting in words to express his sense of obligation for the kindness and indulgence which his company experienced.' Fortune favoured him, as legal and political influences and pressures moved towards the Sixty Day Act of 1788 which cleared the way for the building of permanent provincial playhouses. Watson was also fortunate in co-operating with Andrew Maund, who had ground available on which to erect a playhouse, adjacent to Maund's New Inn, through which access to the Theatre continued for many years. The landlord/tenant relationship was established then, and it was advantageous to both, providing occupancy of players for 3–4 months annually, and in their absence, the inn-keeper could use the playhouse for social events such as assemblies and balls. The agreement was still in place in Maund's will (1803).<sup>19</sup> The result was the purpose-built Theatre Brecon, opening on 27th February 1787 with General Burgoyne's *The Heiress*. Followed by Shakespeare's *Hamlet*. Admiral Byng,<sup>20</sup> visited here in 1787, found 'a neat theatre built by Mr Watson of Cheltenham.' During this season, on 7th May, John Boles Watson's son, of the same name, was christened at St. Mary's Church in Brecon.

No evidence remains of the plans for the structure of the buildings when Watson was opening houses in both Hereford and Brecon. Nor are there any drawings of early theatres on the Cotswold circuit.

Playbills relating to the professional theatre in Wales in this century number only about a dozen. Price commented on the importance of the Brecon bill of 27th January 1790.



‘An Entertainment planned by Garrick and afterwards produced by Le Piqu’ –  
 A Grand Tragic Pantomimical Entertainment, Compiled in the *French, Spanish,*  
 and *Italian* Style,  
 Called  
 DON JUAN  
 Or THE LIBERTINE DESTROY’D  
 In Two Acts

Lately performed at the *Royalty* and both Patent Theatres. Revived under the Management of the celebrated Signior Delpini. The Music, Songs, Duets and Dances, composed by Monsieur Gluck. – The Scenery, Machinery, Devices and Transparencies, by Mr Dixon, Painter to the *Royalty*

The full notice is too long for printing in this article, but it shows aspects of contemporary taste for melodramatic situations, and representations including shipwreck (‘dashed to pieces on rocks’) and riding on a dolphin’s back, Hell (‘With flames’), as well as seascapes, a rustic wedding festivity and set-dances. There is certainly evidence of ambitious levels of performance and presentation here in Theatre Brecon. We lack reliable information about staging, props and machinery, lighting resources and music.

The only description giving concrete details is in an advertisement in *The Brecon Journal* of the 29<sup>th</sup> September 1856, when Mr Chadwick was manager:

The Theatre is now thoroughly cleaned, repaired and well aired, good fires being kept in constantly day and night. Three Stage Boxes have been beautifully fitted up to accommodate twelve persons; the audience department has also been re-papered; the seats stuffed and covered with crimson cloth; the side-walls, as well as the flooring of the pit, lined with good warm matting, together with 50 or 60 gas lights, making the Theatre very comfortable. The lessee has likewise provided a very convenient Ladies’ Cloak Room, for which occasion a servant will be always in attendance . . . On Monday: *The School for Scandal*.

Prices of Admission: Boxes 3s. 6d. Pit 2s. 6d. Gallery 6d.

Half-price will be taken at a quarter past 9.

Observe: The Manager has now ready 20 Season Tickets only, price Two Guineas, guaranteeing a four months season.

Children in arms not permitted.

This Cheltenham Company continued seasonal visits to Brecon at intervals of two to three years, staying normally for three months, and playing three nights each week. After the death of John Boles Watson in 1813, the management of the circuit was continued by his son, John Boles Watson II, who also used the letting and sub-letting between Managers which was becoming increasingly common. The sequence can be observed in the chronology of known performances from 1783 to 1871 outlined in an earlier article for this journal.<sup>21</sup>

Companies visiting Brecon stayed normally for three months, playing three nights a week. An examination of the titles gives a reminder that the advertisements and reported responses, scripted by the managers, were almost always congratulatory. Not that 19th century audiences, especially in cities, were passive, but forms of printed objective assessment followed slowly after Leigh Hunt's first contribution in the *News* in 1805. The Brecon audience was still invited to enjoy plays by Shakespeare, Garrick, Sheridan and Goldsmith. 'Gothic' drama, characterised by gloom and the grotesque, was represented by *Douglas* and *Pizarro*. Changes in taste in the cities, and possibly the enlargement of the middle-class audience are reflected in the titles and labels such as ballad opera, melodrama, fashionable comedy, farces, tableaux vivants. A local problem, the presence of children in the audience, is suggested by two directives. The first, in 1790, is specific: 'Children in arms not admitted'. By 1807 a change in tactics was indicated: 'Infants in Arms, Double Price to each part of the House'.

Of interest to local social historians is the record of frequent Patrons, which reads like a list of gentry properties – (a reminder of the remark in the *Cambrian Travellers' Guide and Pocket Companion*, 1808: 'Brecon town and neighbourhood much inhabited by gentry of easy fortune') – Penpont, Pennoyre, Woodlands, Maeslough Castle, Bolgoed, Cefn Park, Buckland, Maesderwen, Dinas. On one occasion John Lloyd wrote a Prologue, spoken by an actor at a performance in aid of Brecon Infirmary. Other patrons included, Lord Tredegar, the High Sheriff, the Mayor, the Town Trade, Royal Welsh Fusiliers, Officers of Companies then stationed in Brecon (including 14<sup>th</sup>, 25<sup>th</sup>, 29<sup>th</sup> and 52<sup>nd</sup> Regiments), the Foresters, Licensed Victuallers, Breconshire Agricultural Society, Brecon No 1 Rifle Volunteers, and the Ladies of Brecon. A new separate entrance was built in 1869. The last known performance was in 1870–1.

Playbills survive in the Burney collection for 1819, 1824, 1825, 1846 and for 1897 at the National Library of Wales.<sup>22</sup>

The article's strand of information about 'Performance' ends here, reasons for the theatre closure being both national and local. There was a change in taste and interest from drama to opera, music hall, and variety shows, playing in larger, more stylish theatres, not always to the advantage of subtle acting which needed to adjust to a different scale. There were still some elements of disapproval of stage plays on moral grounds. A decline in the influence of the gentry was significant; they had been chief patrons of Georgian and Early Victorian styles of play. Businessmen and industrialists would be more influential among the new audience. Improved education made the public more aware of mediocre and inadequate levels of skill and presentation. Better roads and transport, including railways, provided access to larger, more fashionable venues. Improved transport also enabled large, lavishly-equipped companies to travel for three-night stands in provincial towns. For example, '*Uncle Tom's Cabin* with

Negro Slaves and Dogs' toured in this area in the 1880s and could have suited the Market Hall, clearly the chief rival and immediate local winner as a venue. Little Brecon Theatre could not compete, and with a twist of fate even in its location, the Watton declined in status, and was threatened by cholera. By 1889 major restructuring and refurbishing of the Guild Hall provided a new, major venue. In 1891 an application was made for a licence for opera and stage plays; a drop curtain and hose-pipe met fire regulations. The Guild Hall Theatre, periodically modernized, functioned as the major entertainment venue in Brecon until it was replaced by Theatr Brycheiniog on the canal bank in 1997. This offered a stage dimension of approximately 48 x 50 feet, larger in performance space than the entire Bell Great Room which housed stage, actors and audience. This point visually emphasises one of the most important and characteristic aspects of the Georgian playhouse, the way the actors shared the space with the audience, almost within reach of each other, and with consequent ease of communication and rapid response.

Theatr Brycheiniog completed the succession of 'replacement playhouses' which was a notable feature in Brecon during the period when theatre filled a very small place in the life of Welsh towns, outside Cardiff, Swansea and Newport. That the structures have survived to this identification enables us to observe how the series represents the varying skills of dramatists and performers, the development of more sophisticated methods of production, and increasing audience demands. Distinctively, Brecon buildings survive to witness professional performances in an historical sequence.

What about the two sites once used for the early performances? The Bell Inn continues in business in various guises. By 1878, the New Inn was no longer in business, the entire premises being used as a Working Men's Club. By 1892 the descendants of the original Maund owners decided to sell the entire property. It was purchased as an investment for setting up a modern brewing business by Mr Jebb of Watton Mount and his son-in-law, Mr Dobell. Substantial structural alterations at that time left the shell intact but altered any existing features of the theatre, particularly the removal of the stage end to accommodate a four-storey tower. Brecon Brewery opened and traded for some years, but was finally sold to the Hereford and Tredegar Brewery. Bottles from these firms are in Brecon Museum, as is one of the gas fittings from the theatre, found and identified about thirty years ago.

In 1916 the Brewery moved its manufacture elsewhere, but rented the premises to the family of the late Councillor E. R. Morgan; with comparatively little modification, it was used as a grain store. The Brewery sold the premises in 1919 to the West Breconshire Farmers' Association (W.B.F.A.), Evan Morgan still renting the property. For some time it was used to store and sort local wool before transport to Bradford mills. 1921 saw the sale by W.B.F.A. to Evan



Plate 3 Original decorative moulding still visible in the present structure.

Morgan, a transaction reversed in 1935 when the W.B.F.A. modernised the entire inner area, installing grain hoppers embedded in the floor, and other equipment. These were still in place in 1984 when Mr Edwin Edwards bought the premises, and established the present business as a furniture showroom, the tower being used for re-upholstering and furniture restoration.

Does anything remain of the two strands 'Site and Performance' which are examined in this article? Though the prospect may seem unpromising, anyone who climbs to the mezzanine floor of the showroom and looks upwards to the side walls will see the decorative wooden frieze of the original Brecon Theatre. (Plate 3)

#### *Acknowledgements*

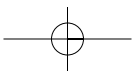
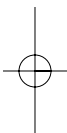
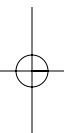
I am grateful to the Editor for advice and helpful comments. Valuable information has been provided by local residents including A. Eagle, A. M. Greaves, M. J. Jenkins, P. W. Jenkins, K. Jones, M. Morris, A. Perry, and the late O. L. Bacon, E. R. Morgan and A. Tilley. Photographer: M. A. Chappell.

Sr BONAVENTURE KELLEHER

## NOTES

- <sup>1</sup> *The Silurian*, 1836 at Brecon Library.
- <sup>2</sup> *The Gloucester Journal*, 1722 at Gloucester Record Office.
- <sup>3</sup> *The British Chronicle or Pugh's Hereford Journal* at Hereford Library.
- <sup>4</sup> Clark, W. S., 1965, *The Irish Stage in the Country Towns*, O.U.P.
- <sup>5</sup> Jones-Davies, J. (ed.) in *Towards a 17th Century History of Brecknock, 1967: Roll of Chief Rents and Lady Rents in the Borough Brecon*, 1664.
- <sup>6</sup> Lancelot Herbert's Will, 1691, NLW.
- <sup>7</sup> *The Gloucester Journal*, 23 April 1745.
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- <sup>11</sup> Fitzgerald, P., 1871, *The Kembles*, London.
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- <sup>14</sup> Powys Archive Office: Series QS/R HTML, 1776–78.
- <sup>15</sup> Jones, T., 1898, *History of Brecknockshire*, ed. Davies.
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- <sup>17</sup> Ranger, P., 1993, *Theatre in the Cotswolds*, Society for Theatre Research.
- <sup>18</sup> Highfill, P. (ed.), 1984, *Biographical Dictionary of Actors*, etc. S. Illinois U.P.
- <sup>19</sup> Andrew Maund's Will, NLW.
- <sup>20</sup> Andrews, C. (ed.), 1934, *The Torrington Diaries*.
- <sup>21</sup> *Brycheiniog*, Vol. XXV (1992–93), pp. 80–84.
- <sup>22</sup> Burney Collection at the British Museum.

Local newspapers on micro-film in Brecon Library: 1855 *Brecon Journal*; 1863 *Brecon Reporter*; 1866 *Brecon County Times*; 1889 *Brecon & Radnor Express*.



## FRANCES HOGGAN – DOCTOR OF MEDICINE, PIONEER PHYSICIAN, PATRIOT AND PHILANTHROPIST

On 14 March 1970 a large congregation gathered in Brecon Cathedral to celebrate the centenary of Frances Morgan's graduation as a doctor of medicine (MD) of the University of Zurich. The service was conducted by Dr J. J. A. Thomas, Bishop of Swansea and Brecon. To mark the event the cathedral received a brass font ewer inscribed '*One Lord, One Faith, One Baptism. Presented by Brecknock Society and Friends in memory of Frances Elizabeth Hoggan, March 1970*'. (Plate 1) The service was held in Brecon because Frances was born there, on 20 December 1843, in a house at 'High Street St Mary's, Brecknock'; its address now is 19 High Street. (Plate 2)

Frances's father, Richard Morgan, from Crunwear in Pembrokeshire, studied at Jesus College, Oxford (BA 1831). When Frances was born he was a curate in Brecon. On 26 January 1843 he married Georgiana Vaughan, a young widow with one child. Her first husband, the young solicitor Louis Richard Vaughan, whom she married on 6 October 1840,<sup>1</sup> died within weeks of their wedding; their son, also Louis Richard, was born 19 July 1841.<sup>2</sup> Georgiana was born in Abergwili. Her father, Captain John George Philipps RN (1783–1869) of Cwmgwili in Carmarthenshire, served in the French Revolutionary and



Plate 1 The font ewer presented in Brecon Cathedral in March 1970.



Plate 2 The house in which Frances Morgan was born.

Napoleonic wars and was Mayor of Carmarthen in 1816. His father, also John George, had been Whig MP for Carmarthen, its Mayor, and High Sheriff of Carmarthenshire. The Philipps of Cwmgwili traced their descent from Cadivor Vawr, Prince of Dyved, who died in 1089.<sup>3</sup> Frances's paternal great-grandfather, Thomas Morgan, was a sea captain with the East India Company.

Richard Morgan became vicar of Aberavon with Baglan in 1845. He died there on 9 March 1851, aged 42, of typhoid fever and pneumonia.<sup>4</sup> On census day (three weeks later) Georgiana still lived at Parsonage House, the Baglan vicarage, with Louis Vaughan, Emma (4 years), Thomas Herbert (2 years), and Catherine (5 months); that day Frances and Robert, the two eldest children, were with their Uncle Thomas, a farmer, at 'Maesgwyrda', 28 Laugharne, Carmarthenshire.<sup>5</sup>

Emma married Thomas Jones, later vicar of Heyope near Knighton, where Georgiana died in 1897.<sup>6</sup> Robert died while duck-hunting in the United States in 1897. Catherine married a younger cousin, Herbert Vaughan Philipps, and moved to Surrey.<sup>7</sup> Thomas Herbert moved to the United States, initially to Chicago. There his daughter, Georgiana Philipps Morgan (1878–1957) was born in 1878; as a girl she spent a short time at the Archdeacon's School for Girls in Swansea. She studied at the Chicago Musical College before marrying William Bullock in 1899; they had two children. After his death in 1909 she read law at the University of Southern California from 1910–14. 'Georgia' Bullock was the first woman judge in California; none of her judgments was reversed on appeal.<sup>8</sup> She was the judge for the Ingrid Bergman divorce and the Susan Hayward custody hearing.

The *Cambrian* of 11 July 1851 noted an auction of furniture belonging to the late Reverend Richard Morgan – plus his milch cow and store pig.<sup>9</sup> In 1856, when granted administration to dispose of Richard's estate, Georgiana lived at Dynevor Cottage in Cowbridge.<sup>10</sup> For the 1861 census she was at High Street, Cowbridge, with Louis (now aged 19, 'no occupation'), Thomas (aged 12) and Catherine (aged 10), both described as 'scholars', and a young servant, Sarah Whitney; Georgiana was described as a 'landed proprietor'; Frances and Emma were staying with their uncle Thomas, now farming at Cheshunt, Hertfordshire.<sup>11</sup>

According to Onfel Thomas,<sup>12</sup> Frances had begun her education in Cowbridge and then moved to a school at Windsor, run by a family friend, before studying in Paris from 1858 to 1861; she was then thought to have continued her studies in Dusseldorf. Throughout her life Frances remained proud of her Welsh nationality. (Plate 3)

In 1865 Elizabeth Garrett (1836–1917) became the first woman to obtain a medical qualification in Britain when she became a licentiate of the Society of Apothecaries (LSA). Within months she decided to start a small medical school for women in London. On 9 January 1866 she wrote to her mother:





Plate 3 Frances Hoggan as a young woman.

we are framing a scheme . . . to take a house close by . . . and to turn the ground floor into a dispensary for women & children . . . – the three pupils wd. of course share the benefits of what practice there was and it might become the nucleus of a hospital with beds. The upper rooms could be used as a school, one room for dissections, another for lectures, others for private study, library etc etc. We propose getting men who are already teaching the several subjects in men's schools to teach the pupils here . . .<sup>13</sup>

Frances was one of the three 'pupils'; the others were, Sarah Goff and Ellen Phillips. All passed the Arts Examination of the Society of Apothecaries on 25 Jan 1867, Frances with honours.<sup>14</sup> On 14 February the Society's Court of Examiners, which had tried to block Garrett's qualification, responded by refusing to accept 'certificates of lectures, or of anatomical instructions, delivered in private to particular students apart from the ordinary classes of recognized, public, medical schools'.<sup>15</sup> This prevented women qualifying as no recognized public medical school would accept them. One possibility remained. In 1865 the Royal College of Surgeons approved the Royal Free Hospital as a suitable place of study for candidates for its membership examination (MRCS). In March 1867 Nathaniel Heckford (1842–1871) a young doctor at the London Hospital, where he had taught Elizabeth Garrett, asked the Royal Free if it would receive ladies as pupils; this initiative was not followed up.<sup>16</sup> The plans for Garrett's little school were abandoned but the careers of all three pupils are worth following.

Sarah Goff, a rich Irish heiress, married Heckford on 28 January 1867, three days after passing the Apothecaries examination. They founded the East London Hospital for Children in Hackney; it opened on their first wedding anniversary. Nathaniel died of tuberculosis on 14 December 1871. Sarah and Frances remained good friends until Sarah's death in 1903; Frances was a trustee of a fund set up by Sarah at Coutts Bank in July 1874. Sarah moved to South Africa in 1878, returning to England in 1901.<sup>17</sup>

Ellen Phillips was from a wealthy Quaker family. After quitting her studies she and her sister Mary opened a small dispensary for women and children at 13 Virginia Row, Bethnal Green on 12 July 1867. In 1868 it moved to Hackney Road as the North Eastern Hospital for Children.<sup>18</sup> Ellen married Alexander Fox, another young London Hospital doctor, and they emigrated to New Zealand. After his death in 1876 Ellen returned to Britain, converted to Roman Catholicism and died in January 1890.<sup>19</sup>

Frances Morgan, unlike Sarah and Ellen, continued her studies. She moved to Zurich, where with Louisa Atkins, who joined her there as a medical student, she matriculated in the autumn of 1867. Her character and intelligence impressed everyone and male colleagues treated her as an equal within months. A hard worker, she completed the medical course in three years, and also took a course in Sanskrit. She became a legend in Zurich.<sup>20</sup> She graduated on 12 March 1870

– the second woman to get an MD in Europe. The first, Nadjesda Suslova from St. Petersburg, graduated MD Zurich three years earlier.

Frances's thesis on muscular dystrophy was highly commended. Her public defence of it aroused great interest; not only because women medical students were still a novelty, there were also reports of a disagreement with her thesis director, Anton Biermer. Because more than 400 people turned up to hear the disputation it was moved to the Aula, the university's largest hall; it was the only time the Aula was used for this purpose.<sup>21</sup> Biermer was highly complimentary about her work.

According to Onfel Thomas, Frances studied in Vienna, Prague and Paris before returning to Britain. Her foreign degree did not allow her inclusion in the Medical Register but Elizabeth Garrett employed her at her St. Mary's Dispensary for Women & Children in Seymour Street which, in 1875, moved to Marylebone Road as the New Hospital for Women. It subsequently moved to the Euston Road where, in 1917, it became the 'Elizabeth Garrett Anderson Hospital'.

Frances began work at the dispensary in March 1871 although when Garrett married Skelton Anderson on 9 February 1871 Frances had covered for Garrett's patients.<sup>22</sup> That year she, along with Elizabeth Blackwell, Barbara Bodichon, Ernest Hart and others, founded the National Health Society which created the motto "Prevention is Better than Cure".<sup>23</sup> It aimed to assist in the formation of local societies, to induce schools to include sanitary instruction in their teachings, to form an office for answering questions, from private individuals and others, as to the proper modes of procedure in cases of sanitary difficulty, and to establish a reference library, with plans, models, and papers. Frances was its first Honorary Secretary.

We do not know how or when Frances met George Hoggan, whom she married on 1 April 1874 at Marylebone Register Office – an unusual venue for the daughter of an Anglican priest.<sup>24</sup> The witnesses were Rose Anna Shedlock and William Bowman Macleod (1843–1899). Macleod, a dentist, was the first Dean of the Edinburgh Dental Hospital and School, President of the British Dental Association in 1895, and author of a paper on 'The effects of bagpipe playing on the teeth'.<sup>25</sup>

George Hoggan was born in Edinburgh in 1837. His father, also George, was described in his son's marriage certificate as a 'Painter (Decorative)', from Kinross; his mother Margaret, née Bell, was apparently from the family of Robert Burns. George Jr. left school aged 12 and after serving an apprenticeship he joined the Indian navy as an engineer and served through the Indian Mutiny (1857), the China war (1860) and the Abyssinian campaign (1868). When David Livingstone visited India early in 1866 he asked if Hoggan could accompany him on his (final and fatal) African expedition: permission was refused.<sup>26</sup>

Hoggan moved on to study medicine in Edinburgh. He graduated MB, CM in 1872, having published his first, quite fascinating, scientific paper, 'A new mechanical theory of respiration', in the *Transactions of the Royal Medical Society* in 1870. An expanded version, 'On the erectile action of the blood-pressure in inspiration, and its important agency in the various functions of life', appeared in the *Edinburgh Medical Journal* in October 1872.<sup>27</sup>

While a student, Hoggan was an anatomy demonstrator with the surgeon Peter Handyside (1808–1881), the only extramural teacher of anatomy recognized by the University of Edinburgh. When Handyside began teaching Sophia Jex-Blake (1840–1912) and her colleagues in October 1870, Hoggan gave the women their first practical anatomy class. He also organized and led the escort (mainly of Irish veterinary students) that protected them from harassment at the time of the infamous 'Riot at Surgeons' Hall' in November 1870.<sup>28</sup>

Hoggan spent four months in Paris with Claude Bernard (1813–1878), probably in 1873,<sup>29</sup> and was shocked by the animal experiments. He described them in the *Morning Post* of 1 February 1875 and expressed his own opposition to vivisection. He joined forces with Frances Power Cobbe to found the Society for Protection of Animals Liable to Vivisection (better known as the 'Victoria Street Society'). The Hoggans hosted its first meeting, on 2 December 1875.<sup>30</sup> George was Honorary Secretary until 1878, but left amicably when the Society adopted a policy of *total* abolition of vivisection. Frances, a member of the first executive committee, became Cobbe's doctor and close friend.<sup>31</sup>

After the wedding George, who had lived at 12 Upper Montague Street, moved in with Frances at 13 Granville Place (Portman Square). By 1881 they lived at 7 Trevor Terrace, Rutland Gate (just off Kensington Road), with a cook and housemaid. Also recorded in the 1881 census is one Elsie Morgan – an unmarried 'Student of Arts', aged 19, born in Brussels as a British subject and listed as George's 'sister-in-law'<sup>32</sup> of whom more later. According to E. Adair Impey, Frances and George held the same consulting hours in separate consulting rooms at home.<sup>33</sup>

While Frances dealt mainly with women and children, George joined the staff of St John's Hospital for Diseases of the Skin in 1877. But he resigned in 1879<sup>34</sup> after accusing its Secretary and board of management of mismanagement and misappropriation of funds in a letter to the *Medical Press and Circular* of 12 November 1879. An action for criminal libel, brought against George and the publisher of the *Medical Press*, ended in a compromise: George was found not guilty and his legal advisers withdrew all imputations against the management of the hospital.<sup>35</sup>

The London School of Medicine for Women opened in October 1874. In January 1875 Frances's name was among those asked to join the school's Governing Body; she seems to have turned down the invitation and was never a

member.<sup>36</sup> Midwifery was taught there from the summer of 1876 and William Smoult Playfair (1835–1903) was originally chosen to give the lectures. For some reason Garrett Anderson took his place but switched to teach Practice of Medicine with King Chambers. At LSMW's Council on 23 July 1875 she proposed Frances as her replacement. Others moved an amendment 'that no unregistered practitioner be appointed to lecture on any branch of medical practice'. This was lost, but the vote on the original motion was evenly split (6 – 6). The chairman, Stansfeld, gave his casting vote against Frances. Five days later, Ford Anderson and Elizabeth Blackwell were elected co-lecturers on midwifery.<sup>37</sup>

Frances, who assisted Garrett Anderson at surgical operations at the New Hospital, became concerned about her employer's surgical competence and suggested that Meredith, an experienced male gynaecologist who helped in difficult cases, should undertake all abdominal surgery. Frances resigned from the New Hospital in April 1877.<sup>38</sup> Garrett Anderson's surgery remained an issue and Meredith eventually resigned in February 1888;<sup>39</sup> two months later Louisa Atkins and Mary Dowson, resigned over the same issue.<sup>40</sup>

In 1875 Frances, although still unregistered, was the second woman elected to the British Medical Association (BMA) following Garrett Anderson's election in 1873. Both presented papers at the Edinburgh meeting in 1875; Frances spoke on 'A new histological process for staining tissues'.<sup>41</sup> During this meeting BMA members, unhappy about female membership, called for a referendum on the matter. In a postal vote in November 1875, three-quarters opposed the admission of women. However, no action resulted until a special general meeting voted on 8 August 1878, 'That no female be eligible as a member of the Association'. Frances's membership was declared invalid because she had not been on the Medical Register when elected, although she was when her membership was rescinded; Garrett Anderson was not expelled.<sup>42</sup>

Following her graduation in Zurich Frances was unable to enter the Medical Register because foreign degrees were not accepted; British examining boards would not examine women, some because their rules forbade it. On 11 August 1876, an Act was passed enabling all medical examining boards to examine women if they so wished. The King's and Queen's College of Physicians of Ireland was the first to do so. The first three women to obtain its licentiatehip (LKQCPI), and so enter the Medical Register, were Zurich graduates – Eliza Walker Dunbar (admitted January 1877) and Frances Hoggan and Louisa Atkins (in February 1877). In 1880 Frances proceeded MKQCPI<sup>43</sup> – becoming the first female Member of any British College of Physicians.

Frances was the first woman to do high quality medical research and co-authored many papers with George. Most dealt with the fine anatomy of the lymphatics (of a variety of organs), or with peripheral nerves and their terminations; illustrations were made using the camera lucida.<sup>44</sup> Among their

publications were – ‘On the Development and Retrogression of Blood vessels/of the Fat-Cell, etc.’ (1879); ‘The Lymphatics of the Pancreas’ (1881); and ‘On some Cutaneous Nerve-Terminations in Mammals’ (1882). Not surprisingly, given their involvement in the antivivisection movement, none of their studies were done on live animals.

Frances published at least 14 papers in her own name, several on topics linked to the aims of the National Health Society – e.g. ‘The Position of the Mother in the Family’, ‘Hygienic Requirements of Sick Children’, ‘Advantages of Vegetarian Diet in Workhouses and Prisons’, and ‘The position of the Mother in the Family in its legal and scientific aspects’. In ‘Sanitary Conveniences for Women’<sup>45</sup> (*Sanitary Record*, 15 December 1880) Frances commented on –

the sufferings . . . physical and mental, endure[d] for want of water-closet accommodation when away from . . . homes. Speaking . . . as the medical adviser of women of all classes . . . no other sanitary appliance [is] so urgently needed by women as water-closet accommodation . . . childbearing . . . renders them liable to accidents . . . [and women] endure much mental agony, as well as frequently great physical inconvenience and pain, for want of precisely the accommodation . . . afforded them by accessible water closets and the supervision of some kindly helpful woman.

Pressure from doctors such as Frances Hoggan, working with the Ladies Sanitary Association, persuaded parish meetings to provide public conveniences for women.<sup>46</sup>

In 1882 Frances replaced Emily Bovell-Sturge as School Doctor at North London Collegiate School and served until October 1885. She dealt with general health problems, and with fitness to undertake gymnasium training. In her paper ‘Physical Education for Girls’ published in 1880 Frances had made recommendations on healthy clothes and shoes and condemned ‘tight-lacing’.<sup>47</sup>

Frances Hoggan’s article ‘Medical Women For India’ appeared in the *Contemporary Review* in 1882.<sup>48</sup> George Kittredge, an American businessman in Bombay, read the article and set up the Medical Women for India Fund, Bombay, to recruit women doctors for India, while Mr Pestonjee Cama offered to build a women’s hospital to be staffed by women doctors. Kittredge met Edith Pechey in Paris in 1883 and persuaded her to become senior medical officer of the proposed Cama Hospital.

From 1878 to 1884 Frances played a key role in the struggle to improve the education of Welsh females.<sup>49</sup> In 1878 she wrote a letter to the *Western Mail* about Jesus College, Oxford which, faced with a dearth of applicants for scholarships intended for Welshmen, was considering opening them to all male students, irrespective of their place of birth. Instead, Frances suggested they should also be open to Welsh women; not surprisingly her suggestion was not acted upon.<sup>50</sup>

She was one of only four women to give evidence in 1880–81 to the Aberdare Committee on Intermediate and Higher Education in Wales.<sup>51</sup> She suggested that the Government should encourage girls' schools via scholarships allowing girls to transfer from public elementary schools to secondary schools and then to higher education; that the status of existing endowments for boys should be reviewed and consideration given to applying some of the funds to the education of girls. She argued that endowments should be used to establish day schools at low fees, in or near centres of populations which would support them; to endow existing efficient schools; and to found technical schools for girls. She thought all education should be unsectarian, and that Nonconformists should be adequately represented in the management of all endowed or publicly assisted places of education.

She wrote numerous papers and letters to the press on the topic.<sup>52</sup> She spoke to the Cymmrodorion Section at the National Eisteddfodau in Denbigh in 1882 on 'The Co-education of Women', and on 'The Past and Future of the Education of Girls' at Cardiff in 1883. On 16 November 1883, at the Freemasons' Tavern, she became the first woman to dine with the Cymmrodorion, appealing to her fellow diners for a scholarship fund for women at University College, Cardiff.<sup>53</sup>

George fell ill during or before 1884. He and Frances gave up their practices and moved to the south of France. According to George's obituary in the *British Medical Journal* they left London in 1885, although in the *Medical Directory* for 1886 their address remained 7 Trevor Terrace. In the *Directory* for 1887 it was 'Monaco, Italy', while from 1888 to 1891 it was 'Villa Griselli, Beaulieu, Alpes Maritime, France'. George died at Nice on 18 May 1891; the cause of death was 'a cerebral tumour which had led to deposits in various other parts'. He was cremated at Père Lachaise cemetery in Paris; his ashes were buried at St John's Crematorium in Woking.<sup>54</sup>

According to Onfel Thomas, Frances did not practise again on her return to England. Instead '... she threw herself with even greater zeal into those social problems in which she had long been interested'.<sup>55</sup> However, he did not provide supporting evidence, and drew attention only to her concern about the plight of coloured people in the United States. Certainly she spoke on the matter in Britain and the USA, and wrote on slavery and the abuse of black people, on her admiration of black American women, and on the contributions of black American soldiers.

Frances had clearly visited the USA before writing 'The Negro Soldier and Others' (*Horizon* 1908), 'The American Negro and Race-blending',<sup>56</sup> and 'The Negro Problem in Relation to White Women' (for the First Universal Race Congress held in London in 1911). In 'American Negro Women during the first fifty years of Freedom' Frances stated:

My own experience of the schools and colleges showed me . . . Negro children [were] often very bright and intelligent . . . their intelligence . . . matured, sometimes brilliantly, in the coloured professors and teachers.' . . . 'In California . . . Negro women in their homes, their churches and their clubs . . . [were a] useful addition to the electorate, emphasizing . . . [a] mother's point of view in all matters of public interest.'<sup>57</sup>

She quoted from a lecture she gave in North Craftsbury, Vermont (Spring 1912) where she also spoke to children about Africa. For this trip she landed in New York 30 November 1911, on the SS *St Louis* from Southampton.<sup>58</sup>

Frances befriended WEB DuBois, Harvard's first black Ph.D., who wrote in his autobiography *'Dusk of Dawn'* – 'I knew something of Europe in these days . . . By grace of an English friend, Frances Hoggan, I roamed through England, Scotland and . . . France in 1906 on a bicycle . . .'<sup>59</sup>

According to her obituary in the *British Medical Journal* her interest in the colour question extended more widely; when over 68 years old she joined an expedition to inspect native villages in South Africa.<sup>60</sup> Thomas also stated that in 1914, at the outbreak of war, Frances offered to run a hospital for the British government but because of her age (70 years) her offer was not accepted.<sup>61</sup>

Some indication of Frances's whereabouts between 1892 and 1927 can be obtained by checking the addresses given for her each year in the *Medical Directory*. That for 1892 was her mother's address in Pembrokeshire ('Heatherland', Begelly); the following year she may have been in London but from 1894 to 1897 she was "Travelling". She then seems to have lived at Eastcombe, Stroud, Gloucestershire, for four years. Most of the following seventeen years were spent in north London – at East Finchley, Highgate and Finchley. However in 1911 she was travelling again (this was the year she travelled to New York by ship) and her address was 'c/o Miss Webster' in Kensington.

Her *Directory* address for 1920 was the Ladies' University Club, 4 George Street, Hanover Square, London W1; from 1921 to 1923 it was 22 Harrington Road, South Kensington; and from 1924 until her death it was again her club, which had moved to Audley Square and changed its name to the Women's University Club.<sup>62</sup> Presumably she stayed there while in London and used the address for official correspondence (including her will). However, for her last five years she lived in Brighton.

The *Medical Register* for 1924 placed Frances at 17A Belgrave Road, Kemp Town, Brighton; that for 1925 gave her address as 28 Eaton Place, Brighton. She died at 13 Clarence Square in Brighton on 5 February 1927, aged 83, but her death certificate gives her last home as 152 Marine Parade, Brighton. A post-mortem examination was not carried out. Gerald W. Beresford, FRCS, certified that she died of old age and heart failure. The informant was Miss B.M.E.



Stratton, a “cousin”, of 90 Belgrave Road, London SW.<sup>63</sup> The *British Medical Journal* and *Lancet* obituaries claimed that until her final three months she was active in body and mind and interested in professional matters.<sup>64</sup>

Frances was cremated in Woking, where her ashes were buried with those of her husband. About 40 years ago the site was marked, according to Onfel Thomas,<sup>65</sup> by a small wooden cross, inscribed “Plot 21”, although the Hoggans plot was actually 22A.<sup>66</sup> Now nothing marks the spot.



Plate 4 Frances Hoggan in later life.

### *‘Elsie’*

The professional life of Frances Hoggan, arguably the most gifted of the early medical women, seems to have been curtailed by her husband’s illness and early death. However, following an event earlier in her life she might have been expected to have no professional life at all. I mentioned above that Elsie Morgan was present at the Hoggan’s home on census day 1881. She was described as George’s ‘sister-in-law’ but ‘Elsie’ was nineteen; as Frances’s father had died 30 years earlier he could not have been Elsie’s father. Elsie was born in Brussels, but there is no record of an Elsie Morgan born there in 1861 or 1862. As she was an arts student in a medical household it seemed possible she was studying for the preliminary examination in arts that medical students had to pass before sitting their professional examinations. The only medical school then open to women was the London School of Medicine for Women. At the start of the winter session of 1880 ‘Elise’ Morgan enrolled there to study chemistry,<sup>67</sup> which was an optional subject for the Apothecaries’ preliminary examination in arts. This she took in January 1881 and obtained a second-class pass,<sup>68</sup> but there is no record that she continued with medical studies.

An Elise Morgan was born in Brussels, at Rue Saint Jean S.8 N.12, at 11 a.m. on 26 October 1861. Her birth certificate states she was the daughter of John Morgan, born Cowbridge (England)<sup>69</sup> and ‘Georgina’ Philipps, born Carmarthen

(England) who lived together in London.<sup>70</sup> However, the International Genealogical Index of the Church of Latter Day Saints states that Elise's parents were Richard Morgan and Georgiana Catherina Philipps, whom it identifies them as Frances's parents.

It is difficult to escape the conclusion that Frances was the mother of Elise. Georgiana, Frances's mother, is the only other candidate. Aged only 41, she could have borne another child. However, as she was at High Street, Cowbridge, with three of her children on census day 1861 (7 April), when she would have been pregnant with Elise, it seems unlikely she was cohabiting with the putative father in London. Furthermore, as the child was to be brought up as Elise Morgan, one might have expected Georgiana to use her proper first name (and not 'Georgina') and her married surname, Morgan, rather than her maiden name, Philipps, for the birth certificate.

Frances was 17 when Elise was born. According to Onfel Thomas she had been studying in Paris. It seems more likely she would have travelled from Paris to Brussels to give birth than that her mother would have journeyed from South Wales for the same purpose. While a John Morgan, born in Cowbridge, could conceivably have been Elise's father the surname Morgan was probably chosen to help hide an illegitimate child within the family.

On census day 1861 Frances and her sister Emma were at Burnt Farm, Cheshunt, Herts staying with her uncle Thomas Morgan, Richard's brother, and his wife Harriet, presumably for the Easter holidays.<sup>71</sup> A number of other young people were also there, including John George Waters (Harriet's son by a previous marriage), a student at St George's Hospital, aged 22. He qualified MRCS Eng 1864 and became a ship's surgeon with the Inman Line. If Elise was not born prematurely Frances would have been about two months pregnant while at the farm.

Although Elise was to be raised as Georgiana's daughter there is evidence that Frances did not simply abandon her to Georgiana's care. When Elizabeth Garrett was planning to open a small medical school for women she wrote as follows to her father on 10 January 1866:

. . . I have had a visit this morning from another lady who wants to study medicine. She is also promising and wishes to apprentice herself at once to me. Being a governess she is not very rich but she thinks she has saved enough money for the education and that she could afford to wait the usual time for practice. She has been a great deal abroad and has passed the Paris examn. for general education. She must go back to Paris to settle some business there and help her mother<sup>72</sup> to pack up the household as she means to live here while she is studying . . . This Miss Morgan wants to settle the apprenticeship business before she goes back to Paris on Monday. I explained our scheme to her and she is quite ready to join it.<sup>73</sup>

Elise would have been four years old at the time.



Plate 5 Elise Morgan; almost certainly taken shortly before her wedding in Salisbury.

On the day of the 1871 census (2 April) soon after Frances, now MD Zurich, started working with Garrett Anderson at the Seymour Street Dispensary, she was living at 36 Upper Grosvenor Street with her mother ‘Georgina’ (aged 50 yr), her niece<sup>74</sup> ‘Elize’ (now aged 9 yr); and Susannah Harriett Battersby, a servant (aged 20 yr). This again suggests that Frances played an important role in Elise’s upbringing.

In 1873 Frances gave Elise a copy of Hartvig’s *‘The Sea and its Living Wonders’*. In it Frances wrote ‘E Morgan from F E Hoggan October 26th 1873’ At bottom of the page she also wrote the following (deliberately?) ambiguous inscription – relating perhaps to their relationship – ‘The Beautiful Sea. “Bountiful Mother”. The name given by the ancients to the earth, but the sea deserves it much more.’<sup>75</sup>

Elise married John Evans, born in Tregaron in 1857, at the parish church of St Martin’s, Salisbury, in Wiltshire, on 29 September 1887.<sup>76</sup> (Plate 5) The witnesses were Georgiana C Morgan and Frances Elizabeth Hoggan. Before the

wedding Elise lived in Exeter Street; John was a clerk in holy orders at Clydach in Glamorgan. His career moves can be traced in the annual issues of *Crockford's Clerical Directory*. A non-college student at Oxford,<sup>77</sup> he graduated BA in 1886 with first-class honours from the Theology School. He proceeded MA in 1891 and BD and DD in 1906. From 1888 he was a curate in Staffordshire – at Fenton and then at Coseley. From 1896 to 1899 he was vicar of Barholme with Stowe in Lincolnshire. Afterwards he was listed simply as a “licensed preacher” in the dioceses of Lincoln, Ely and Peterborough from 1900, and of Southwell (Nottinghamshire) from 1906. For the 1901 census the family lived in Peterborough; subsequently they lived in Leicester and from 1907 at Gobion House, Mowsley.

The information about Elise’s parents in the International Genealogical Index was clearly wrong, although relevant. The informant was Walter Philipps Ford, the Canadian grandson of John and Elise.<sup>78</sup> The family left Mowsley for Canada in 1911 and settled on a ranch in Ardenode, Alberta. John died there on 16 August 1920. Problems arose over ownership of the ranch owing to poor paperwork when it was acquired, and Elise moved with John Grismond, her third child, to Victoria in Colwood at the southern end of Vancouver Island. There she died on 5 August 1951. Her eldest child, Ivor, had stayed in Britain and graduated BA at Oxford in 1915. An Anglican priest, he died on 20 June 1984 (aged 93). Of Elise’s five children only one, Alexandra Catherina (Rina), had offspring – a son (Walter) and a daughter.

Walter Ford told me he and his Uncle Ivor had concluded from their own research in the 1960s and 1970s that Elise was Frances’s daughter. They realized Richard Morgan could not have been Elise’s father, and noted that the Brussels birth certificate gave Georgina Philipps, not Georgiana Morgan as the mother. In his own notes Walter Ford wrote of Frances:

Although sealed in the Temple as my Great Aunt she was in actuality by blood line my great-grandmother – being the mother of Elise Morgan (Evans).

Of Elise he noted:

She was raised as the younger sister of AUNT FANNY (Frances Elizabeth Hoggan). Family research disclosed that her (Elise’s) so-called father died 10 yrs before she was born [in Brussels]. All other family members were born in South Wales. I am grateful that my grandmother was not aborted (as in today’s world) otherwise I might never have existed, or if so, not under such noble ancestry or circumstances’.<sup>79</sup>

Walter Ford told me that although Elise was raised as the sister of Frances, Emma and Catherine, her background always seemed shrouded in mystery. He

believed Elise was unaware of the circumstances of her birth. When knowingly he provided the erroneous information on her parentage to the Church of Latter Day Saints he did so, understandably, to sustain the family version of Elise's legitimacy.

#### *Frances's legacy*

Frances wrote her will on 25 May 1926.<sup>80</sup> From an estate of just under £3000 she left £1100 to Margaret von Seydewitz,<sup>81</sup> £200 to her sister, Emma Jane Jones; and £100 each to her executors and trustees – the Reverend Ivor Evans (Elise's son) and Beatrice Stratton (a cousin) – and to Fanny Crump. Frances Hoggan Talbot Pearson<sup>82</sup> and Dr W B Du Bois each received £50; she left £20 to the Coloured Women's Club of Los Angeles and the remainder to "my said sister" (presumably Emma). If Frances wanted Elise to remain unaware of their true relationship, it is hardly surprising she was left nothing in the will.

Frances Hoggan (née Morgan) deserves a place in the story of women's struggle to join the medical profession. She was the first British woman to obtain an MD in Europe; the first female member of a British College of Physicians; the first to join Garrett Anderson at the dispensary that became the New Hospital for Women; and the first British woman to do high-quality medical research. She was the bride in Britain's first medical marriage, a key figure in the anti-vivisection movement and in the fight to improve women's education in Wales, and an outspoken critic of the treatment of black people in the USA.

In today's more tolerant times it is sobering to reflect that none of this would have been achieved had it been suspected, before she began medical studies, that Frances had had an illegitimate child and, even if suspicion had arisen only after her death, one wonders whether a font ewer would have been dedicated to her memory at Brecon Cathedral in 1970. The prevailing attitudes are summed up by the comments of Frances's own father.

In the infamous 'Blue Books' of 1847 Richard Morgan, questioned about 'Position, character, and influence of the females among them [i.e. mining & manufacturing people of Wales] and how far the duties of mothers and wives are . . . understood & fulfilled' – replied

Systematic prostitution, I believe, is rare, and so is conjugal infidelity; but the loss of chastity before marriage (unhappily the scandal of the Principality) is the rule rather than the exception.<sup>83</sup>

*Acknowledgements*

While I was preparing this paper many people helped. I am particularly indebted to the late Walter Philipps Ford, grandson of Elise Evans (née Morgan), who by telephone and correspondence provided information about his grandmother and her family, and also to his son Roger Ford, and his daughter Sharon McLaren who continue to help. I am grateful to the staff of the following libraries: the British Library and its newspaper library at Colindale, National Library of Wales, Brecon Library, Wellcome Medical History Library, Royal Society of Medicine Library, and the Library of the Society of Friends. I am also grateful to Marianne Smith, Librarian at the Royal College of Surgeons of Edinburgh, and to the following archivists: Dee Cook, Worshipful Society of Apothecaries; Sheila Morris, Women's University Club; David Chatfield, Brecon Cathedral; Malcolm Johns, Brecon Museum; Hugh Petrie, Hendon Local Studies Archives; Richard Brighton, Cambrian Indexing Project, Swansea; Victoria North, Royal Free Hospital Archives; the staff of the London Metropolitan Archives; the Family Records Office; International Genealogical Index of the Church of Latter Day Saints; Archives de L'État à Anderlecht. I have had great help from local historians including: Tom Davies of Neath; Ken Jones, Chairman of the Brecknock Society; John Lacey of Mowsley. I have also been greatly helped by Sue Gamble, St John's Crematorium, Woking, and by Dave Linck of Craftsbury, Vermont. As always, Elizabeth Crawford has been a fund of knowledge about the women's movement, and I am indebted to Katrina Williams, Jersey, for permission to quote from the Garrett Anderson papers.

PROFESSOR NEIL MCINTYRE, BSc, MD, FRCP

## NOTES

This paper is an expanded version of the Sir John Lloyd Lecture given in Brecon on 16 March 2007. A shorter paper is in the *Transactions of the Honorary Society of the Cymmrodorion* for 2006 (in press). An earlier and even shorter version of Frances Hoggan's story can be found in the *Journal of Medical Biography* 2004; 12: 105–114.

<sup>1</sup> Marriage certificate.

<sup>2</sup> Birth certificate.

<sup>3</sup> In 1969 Onfel Thomas (see ref 13) gave Walter Ford (see later) a copy of the Gilsant Pedigree showing how the Philippses of Cwmgwili & Ystradwallt are descended from Cadivor Fawr.

<sup>4</sup> Death certificate.

<sup>5</sup> 1851 Census.

<sup>6</sup> Death certificate.

<sup>7</sup> 1901 Census.

<sup>8</sup> Lam LM. *Georgia Bullock: Mother of the Los Angeles Women's Court*. Available at <http://www.stanford.edu/library/wlhb/papers0203/bullock.lam.pdf>. [If in difficulty search for Lisa M Lam via Google]

<sup>9</sup> *The Cambrian*, (1851) 11 July. Cambrian Indexing Project, Library & Information Service.

<sup>10</sup> Letter of administration, Consistory Court, Diocese of Llandaff. National Library of Wales: LL/1856/1 B.

<sup>11</sup> 1861 Census.

<sup>12</sup> Thomas O. *Frances Elizabeth Hoggan, 1843–1927*. (1970) Privately printed, (20 pp.). British Library. Onfel Thomas, MBE FSA (1911–1979), was headmaster of the County Primary School, Builth Wells. He was also Secretary of the Brecknock Society for over 25 years, and a distinguished local historian. Sadly the source material for his short and much-quoted biography of Frances Hoggan seems to have been lost or destroyed.

<sup>13</sup> Anderson family papers – quoted with permission.

<sup>14</sup> Cook D. 'The quest to qualify: pioneer women doctors and the Society of Apothecaries.' The 1998 Gideon De Laune Lecture, Worshipful Society of Apothecaries; unpublished. Jo Manton's statement in *Elizabeth Garrett Anderson* (London: Methuen, 1965) that Frances's co-examinees were Louisa Atkins and Eliza Walker Dunbar, although widely quoted, is incorrect.

<sup>15</sup> Ibid

<sup>16</sup> Minutes of Royal Free Hospital Weekly Board, 14 March 1867. Royal Free Archives.

<sup>17</sup> Allen V. *Lady Trader: A Biography of Mrs Sarah Heckford*, (1979).

<sup>18</sup> In 1908 it became the Queen's Hospital for Children and in 1942 combined with the East London Hospital to form the Queen Elizabeth Hospital for Children, one of the world's leading paediatric hospitals.

<sup>19</sup> Swain VAJ. Early history to 1914. In: Kosky J, ed. *The Queen Elizabeth Hospital for Children: 125 Years of Achievement*. (1992), pp. 1–28. According to the *Dictionary of Quaker Biography*, an unpublished typescript at Friends' House, Euston Road, London NW1 2BJ, Ellen resigned from the Society of Friends in 1878, having joined the Church of England.

<sup>20</sup> Bonner TN, *To the Ends of the Earth: Women's Search for Education in Medicine*, (1992).

<sup>21</sup> Ibid

<sup>22</sup> Letter from Alexander Anderson to his wife (9 February 1871), Anderson family papers.

<sup>23</sup> Sahli NA. *Elizabeth Blackwell, M.D. (1821–1910)*. PhD thesis. University of Pennsylvania, (1974), p. 206.

<sup>24</sup> Marriage certificate.

<sup>25</sup> Lindsay L. 'Personalities of the past'. XXVII: William Bowman Macleod. *British Dental Journal*; 94: (1955) p 207. The paper on bagpipe playing and the teeth was published in the *Cameron Highlander*.

<sup>26</sup> Obituary, George Hoggan. *British Medical Journal*; i: (1891) 1411.

<sup>27</sup> Transactions of the Royal Medical Society; 140, (1870): *Edinburgh Medical Journal* 18: (1872), pp 338–46.

<sup>28</sup> Hoggan F. Women in medicine (Europe). In: Stanton T, ed. *The Women Question in Europe*. London: Sampson Low, 1884. George wrote a section of Frances's chapter. See also Todd M. *Life of Sophia Jex-Blake*, (1918) pp. 292, 346.

<sup>29</sup> In *The Zoophilist*, 1 April (1893), p. 311, Frances stated that George's views were "founded on experience acquired twenty years ago".

<sup>30</sup> *Animals' Defender and Zoophilist*, (January) 1926, p. 73

<sup>31</sup> Cobbe FP. *Life of Frances Power Cobbe, As Told by Herself*. (1904), p. 468.

<sup>32</sup> 1881 census.

<sup>33</sup> Archives and Manuscripts – Wellcome Library SA/MWF/C 3)

<sup>34</sup> Russell B, ed. *St John's Hospital for Diseases of the Skin. 1863–1963*, (1963). The hospital was then at 45 Leicester Square. Onfel Thomas claimed Frances visited the Near East in 1884 and gave help and advice to those running the leper centres. Given her husband's dermatological interest it seems more likely he gave the advice.

<sup>35</sup> *Medical Press and Circular* (1879), 12 November (1880) 14 January, 1 March, 31 March, 28 April, 5 May, 26 May, 9 June & (1881) 4 May. *The Times* (1880), 29 May, 8 June & 4 November.

<sup>36</sup> Minutes of Provisional Council, LSMW, 13 January 1875. Royal Free Hospital Archives. Neither did she join the Association of Registered Medical Women, later the Medical Women's Federation - because it was restricted to women on the Medical Register.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*, 28 July 1875. Ford Anderson was Garrett Anderson's brother-in-law.

<sup>38</sup> Minutes of the Managing Committee of New Hospital for Women, 28 April 1877. London Metropolitan Archives: H13/EGA/019.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*: (1888) 1 February, 6 June. William Appleton Meredith (1848–1916) resigned in February but did not give his reason for doing so until June.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*: (1888) 22 February, 11 April.

<sup>41</sup> Bartrip P. *Themselves Writ Large. The British Medical Association 1832–1966*. 1996: p. 49.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*: p. 49. Report of annual meeting of BMA. *British Medical Journal*, (1878) 17 August, pp. 253–6.

<sup>43</sup> Member of the King's and Queen's College of Physicians of Ireland.

<sup>44</sup> The camera lucida was an instrument that facilitated the accurate sketching of an object. Its mirrors caused the eye to perceive a reflected image as if it lay on the paper on which it was to be traced. A version for use with a microscope was introduced in about 1880.

<sup>45</sup> *Sanitary Record*, (1880) 15 December.

<sup>46</sup> Crawford E., *Enterprising Women: The Garretts And Their Circle* (2002) p. 48.

<sup>47</sup> Hoggan F. *Physical Education for Girls.*, (1880) (a lecture given to the Fröbel Society, 9 December 1879).

<sup>48</sup> Hoggan, F. 'Medical Women For India', *Contemporary Review* (1882) August, pp 267-275.

<sup>49</sup> Evans, W. G.. *Education & Female Emancipation. The Welsh Experience, 1847–1914*. Jones, E.W. 'A Citadel Stormed (The Saga of Three Welsh Pioneers)'. *Transactions of the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion* for 1984. (1985). pp 337-374.

<sup>50</sup> *Western Mail*, letter dated 20 August 1878.

<sup>51</sup> Obituaries, Frances Hoggan. *British Medical Journal*; i: (1927) 357; *Lancet*; i: (1927) 412.

<sup>52</sup> Frances Hoggan reviewed her contributions in *Education for Girls in Wales* (1882), a pamphlet that featured a transcript of her evidence to the Aberdare Committee and copies of several long letters to the *South Wales Daily News*. See also Evans WG. (op. cit. ref 49).



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<sup>53</sup> *Baner ac Amserau Cymru*. 21 November 1883

<sup>54</sup> Op.cit. ref 26.

<sup>55</sup> Thomas O (op. cit. ref. 13). The *Medical Directory* does not indicate “retired” until 1911, when Frances Hoggan was 67, although “retired” was added to the entry for some other doctors before that year.

<sup>56</sup> *The Sociological Review*, Vol ii; (1909) 349-360

<sup>57</sup> Hoggan F. American Negro women during their first fifty years of freedom. *The Individualist*, October (1913) (reprinted by the Personal Rights Association).

<sup>58</sup> The record ([www.Ellisland.org](http://www.Ellisland.org)) shows she arrived in New York on 30 November 1911 on SS *St Louis* from Southampton. The *Orleans County Monitor* revealed that on 15 May 1912 Frances and Elizabeth Lockie were ‘visiting the Chamberlains at Auld Lang Syne’, Craftsbury and according to the *Hardwick Gazette* Frances ‘gave a lecture on Africa for the benefit of the juniors’ in the first week of June.

<sup>59</sup> Dubois, W.E.B. ‘*Dusk of Dawn*’ (1969) p 222. Du Bois (1868–1963) was a prominent African-American philosopher and writer. Frances Hoggan refers to him in her article ‘American Negro women...’ (ref. 56).

<sup>60</sup> Obituaries, Frances Hoggan. *British Medical Journal*; i: (1927) 357; *Lancet*; i: (1927) 412.

<sup>61</sup> Thomas, O (op. cit. ref. 12).

<sup>62</sup> The records of the club show she was elected a member in July 1909.

<sup>63</sup> Death certificate.

<sup>64</sup> Obituaries, Frances Hoggan (op. cit. ref. 49).

<sup>65</sup> Thomas, O (op. cit. ref. 13).

<sup>66</sup> Information provided by Sue Gamble, St John’s Crematorium, Woking.

<sup>67</sup> Admission records, LSMW. Royal Free Hospital Archives.

<sup>68</sup> Personal communication, Dee Cook, Archivist, Worshipful Society of Apothecaries.

<sup>69</sup> At that time Wales was not recognized in official records.

<sup>70</sup> Brussels birth certificate.

<sup>71</sup> Easter Sunday was on 31 March.

<sup>72</sup> My underlining. Elise must surely have been in Paris with Frances and Georgiana.

<sup>73</sup> Garrett Anderson papers.

<sup>74</sup> Personal communication – Sharon McLaren.

<sup>75</sup> My underlining.

<sup>76</sup> Marriage certificate.

<sup>77</sup> *Oxford Historical Register 1220–1900*, p. 575. The status of “non-college” student came about after 1868. Such students kept statutable residence in houses or licensed lodgings within the limit of a circle, centred on Carfax and with a radius of one and a half miles.

<sup>78</sup> Walter Ford, with whom the author corresponded by telephone, e-mail and letter, supplied many family documents and photographs. Sadly he died in December 2005.

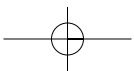
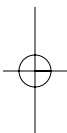
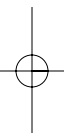
<sup>79</sup> From notes on his family provided by Walter Ford – with permission.

<sup>80</sup> Probate was granted at Lewes on 12 April 1927.

<sup>81</sup> Margaret von Seydewitz was probably the daughter of Baron von Seydewitz, a friend of the Heckfords, who worked as a doctor at their East London Hospital for Children in 1870/1. Elizabeth Garrett Anderson also worked there. She was unable to confirm his claim that he had graduated as MD Paris and engineered his dismissal.

<sup>82</sup> Frances Hoggan Talbot Pearson has proved elusive.

<sup>83</sup> The Reports of the Commissioners of Inquiry Into the State of Education in Wales (3 parts), Part i, Carmarthen, Glamorgan and Pembroke (London, 1847). The answers of Richard Morgan are on p. 478 et seq. See also Prys Morgan’s paper ‘The Port Talbot District and the Blue Books of 1847’ in *Transactions of the Port Talbot Historical Society*, Vol. III (1984), pp. 84–96.



THE DUKE OF CLARENCE'S VISIT TO BRECONSHIRE IN 1890:  
AN ACCOUNT FROM SIR JOSEPH RUSSELL BAILEY'S SCRAPBOOK

At Glanusk Park near Crickhowell is a family album, a huge volume bound in blue leather, entitled in gold lettering

VISIT OF H.R.H. THE DUKE OF CLARENCE AND AVONDALE  
TO SOUTH WALES, SEPTEMBER 1890.

Inside is a collection of newspaper articles, photographs, drawings and letters describing the visit, which lasted for four days. In addition there are notes made by the compiler, Sir Joseph Russell Bailey (later the first Baron Glanusk), giving particulars of the visit. As host to the Duke in his official capacity as Lord Lieutenant of Breconshire Sir Joseph was well placed to add to the press reports of such an event, though he was careful to state that his scrapbook had been carefully edited to leave out anything which could be considered a private matter. It is clear from his arrangement of the contents of each page that this was a work he enjoyed, both as a memento for himself of which he could be proud, and for his family and perhaps others to peruse in the future.

The scrapbook impresses by its size – 15 in. x 13 in. x 2 in., and by its weight – 12 lb. Ninety pages record preparations for the Duke's visit and his progress through Hereford and Abergavenny on his way to Glanusk; a day at Brecon and another at Cardiff; and on the last day a visit to Crickhowell before leaving for Scotland. This article is concerned only with the Duke's time in Breconshire – little more than half the contents of the scrapbook – but it can be said that the enthusiasm with which he was welcomed here was equalled in the other towns. Much of the information pasted into the scrapbook was taken from newspapers published at a time when other means of mass communication scarcely existed. They were an unrivalled medium through which to communicate the whole progress of such an event. A characteristic of Victorian newspapers was the prodigious length and detail of their articles, of which Sir Joseph made a selection for his scrapbook, and added his own comments 'to make the history complete'. Not all his sources can be identified, but it is clear that most are from *The Brecon County Times*, *The Brecon and Radnor Express* and *The Western Mail*. The two Brecon papers produced special editions for the event. *The Brecon County Times* featured a set of portraits of local gentlemen prominently identified with the royal visit, engraved from photographs and accompanied by laudatory pen-portraits. Descriptive reports sought to convey the spirit of the occasion, in the Victorian manner, thus

when the band commenced playing God Save the Queen the first notes seemed to strike a chord which vibrated in every bosom. The martial strains derived charming

sweetness and joyousness from the youthful voices of the children's choir . . . that showed a spirit of ardent loyalty . . .

A thirty-page Souvenir Booklet was published by Edwin Poole of *The Brecon and Radnor Express* in less decorative language. *The Western Mail* carried considerable coverage from their own reporters, the text being illustrated with sketches of triumphal arches which Sir Joseph cut out and pasted into his scrapbook. In all the papers the substance was similar, the detail profuse: scenes caught on the spur of the moment, descriptions of the countryside, historical background, ponderous speeches quoted in full, the provision of huge quantities of food for the crowds – recounted at great length in an all-pervading atmosphere of prolonged and intense excitement. This exuberance was no local freak, but the stuff of the national press. For example, when twenty years earlier the recovery of the Duke's father (the Prince of Wales) from the serious illness of typhoid was celebrated by a National Thanksgiving Day, *The Hereford Journal* of the 2<sup>nd</sup> March 1872 devoted ten long, closely-printed columns to the occasion, freely quoting the eulogies of several national newspapers. A royal procession through London was described in the greatest detail, in style and content recognisably echoed by the South Wales press for the Duke of Clarence's visit.

The royal visit to South Wales in 1890 came about as a result of the National Eisteddfod held at Brecon the previous year. This was a highly successful event, which lasted four days, attracting thousands of people. Brecon was well able to host such a celebration. During the nineteenth century the town had grown out of all recognition. There were new public buildings: the market hall, the Guild Hall, the Shire Hall, an Army barracks, a police station, more schools and improved sanitation. The enterprise of local landowners had already been evident in 1755, when the Brecknockshire Agricultural Society – the first of its kind in the whole country – was formed, holding its first show in 1818.<sup>1</sup> Equally impressive was the interest in Welsh culture, leading to a decision to hold a local Eisteddfod in 1822, followed by others culminating in the National Eisteddfod in 1889.<sup>2</sup> For the latter event a grand pavilion was erected at Cerrig Cochion to hold 8,000 people, into which 12,000 crammed to hear Madame Patti sing. Eight choirs competed, each with two hundred voices, from all parts of South Wales. The Prince and Princess of Wales were invited, but they did not attend. Undeterred, the Brecknockshire Agricultural Society invited the royal couple to their show the following year. The Prince's response was to send his eldest son, Prince Albert Victor, who had just been made Duke of Clarence and Avondale.

To the proud hosts it did not matter which royal person came. What mattered was the image of royalty, and its connection with Wales. 'Morien', writing in *The Western Mail* on the day the Prince arrived at Brecon, shared his vision with its readers.

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We are living too near the Victorian era to enable us to appreciate as it deserves the reign of her present majesty. Who knows what silent forces for the good of her people have been set in motion by Queen Victoria? That she is endowed with a forcible will is well known, but that will has not during a reign of more than half a century caused a single jarring note in the Constitution of the Empire! Today the people of the towns and county of Brecon welcomed a young Prince right royally, not merely for his own sake, but as a tribute to the monarchy and to the august lady, his grandmother. But it cannot be denied that a strong feeling of Welsh nationality added zest to the enthusiasm of the Breconians today. Did they not say 'The Duke of Clarence and Avondale is the elder son of our Prince and Princess of Wales? And is he not, in the Providence of God, destined in the course of Nature to be a Prince of Wales himself, and eventually King of Britain and Emperor of India?' My brethren, as the preachers say, it is not every little country like Cambria that is a foster mother of princes, kings and emperors . . .

More prosaically, the newspapers printed accounts of previous royal visits. In his *Souvenir Booklet* the historian Edwin Poole offered a selection starting from Norman times.<sup>3</sup> King John burned down Hay castle in 1216. King Henry IV issued a warlike proclamation at Defynnog in 1403 while chasing Owen Glyndwr. King Charles I was entertained at Brecon castle and Gwernyfed in 1645 while on the run, and King George IV was entertained at the Priory mansion in 1821, hungry after being seasick on his way home from Ireland. By the nineteenth century royal visits had become noticeably more numerous and more peaceable. Royalty seemed to favour North Wales, but in 1881 the Prince and Princess of Wales travelled to Swansea to open a new dock. This visit attracted a long report from *The Times* of the 18<sup>th</sup> October, beginning . . .

For days past the town of Swansea has been in a state of ferment. Visitors have been pouring into it from all parts of South Wales . . . it has for many years been a grievance with the Welsh people that they should have received no visit from the Prince who derives his title from their country, and whose lineage they like to trace back through Edward III to 'Llewelyn the Great' and even to 'Cadwallader, the last king of the Cambro Britons, who abdicated, and died in Rome in 688'. But the longed-for occasion having come at last, they had thrown themselves with wonderful enthusiasm into the task of celebrating it becomingly and giving it a distinguished place in the annals of the Principality . . .

Edwin Poole noted that the Breconshire Battalion of Volunteers took part in the Swansea event, and added that

it should not be forgotten that at the marriage of the Prince of Wales in 1863 South Wales presented Princess Alexandra of Denmark [the bride] with a set of jewels, and the ever-popular Princess wore them on her visit to Swansea in 1881.

The visit of her son the Duke of Clarence may have encouraged hopes that henceforth there would be more involvement of Royalty in Wales.

Prince Albert Victor, Duke of Clarence and Avondale, was tall, handsome, twenty-six years old, and unmarried. He was not popular with the Royal Family, who had tried hard to remedy or ignore his weaknesses.<sup>4</sup> The Queen had prescribed for her grandson a rigorously disciplined and busy upbringing, morally, intellectually and physically, at home, closely supervised by a tutor, J.N. Dalton. The Prince then spent two years in the Navy with his brother as a naval cadet, followed by three educational years at sea touring the world, still under the eye of his tutor. Cambridge University was next, and intellectually a disaster. Since 1885 he had been in the Army. But all these vigorous preparations for his future had resulted in apathy. The young Prince was well liked and sweet-natured but lethargic, apparently unable to show enthusiasm for anything except the highly unsuitable pleasures of his father that his grandmother strove to avoid. There came to be whisperings of more iniquities, developing into a more or less open scandal. The Prince was sent on a strenuous tour of India, returning early in 1890 looking thin and ill, to the great concern of his family. In the summer of that year he was in love; but a hopeful engagement to a French Catholic princess was slammed out of court by his grandmother and the Pope. Despite his misfortunes and a recent bout of fever he was able, by all accounts, to carry out a full programme of duties in South Wales with grace, assiduity and charm.

For Sir Joseph Bailey this visit was one of the high spots of his Lord Lieutenancy. The office had been of great importance in Tudor times, when a Lord Lieutenant was appointed for every county as the representative of the sovereign, who relied heavily on him for local news, and also as a channel for disseminating information. Over the centuries the office became largely ceremonial, traditionally held by the greatest landowner in the county. In Breconshire such families as the Beauforts and the Morgans of Tredegar had held the office, and the Baileys were by comparison newcomers. They were a remarkable family by any standards.<sup>5</sup> An earlier Joseph Bailey (1783–1858) had as a young man ‘tramped’ from Yorkshire to his uncle’s ironworks in Cyfarthfa, where he learned the trade. His uncle left him a quarter share in the business when he died in 1810, which Joseph sold and bought Nantyglo ironworks. He and his brother Crawshay Bailey soon made Nantyglo ‘one of the great ironworks of the kingdom’, later adding the Beaufort ironworks. Having amassed a large fortune Joseph Bailey (knighted in 1852) purchased estates in many counties including Breconshire, where he acquired Glanusk and built the house there in 1826. Then in fifty years the Bailey family made an extraordinary leap from newcomers to being the largest landowners in the county,<sup>6</sup> taking part in the activities and holding the offices of its ruling class. By the time of the Duke’s visit Sir Joseph’s grandson, the second baronet Sir Joseph Russell Bailey,

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(1840–1906) had been High Sheriff in 1864, chairman of Quarter Sessions, chairman of Brecknock County Council, M.P. for Hereford and Lord Lieutenant of Breconshire for fifteen years. He was to become the first Baron Glanusk in 1899.

\* \* \*

News of the Duke's impending visit, and his own role in it, seems to have come as something of a shock to Sir Joseph. His notes in the scrapbook begin as follows:

On Saturday the 12<sup>th</sup> of July Captain Holford, equerry to His Royal Highness the Duke of Clarence and Avondale, called at our house in St. James's Square. Captain Holford said that the Prince of Wales desired that his eldest son should visit the Principality in the course of the autumn and he desired to know what preparations had been made for his reception.

Now I was in ignorance of that which I since understand from the newspapers to have been the fact, namely that certain gentlemen in Brecon anxiously desirous of a Royal Visit had already been in communication with His Royal Highness.

But on being assured that he was the man required to make the preparations,

deeming it exceedingly well that His Royal Highness should visit South Wales, I most gladly undertook the task.

For the most part, Sir Joseph's role consisted in getting the Prince from one place to another in safety and comfort, at the right time to meet the right people, who would offer speeches of welcome and gifts, to which the Prince, standing on a specially constructed platform with a red carpet, would respond with a speech of gracious acknowledgement. No doubt Captain Holford gave sound advice as to the conduct of the tour. Sir Joseph must have been a meticulous man, with a liking for having things complete and in proper order (witness the long labour on the new Glanusk edition of Theophilus Jones's *History of Brecknockshire*; to every section or parish he added 'later particulars' including his own family history and pedigree in the approved manner). To readers of the scrapbook he explained that 'a few pages of original or facsimile correspondence have been introduced with the intention of showing the amount and character of the work involved'. An array of letter-headings pasted onto a page indicates correspondence with the Brecknockshire Agricultural Society, with the Guildhall, the County Club and the Clerk's office at Brecon. On another page Sir Joseph amused himself by drawing a cascade of snippets of letters to and from various people, all in his own handwriting. (Plate 1) On a third page there appears the serious business of travel by train. The Great Western Railway, in conjunction with the North Eastern Company was to provide on Monday, 15<sup>th</sup> September a First Class carriage with lavatory on the train leaving York at 12.40, arriving Hereford at 6 p.m., proceeding at 6.15 to Abergavenny. For Abergavenny to Cardiff on the

Wednesday a royal carriage was to be provided ('upholstered in white leather' crowed a reporter) together with carriages for his entourage. Special cheap-ticket trains were to be run for ordinary people who wished to attend the events at Brecon and Cardiff.

Guards of honour were an essential ingredient of a royal visit. While in Breconshire the Duke was to be escorted by the First Breconshire Volunteer Battalion of the South Wales Borderers, with which Sir Joseph had a long-standing connection. At the age of nineteen – the year after he inherited Glanusk and the baronetcy from his grandfather – he was present at a meeting in Brecon in which six companies of Brecknockshire volunteers were sworn in, Sir Joseph and others promoting the Crickhowell company, no. 3 – later called C company.<sup>7</sup> (The Volunteer Movement, started in the time of the Napoleonic wars as a local response to a possible threat of invasion, had over time gained status and become accepted as a national institution; and this was Breconshire's contribution in 1859. Their early uniform was Welsh grey with black facings, knickerbockers and black leather leggings. Every man found his own uniform, accoutrements and arms.) Three years later, as Ensign Sir Joseph Bailey, Bart., now aged 22 and recently married to Mary Ann Lucas, also 22, the daughter of Dr Henry Lucas of Crickhowell, he invited the first battalion to Glanusk Park, where the usual inspection was held. Lady Bailey presented the Crickhowell company with a silver bugle inscribed 'presented to the Crickhowell Company of the Brecknockshire Volunteers', and the regiment was then entertained to 'a most sumptuous and elegant luncheon in a large marquee in the grounds, at which Lady Bailey also entertained the elite of the counties of Hereford, Monmouthshire and Breconshire'. In the following year the Brecknockshire Volunteers took a conspicuous part in the rejoicings for the marriage of the Prince of Wales, and four years later, in 1867, Sir Joseph became Honorary Colonel of the regiment. By 1890 there were seven Volunteer Companies, from Brynmawr, Cefn, Hay, Builth, Crickhowell, Talgarth and Brecon, augmented by a Mounted Company, all in readiness.

Battalion orders for the royal visit were as follows: the regiment was to assemble at Brecon on Tuesday 16<sup>th</sup> September, where the Companies (except the Mounted Company) were to march to the Market Place, where the Guard of Honour was to be formed; the duty of the Mounted Company, forty-five strong, was to escort the Prince from the Monmouthshire border to Glanusk on the Monday, and from there to Brecon and back on the Tuesday. Next to these printed instructions pasted in the scrapbook appears in Sir Joseph's handwriting:

Important. The Mounted Infantry Orders for Escort Duty.

The Company will muster for Escort duty in full dress (Helmet, Coat on Saddle, Rifle) at Crickhowell . . . for the credit of the Corps every available member should attend, with uniform, accoutrements and horse in perfect order. Horses should be exercised and groomed the week previous . . . Members will wear Bandoliers over left shoulder



and Haversack over right (open) with forage cap placed inside. Pouches not required. Every member must have collar chain . . . (signed, Penry Lloyd, captain).

Thus attired and prepared, now clad in scarlet instead of grey, the Company must have been very pleased when, at his exit from the Show at Brecon, the Prince stopped to compliment them.

Among Sir Joseph's unmentioned private matters was the provision of a suitable domestic environment and services at his own house for a grandson of Queen Victoria who might one day ascend the throne. Lady Bailey was an experienced hostess and no doubt she took advice, but respectable Victorian ladies of the higher social classes were much in the background of public events, usually only accompanying their menfolk. It is easy to imagine the frenzy of work to which the Glanusk household was put to make it ready for the royal guest. In Tudor times royal courtiers spent years refurbishing their homes, even building new ones in the hope of receiving a sovereign; the Baileys had barely two months. The population census of 1891 shows Glanusk had thirty residential servants, half domestic and half employed in the gardens and stables, and there were many others who lived in the area and worked on the estate. The two Brecon newspapers published the same article of homage to the excellence of Glanusk.

A stately house in the modern Tudor style, flanked and fronted by terraces and extensive ornamental flower gardens, the whole being bounded by a stately terrace wall, and on the western side there are plantations where there are summer and tea houses, cloister shaped bowers and romantic groves. The house and grounds form the centre of an extensive and well-wooded park, through which rove a fine herd of fallow deer. The house has been considerably enlarged by the present baronet and partakes a good deal of the character of Maesllwch and Cyfarthfa castles, excepting that the walls are surmounted by turrets instead of towers. The flower gardens are particularly fine this season . . . on the side overlooking the park, the river and the high range of Hatterel Hills there is a majestic descent of half-a-dozen terraces, down the centre of which pass stately flights of steps, flanked with jardiniers of exquisite flowers. Here there are a large number of geometrically shaped flower beds with a stately fountain in the centre . . . and in the park some very old chestnut trees, some calculated to be fully 200 years old. The other entrance to Glanusk is from the Brecon road on the other side of the vale. There is an avenue of immense lime and beech trees. After passing through the gates the drive proceeds along a bridge over the Usk, and at the end of the bridge next to the house stands a fine castellated gateway. The church, restored by the late Sir Joseph as a family mausoleum, stands immediately above the lodge and commands another beautiful view.

The days before the Duke's arrival were given over to decorating the route. To judge by results, the preparations must have caused as much excitement as the great event itself, and were hard work. The newspapers furnished detailed descriptions of displays in Abergavenny, Brecon and Crickhowell and others

along the roadside between the towns. The sketches of triumphal arches (Plate 2, in a different order from the scrapbook, *pace* Sir Joseph) demonstrate the variety of individual design in the twenty-or-so examples described or referred to. More than words, these efforts reveal the spirit of enthusiasm, welcome and celebration among the local people who made them. The expense of decoration was met in Brecon town by a penny rate, amounting to near £100.

Beautiful avenues of Venetian masts [‘banded poles’] were put up on both sides of the streets, placed fifteen yards apart, covered with turkey-red cloth, surmounted by gilded spearheads . . . and floating on top were Venetian banners and half way down the poles were trophies of flags . . . across the road from mast to mast were lines of flags forming a flag avenue.<sup>8</sup>

Also of note was the statue of the Duke of Wellington ‘polished up for the occasion’ and at the Barracks was a glorious creation – ‘a star of 150 bayonets prettily fixed with a groundwork of scarlet flags’. Triumphal arches appeared at Llanfaes, at the railway station, at the entrance to the town at the bottom of the Watton, and at the Bulwark. The Bulwark arch

was a handsomely designed Virginian bark arch . . . bearing the message ‘Welcome to Breconshire’ on one side and ‘Peace, Unity and Love’ on the other, both in Welsh, and surmounted by the royal coat of arms with the letters A V in large primrose-coloured letters on a sky-blue background . . . and embellished with festoons of red and white flowers and trophies of flags.<sup>9</sup>

At Crickhowell local tradesmen combined for decorative purposes, and the Committee in charge of the general arrangements invited people to ‘illuminate’ their houses, which they did. Mr James, who combined the business of draper with keeping the Bear Hotel – of which the frontage was elaborately festooned with laurel and bunting and outlined with fairy lamps - supplied all the materials used for decorative purposes. His draper’s shop must have been stacked full of different coloured cloths. In the streets the Venetian masts were draped in cloth in which red and white alternated instead of plain red, and cloth flags were hung on lines from one mast to another. Crickhowell also had something no-one else could boast of – a triple-arch triumphal arch.

In the square, around the handsome drinking fountain erected by the inhabitants to the memory of Lady Bailey’s father, the late Dr Lucas, in recognition of his kindness to the poor, three arches, meeting one another at various points, had been erected [Plates 2 and 8]. The central one, in the form of a tower, was one of the most imposing, if not absolutely so, of all on the line of route from Abergavenny to Sir Joseph Bailey’s residence. The masts and crosspieces were heavily hung with evergreens, mountain heather, berries, laurel and ivy. In the centre, from a mast fixed to one of the cross-pieces, proudly floated a large Union Jack, and banners were hung

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at the head of each pinnacle. Across the centre, in white letters on a red ground, was hung a scroll, bearing one side the assuring inscription 'Wales is loyal' and on the reverse 'Albert Victor'.<sup>10</sup>

Other triumphal arches described were those of Sir Percy Davies at Porthmawr, Mr D.K. Mason of Brynrhos and Mrs Miles of Llanwysk, and

for fully a mile before Crickhowell was reached there were rustic arches spanning the road, flags of coloured cloth outside almost every yellow-washed cottage, and pots of geraniums and other flowering plants were tastefully staged at entrance gates, at the base of trees, and on garden walls.<sup>11</sup>

\* \* \*

The great day arrived. The train from York was forty-five minutes late at Hereford. A great concourse of people and dignitaries had assembled at the station to greet the Prince, and the ladies in the pavilion opposite the platform suffered from the heat. It was dark by the time the train reached Abergavenny, where it was met by a huge crowd and speeches of welcome. Sir Joseph became uneasy. He decided that

it was necessary to press to the end of the journey without delay; the Escort therefore led through Abergavenny at a greater pace than would otherwise have been desirable, and which scarcely seemed consistent with safety in the crowded state of the streets. In arranging the passage of a Royal personage through any town the individuals composing the Crowd should be compelled to take up a position and maintain it. A number of people running by the carriage is a source of danger and discomfort, and the specimens of mortality so racing are apt to be of the rougher sort, not likely to convey to the visitor a proper impression of the decent inhabitants of the locality. Now I, anxious to support my friend the Mayor of Hereford, had joined the train at that city; the Rt. Hon Viscount Cross K.C.B. being a Cabinet Minister, and Viscount Emlyn a director of the Great Western Railway and my son Mr Bailey attended at Abergavenny to accompany the Prince on his drive to Glanusk.

After leaving Abergavenny Sir Joseph Bailey's carriages proceeded at a brisk pace without interruption.

Along the road fires were burned on the sides of the hedges and the trees on either bank were hung with festoons of pretty little lanterns. Crickhowell was reached shortly after half past eight. From the sole remaining tower of the castle the country round about was illuminated by burning enormous coloured fires of red, green and blue.<sup>12</sup>

The party passed by the handsome decoration in the square by the fountain, over the bridge crossing the river Usk, and along the Llangynidr road to Glanusk, where another arch of welcome spanned the gateway. They reached the house at about half past nine, by Sir Joseph's reckoning.

Lady Bailey and such of our family as were at home received His Royal Highness at the entrance - those of our guests not previously known to him were then presented to the Prince.

Some of our arrangements were at the last moment altered, as His Royal Highness desired to bring with him a second gentleman Mr Fripp whom we had not previously expected. In consequence of the number of the house party thus increased we arranged that some members of our family should dine out each night, so that nevertheless each should be present at dinner one night at least during the stay of His Royal Highness.

It was our anxious desire that all those who bore official position in the County of Brecknock should have the honour of meeting the Duke of Clarence and Avondale, but owing to the extra demand on the space at our disposal one or two were unavoidably and to our regret passed over, who might reasonably have expected an invitation to meet so distinguished a guest.

Although there had been no incidents of public disturbance in Wales for some considerable time, Sir Joseph's nervousness at the 'rougher sort' running alongside his carriage is readily understandable. The guardianship of a royal person was a heavy responsibility. There were several attempts on Queen Victoria's life during her admittedly very long reign. Today it seems surprising that royalty had no thought of supplying a bodyguard for the Prince. In broad daylight the sight of escorts from the Mounted Company of Breconshire Volunteers, with the police controlling the crowds, would have been reassuring. An unplanned appearance of what might have been rogues in Abergavenny as they left the town to drive along dark country lanes was another matter.

On arrival at Glanusk, the presence of an unknown gentleman in the royal party evidently caused some consternation. It is a pity Sir Joseph had not been told about Mr Fripp. Alfred Downing Fripp was about the same age as the Prince. The son of a well-known painter in watercolours of the same name, he was a doctor at Guy's Hospital in London, doing a stint in general practice in York that summer when he was called upon to attend the Prince, whose regiment was quartered there. As a godson of the royal tutor he was known to the royal family and visited them frequently in Scotland in July. According to Cook<sup>13</sup> 'not only was he guide, philosopher and friend to Eddy, whom he liked, but he was called upon to treat numerous small ailments and sprains of the rest of the royal family and household'. On the tour in Wales he and Captain Holford, the Prince's equerry, were 'fully engaged in taking turns to write Eddy's speeches'. It seems that the royal family sent Dr Fripp to Wales to keep an eye on the Prince. He returned to Guy's Hospital, and became a skilled surgeon, and also 'gained a large number of friends in all classes by his attractive and generous personality'. His humanitarian interests included the Red Cross and children's charities. He was appointed 'Surgeon in Ordinary' to the Prince of Wales, and

later to George V. In 1903 he was knighted and in 1906 was made K.C.V.O. ref. He appears in the family photograph. (Plate 11)

### *The drive to Brecon*

The next morning

a thick fog hung cold and clammy over both hills and plains ... but to the joy of all it was cleared away by bright sunshine before the Prince started from Glanusk to Brecon. Sir Joseph Bailey's house party was about in the park soon after nine o'clock and shortly after ten o'clock the first contingent drove off in an open barouche.

The *Western Mail* reporters were up betimes admiring the scene, but Sir Joseph had more important matters on his mind. For the Prince's exit and drive to Brecon to be carried out in style, precise arrangements were necessary. Sir Joseph made careful notes.

Stable arrangements. To avoid inconvenience from dust the carriages will start from Glanusk with an interval of at least five minutes between them. Mr Bailey will start them and arrange the passengers. Sir J. Bailey will start first and process to Brynich pitch where the carriages will meet the escort [to Brecon].

To start at 10.a.m. Phaeton and pair containing Lady Llewellyn, Sir J. Bailey and Mr H. Bailey (servant in charge Edward Meredith, second coachman)

To start at 10.10 a.m. Landau and four (postillions) containing Viscount Emlyn, the Hon. Miss Campbell, Miss Bailey and Miss Edith Bailey (servant Stephen Giles underbutler)

To start at 10.15 a.m. Barouche and four (postillions) containing Lady Clementine Walsh, Lady Emlyn, the Hon. Mrs Wood, and the Rt. Hon. Viscount Cross, K.C.B., (servant in charge Ernest Reed, footman)

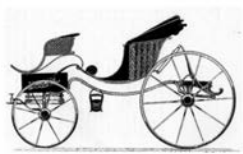
To start at 10.20 a.m. Barouche and four (postillions) containing Lady Bailey, Mrs Bailey, Sir J.D Llewellyn, Bart. and the Hon. Arthur Walsh, M.P. (Servants in charge, Frank Waters, groom, and Arthur Amble, groom.)

(Note: the Duke of Clarence and Avondale will enter Brecon in this carriage.)

To start at 10.25 a.m. Drag and four (driven by Mr Bailey) containing H.R.H the Duke of Clarence and Avondale, the Hon. Miss Cross, Miss Llewellyn, Captain Holford, Miss Marjory Bailey, Miss Gwladys Bailey and Mr J.L. Bailey. (Servant in charge Mr Humphries, head coachman.)

In his book *Driving*, written in 1889, the Duke of Beaufort described these carriages. 'PHAETONS are [light]carriages on four wheels that carry four persons . . . their pattern is multitudinous . . . park phaetons are usually considered ladies' carriages, generally provided with a folding head, leather wings to protect the steps from mud and a seat for a servant behind . . . The more substantial LANDAUS carry four persons inside, having folding heads that

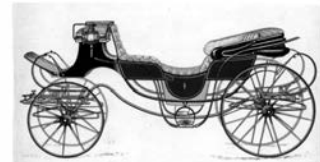
protect all from rain and weather . . . they have been made in vast numbers and are surpassingly useful in our rainy and damp climate. BAROUCHES (sociables) are low-hung carriages that have a well-doorway and are entered by a single step . . . they carry four persons inside, have a folding head over the hind part of the body and a low driving seat in front. Barouches have for more than fifty years been considered an indispensable open carriage for nearly all first-class establishments. A DRAG is a four-in-hand coach. The word Drag is a slang term for a gentleman's coach'.<sup>14</sup>



PHAETON



LANDAU



BAROUCHE

Sir Joseph had hoped to have photographs of his cavalcade on its journey. At that time photography was enjoying some popularity. Crickhowell and Brecon could boast good professional photographers of landscape and static crowd scenes, whose work Sir Joseph included in his scrapbook. But his own photographs of the moving procession failed – the figures in them were either too distant to be recognisable or were trotting past the lens in a blur – so Sir Joseph instead made a drawing. (Plate 3) But one ‘failed’ photograph he included with his drawing has been rescued by modern technology and is thought to have been taken from a carriage, probably the leading phaeton, in which Sir Joseph was a passenger, about to pass the New Inn at Bwlch, with perhaps the groom walking in front up the hill. (Plate 4) Fortunately the *Western Mail* reporter was on hand to record this scene.

At the top of the rising ground stood the village of Bwlch, which boasted the distinction of having one of the finest arches along the whole route from Abergavenny to Brecon, substantially constructed of timber, profusely decked with evergreens, ivy, laurel and fir twigs . . . the New Inn and other houses in the village on the side of the road were decorated with flags and foliage and further on the highway was spanned with streamers . . .

Sir Joseph's party passed Llansantffraed and Llanhamlach, where church bells were ringing and the schools were festooned with displays. People making their way to Brecon on bicycles, in vehicles or on foot, stopped to cheer.

Sir Joseph's account continues:

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The carriages halted at Brynich bridge for re-formation, and there met the mounted escort under the command of Captain Penry Lloyd, with him were General Sir R. Harrison, K.C.B., Colonel Jones Vaughan, Adjutant General, and Colonel J. Conway Lloyd. The main body of the escort formed in the rear of the Prince's carriage, on either side of which rode Major J. Wood and Captain P. Lloyd.

The procession continued and they entered Brecon with the Duke of Clarence in the first carriage.

*In Brecon*

The Royal Party was due at noon but from an early hour pedestrians began to flock into the streets.

The children, with gleanings of Wheat arrived at the Bulwark at 10.30 to have Rehearsals and be in their places . . . to sing 'God Save the Queen' and then march to the [show] Field singing 'Harvest Home'. One by one the companies of volunteers arrived from different parts of the county . . . the people waited in anxious expectation of the Prince. At 11.30 the Mayor and Corporation, headed by the Borough magistrates formed in procession at the Guildhall and marched to the stand erected on the Bulwark . . . the enthusiasm became more intense . . . the surging crowd moved to and fro like the restless waters of the deep . . . but so well did the police carry out their duties that the orderly crowd kept the other side of the ropes . . . then at 12 noon from the bells of St. Mary's were rung out merry peals . . . at last a whisper ran through the surging throng and the words 'He's coming!' were on almost every lip . . . the Royal carriage stopped opposite the Corporation stand and the Prince, after being introduced to His Worship the Mayor ascended the steps. (Plate 5) The Mayor presented an Address, beautifully illuminated and printed on vellum . . . and a handsome gold casket [long description] to the Prince, who responded by reading his beautifully worded reply in such clear tones as to promise that the young Duke may by-and-by win as much renown as an eloquent reader as Queen Victoria herself.<sup>15</sup>

The royal visitor then progressed to the Show Ground (Plates 2, 6) where he was received by the Brecknock Agricultural Society's President, and the Committee. He was conducted round the ground and held a *levee* in the pavilion. A private luncheon was served in the lecture hall at Christ College, with a menu consisting of

Potage clair  
Cotelettes de Mouton grilles  
Saumon a la Parisienne  
Aspic de Homard  
Filets to Soles  
Pate de gibier  
Timballes de Mauviettes  
Dindonneau farci

Filets de volaille  
 Perdreaux Poulets rotis  
 Chaudfroid de Cailles  
 Filet de Boeuf Braise a la Moderne  
 Jambon, Langues  
 Gellees et Cremes varies  
 Pouding a la Diplomatic  
 Charlotte a la Mele  
 Tourtes de Prunes et de Peches  
 Patisserie d'Amandes

In the afternoon the Prince witnessed jumping, driving and trotting events on the show ground. At one time there was a considerable delay occasioned by hundreds of spectators crowding onto the ring to see the Prince, but the only complaint heard that day was that the Prince (who was well known to insist on the correct attire for every occasion) was dressed like everybody else. They didn't know which one he was! His Royal Highness left at about 5.30 p.m., occupying a seat on the box of Sir Joseph's drag, to have tea at Buckland before returning to Glanusk for dinner with selected guests. In Brecon the crowds were left to finish celebrating a day when tea was provided for a thousand children, when a novelty 'coffee tavern' did good business, when five hundred Volunteers could sit back and enjoy in retrospect the superb luncheon provided for them in the Butter Market, when the Wellington Hotel was prettily illuminated at night as a dinner took place, when fireworks were let off in the town; and at the railway station there was a tremendous crush, with the platforms crowded to excess along their entire length with people waiting for trains home.

\* \* \*

In Brecon the next morning there were still a few bottles of champagne to be imbibed by certain revellers and their dogs outside the Wellington Hotel. (Plate 7) Meanwhile the Prince went from Glanusk to Cardiff for a day of processions, cheering crowds, speeches and a sumptuous luncheon. In Crickhowell there was a heavy shower of rain in the afternoon which damaged some of the street decorations. Sir Joseph's household prepared a dinner party for the Prince's return from Cardiff. He recorded that the guests that night were

the High Sheriff of Breconshire and Mrs Cleasby, the Lord Lieutenant of Radnorshire and Lady Ormathwaite, and Colonel Paton commanding the depot of the South Wales Borderers.



*Crickhowell and the Clarence Hall*

Sir Joseph Bailey's notes on arrangements for the Duke make no mention of a visit to Crickhowell to lay the foundation stone for a new public building, but the timing was perfect, if fortuitous. Much preparation, over years, had gone into plans for its construction. Like Brecon, Crickhowell had grown during the nineteenth century. The reconstruction of the bridge and the New Road, avoiding the necessity to drive up and down the very steep and narrow Bridge Street, improved transport communications considerably. Early in the century a new Market Hall was built under the aegis of the Duke of Beaufort, and later Mr Percy Davies, a businessman, left in trust for the people of the town the Queen's Coffee Tavern and the Public Library. There is now almost no documentary evidence of how the idea of a public hall became fact, but the newspapers of the time, with their painstaking detail of local events, have provided much useful information on the subject. The following report is from Edwin Poole's *Souvenir Booklet*.<sup>16</sup>

The need of a good public hall, which should also serve the public duty of a drill hall for the local Volunteers, had long been felt at Crickhowell. An idea to erect simply a drill hall was mooted on the occasion of the Queen's Jubilee, but the more ambitious scheme of providing a good assembly room for the town and the necessary adjuncts thereto eventually emanated from Sir Joseph Bailey, Bart. M.P., and has now been taken up with much fervour by the inhabitants generally. (Plate 9) A limited liability venture, under the style of the Crickhowell Public-hall Company, was registered last week, with a capital of £2,500 in £1 shares, for the purpose of carrying out the work of the building. The directors at present acting are Mr E.B. Evans, Llangattock Park (chairman), Sir Joseph Bailey, Bart., M.P., Mr R.T. Woodman, Mr J.A. Doyle, Mr D.K. Mason, Mr Robert Harris, and Mr S.H. Cowper-Coles. Mr E.G. Davies is the solicitor, Mr Irvine Blennerhassett the secretary, Mr E.A. Johnson, of Abergavenny and Newport, architect; the bankers being the National Provincial Bank. A large number of shares have already been taken, and the others are being offered to the public.

Sir Joseph does not say so, but it must have been his idea to ask the Duke of Clarence to lay the foundation stone, and it would have been he who made the arrangements. He was evidently keeping his personal contribution in the background, but laying the foundation stone would have brought much publicity and local encouragement to the project. The *Western Mail's* description of the event states

At the site of the new edifice (kindly granted by Sir Joseph Bailey on a nominal rent) a spacious pavilion had been erected by Messrs C. Malvern and Son, builders and contractors, Cheltenham, in whose hands the work of preparing the foundation and of

providing the stone had been placed pending the acceptance of tenders for building the hall. The erection was very tastefully ornamented with bannerettes and evergreens . . . Long before the Prince was timed to arrive the spaces were crowded with visitors, and the roadway thickly packed. Barriers had been erected to avoid an inconvenient crush . . . Immediately in front of the pavilion a capital muster of the Crickhowell Company of the First Breconshire Volunteer Battalion was drawn up as a Guard of Honour. (Plate 10)

An Address, illuminated in vellum, was presented to the Prince who, in replying to the speech, stated that in his opinion 'the increased intelligence among all classes, which has been so marked a feature of Her Majesty's reign, is in no way more clearly shown than in the general movement throughout Wales – in fact throughout the United Kingdom – for the building of public halls for the purposes of holding political and social meetings, concerts, lectures, and Volunteer drills.' The Prince was presented with a beautifully chased silver trowel and a solid ivory mallet with an inscription marking the occasion.

On his return to Glanusk from Crickhowell the Prince planted an oak in the Park to commemorate his visit. On this last afternoon the family and guests assembled in the garden outside the house for photographs, including one of the Prince sitting by himself, attired as a smart young gentleman relaxing in a country garden on a warm September afternoon. (Plates 11 and 12) Sir Joseph recorded one nervous moment, when

various adventurers navigated the Usk from Gliffaes to Glanusk in the primeval vessel of Britain, the coracle. The river being somewhat high His Royal Highness was dissuaded from attempting the voyage, during which some of the navigators met with shipwreck.

This episode would have made a gem of a story for the newspapers, had anything happened. The heir-but-one to the Throne, veteran of round-the-world cruises, shipwrecked in a coracle on the river Usk! However, His Royal Highness did not insist, and all was well. No doubt it was with some relief that Sir Joseph could end his account of the visit in a satisfactory manner.

Dinner was served privately for His Royal Highness and Captain Holford at 6.30 p.m. Russell and I dined with them, and afterwards accompanied the Duke of Clarence and Avondale to Abergavenny, where we bade him farewell, and he travelled by Special Train to Crewe, at which place His Royal Highness met the Northern Express to continue his return journey to Scotland.

\* \* \*

*The Duke of Clarence's visit to Breconshire in 1890*

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The Duke of Clarence died of pneumonia sixteen months later, on 14<sup>th</sup> January 1892. In the spring of that year, work on building the Clarence Hall was completed, and a 'grand concert' was given for the formal opening of the hall on 21<sup>st</sup> April – reported on by *The Abergavenny Chronicle*. The programme commenced with the chorus *No shadows yonder* in memory of the late Duke of Clarence.

Today the Clarence Hall is flourishing, still used for the purposes for which it was designed. The great-granddaughter of Sir Joseph Russell Bailey resides at Glanusk, and is the present Lord Lieutenant of the county of Powys.

*Acknowledgements*

My thanks to: The Hon. Mrs Shân Legge-Bourke, great-granddaughter of Sir Joseph Russell Bailey, and to William Legge-Bourke, for their generosity in allowing me to examine and to write about their family volume – a 'scrapbook' which provides a delightful glimpse of a scrap of local history.

My thanks as always to Martin Redwood, for finding old newspapers, and for much else; also to Malcolm Johns and Brecknock Museum and Art Gallery, for much useful historical background and permission to reproduce Plate 7.

PAMELA REDWOOD

## NOTES

<sup>1</sup> Edmunds, H., 'History of the Brecknockshire Agricultural Society 1755-1955', *Brycheiniog* II (1956), pp. 29–66, III (1957), pp. 67–125.

<sup>2</sup> Davies, Dewi, *The Brecknock Historian*, (1977), pp. 140–150.

<sup>3</sup> *Souvenir of the Royal Visit to Breconshire September 15–18, 1890, Reprinted by Special Request from the Brecon and Radnor Express of Friday September 19<sup>th</sup> by Edwin Poole at the Express Office.* Edwin Poole (1851–95) founded the *Brecon and Radnor Express* in 1889, having worked for the *Brecon County Times* since 1866.

<sup>4</sup> It is difficult to find biographical writings about Prince Eddy (as he was affectionately called) which are not primarily interested in scandal or, being part of biographies of more important members of royalty, are not rather dismissive of him as 'backward' (was he deaf, like his mother?) or 'lethargic' (as were several other royal family members) implying unfitness to be king. More encouraging is the recent full-length biography by Andrew Cook, *Prince Eddy; The King Britain Never Had*, published 2006, carefully researched, incorporating previously unavailable sources and challenging exaggerations and inventions which ignore facts (for example the easily-refuted 'Jack-the-Ripper' fabrication). I have therefore used Cook's work as the basis for this biographical paragraph on the Prince.

<sup>5</sup> Lloyd, J. E. and Jenkins, R.T., (Eds) *The Dictionary of Welsh Biography down to 1940*, (1959).

<sup>6</sup> Davies, J., 'The landed families of Breconshire', *Brycheiniog* XXXVI (2004), pp 72–3.

<sup>7</sup> Poole, Edwin, *The Military Annals of the County of Brecknock*, (1885), reprinted by Brecon Museum, *passim*. Most information in this paragraph is taken from this book.

<sup>8</sup> Cutting from an unidentified newspaper.

<sup>9</sup> See Note 3.

<sup>10</sup> *Brecon County Times*. Addis, J., *Crickhowell Yesterday: 100 years of photographs*, Vol. 1 (1992), has several photographs of Glanusk and of the decorations in Crickhowell for the visit.

<sup>11</sup> Cutting from an unidentified newspaper.

<sup>12</sup> Cutting from an unidentified newspaper.

<sup>13</sup> Cook, *Prince Eddy*, p. 231, see Note 4 above.

<sup>14</sup> The Duke of Beaufort, *Driving*, (1889), from 'The Badminton Library of Sports and Pastimes', p.23 ff. The three illustrations are taken from the Internet.

<sup>15</sup> This account is taken from more than one newspaper, combining their different viewpoints and choice of detail.

<sup>16</sup> See Note 3.

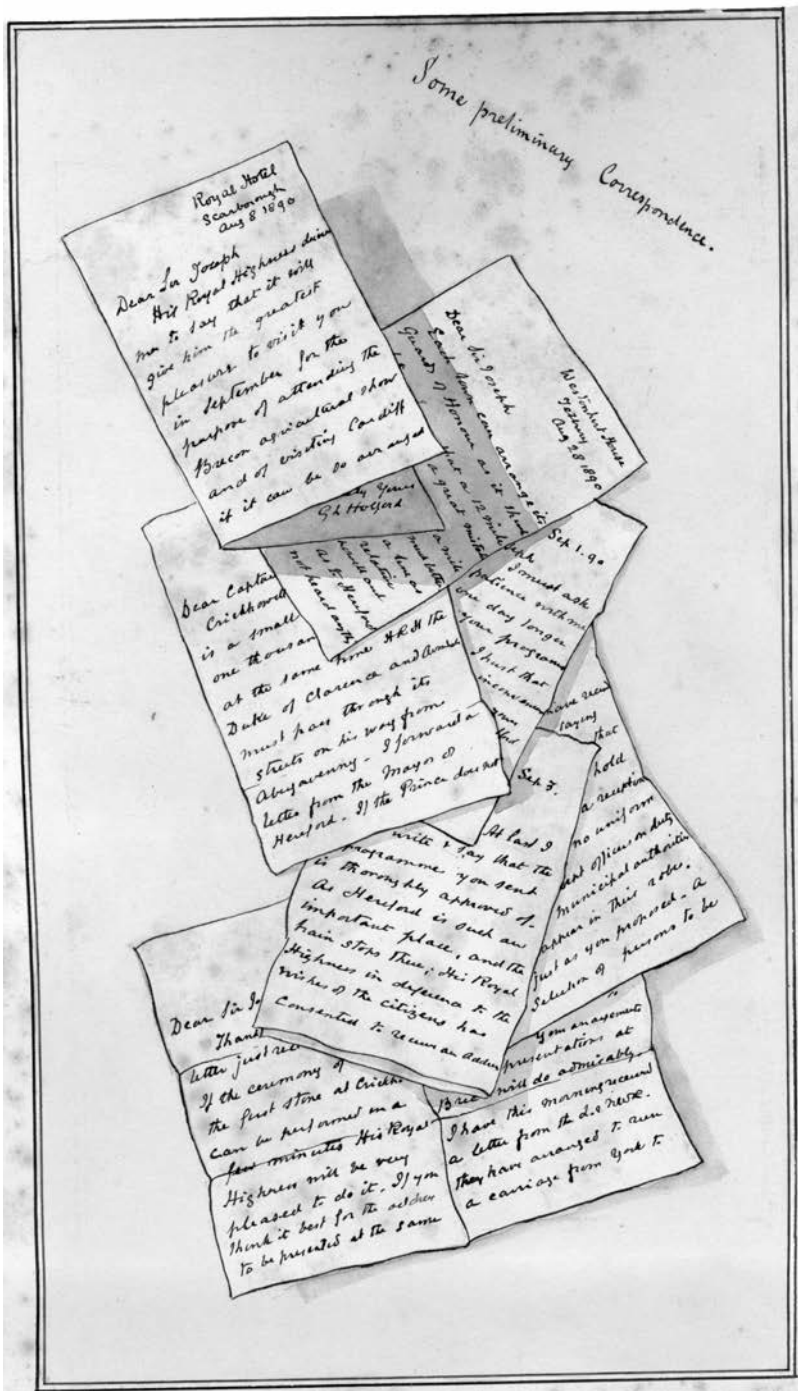


Plate 1 Some preliminary correspondence.

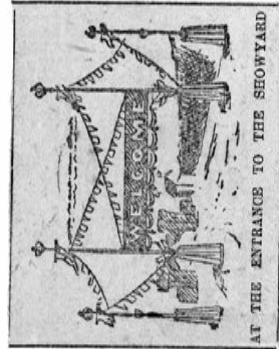
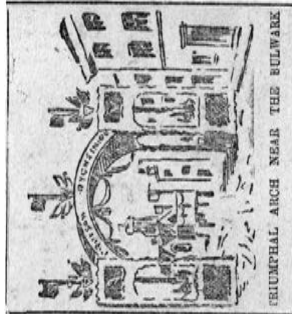
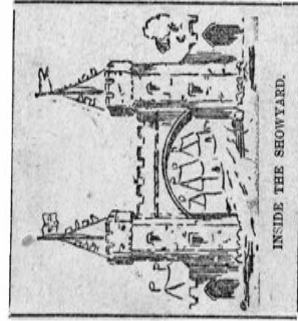
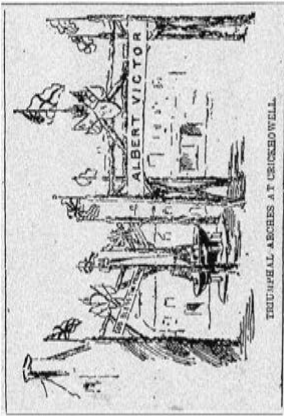
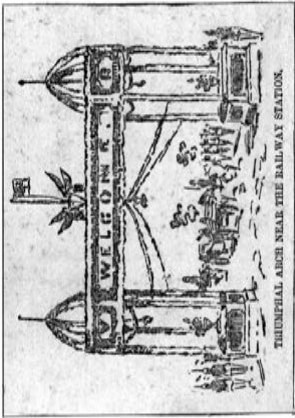
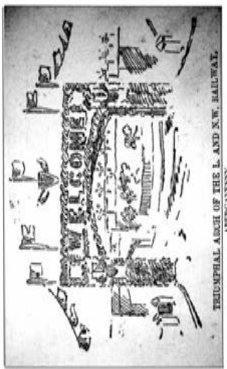
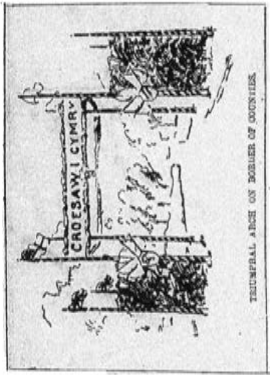
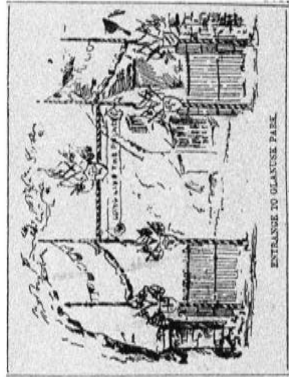


Plate 2 Sketches of triumphal arches, assembled from *The Western Mail*.

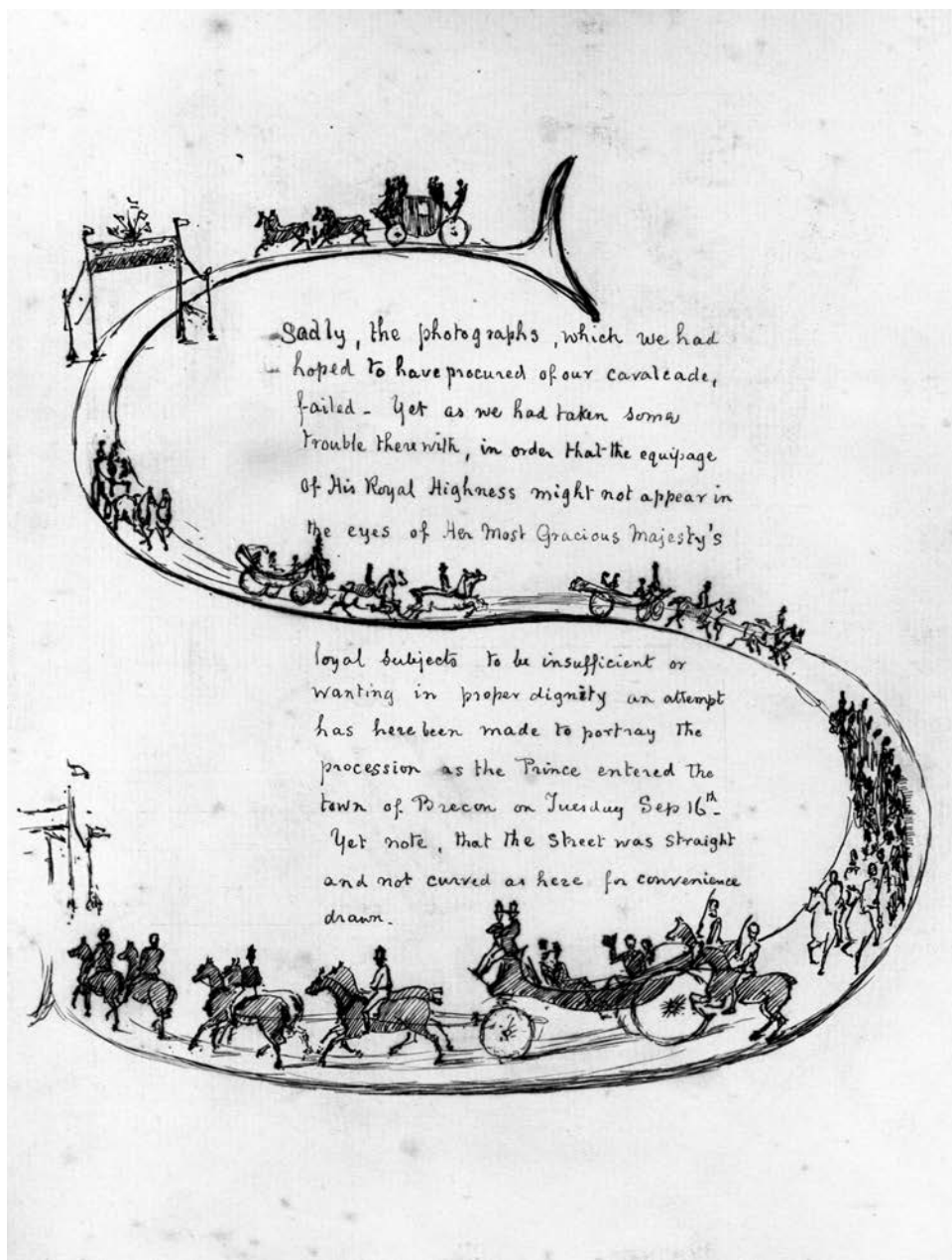


Plate 3 The Cavalcade to Brecon, with Sir Joseph's notes.

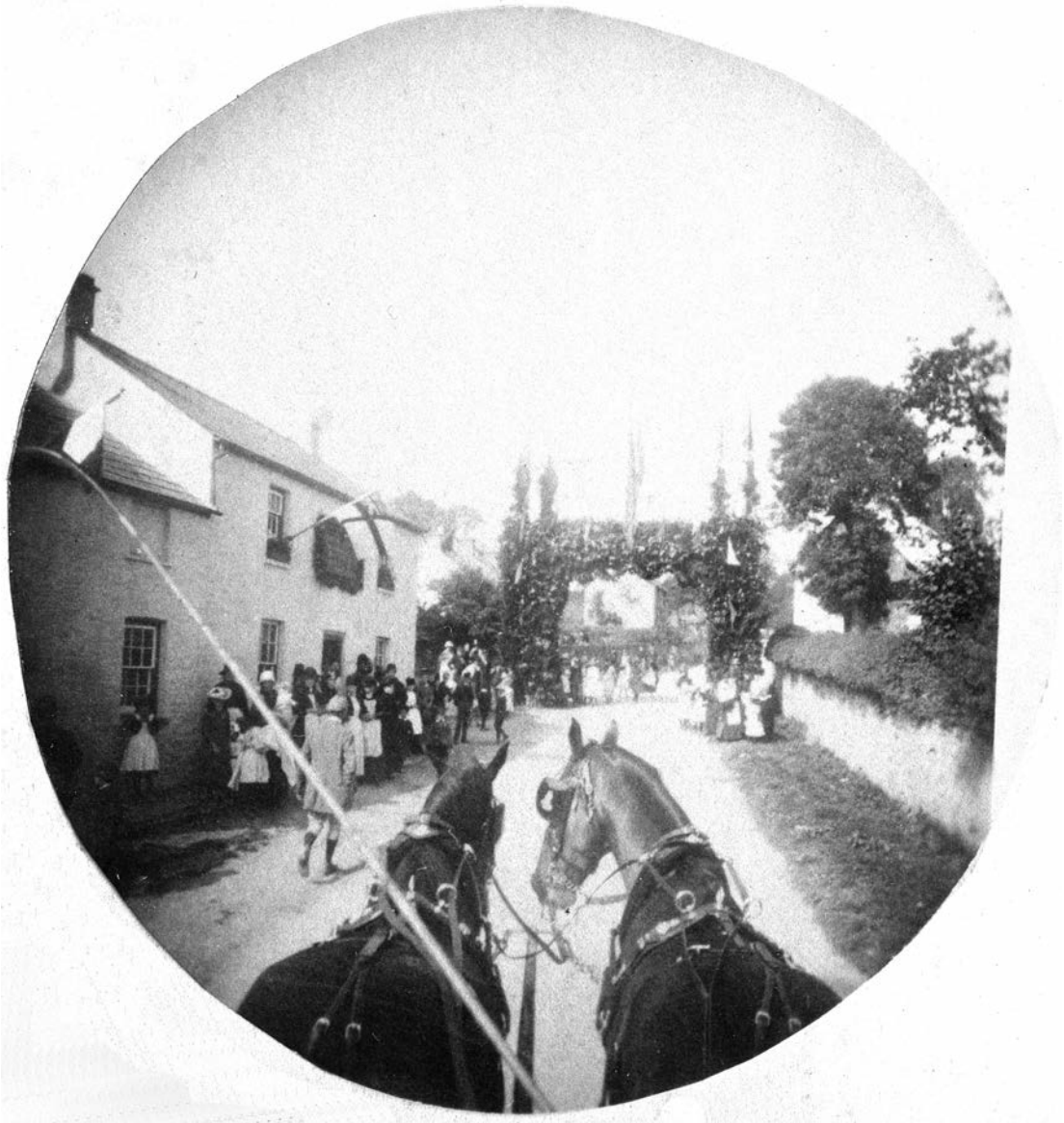
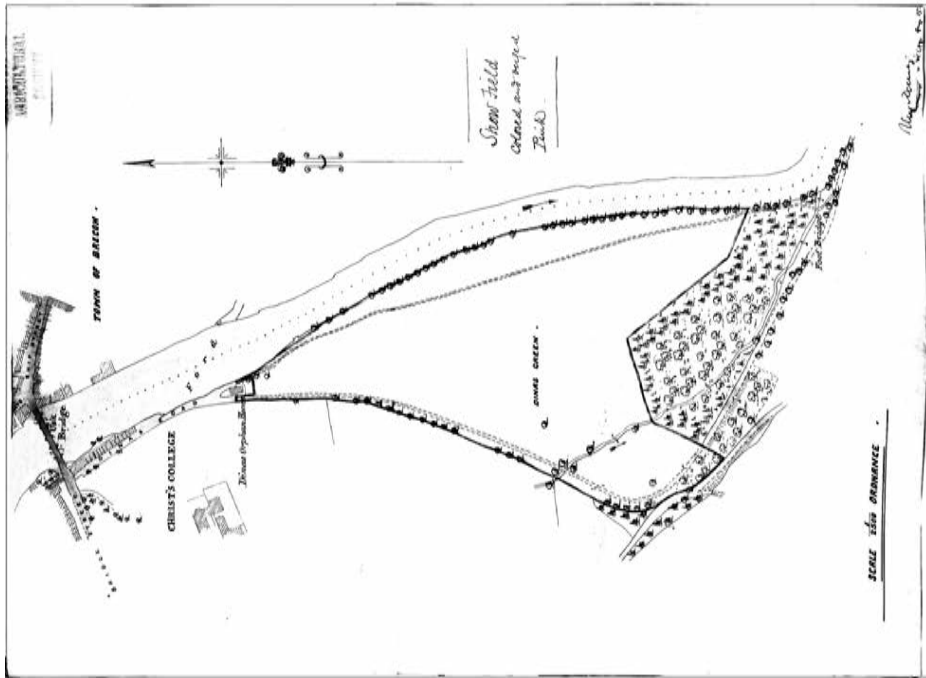


Plate 4 A 'failed' photograph. The New Inn at Bwlch?





Plate 5 The presentation at Brecon. Spot the Duke!



1890. 1890.

**Brecknockshire Agricultural Society**  
 (Established 1765).

Under the immediate Patronage and Presence of  
**HER PRINCE ALBERT VICTOR**  
 DUKE OF CLARENCE AND AVONDALE.

President for the Year: S. D. CLEARY, ESQ., Troopers.  
 Vice-President: MR. RICHARD OCTAVIUS REES, Brecon City.

**THE SHOW**  
 Will be held at BRECON,  
 On TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 16th, 1890.

EXTENSIVE PREPARATIONS!

**His Royal Highness and Suite,**  
 will be accompanied by H. R. H. S. MALLEY, Esq., M.P., to the Show  
 Park, and arrive in Brecon at 12 o'clock noon, where he will be presented with an  
 Address by the Mayor and Corporation of Brecon, at the Bullwerk, and thence proceed  
 to the Show.

**PROCESSION**  
 WILL BE FORMED IN THE FOLLOWING ORDER—

- (a) The Band of the 3rd Battalion, South Wales Borders
- (b) The Borough Banner
- (c) The Borough Magistrates
- (d) The Borough Officials
- (e) The Borough Councilors
- (f) The Mayor and Town Clerk
- (g) The Mayor, Deputy Mayor, and Town Clerk
- (h) Troopers Mounted Infantry
- (i) Troopers Mounted Infantry
- (j) Troopers Mounted Infantry
- (k) Troopers Mounted Infantry
- (l) Carriages containing H. R. H.'s Retinue
- (m) Band of the 1st Volunteer Battalion, South Wales Borders
- (n) Colonel T. Conway Lloyd
- (o) 1st Brecknockshire Volunteer Battalion, South Wales Borders.

**ROYAL CARRIAGE** Troopers Mounted Infantry

**Troopers Mounted Infantry**

**Troopers Mounted Infantry**

**Troopers Mounted Infantry**

**Troopers Mounted Infantry**

**The Arrival of His Royal Highness in the Show Yard.**  
 H. R. H. will alight from his carriage and will be received by the President, R. D.  
 (Clemens, Esq.), assisted by the Committee within the area in front of the Royal Pavilion.  
 His Royal Highness and Party will be entertained at Luncheon by the President,  
 R. D. Clemens, Esq., at 1.30 p.m.

After Luncheon, H. R. H. and Party will make an inspection of the Show Yard.  
 At 2 p.m., there will be a Parade, and the Awarding of Prizes!  
 The Bands of the 3rd Battalion, South Wales Borders, and of the  
 1st (Brecknockshire) Volunteer Battalion, South Wales Borders, will  
 Play Selections of Music during the Show.

Plate 6 Brecknockshire Agricultural Society: Show Programme and Show Field (outlined by trees).

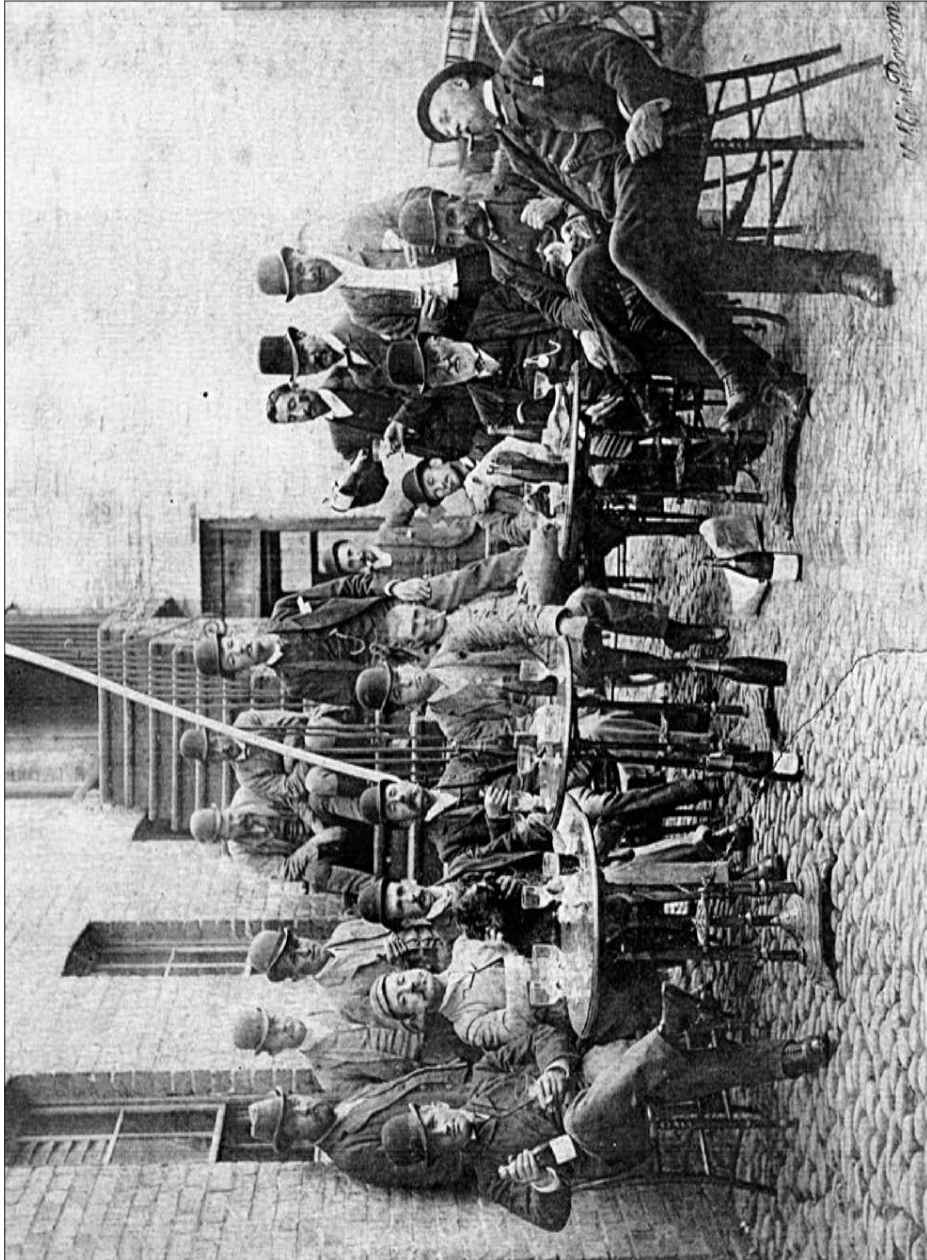


Plate 7 The next day, outside the Wellington Hotel.

Photograph by kind permission of Brecon Museum.



Plate 8 Triumphal arches by the fountain at Crickhowell.

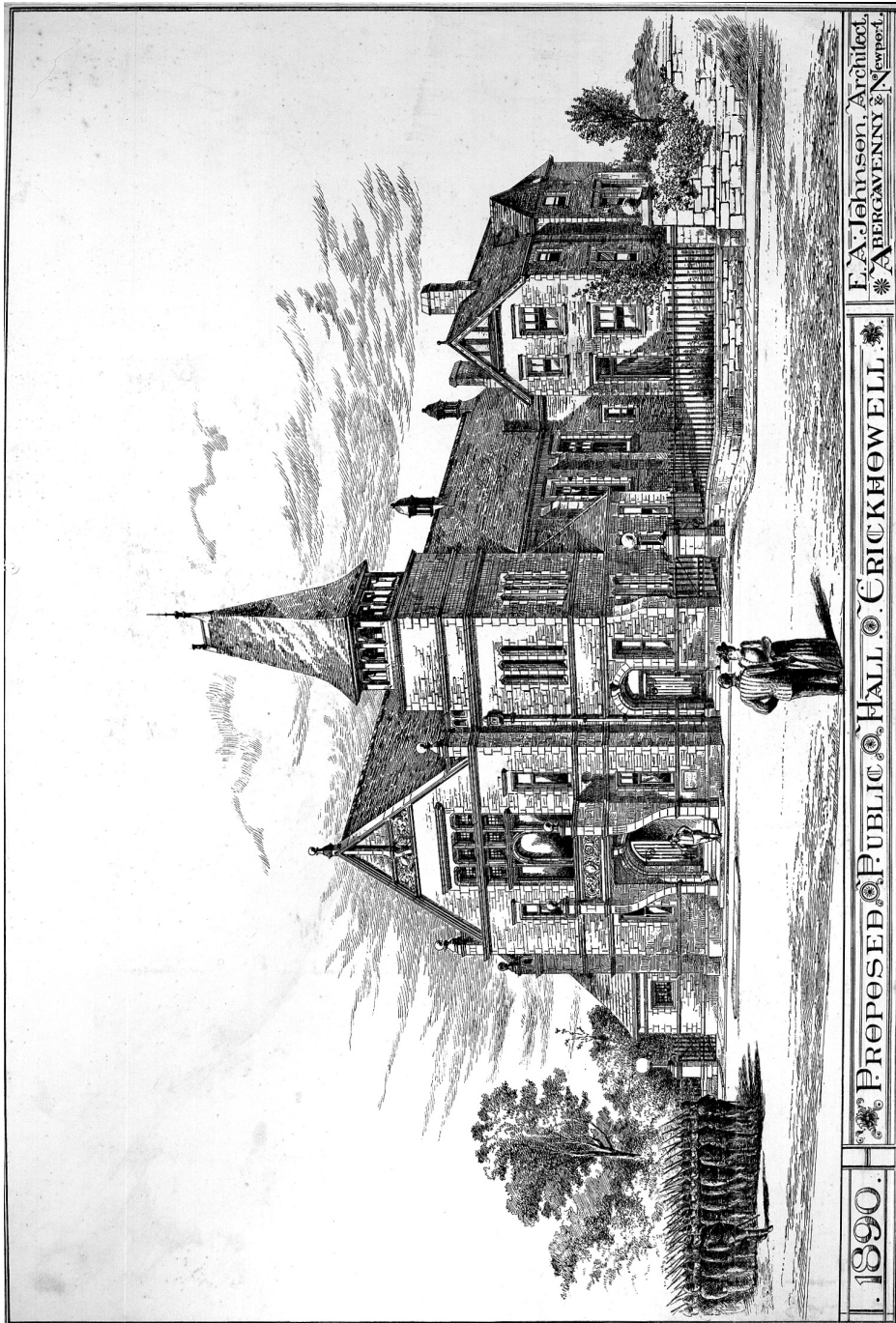
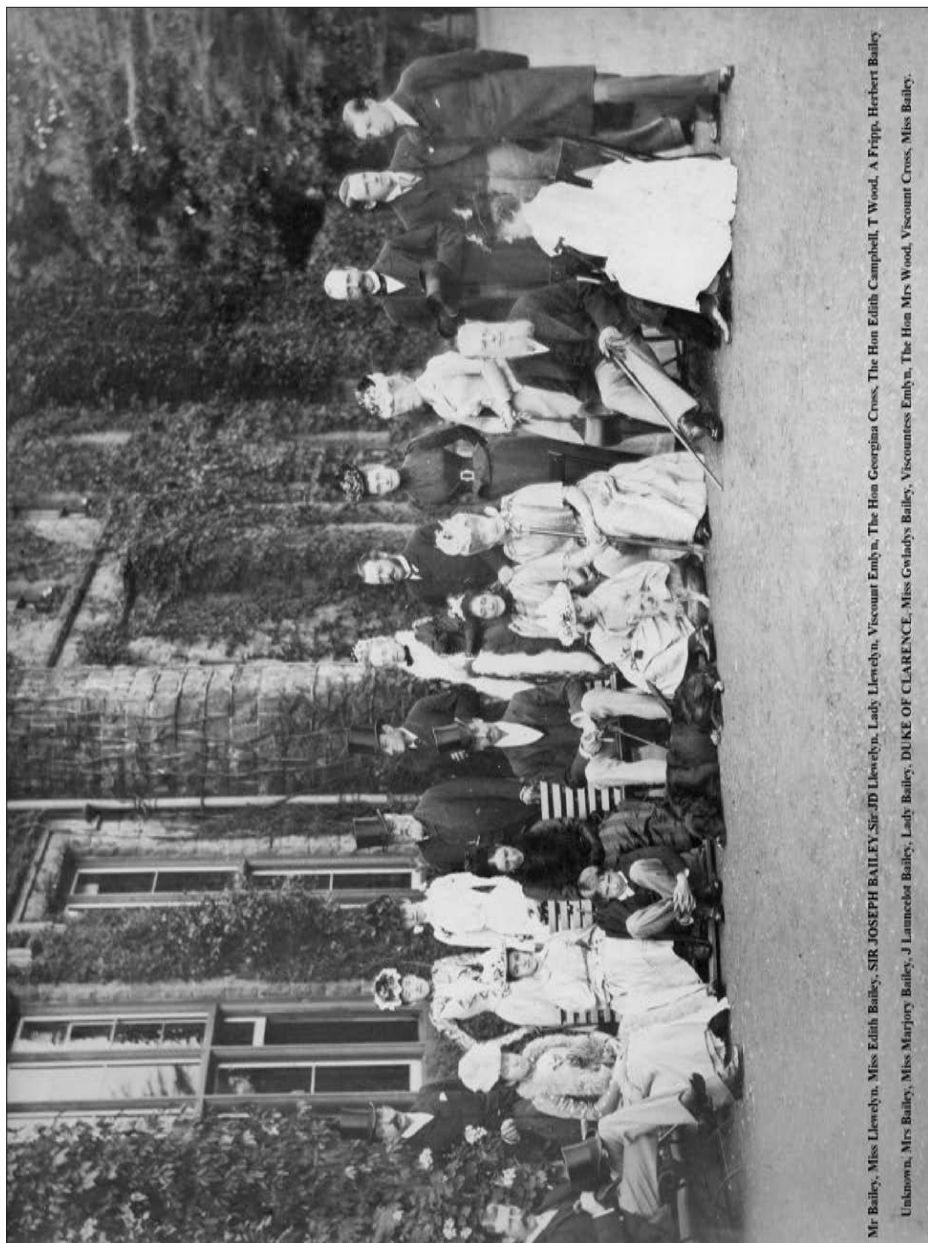


Plate 9 The proposed Public Hall at Crickhowell.



Plate 10 The Duke of Clarence laying the foundation stone of the Clarence Hall, Crickhowell, 18 September 1890.



Mr Bailey, Miss Llewelyn, Miss Edith Bailey, SIR JOSEPH BAILEY, Sir JD Llewelyn, Lady Llewelyn, Viscount Emlyn, The Hon Georgina Cross, The Hon Edith Campbell, T Wood, A Fripp, Herbert Bailey, Unknown, Mrs Bailey, Miss Marjory Bailey, J Llancoelwr, Lady Bailey, DUKE OF CLARENCE, Miss Gwladys Bailey, Viscountess Emlyn, The Hon Mrs Wood, Viscount Cross, Miss Bailey.

Plate 11 Family and guests at Glanusk, 18 September 1890. The names are taken from plate 185 in *Crickhowell Yesterday: 100 Years of Photographs*, vol. 1 (1992).

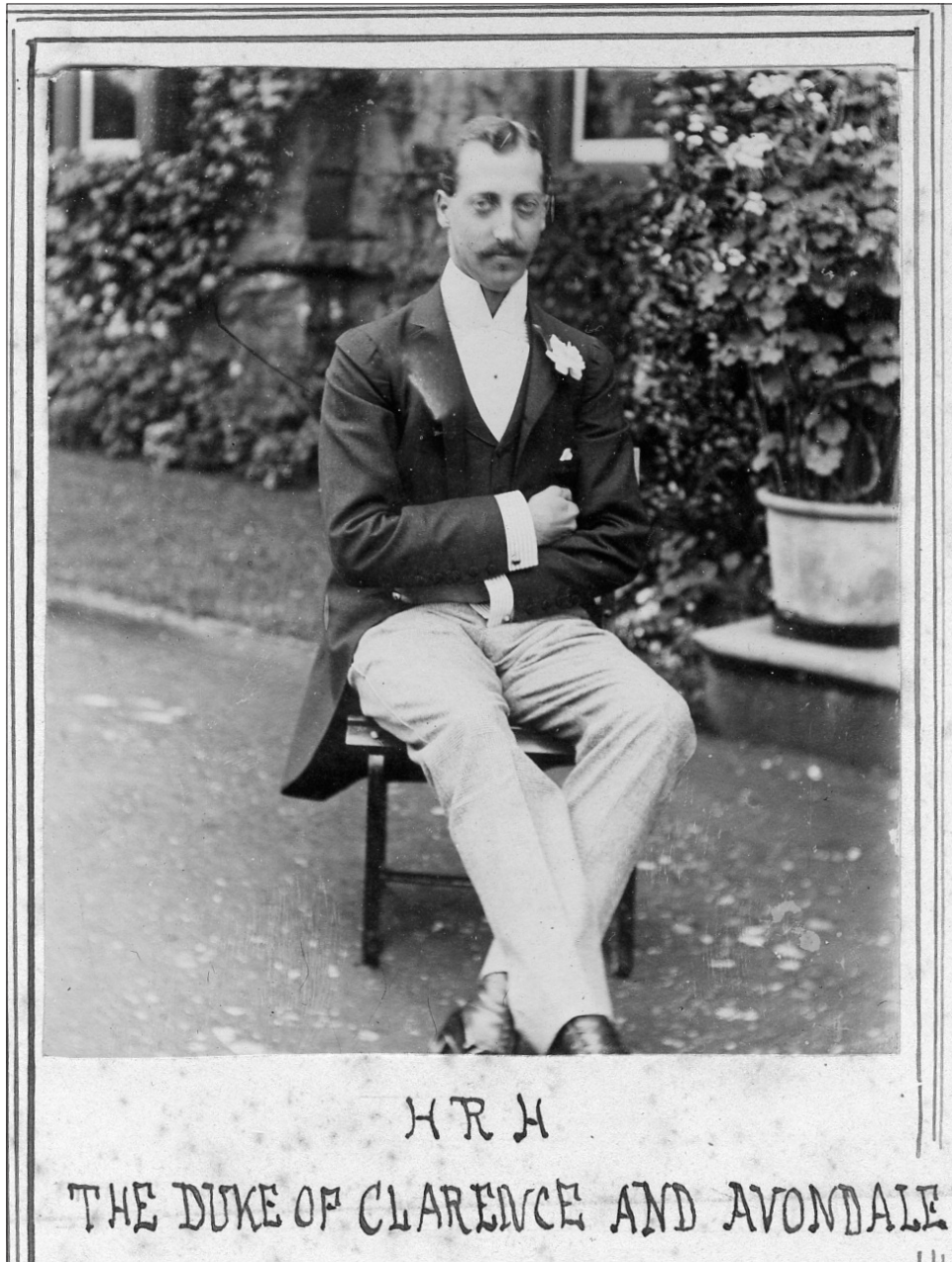


Plate 12 The Duke of Clarence at Glanusk, 18 September 1890.