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The Cawdor estates in south-west Wales in the nineteenth century.

**A thesis submitted to the
University of Wales for the degree of
Philosophiae Doctor
by
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The Cawdor estates in south-west Wales in the nineteenth century.

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Summary

This work is a consideration of the role and influence of the Cawdor estate in south-west Wales in the nineteenth century. The estate was by far the largest in this remote area, and consequently its influence spread far and wide. The fundamental belief in the stability of the land to produce an income for the owner was at its zenith when this study commences. However, as the nineteenth century progressed this belief was eroded by a combination of democratic, political and economic forces, until, by the first decade of the twentieth century, it seemed that all that was left for the majority of landowners was to sell-off their estates and abandon their so recently unassailable position of power and influence. This study examines the role of the Cawdor estate in this century-long demise and investigates how the Earls Cawdor reacted to the erosion of their influence.

As such the study examines the main sources of their wealth—the agricultural estate, and to a lesser extent the industrial estate. As a major part of the agricultural estate was let out to tenant farmers, the treatment of tenants takes precedence, since without their rent the Cawdors would have enjoyed no life of conspicuous wealth. Exploitation of mineral wealth also assisted in swelling the Cawdor coffers; thus an examination of the industrial estate is undertaken to ascertain the extent of such involvement. As a concomitant to the expansion of the Cawdors' industrial estate, their role in the development of the infrastructure of south-west Wales will also come under scrutiny.

As Anglican Christian paternalists the Cawdors' responsibility towards the established church and its revival and to the moral well-being of the poor via their education, will be explored. These areas brought the Cawdors into conflict with the fast-growing nonconformist denominations and the accompanying political Liberalism, and their reaction to these, and to the growing call for the new phenomenon of democracy are examined to ascertain how, if at all, the Cawdors were able to change their paternalist philosophy in order to cope with the newer political and religious forces.

As leaders of the two counties of Pembrokeshire and Carmarthenshire their input to the political arena, both at a local level as Lords Lieutenant and magistrates, and at national levels as Welsh MPs, will establish their vital contribution (or not) to the political well-being of Wales.

Finally, a picture will be drawn of the Cawdors' leisure pursuits in the countryside—hunting and shooting, horse racing and yachting—and of their life in the Metropolis, where much of their income from the estates was spent, whether at the theatre or in the purchase of art with which they adorned their homes. In conclusion, the impact that the Cawdors wrought on the immediate locality of south-west Wales and further afield will be assessed in order to decide whether they were a force for the good or otherwise.

Acknowledgements

This work is the product of six years' part-time research funded by a University of Wales Postgraduate bursary.

During the research period, I have received invaluable assistance from the staffs of the National Library of Wales, the British Library, the library of the University of Wales Swansea, and the Pembrokeshire Record Office. Thanks are also due to the archivists at the Royal College of Agriculture, Cirencester, Bath University, the Royal Yacht Squadron, Castle Howard and Christ Church, Cambridge. I would like to thank in particular my colleagues at the Carmarthenshire Archive Service for putting up with my forever talking about Cawdor, and for their suggestions (some of which are printable!).

My greatest debts are personal. Professor David Howell, my research supervisor, has been a constant source of inspiration and encouragement. My son Gawain has kept the technology in fine form and also reproduced the maps. However, lastly but by no means least, my wife, Marilyn, has been a paragon of patience throughout the whole process, but particularly during the writing-up process, when she hardly saw me.

Illustrations

John Campbell, First Lord Cawdor, by Sir Joshua Reynolds, 1778 (Original at Cawdor Castle). Frontispiece.

John Frederick Campbell, First Earl Cawdor, 1790-1860 by J. R. Swinton, 1848 (Cawdor Maps 161). Between pp. 45-46.

John Frederick Vaughan Campbell, Second Earl Cawdor, 1817-1898 (Cawdor unlisted) Between pp.101-02.

Frederick Archibald Vaughan (Campbell), Third Earl Cawdor, 1847-1898, (Cawdor Maps 161). Between pp.236-37.

Stackpole Court in *c.*1870 (NLW, Welsh Landscape Coll. B12/13/B240). Between pp. 276-77.

Golden Grove as depicted by the architect Sir Jeffrey Wyattville, *c.*1828. (Cawdor unlisted). Between pp. 322-23.

Maps

Map one: showing Golden Grove Park and garden and holdings mainly in the Llanfihangel Aberbythych, Llandeilo and Llandybie parishes. Note the almost total ownership of Llandybie village and land surrounding it.

Map two: showing holdings in the southern parts of Llanfihangel Aberbythych, and Llandybie parishes.

Map three: showing the holdings in Llangathen parish, and in the vicinity of Llandeilo town.

Map four: showing holdings along the Tywi Valley westwards towards Carmarthen in Llangathen and Llangunnor parishes. Note the extent of ownership of Llanarthne village and surrounding land.

Map five: showing holdings in Newcastle Emlyn, and the holdings in the western part of Cenarth parish, including the Gellidywyll estate.

Map six: showing the remaining holdings in Cenarth parish and those in Penboyr parish.

Note: The above maps are to be found on the CD in the pocket inside the back cover.

The map of the Ystrad estate in the north east of Carmarthenshire and the one showing the holdings in Betws parish on the Black Mountains are not extant.

Plan of Stackpole farm and new deer park, *c.*1795 (Cawdor box, 277). Between pp.284-85.

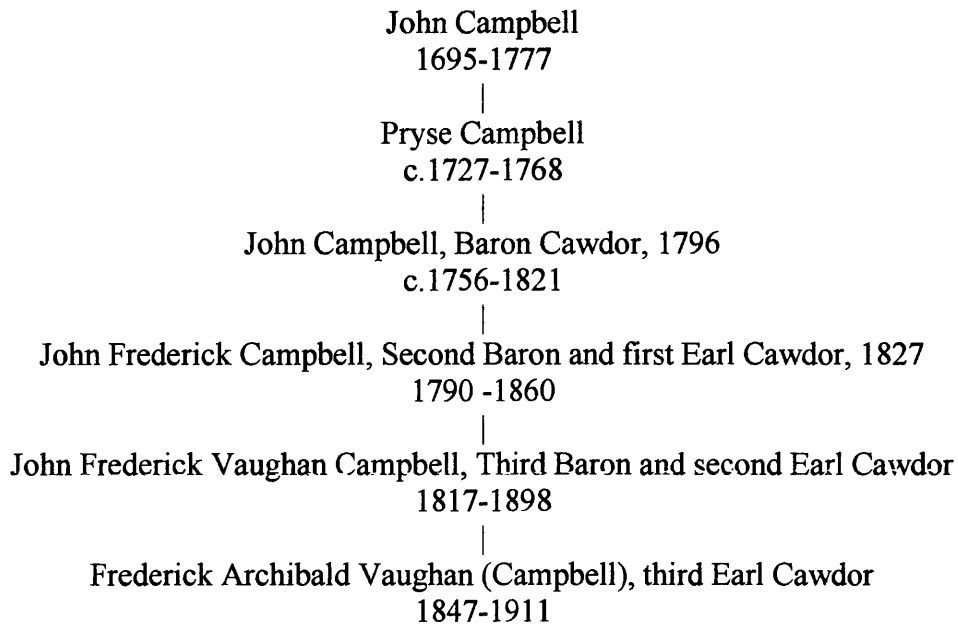
No nineteenth-century map of the Stackpole estate's Pembrokeshire properties exists, and although the whole of the estate was surveyed in 1777, the survey of the Pembrokeshire estate is only extant as a photographic copy kept at the Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Wales, in Aberystwyth. However, as with the Campbell's Carmarthenshire property survey (CRO, Cawdor/Campbell map-books 1 and 2), the Pembrokeshire one depicts individual farms rather than the estate as a whole.

Tables

Table 1: Size of Agricultural Holdings from the Agricultural Returns, 1875. p.16

Table 2: Estate expenditure on Building repairs, 1863-1899 p.62

Family pedigree



Abbreviations

<i>AgHR</i>	<i>Agricultural History Review</i>
<i>BBCS</i>	<i>Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies</i>
BL	British Library
<i>CA</i>	<i>Carmarthenshire Antiquary</i>
<i>CJ</i>	<i>Carmarthen Journal</i>
CRO	Carmarthen Record Office
CUP	Cambridge University Press
<i>DNB</i>	<i>Dictionary of National Biography</i>
<i>DWB</i>	<i>Dictionary of Welsh Biography</i>
<i>EcHR</i>	<i>Economic History Review</i>
<i>JRASE</i>	<i>Journal of the Royal Agricultural Society of England</i>
OUP	Oxford University Press
PP	Parliamentary Papers
<i>NLWJ</i>	<i>National Library of Wales Journal</i>
<i>RC</i>	<i>Royal Commission</i>
<i>RCLWM</i>	<i>Royal Commission on Land in Wales and Monmouthshire</i>
<i>SC</i>	<i>Select Committee</i>
TNA	The National Archives
<i>TRCS</i>	<i>Transactions of the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion</i>
UWP	University of Wales Press
<i>WM</i>	<i>Western Mail</i>

Introduction

Eighteenth- and nineteenth-century British society was shaped and governed by long-established landed families as well as by relative newcomers and their contribution to society has been the subject of many studies, both at a national and local level. In the early 1960s great interest in estate history was sparked when access to estate archives began to be made available in local record offices and historians were able to scrutinise them in detail. Other archives, while remaining in private hands, also became accessible due to the largesse of their owners. G. E. Mingay, F. M. L. Thompson and to a lesser, but still important, extent D. Spring produced seminal works. Indeed, Spring's work, *The English Landed Estate in the Nineteenth Century*, examining the administration of the landed estate, principally with reference to the property of the Duke of Bedford, and the more wide-ranging studies of Mingay, *English Landed Society in the Eighteenth Century* and Thompson, *English Landed Society in the Nineteenth Century*, together produced a corpus which helped establish a new genre of history when their books were published in the early 1960s. They have been and remain standard texts for any study of the landed estate, though in a Welsh context, the *dissimilarities* in the situation of the landed estate stemming from distinctive economic and social circumstances like the prevalence of peasant-tenants, their nonconformist allegiance and Welsh speech should caution historians from too readily accepting generalities regarding English estates forwarded by the aforementioned scholars and more recently by J. V. Beckett.¹

For all the myopic tendency among Welsh historians when exploring and explaining the rise of modern Welsh society in the nineteenth century to downplay the positive role played by its native aristocracy and gentry, a point made forcefully by Matthew Cragoe,² this should not be taken to imply that studies have not been made of the Welsh landed elite. An earlier generation produced studies of the leading gentry, though some of these lacked the detailed evidence required to produce a rounded picture since the estate archives were largely unavailable at the time of their writing. Notable among these earlier historians was Francis Green who wrote a number of essays on west Walian families for the West Wales Historical Records Society in the early 1900s.³ These studies were influential in inspiring others, not least from the 1930s Francis Jones, who would eventually become the first County Archivist for Carmarthenshire. He was instrumental in obtaining for the

Carmarthenshire Record Office its many holdings of estate records, most important of which was the vast Cawdor archive. He was also a pioneer in researching the new material coming into his care; of particular value, in the series of essays relating to the Vaughans of Golden Grove⁴ he detailed the establishment of that family and its many branches as the foremost family in Carmarthenshire.

From the 1950s and particularly the 1960s onwards, Welsh landed estates became the subject for M.A. and Ph.D. theses, a significant number of them researched under the supervision of David Williams at Aberystwyth. Thus J. M. Howells's study of the Crosswood [Trawscoed] estate was produced in 1956, followed by Peter R. Roberts's thesis on the eighteenth-century Merioneth gentry completed in 1963 and David W. Howell's study of the eighteenth-century Pembrokeshire gentry produced two years later. Likewise under Williams's supervision, J. Howard Davies completed an important M.A. thesis in 1967, which examined the social structure of south-west Wales from the 1870s down to 1914, wherein he was reliant upon a range of landed estate archives. For all the study's excellence, surprisingly, however, he largely neglected the rich archive of the Cawdor estate then available at the Carmarthen Record Office. Working under the supervision of David Jocelyn at Cambridge, John Davies produced his Ph.D. thesis on the Bute estate at the end of the 1960s, a superb thesis which in 1981 was to be published as a book entitled *Cardiff and the Marquesses of Bute*. Two further Cambridge doctoral theses on the Glamorgan gentry were to be produced in the late 1970s, namely, those of Joanna Martin and Philip Jenkins, the latter's study appearing as a book in 1983 under the adroit title *The Making of a Ruling Class: the Glamorgan Gentry 1640-1790*.⁵ Around the same time, the series of essays by R. J. Moore-Colyer on various estates in Cardiganshire, notably those of Gogerddan and Nanteos, brought fresh insights while Leslie Baker-Jones's Ph.D. thesis and subsequent book (1999) yielded much new information about the estates and lives of the Teifside gentry.⁶

It is noticeable that studies undertaken into nineteenth-century Welsh landed families have challenged the view forwarded by nonconformist and radical Liberal leaders of that period that the gentry were harsh and cruel towards their tenantry as landlords and that they victimized them for their nonconformist and Liberal beliefs. Thus John Davies's study of the Bute estate concluded that the family were actually lenient landlords, indeed subsidizing their tenants' rents from the high royalties they earned as owners of mineral deposits. David Howell's *Land and People in*

Nineteenth-Century Wales (1978)—heavily reliant on estate papers—certainly exonerated the owners of the great estates from many of the charges levelled against them by late nineteenth-century radical nonconformist leaders like Thomas Gee and T. J. Hughes (Adfyfr) that they charged exorbitant rents, failed to sufficiently help their tenants during the farming depression of the 1880s and early 1890s and that they capriciously evicted tenants for political and religious reasons, harsh conduct which saw tenants living in fear of their masters and, perhaps even more so, the estate agents. Even so, Howell’s attempt to demonstrate the myth of Welsh landlordism is not entirely convincing, notably his failure to appreciate how out-of-touch the Welsh gentry were in some instances with the spirit of the times, not least their antipathy towards school boards—a sentiment they shared, of course, with their English counterparts—and their unwillingness to concede that the peasantry deserved certain privileges as their *right* and not as part of the largesse dispensed by a paternalistic elite. Moreover, he underplays the role of the land agent as an important catalyst in the sometimes volatile relationship between landlords and tenants. Relating in depth to south-west Wales with particular reference to Carmarthenshire, Matthew Cragoe’s *The Moral Economy of the Landed Estate in Carmarthenshire, 1832-95* (1996) again debunks the thrust of the nonconformist Liberal indictment of the aristocracy and gentry by demonstrating that for the whole of the nineteenth century relations between landlords and tenants were, not as the radicals insisted, acrimonious and harsh, but, rather, friendly and mutually supportive, a state of affairs—if sometimes fractured—firmly grounded in the concept of ‘the moral economy of the landed estate’. For Cragoe, if, true enough, landlords and tenants were divided by religion and language, in equal measure they were bonded by custom and community. This is muscular revisionism that cannot be ignored by subsequent studies, and accordingly this study of the Cawdors will necessarily test many of his conclusions. Crucially, *were* landlord and tenant relations so harmonious as he claims?

Although the Cawdor estate was, after the huge Wynnstay estate in Denbighshire and other north Walian counties, the biggest estate in Wales, its hegemony extending over wide swathes of Pembrokeshire and particularly Carmarthenshire, it is surprising that it has never had a full study devoted to it.⁷ Admittedly, David Howell and especially Matthew Cragoe have used the archive quite extensively, yet remarkably few others have explored its vast riches. Certainly for a fuller understanding of nineteenth-century society in south-west Wales, based as it was on the ownership and

working of land, the Cawdor estates are worthy of being closely examined and presented as a separate study. This thesis attempts to fill the gap and will be fundamentally based upon the examination and evaluation of primary source material, that evaluation being informed by reference to findings and conclusions contained in the considerable historiography of the landed estate in nineteenth-century Britain.

The principal primary sources used were the Cawdor archive, newspapers and parliamentary papers. The Cawdor archive was deposited at the Carmarthenshire Record Office in the early 1960s in two large deposits. This extensive archive⁸ has been divided into separate categories for ease of use. What is known as the Cawdor/Vaughan archive relates to the Golden Grove estate and its owners, the Vaughan family, up to 1804. The Cawdor/Lort papers pertain to Stackpole Court in Pembrokeshire, prior to its becoming the property of the Campbell family of Nairnshire in Scotland in 1689, while the Cawdor/Campbell papers relate to the Pembrokeshire property mainly to the end of the eighteenth century. The rest of the Cawdor papers, relating to the estates of the Lords Cawdor, and covering the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, have been used extensively in this thesis. This part of the archive, about a third of the total, has never been catalogued, except as a 'box list', a very rudimentary description of what *may* be found in the box.

The Cawdor archive was thus exploited as if it was a partially surveyed historical goldmine. In particular, the very extensive correspondence covering the whole of the nineteenth century, much of it in the form of letters from the various agents like the Revd Thomas Beynon, R. B. Williams, T. T. Mousley and Dudley Williams-Drummond which touch upon all manner of concerns relating to the family, was quarried. Other correspondence, as from political friends and foes, from different family members and from the many coming into contact with the family and the estate, likewise afforded valuable information. The decision was made to frequently cite certain of the correspondence as it was written on the grounds that this best conveys the precise attitudes and outlook of those caught up in the affairs of the family and the estate. Not least, this correspondence will aid in reaching a conclusion about the degree of influence exercised by the agents over their masters—one source depicted them as the 'alter ego of the landlords'⁹—and whether their attitudes towards estate tenants was as unsympathetic as the contemporary press and other radical commentators liked to make out. In addition, the numerous annual estate accounts and rentals drawn up by the agents were examined as they throw valuable light not only

on the financial resources of the estate but also on how estate income was spent. From the early 1860s they constitute particularly full records, a testimony to the meticulous accounting of the agent T. T. Mousley.

Despite the richness of the archive, in one or two areas there is a noticeable lack of primary evidence. Most importantly, are the relative lack of replies by the earls Cawdor to their agents. Evidence of their opinions has thus had to be gleaned from the responses of the agents. The archive is also sadly lacking in primary evidence regarding the role of the Cawdor women. Virtually no correspondence is extant, and there is only one diary for the whole of the nineteenth century.¹⁰

The recently established on-line searchable database and digitised images of nineteenth-century newspapers produced by the British Library and *The Times* on-line are remarkably useful tools for researchers. The only drawback with the former is that at present only five Welsh newspapers have been digitised,¹¹ though more are planned. Much burrowing in the non digitised newspapers, too, notably the *Carmarthen Journal*, *Welshman* and the *Cambrian*, yielded valuable information relating to the rural community of south-west Wales. The on-line Parliamentary Papers database, though somewhat cumbersome in its mechanics, is likewise a great boon to historians.¹² Above all other Parliamentary Papers, the evidence produced by the Royal Commission on Land in Wales and Monmouthshire during the mid 1890s has been fully utilised for this study.

The thesis covers the period from 1777 to 1911. The former date marks the year when John Campbell, later Baron Cawdor, gained his majority and succeeded to the ownership of the estate. The latter year, 1911, apart from being the year when the third Earl Cawdor died seemed an appropriate termination point for the study because by that time the political and social pre-eminence of the family, as of most other landed families, was sharply in decline. Even so, the Cawdor estate would remain substantially intact until 1972 when the Golden Grove estate was sold-off, and the family moved back to the ancestral home at Cawdor Castle in Nairnshire.

The aristocratic estates in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries were let out to tenant farmers, their owners in the process becoming a class of *rentiers*. However, this did not 'necessarily imply either a desire or even an ability to opt out of the running of the estate', argues John Beckett.¹³ Even though estates were managed by full-time agents, the landowner himself, usually partially absentee, was obliged to make regular visits to his estate to check up on its smooth running and to make policy decisions in

relation, for instance, to size of farms, levels of rent and the type and scale of investments. Landlords were indeed essentially partners with their tenants in the business of farming, themselves providing the fixed, durable capital, tenants for their part adventuring the working capital. As already rehearsed, contemporary and later criticism has been directed towards the Welsh ‘alien’ aristocracy and gentry for their failure to act as responsible landlords. The ensuing discussion will seek to determine the quality of estate management as dispensed by the Cawdors; not least here will be the attempt to discover whether they struck a sympathetic rapport with their tenants in the course of exploiting the resources of their estates. As part of this examination of their role in managing and developing their estates, too, will be an inquiry into whether the family were agricultural improvers and into the extent to which they exploited the mineral wealth of their properties.

Besides this consideration of the running of their estates, the promotion of farming, the exploitation of mineral resources and their associated involvement with communications improvements, the family’s role as the traditional political and social leaders of their community will be examined, with special attention being paid to their response to the popular and democratic upheavals that were re-shaping British politics and society over the course of the nineteenth century. Welsh aristocratic and gentry society in particular was to face an unstoppable challenge from the rise of Nonconformity and its associated radical and (later?) national agendas embraced by the lower classes of society. This study will accordingly investigate the degree of support that the Cawdors gave the embattled established Church of England in Wales, including the amount they were prepared to lay out on the renovation and restoration of churches. As part of this same inquiry, the question will be asked whether they were rabidly anti-dissent—as the fiery radical and nationalist ‘Adfyfr’ tried to paint them in 1887 over Lord Cawdor’s treatment of the Baptists of Newcastle Emlyn—or, contrariwise, more lenient in their approach to nonconformity. A crucial bulwark of Anglicanism and of the traditional hierarchical society was the voluntary system of national schools, and an examination will be made of the level of commitment shown by the various Earls Cawdor to these institutions. A major challenge to the old voluntaryist system of National and (far fewer) British—un-denominational—schools would come with the setting up of school boards following the Education Act of 1870. What was the family’s stance towards the new board schools? Arguably the greatest achievement for the spirit of nationality coursing through the public life of

late nineteenth-century Wales was the establishment of Welsh intermediate and higher education institutions, the campaign towards which goals were supported by Conservatives and Anglicans and Radicals and Nonconformists alike. The important part played by Lord Emlyn in this movement will receive attention. Emlyn's favourable disposition towards Llandovery College will also be contrasted with that of the second Earl Cawdor, the latter opposing both St. David's College, Lampeter, and Llandovery because of the prominence given by both institutions to the Welsh language.

As well as their involvement within the local community with religious and educational issues, the family were expected to play a role in the local community both in the provision of improved communications networks, already alluded to, and the dispensing of judicial and administrative duties. In so far as the latter were concerned, not only did they hold the high office of Lord Lieutenant of the county and serve as magistrates at Quarter and Petty Sessions—this involvement at Quarter Sessions bringing from the 1860s a new duty as Visitors of the Joint Counties Lunatic Asylum—but they were to sit as members of the new administrative and elected bodies founded from the 1830s onwards like the boards of guardians, local boards of health, sanitation boards and school boards. Their level of conscientiousness in dispensing their duties, old and new, will be inquired into, as, too, their attitude as the traditional paternalist 'natural leaders' of their communities to the new more democratic bodies. Although these earlier reforms of local administration had reduced the absolute power of the gentry in the ruling of their counties, the real hammer blow to government by an amateur, unpaid gentry was delivered by the Act of 1888 legislating for the establishment of county councils. The way in which this revolutionary measure was viewed by the Cawdors will be scrutinized as, too, their readiness or otherwise to participate in the new arrangements. In discussing the build-up to the coming of county councils and the way in which they were implemented and run in their early years my reliance on the recent study by W. P. Griffith on county government in Anglesey—which throws much light on other areas of Wales—will become apparent.¹⁴ A further question that will be raised will be the family's response to the growing demand in the 1890s—heard throughout Wales—for the inclusion on the bench of more Liberals and Nonconformists so as to reflect the political and social realities of the new Wales.¹⁵

This emergence in the late nineteenth century of a specifically Welsh political agenda in British politics and the Cawdors' attitude towards Welsh nationalist issues forms an important part of the discussion of the family's role in central politics. What would be their stance, for instance, on the key Welsh goals of disestablishment, land reform, intermediate and higher education, and temperance? On a wider front, this chapter will seek to assess the degree and impact of the family's involvement in British politics—an involvement that only really occurred from mid-nineteenth century—and will necessarily focus on the career of its single most active political member, Archibald, as both Lord Emlyn and, from 1898, as the third Earl Cawdor.

As Beckett observes, 'the country house reflected the power and grandeur of the family';¹⁶ accordingly, the final chapter on the private and social lives of the family will open with an examination of the Cawdors' mansions, gardens and parkland at Stackpole Court and Golden Grove and of the changes made to these establishments over the course of the century. Much of the subsequent discussion will investigate the family's degree of participation in country pursuits and its impact on relations with the wider community, their life of leisure in London and travels abroad and, refreshingly, their prominent patronage of art and music. Always borne in mind in this chapter was the way in which the family sought to use their participation in the pursuits of the countryside, as, too, their family celebrations, to strengthen the ties of social deference, ties which were being gradually loosened as the century drew to a close under the dissolving influences of farming depression, radicalism and democracy.

¹ D. Spring, *The English Landed Estate in the Nineteenth Century* (John Hopkins Press, 1963); G. E. Mingay, *English Landed Society in the Eighteenth Century* (London, 1963); F. M. L. Thompson, *English Landed Society in the Nineteenth Century* (London, 1963); J. V. Beckett, *The Aristocracy in England, 1660-1914* (London, 1986).

² M. Cragoe, *An Anglican Aristocracy: The Moral Economy of the Landed Estate in Carmarthenshire 1832-1895* (Clarendon Press: Oxford, 1996), p.3: Prof. Cragoe gives a rather wider definition of aristocracy than either F. M. L. Thompson or J. V. Beckett. The latter only includes those who have received at least a baronetage, and the former that they could support both a country mansion and a London residence. Many of those referred to in *An Anglican Aristocracy* would not have been able to reside in the capital.

³ For instance see F. Green, 'The Barlows of Slebech', *WWHR*, vol. iii, 1912-13; 'The Dyers of Aberglasney', *WWHR*, Vol. vi (1917-18); and 'The Pictons of Poyston', *WWHR*, vol. x (1924).

⁴ F. Jones, 'The Vaughans of Golden Grove', *THSC*, Session 1963, pts. 1 and 2, Session 1964, pt. 2 and Session 1966, pt. 1.

⁵ J. M. Howells, 'The Crosswood estate: its growth and economic development, 1683-1899', (M.A. Wales, 1956); P. R. Roberts, 'The Landed Gentry in Merioneth, c. 1680-1832', (M.A. Wales, 1963); D. W. Howell, 'The Landed Gentry of Pembrokeshire in the eighteenth Century', (M.A. Wales, 1965); J. H. Davies, 'The Social Structure and Economy of south West Wales in the nineteenth century', (M.A. Wales 1967); J. Davies, 'Glamorgan and the Bute estate, 1766-1947', (Ph.D. Wales, 1969); J. P. Jenkins, 'A Social and Political History of the Glamorgan Gentry, c. 1650-1770 (Ph.D. Cambridge, 1978); J. O. Martin, 'The Landed Estate in Glamorgan, 1660-1760', (Ph.D. Cambridge, 1978).

⁶ R. J. Colyer, 'The Pryse Family of Gogerddan and the decline of a Great Estate, 1800-1960', *WHR*, Vol. 9, No. 4, (Dec. 1979), pp. 407-431; Idem., 'Nanteos, a landed estate in Decline, 1800-1930', *Ceredigion*, Vol. ix, (1980), pp.58-78; D. L. Baker-Jones, 'The Gentry of "Tivyside" in South West Wales in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries', (Ph.D. Wales, 1989), and idem., '*Princelings, Privilege and Power*': *The Tivyside Gentry in their Community* (Llandysul, 1999).

⁷ Interestingly neither the Wynnstay estate nor the smaller, but nevertheless, politically important Dynevor estate have been the subject of in-depth studies.

⁸ The archive is nearly 1,000 boxes, and several hundred volumes in extent. To have some sort of intellectual control over this mass of material necessitated the division into the eras referred to, yet except for the Lort/Campbell and the Cawdor/Vaughan divisions, which are justifiable, the other divisions are entirely artificial. It is sad to reflect on the lack of interest in the history of south-west Wales by the local authority which has led to this immensely important historical archive remaining substantially un-catalogued for over forty years.

⁹ *Royal Commission on Land in Wales and Monmouthshire (RCLWM), Report*, p. 249.

¹⁰ A few letters from Queen Victoria to Sarah Campbell exist. Sarah was one of the Queen's ladies-in-waiting. The letters mainly relate to Sarah's marriage. Correspondence relating to the women does exist in places. The 1868 letters written over the future third Countess, Edith Turnor's, marriage settlement are quite acrimonious but, quite conventionally, do not involve Edith at all. (Cawdor box 141).

¹¹ *North Wales Chronicle, Western Mail, Baner ac Amserau Cymru, Genedl, and Goleuad*.

¹² Though it would be useful to have Hansard digitised.

¹³ Beckett, *The Aristocracy of England 1660-1914*, p.136.

¹⁴ W. P. Griffith, *Power, Politics and County Government in Wales: Anglesey, 1780-1914* (Llangefni: The Anglesey Antiquarian Society, 2006). This study is likely to become the model for other studies into county government in Wales. Such studies are needed in view of the fact that successive governments seem intent on 'modernising' local government out of existence!

¹⁵ D. W. Howell, 'A "Less Obtrusive and Exacting" Nationality: Welsh Ethnic Mobilisation in Rural Communities', in., D. W. Howell, G. von. Pistohlkors, and E. Wiegandt, (eds.), *Roots of Ethnic Mobilisation* (New York, 1992).

¹⁶ Beckett, *The Aristocracy of England 1660-1914*, p.337.



John Campbell, first Baron Cawdor, 1756-1821

1. The Region, the Cawdor family and the make-up of their Welsh Estates

1.1 The Region

The nineteenth-century Cawdor estate in Wales was to be found in the south-western counties of Carmarthen and Pembroke, along with a very small outlying acreage in Cardiganshire. Accordingly, throughout this study the focus will be on the estate in the former two counties. Carmarthenshire's coast faces south to the Bristol Channel, into which flows the rivers Loughor, Gwendraeth, Tywi and Taf, the Tywi—cutting its course in a south-westerly direction after rising in the hills in the north of the county—being the largest river whose wide valley boasts the richest agricultural land in the county and furnishes a principal route across the county from the east. The surface of the land is generally hilly but to the north of Llandovery rises to high hills and, at the easternmost fringe of the county, to the Black Mountains, which reaches their highest, to 2,630 feet at Fan Foel, which constitute the western end of the Brecon Beacons. Pembrokeshire has a long coastline encircling the north, west and south. Its land surface is somewhat hilly, the northern part rising into the high hills of the Presceli Range whose highest peak, Presceli Top, reaches 1,760 feet. The county is drained by three rivers; the Nevern flows through the countryside north of the Presceli hills into Newport Bay, while the Eastern and Western Cleddau drain respectively the eastern and western parts of the county, the two rivers merging in the expansive tidal inlet of Milford Haven. The most fertile land is to be found in the district about Castlemartin in the south of the county.

Notwithstanding some improvement wrought by turnpike roads from the late eighteenth century, in the years before railways began piecemeal from the mid-nineteenth century to cover this region it was remote and isolated. Fortunately, in pre-railway days the areas adjacent to the long coastline could import and export farm and other commodities by ship. Throughout the nineteenth century, if to a lessening degree during the second half insofar as Carmarthenshire was concerned, farming continued as the dominant sector in the economic life of the region and provided employment, either directly or indirectly, for a substantial number of people, male and female, who lived in small hamlets or on isolated farmsteads. Figures collected for the 1891 census thus reveal that the 8,966 agriculturalists—a term embracing farmers, their sons and other members of the family, and hired labourers—in Carmarthenshire

comprised 26 per cent of the total occupied workforce, while in Pembrokeshire the 7,524 agriculturalists represented 32 per cent of the entire occupied labour force.¹ Farmers generally tenanted small farms belonging to landed estates which were worked by the farmer himself with the help of family labour and what extra hired labour was required. Accordingly, the proportion of hired farm labourers was relatively small compared with their more numerous counterparts in south and eastern England; taking into account males only, in the 1860s in Carmarthenshire farmers comprised 41.25 per cent, farmers' sons, brothers and other relations 17.9 per cent and hired outdoor married labourers and indoor farm servants 40.8 per cent of those working on farms, while the corresponding ratios for Pembrokeshire were 32.7 per cent, 11.9 per cent and 55.4 per cent.² The moist, wet climate and unevenness of the land surface meant that down to the close of the nineteenth century and into the opening decades of the twentieth farming was mixed, with an emphasis on the breeding and rearing of livestock—the native Welsh Blacks insofar as cattle were concerned—which would, of necessity given the generality of non-fattening pastures, be sold in store or lean condition for fattening on the lush grasses of the English Midland and south-eastern counties, and the associated manufacture of (especially) butter and cheese. Indeed, in the last three decades of the nineteenth century the increasing labour costs arising from a thinning of the available farm labour force with out-migration of labourers to industrial centres eastwards and, slightly later, the falling cereal prices of the last two decades during the 'Great Depression' in farming would witness a still bigger concentration on pastoral farming.³

However, there were fertile areas, notably the Tywi Valley, the belt of land running westwards from Carmarthen to St Clears and Laugharne, and the district of Castlemartin. Improvements in the way of the introduction of more scientific farming did take place in these more favoured areas, like progressive rotation of crops, the application of artificial manures, feeding of linseed and cotton seed cake, turnips and mangolds for fattening stock, scientific breeding and the abandonment of the Pembroke Blacks in favour of the 'improved' breeds like Shorthorns.⁴ It is significant that some of the tenant farmers of the Cawdor estate held farms in the Tywi Valley and the hundred of Castlemartin and the extent to which they were encouraged by the Cawdor family to adopt new techniques will be considered in the next chapter.

While the general run of farming remained unimproved and traditional, changes in marketing practices and in the extent to which land was enclosed nevertheless

occurred over the course of the nineteenth century. Foremost was the impact of the railway, which brought to an end the old droving system, led to a dramatic decline in coastal shipments of farm produce to Bristol and elsewhere and hugely facilitated the out-migration of excess rural labour. At the same time, as will be apparent from the earlier discussion, railways did not lead to any significant change in the traditional system of breeding and rearing store stock for fattening on English pastures; for the most part the quality of grass in the region would not permit of cattle feeding for sale to Glamorgan butchers, albeit, as implied above, farmers in the more fertile tracts went in for this new enterprise and St Clears and Carmarthen became recognized marts for the sale of fat cattle.⁵ It is perhaps a surprising feature of the two counties that the railway did not lead to a dramatic decline of local cattle fairs; quite the contrary in fact. The chief cattle fairs in Pembrokeshire in 1888 were Pembroke, Haverfordwest, Letterston, Narberth, Maenclochog and Crymych, with the fairs held at Cardigan drawing in farmers from parts of the north-east of the county. In the same year the prominent cattle fairs in Carmarthenshire were those of Carmarthen, Llandeilo Fawr, Llandovery and Newcastle Emlyn.⁶ These were either small market towns, or in the instances of Letterston, Maenclochog and Crymych no more than villages.⁷

Parliamentary enclosure of commons and wastes in Wales had generally lagged behind the movement in England, over fifty per cent occurring after 1840, which led Chapman to conclude: 'The peak of the Welsh movement was thus getting on for a century later than that in the core area of the English Midlands, and noticeably lagging behind the neighbouring English counties such as Gloucestershire.'⁸ In Carmarthenshire, some 26 enclosure Acts and awards between 1807 and 1892 (17 after 1840) enclosed a total of 24,102 acres while, in Pembrokeshire, just 4,228 acres were enclosed by some six Acts and awards over the period from 1788 to 1912, three of them after 1840.⁹ Unlike in many English enclosures, a substantial amount of the land enclosed in Wales comprised moorland and upland stretches not suitable for improved cultivation.¹⁰ This was the case with the 1820 enclosure of the common lands on the Black and Great Mountains (Mynydd Mawr), in the Carmarthenshire parishes of Llandybie and Llanfihangel Aberbythych¹¹ in which Lord Cawdor was the principal proprietor and Lord of the Manor.

Important changes occurred in the population of both counties over the course of the nineteenth century. That of Carmarthenshire rose by 94 per cent between 1801 and

1891, from 67,317 to 130,566, and, as happened in the case of only three other Welsh counties, namely, Denbighshire, Glamorgan and Monmouthshire, the County saw no decrease in its population at any stage between 1801 and 1891.¹² Industrial development explains this trend in all four counties, in Carmarthenshire the growth of the coal and metallurgical industries in the area about Llanelli and in the Gwendraeth and Amman valleys, which in turn saw the population of Llanelli overtake that of Carmarthen in the 1850s, the 1861 census recording 11,084 inhabitants in Llanelli as against 9,993 in Carmarthen.¹³ This notwithstanding, there was a significant degree of out-migration from the rural parishes of Carmarthenshire from mid-century as landless labourers in particular were drawn out of the countryside by the allurements of higher wages and a better standard of living to be had in the industrial townships of both eastern Carmarthenshire and further afield in the coalmines of Glamorganshire to escape from the low farm wages and long working hours on the farms.¹⁴ Between 1851 and 1891 there was a 30 per cent fall in the number of agriculturalists in the County. It is important to grasp, however, that there were big differences among the sub-groups making up the agriculturalists; in fact the number of farmers actually increased by 32 per cent, the real drop in numbers occurring among the hired labourers (a 48 per cent fall among male labourers alone, albeit female labourers, too, left the countryside) and to a lesser extent among other members of the farmers' families (a 26 per cent decrease).¹⁵ As indicated, some of this rural out-migration was relatively short-distance, staying within the County boundary. Saville observed that: 'On balance Carmarthen [shire] had a fairly high volume of out-migration, but because of the industrial development around Llanelli, it was lower than for the wholly rural counties of Wales.'¹⁶ Indeed, within the region of Llanelli and Burry Port, a recent study has revealed that 'more than 8 out of 10 of the population in each census year [1841-1891] were born in Carmarthenshire, indicating that the region's growing demand for labour was satisfied primarily by local people and by internal migration from within the county.'¹⁷

Though in 1851, the populations of Pembroke and Haverfordwest were 10,107 and 6,580 respectively, and Pembrokeshire's population between 1801 and 1891 rose from 56,280 to 89,133, an increase of 58 per cent, it will now be apparent that unlike Carmarthenshire there was no continuous growth over each intercensal period. Absolute decline occurred after the peak of 96,278 recorded in the 1861 census which would see the population fall to 91,998 in 1871, to 91,824 in 1881, and to 89,133 in

1891.¹⁸ Once again, and for like reasons, there was out-migration from the rural parishes from mid-century, a very large contingent of this ending up in employment without the county boundary, especially in the iron works at Merthyr Tydfil (in the early and mid decades) and the industrial districts of Carmarthenshire and Glamorgan, in the latter county Swansea and Ystradyfodwg in the Rhondda being particular destinations in the later decades of the century.¹⁹ Between 1851 and 1891 the total number of agriculturalists fell by 28 per cent; once again there were big differences as between the sub-categories. Here, too, numbers of farmers actually rose by 36 per cent and, as in Carmarthenshire, the substantial decrease occurred among labourers, a 33 per cent fall among male labourers alone, and, less drastically, among farmers' sons and other family members, whose ranks were depleted by 27 per cent.²⁰

The foregoing account of the region's socio-economic make-up will enable us to better comprehend the circumstances and problems which faced the successive Cawdor owners and their agents in their running of the estate over the course of the nineteenth century. Certain other cultural factors also confronted and sometimes challenged them. Insofar as their Carmarthenshire estates were concerned, most of their tenants and dependents and the wider community were Welsh-speaking. As recorded in the first census of Welsh-language speakers in 1891, of the total population of Carmarthenshire of over three years of age numbering 112,685, some 100,282, or 89 per cent, were Welsh speakers, while of that total of 112,685 some 63,345, or 56 per cent, were monoglot Welsh speakers.²¹ No such linguistic difference between the English-speaking Cawdors obtained on their estate in the hundred of Castlemartin in south Pembrokeshire, which lay in a wholly English-speaking area. Nonconformist denominations were also increasingly outstripping the Anglican Church in the attraction they held for the common people from the opening decades of the nineteenth century, and, once again, this religious difference between tenant farmers and the Cawdor owners would be felt far more so in Carmarthenshire than in south Pembrokeshire, where Anglicanism continued its hold upon the English-speaking tenantry. Turvey indicates that unlike the situation in much of Wales, Anglicanism was the strongest denomination in Pembrokeshire, some 30 per cent of worshippers being listed as Anglican in the Religious Census of 1851.²² Moreover, reflecting long-standing linguistic and racial factors, Anglicanism was strongest in the south of the county.

1.2 The Family and the Estate.

When Sir John Campbell, second son of the Duke of Argyll, married Muriel, daughter and heir of John Calder of Calder or Cawdor, in about 1510 there began an association with Cawdor and County Nairn in north-east Scotland which has lasted to the present day. One of their descendants, Sir Alexander Campbell of Cawdor, married Elizabeth, the sister and heir of Sir Gilbert Lort, last baronet of Stackpole Court, Pembrokeshire, in 1689, thereby beginning a two hundred and fifty-year association with that county. Their son and heir, born in 1695, was the able John Campbell, who would play a part in the national political life of his day. He married in April 1726 Mary, the daughter and co-heir of Lewis Pryse of Gogerddan in Cardiganshire. Their son, Pryse Campbell of Stackpole Court, who died a comparatively young man in 1768, married Sarah, the daughter and co-heir of Sir Edmund Bacon of Garboldisham, premier baronet of England, in 1752. Their eldest son, John, was born on 24 April 1755 in London. Upon the death of his father in 1768, John, just thirteen years of age, was brought up by his grandfather, John, whom he succeeded to the estate in 1777. It is with the accession to the estate of this impressive figure, an enlightened landlord and diligent public servant that this study of the Cawdor estate begins.

John Campbell, having fallen for her beauty,²³ on 28 July 1789 married the Lady Caroline Howard, the eldest daughter of the impoverished fifth Earl of Carlisle of Castle Howard. Seven years later, on 21 June 1796, he was elevated to the Peerage as Baron Cawdor of Castlemartin. He was a close friend of John Vaughan of Golden Grove in Carmarthenshire, who had succeeded to that heavily-encumbered family property in 1780. Upon the latter's untimely death in 1804—he died in his study at Golden Grove at the age of 47—his entire estate passed to Baron Cawdor. Although coming as a shock to the Vaughan family who mounted a protracted lawsuit to ascertain whether or not Cawdor was entitled to all or part of the estate, Vaughan's will, made in 1786, clearly stated that in the event of a failure of male heirs and of female heiresses (and there were none as the marriage was childless) and in the event of his wife's death (she had died in 1796), the property should go to his friend John Campbell of Stackpole Court.²⁴ In thus bequeathing the estate to Campbell, Vaughan was conforming to the eighteenth-century belief that an estate was above the family

who ran it, who were, through the agency of strict settlement, merely life tenants. Vaughan's magnanimousness was at the expense of various remnants of his family, some of whom conducted a protracted lawsuit against the new owner, which, however, came to nothing. The Golden Grove estate debts exceeded £40,000 so perhaps Vaughan calculated that none of the surviving family would be able to cope with such a burden, albeit the Stackpole estate was itself burdened with an even larger debt. Other families in Carmarthenshire had experienced a similar severing from their estate. Sir John Stepney, deep in debt, had attempted to sell his Llanelli estate in 1787 and again in 1791. By the terms of his will he bequeathed the estate to a variety of friends before his family. And when Stepney died in 1811 the Llanelli estate came into the possession of the Earl of Cholmondeley.²⁵

Baron Cawdor died in Great Pulteney Street, Bath, and was buried in its Abbey on 21 June 1821.²⁶ Ownership of the extensive Cawdor Pembrokeshire and Carmarthenshire estates, the largest in south-west Wales, thereupon passed to his thirty-one-year-old son, John Frederick Campbell. He had been MP for Carmarthen Borough in 1813 when his uncle, Admiral George Campbell, the reluctant sitting member, took the Chiltern Hundreds. In September 1816 he married Lady Elizabeth Thynne, the daughter of the second Marquis of Bath, at his Grosvenor Square house. In October 1827 John Frederick, second Baron Cawdor, was elevated to an earldom, as Earl Cawdor of Castlemartin and Viscount Emlyn of Emlyn in the county of Carmarthen, the latter title being held by his son. As will be shown later, he continued his father's efforts to promote farming in Pembrokeshire and Carmarthenshire and, like his forbears, fully involved himself in the public life of the region. He died on 7 November 1860 at Stackpole Court.

Ownership of the vast Cawdor patrimony then passed to his son, John Frederick Vaughan Campbell, second Earl Cawdor and third Baron. He was born on 11 June 1817 in Grosvenor Square. In June 1842 he married Sarah Mary Cavendish, the second daughter of the Hon. Henry Frederick Compton-Cavendish, son of the first Earl of Burlington, at St George's Hanover Square, London.²⁷ Until the first Earl Cawdor's death in 1860 they lived at Golden Grove, thereafter moving to Stackpole Court, where Lady Cawdor died in 1881. The second Earl likewise actively participated in public life; he was thus MP for Pembrokeshire between 1841 and 1860, Lord Lieutenant and Custos Rotulorum for and Carmarthenshire and Deputy Lieutenant for Inverness.

Following the second Earl's decease in February 1898, ownership of the Cawdor estates passed to his son, Frederick Archibald Vaughan Campbell, the third Earl and fourth Baron who was born on 13 February 1847 at St Leonard's Hill, Windsor. In 1868 Archibald married Edith Georgina, the daughter of Christopher Turnor of Stoke Rochford, Lincolnshire, and they had ten children together. His involvement in public affairs was impressive and diverse—as MP for Carmarthenshire between 1874 and 1885, as Lord Lieutenant of Pembrokeshire from 1896 until his death in 1911, as an Ecclesiastical Commissioner from 1880 till his decease. He was as a member of the Lunacy Commission between 1886 and 1893, a very able Chairman of the Great Western Railway for ten years from 1895, and President of the Royal Agricultural Society in 1901. He became President of the Institute of Naval Architects in 1908, a position he kept until his death in 1911. However, possibly his greatest achievement was as First Lord of the Admiralty, from March to December 1905, a position cut short by a change in government. *The Complete Peerage* comments upon his appointment to the first Lordship thus: 'his appointment to the highly important post of First Lord of the Admiralty occasioned some surprise, as he had never held office before: the way in which he administered the department, however, fully justified his selection.'²⁸

Before examining in detail the size and make-up of the Cawdor estates in the nineteenth century, it is necessary in the first place to ascertain the extent of the Stackpole and Golden Grove estates respectively before they were united under the Campbell family in 1804. The Stackpole estate in south Pembrokeshire in the eighteenth century was a very compact one, comprising a tract of land within Castlemartin hundred described by estate surveyor Charles Hassall in 1794 as follows:

From Freshwater East Bay, along the southern coast by Freshwater West, round the south cape of Milford Haven, and up the Haven for several miles; comprehending a tract of country of about 14 miles in length, and of various breadths from 7 to 4, including the entire parishes of Stackpole, St. Petrox, Bosherton, St. Twinnels, Warren, Castlemartin and Angle; together with a considerable part of the parishes of Rhoscrowther, Pulcroghan and Pembroke, containing about 16,000 acres, is the intire property of Mr. Campbell of Stackpole Court, and forms one of the finest and best connected estates that has ever fallen within my observation in any part of the kingdom; being all valuable land, without the intervention of mountain, waste, or common.²⁹

In addition, sometime during the early eighteenth century the family also purchased properties to the extent of 8,000 acres in the remote parishes of Llanfair ar y Bryn and

Cilycwm in north-east Carmarthenshire, no doubt with an eye to the rich deposits of lead there, which they mined from at least the 1750s. By 1793-4 John Campbell was receiving around £1,400 in gross rental from this Carmarthenshire estate. The largest part of this was from the holdings in Llanfair ar y Bryn where £696 was collected in rent, followed by Cilycwm which yielded £308.³⁰ The income received from the Campbell Pembrokeshire and Carmarthenshire properties combined in the early 1760s was £3,132, which, together with the £1,754 derived in addition from John Campbell's Scottish properties and his wife's estate, amounted to a total of £4,886. The Campbell properties at this time, however, like so many other landed estates in eighteenth-century Britain, were encumbered and the level of debt was deepened upon the purchase of the Bangeston estate in south Pembrokeshire in 1786 for £52,318 and of a portion of the encumbered Wiston estate in the same southern part of the county in 1793 for £38,000. In 1793 the Stackpole estates were encumbered to the staggering amount of £123,274 and, five years later, that debt had mounted to £153,000. In that year, 1798, the total income from the Pembrokeshire, Carmarthenshire and Scottish properties (the last in 1804 producing a rental of £3,091) was £17,142.³¹ Such was the perilous state of the family's finances that, as will be shown in the next chapter, under the guidance of Charles Francis Greville an attempt was made from 1798 to set the estate expenditure on a much stricter footing. It is likely that as part of this new rigour Lord Cawdor in 1802 sold about 10,000 acres of his estate in the three counties of south-west Wales, the sale raising £123,900.³²

The same dismal if inevitable and, to an extent, natural burden of debt had weighed down the Vaughan estate in Carmarthenshire in the eighteenth century. The problem had been greatly exacerbated by the disastrous marriage of the heiress, Anne, with the Marquess of Winchester in 1713, whose extravagance necessitated heavy mortgaging of the estate. Although the financial position had been somewhat improved under the careful oversight of John Vaughan, who succeeded to the property in 1751, when his grandson inherited the estate in 1780 it still shouldered mortgages in excess of £23,000. Such was the dire situation facing John Vaughan that part of the estate had to be sold in 1783 to satisfy importunate mortgagees. However, recovery remained impossible in the face of Vaughan's extravagance so that debts at the opening of the 1790s reputedly stood at around £50,000.³³ Small wonder that with such debts encumbering the estates of the Campbells and the Vaughans at the opening of the nineteenth century, Lord Cawdor, his agents and advisers, as will be shown in the

next chapter, were faced with a desperate cash flow situation that necessitated the imposition of a strict regime of expenditure. Such was the need to raise money that within a year of his becoming owner of Golden Grove Lord Cawdor had raised £27,000 from mortgaging two Pembrokeshire properties.³⁴

Soon after inheriting the Vaughan's Golden Grove estate in 1804, Lord Cawdor, on 31 January of that year, received the following memorandum from the previous and continuing agent, Thomas Beynon:

The Golden Grove Estate, in Carmarthenshire, now the property of Lord Cawdor, consists of about 27,000 acres, is let for about £8,000 per annum, including the demesne lands in hand, and, if out of lease, would, according to the best of my judgement be fairly worth £15,000 per annum, but I am inclined to think, considerably more. The Newcastle Estate consists of 6,740 acres and is estimated to be worth £3,096 though at present Rental only amounts to about £1,300.³⁵

When Lord Cawdor inherited the Golden Grove estate, he came into a much less compact estate than his Stackpole property. Indeed, the Golden Grove estate comprised several detached properties which included the Newcastle Emlyn estate, the Carmarthen Town estate, the Gelli Dywyll estate in Cenarth parish (purchased by John Vaughan in 1778), the Piode estate in Llandybie parish (its moiety purchased by John Vaughan in 1780), the Cilycwm estate as well as the Golden Grove 'home' estate. Unfortunately, no single estate map is extant for the eighteenth and much of the nineteenth centuries, although the agent Williams-Drummond made amends for this in the 1890s. From his labours it can be seen that the family's Carmarthenshire property was scattered all over the county, with great clumps of land in the Tywi Valley, and in the parishes of Llanfihangel Aberbythych, and Llandybie, and in the north of the county, in the parishes of Cenarth/Newcastle Emlyn and Penboyr (see copies of these maps inside the back cover).³⁶ The Golden Grove estate was surveyed by the notable cartographer Thomas Lewis in 1781-90—charging 6*d.* an acre—but he did not produce a map of the estate as a whole, merely maps of individual farms. According to this survey, the total estate acreage was 22,251 acres. Lewis's maps also revealed the extent of the urban properties owned by the Vaughans in Carmarthen borough.³⁷ The family owned some seventy-seven properties, comprising private houses, inns and the vicarage, which were concentrated around the lower end of Lammas Street, in Guildhall Square and skirting the Castle.

No documented evidence is forthcoming as to the precise size of the Cawdor estates in south-west Wales in 1804. Nevertheless a rough estimate can be made.

Insofar as the Campbell-owned properties in Pembrokeshire and Carmarthenshire were concerned, it will be re-called that Hassall had talked of the Stackpole estate covering 16,000 acres and it has also been stated that the family's estate in north-east Carmarthenshire stretched across 8,000 acres. However, it has been shown that 10,000 acres in south-west Wales were forcibly sold in 1802, so that in 1804 the family owned around 14,000 acres in the region, and although no figure is available for the extent of the Cardiganshire property, 332 acres had been sold in the 1802 transaction.³⁸ Their inheriting the Golden Grove estate in 1804 brought them ownership of a further 27,000 acres, so that the total land owned by the family in south-west Wales was something like 42,000 acres.

Over the course of the nineteenth century tracts of land were sometimes alienated, at other times added to the Cawdor estate either through purchase or inheritance. The agents, particularly Thomas T. Mousley, who was chief agent from 1863 until his retirement in 1893, and, following him, Francis Dudley Williams-Drummond, sold off or exchanged lands in outlying parts of the estate and bought other properties in order to consolidate the estate. The Golden Grove agent, Revd. Thomas Beynon, whom Lord Cawdor 'inherited' from John Vaughan in 1804, recommended to his new master in January 1806 the purchase of lands near Llanelli: 'it would be highly desirable for your Lordship to purchase, almost at any price, as they are very much intermixt with the estate'.³⁹ In that same year, 1806, the Berllandywyll estate, at Llangathen, passed to the Cawdor family on the death of the last of the line of the Llwyd Jones family.⁴⁰ Mousley's estate accounts reveal various instances of properties being purchased, many of them at high prices. He attempted on one occasion to purchase Mount Hill Cottage for the estate. The auction did not reach the reserve price of £2,200, and the property remained unsold, Mousley observing in a letter to Cawdor in October 1865: 'It is not unlikely that it would be sold...probably for £2,000—which is an extravagant price. I am sorry that we have not been able to add it to your Estate...to which it ought to belong.'⁴¹ Some of the purchases were very small, as, for instance, the half-acre that was surrounded by Cawdor property which was in the end bought for £33 above the asking price, Mousley having haggled with the owner who wanted £35! 'It won't do for us not to purchase this', commented the agent.⁴² Perhaps sellers realising the Cawdor estate was attempting to buy, held out for a higher price. This would explain why Mousley tried to be as secretive as possible about potential purchases, sending sub-agents to view properties. On

occasion, however, the estate either sold or drew back from making purchases. Thus during times of commons enclosure Mousley was careful to advise his master about what land to sell or not to purchase. In October 1868 he intended heading out towards previously unvisited country in the district of Trelech in west Carmarthenshire ‘to see some recent Inclosure allotments, with a view to their sale as there can be no advantage in our keeping them’.⁴³ When certain pastures of Penboyr Common were being put up for sale to raise funds towards meeting the expenses of enclosing it in May 1869, Mousley advised Cawdor to exercise caution: ‘It depends upon their situation with respect to your regional estate and the Allotments which we are to receive’, and he recommended purchase only if the tracts for sale interfered with Cawdor property as to access, waste, shelter and such like. When certain allotments were accordingly put on the market, none was purchased by the estate.⁴⁴ Later, in 1877, Mousley was to counsel his employer against buying land in the vicinity of Cayo in north Carmarthenshire when the common there was being enclosed. In a letter of 30 May 1877 written from Stackpole Court he apprized Cawdor of the drawbacks to making a purchase: ‘this sheep walk is a long tract of land running into the large Cayo Common, which nearly surrounds it. If we purchase, we may then fence the 230 acres, but the expense would be very considerable. And I don’t know that the tenant of Garthanty would be able to pay us much, if anything, as a return for such an outlay the tract being so nearly surrounded by open common—which would probably remain so—is a great objection to our having it as freehold. It is too high, and too distant, to be worth the cost of enclosing for planting.’⁴⁵ Cawdor decided not to purchase.⁴⁶ One or two purchases were large. Thus, in 1872 the Cawdors paid £19,000 for the Gellidywyll estate near Newcastle Emlyn, as well as £3,500 for timber on that estate. This was paid for by the sale, two months before, of the Wiston estate in Pembrokeshire for £85,000.⁴⁷

According to the *Return of Owners of Land in England and Wales in 1873*, published in 1875, the extent of land owned by the Earl of Cawdor in Carmarthenshire was 33,782 acres, whose gross annual rental was £20,780. 18s. In Pembrokeshire, Cawdor land covered 17,735 acres, which yielded an annual gross rent of £14,207. Thus across the two counties the family owned a total of 51,517 acres whose gross annual value was £34,987. 18s.⁴⁸ These figures were very close to the revised ones provided by John Bateman in his *The Great Landowners of Great Britain and Ireland*, third edition, published in 1883, where the Cawdor acreage was

given as 51,538 and the gross annual value as £35,042.⁴⁹ Yet the figure of 51,517 acres (or revised at 51,538) was significantly smaller than the extent of the Cawdor property submitted by Thomas T. Mousley, the recently retired agent, to the Welsh Land Commissioners in March 1894, in his stating that: 'The Carmarthenshire estates are something like 50,000 acres against nearly 20,000 in this county [Pembrokeshire]'.⁵⁰ Perhaps some of the discrepancy between the figures can be explained by the fact that in the *Return of Owners of Land, 1873* woodland, wastes and commons were not taken into consideration, so that 'Since there was a good deal of both woodland and wasteland on most Welsh estates, acreages given in the *Return* were sometimes substantially less than they really were.'⁵¹ Significantly, it was the Carmarthenshire figure of 50,000 acres which differed widely from the 1870s figure, for it was in the north-east of Carmarthenshire above Llandovery that the mountain farms were given over solely to sheep, which had the run of vast expanses of unenclosed sheep walks. In Mousley's opinion, the mountain farms comprised 'a fourth of the whole acreage' of the entire Cawdor estate in south-west Wales.⁵²

According to Bateman's figures, in a ranking of the top forty great landowners of England and Wales the Earl of Cawdor was the nineteenth largest. Second behind the Duke of Northumberland with his 186,397 acres lay Sir Watkin Williams-Wynn, who owned 145,770 acres. One other Welsh owner ranked above the Earl of Cawdor, namely the Earl of Powis who, as twelfth largest owner, possessed 60,559 acres.⁵³ Those falling below the Earl of Cawdor in the list were the Duke of Beaufort, the twentieth largest owning 51,015 acres, Lord Penrhyn who, as the twenty-second largest, owned 49,548 acres, the Earl of Lisburne, the twenty-fifth largest, owning 42,761 acres, Lord Tredegar, the thirty-first largest, possessing 39,157 acres, and Lord Windsor, who, as thirty-fourth biggest landowner in England and Wales, owned 37,454 acres.

The Cawdor lands in the three counties of Carmarthen, Pembroke and (comprising a mere 21 acres) Cardigan in the 1870s comprised the largest estate in south-west Wales.⁵⁴ Cawdor's nearest rivals as indicated in the *Returns of Owners of Land, 1873* included the Earl of Lisburne, whose estate in Cardiganshire and (of less than 1,000 acres) Carmarthenshire covered 42,706 acres, Sir Pryse Pryse, Bt., of Gogerddan who possessed an estate covering 32,359 acres in Cardiganshire, Montgomeryshire and (of under 1,000 acres) Pembrokeshire, William Thomas Rowland Powell of Nanteos, whose estate covered 30,582 acres in Cardiganshire, Breconshire and (of less than

1,000 acres) Montgomeryshire, the Revd John Henry Alexander Philipps of Picton Castle, who owned an estate comprising 21,455 acres in Pembrokeshire and Carmarthenshire, John Henry Scourfield of Williamston, Pembrokeshire, whose estate in Pembrokeshire and Carmarthenshire comprised 13,439 acres, Morgan Jones of Llanmilo, Carmarthenshire, who owned 12,071 acres in the counties of Carmarthen, Pembroke and Cardigan (under a thousand acres in the last two), the Revd. Lord Dynevor whose Carmarthenshire and Glamorgan lands stretched across 10,509 acres, Sir John Stepney Cowell-Stepney, Bt., of Llanelly, who owned an estate covering 9,937 acres in Carmarthenshire, and Sir James Hamlyn Williams-Drummond, Bt., of Edwinstford, Carmarthenshire, the owner of 9,282 acres in that county. While the Picton Castle estate was the largest in Pembrokeshire in the 1870s, the Cawdor estate with its 33,782 acres was the most extensive one in Carmarthenshire, followed at a distance by its nearest rival the aforementioned Llanmilo estate, Pendine, which covered 11,031 acres.⁵⁵

These figures were of agricultural land. It has been shown that the Vaughan family owned some 77 properties in the borough of Carmarthen in 1786. This made Lord Cawdor, upon his inheriting the Golden Grove estate, one of the three principal owners of property in the borough along with Robert Morgan, the iron master, and the Stepney family of Llanelli. (Prior to 1804, the Campbells owned very little urban property: they owned nothing in Haverfordwest and only one or two cottages in Tenby). Estate rentals reveal that in 1869 the Cawdor family owned 111 properties in the borough of Carmarthen, though 17 had been sold in 1868. By 1879 the number had fallen to 70 and by 1891 further still to 46, the decline continuing in the 1890s so that by 1899 just 43 were owned by the family. The estate also acquired properties in the emerging industrial town of Llanelli over the course of the nineteenth century, although the family owned fewer there than in Carmarthen. Whereas some 48 properties belonged to the family in Llanelli in 1869, numbers had fallen to 32 and 31 respectively in 1879 and 1891. It is significant that, unlike their political involvement in Carmarthen borough, the Cawdors never really became a political force in Llanelli wherein they owned relatively few properties. Furthermore, as Lords of the Manor of Llanelli, they reduced their ownership in efforts to encourage industry. They were also to encounter opposition to plans for reviving market tolls.⁵⁶

As was the case generally in England and Wales, from the end of the seventeenth century the bulk of the land of the majority of the greater gentry became let out to

tenant farmers. For economic and social reasons these larger proprietors now turned their backs on large-scale commercial farming. Only the home farm was kept in hand on the estates of this category of large landowner.⁵⁷ According to the Cawdor agent Williams-Drummond there were 1,270 tenancies on the Cawdor estate in 1896⁵⁸ which, as will be discussed in the next chapter, involved much supervision and regulation on the part of the various estate agents and sub-agents. In keeping with the situation for much of the Welsh countryside, farms were generally small in size and worked by tenants of limited capital. The aforementioned agent, Thomas Mousley, was indeed to lament these factors in his evidence given in 1867 to the Commission on the employment of children, young persons and women in agriculture:

Some of the formidable hindrances to an improved state of agriculture in Wales are the want of capital and of agricultural education and enterprise. The great proportion of farms are small, and occupied by men who really belong to the labouring class, and who too frequently have to struggle harder for existence than the cottager who has his weekly wage to depend upon. Landlords ought, by degrees, to merge their small holdings, to save themselves the perpetual expense of restoring so many small homesteads, which would enable them to give better accommodation for larger holdings, and thus making them more attractive to men of capital and enterprise; if they do not, the country must remain as at present, very little advanced from a state of nature as regards farming.⁵⁹

Mousley's estate accounts contain many instances of properties being merged, this very often being done to combine a less successful farm with a more efficient neighbour. In 1865, for example, it was proposed to the tenant of a farm near Wiston Mansion Farm that he should be placed on another farm since his current holding 'should be added to the Wiston Mansion Farm. The two farms are so connected that, they ought to farm but one—and it is very desirable to avoid a considerable outlay upon buildings at each place.'⁶⁰ Even so, such marriage of holdings was not a significant feature of the Cawdor estate management: asked by one of the Welsh land commissioners in 1894 whether there had been any consolidations of farms, Mousley replied, 'Not to any great extent'.⁶¹

The size of holdings for Carmarthenshire and Pembrokeshire as recorded in the Agricultural Returns for 1875 can be seen from the table below.

Table 1: Size of holdings from the Agricultural Returns of 1875

Acres	Under 50		50-100		100-300		300-500	
	Number	Acreage	Number	Acreage	Number	Acreage	Number	Acreage
Carms	5,071	92,702	1,785	128,857	1,214	181,025	37	12,939
Pembs	4,190	65,025	857	62,441	806	133,852	71	25,629

Acres	500-1,000		Above 1,000		Total		Average size
	Number	Acreage	Number	Acreage	Number	Acreage	
Carms	2	1,513	0	0	8,109	417,036	51
Pembs	11	6,745	0	0	5,935	293,692	49

The average size of fifty-one acres for Carmarthenshire and forty-nine for Pembrokeshire was marginally larger than that for Wales and Monmouthshire as a whole, which stood at 47 acres. The small mean size of Welsh holdings is confirmed when comparison is made with the mean size for England and Scotland of 58 and 57 acres respectively.⁶² Indeed, that difference in mean size would have been even greater than stated but for the larger number of small takings of beneath five acres in England and, if to a lesser extent, in Scotland.⁶³ From the above Table it will be seen that neither Carmarthenshire nor Pembrokeshire had any farm above 1,000 acres and that in both counties the overwhelming number of holdings were under 300 acres. In fact, most farms, 66 per cent of them, were between 5 and 50 acres. Some of these below-fifty-acre farms would have been too small to allow the occupier to make a living from farming, forty acres constituting the minimum size for this according to one contemporary source.⁶⁴ This very small-size farm was to be found on the Cawdor estate, T. T. Mousley alluding to them as ‘the very small farms of, say 15 or 20 acres, or something like that—little accommodation farms’.⁶⁵

If the general run of farms on the Cawdor estate was small, there were nevertheless certain parts of the estate where farms were large. Those holdings on the Stackpole estate in the hundred of Castlemartin were larger than those elsewhere in the Welsh areas of the estate, for in this English-speaking area gavelkind, with the consequent morcellation of holdings, had never operated, and, furthermore, the more favourable farming conditions prevailing there encouraged larger holdings than were generally found in the remoter and less fertile upland districts.⁶⁶ The *Agricultural Returns* for 1870 thus record that in the parish of Castlemartin, of the total number of farms exceeding five acres there were nine below one hundred acres and nine above, in the parish of Warren, two below and three above, in the parish of Angle, ten below and six above, in the parish of Bosherton, five below and four above, in the parish of St

Petrox, two below and two above, in the parish of Stackpole Elidor, five below and four above, in the parish of St Twinnells, eight below and four above, in the parish of Rhoscrowther, none below and six above, and in the parish of Pwllcrochan, three below and eight above.⁶⁷ Joseph Darby was later, in 1887, to observe that there were some ‘useful’ farms in the parishes of Monkton (thirteen above 100 acres in 1870), Pwllcrochan and Rhoscrowther.⁶⁸ Among the large farms were those of the 253-acre holding of Hayston in St Twinnells parish, the 340-acre Gupton farm in the parish of Castlemartin, the 399-acre Merrion Court in Warren parish, the 345-acre Longstone farm in the same parish, Rowston farm in Stackpole parish and, the biggest farm on the entire Cawdor estate, Brownslade, which covered 1,109 acres, though not recorded in the 1875 *Return* as being this size.

When considering the upland farms of the estate in north Carmarthenshire above Llandovery it has to be borne in mind that the farming community did not measure them in terms of acres but rather in relation to the number of sheep they could maintain.⁶⁹ For occupiers of these enclosed farms adjacent to the open moorland had pasture rights without stint on the sheep walks.⁷⁰ The right to pasturage was taken into account in assessing the rent of the holding.⁷¹

Finally, as with other landed families, the Cawdors were lords of various manors in the counties of south-west Wales. Giving evidence to the Welsh Land Commission in 1894, T.T. Mousley observed that the six parishes of Lord Cawdor’s Stackpole estate lay within the three manors of Stackpole, Meryton and Castle Martin. Although courts had previously been held there, he testified, in the last few years they had lapsed, the agent adding that: ‘There is really nothing to do. There are no wastes.’⁷² A list of manor courts belonging to Lord Cawdor drawn up in 1866 reveals that he had twenty-two in Carmarthenshire and Pembrokeshire combined, sixteen of them located in Carmarthenshire and six in Pembrokeshire.⁷³ T. T. Mousley testified to the Land Commissioners in 1894 that: ‘In Carmarthenshire the very extensive manors there on the estate of Lord Cawdor extend to pretty nearly...one-half of the county of Carmarthen.’⁷⁴ Manor Courts were held in the Carmarthen manors into the twentieth century, though as with Pembrokeshire very little business was conducted at them.⁷⁵ Just as there were no copyholders in the Pembrokeshire manors, so, too, there were only a ‘very few’ in the family’s Carmarthenshire ones.⁷⁶

To summarise: the Campbell family had owned property in south-west Wales since the late seventeenth century, when Alexander Campbell married Elizabeth the heiress of the Lort family of Stackpole. The Campbells continued to marry heiresses throughout the nineteenth century, a conventional way for a landowning family to advance its influence and consequence.

From 1804, when John Campbell, by then first Baron Cawdor, had received the gift of the Golden Grove estate, they became the largest landowner in south-west Wales. Both the Golden Grove and the Stackpole estates were burdened with debt, almost *de rigueur* for many landowners, and although attempts were made to substantially reduce the Stackpole estate debts, by selling off outlying properties, the debt burden never really left the family. By the middle of the nineteenth century the extent of the estate was in the region of 51,000 acres. In addition about 20,000 acres of wastes and common lands were under the control of the Cawdors, as the lords of twenty-two manors in the two counties. By the time of Bateman's work the Cawdors were the third largest landowner in Wales, and the nineteenth largest landowner in Wales and England combined.

The area comprising the Welsh Cawdor estates was remote (though not as remote as their Scottish estate at Nairn), at least until the coming of the railways in the 1850s, and the land was mostly indifferent, being tenanted by small farmers. However, there were exceptions: the Castlemartin hundred, Pembrokeshire, and the Tywi Valley in Carmarthenshire were areas of great fertility and the Cawdors owned some of the largest farms in either county in these two localities.

The Cawdor urban estate was small and never really significant as a source of income. They owned very little urban property in Pembrokeshire and nothing in the county town, Haverfordwest. In Carmarthenshire they owned, at one point, over a hundred tenements in Carmarthen town, though by the end of the nineteenth century this number had been reduced to less than fifty, while in Llanelli they never owned more than fifty properties, reducing to 31 by the 1890s.

We will now turn our attention to the administration of the estate, beginning with the role played by that most important estate worker, the agent.

¹ J. Williams, *Digest of Welsh Historical Statistics* (The Welsh Office, 1985), vol.1, pp.110 and 117; A. W. Ashby and I. L. Evans, *The Agriculture of Wales and Monmouthshire* (Cardiff: UWP, 1944), ch.

2; D. W. Howell, *Land and People in Nineteenth-Century Wales* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1978), ch.1; R. J. Colyer, *The Welsh Cattle Drovers* (Cardiff: UWP, 1976); for contemporary observation as to the pastoral nature of the farming of the region, see, for example, C. Hassall, *General View of the Agriculture of the County of Carmarthen* (London, Board of Agriculture Report, 1794) and his *General View of the Agriculture of the County of Pembroke* (London, Board of Agriculture Report, 1794), C. S. Read, 'On the Farming of South Wales', *JRASE*, x, (1849), and W. Barrow Wall (of Pembroke), 'The Agriculture of Pembrokeshire', *JRASE*, 23, second series, (1887).

² *Census Returns, 1871*.

³ Ashby and Evans, *The Agriculture of Wales*, p.16.

⁴ Howell, *Land and People*, pp. 142-46.

⁵ D. W. Howell, 'The impact of Railways on Agricultural Development in Nineteenth Century Wales', *WHR*, 7, I, (1974), pp.40-62; idem., 'Rural Society in Nineteenth-Century Carmarthenshire', *CA*, xiii, (1977), p.73.

⁶ J. Darby, 'The Agriculture of Pembrokeshire', *Journal of the Bath and West of England Society*, third series, xix, (1887-88), p. 90; Colyer, *The Welsh Cattle Drovers*, pp. 83-5.

⁷ Williams, *Digest of Welsh Historical Statistics*, vol.1, pp.62-5. In c.1821 G. A. Cooke listed fairs in 47 places in Carmarthenshire and 25 Places in Pembrokeshire. Most of the places held fairs at least twice a year. Carmarthen had ten fair days, Newcastle Emlyn eight, Llandeilo, Haverfordwest, Narberth and Pembroke seven: *A Topographical and Statistical Description of south Wales* (London, n.d. but after 1821).

⁸ J. Chapman, *A Guide to Parliamentary Enclosures in Wales* (Cardiff: UWP, 1992), p.5.

⁹ *Ibid.*, pp.58-72, 134-36.

¹⁰ Howell, *Land and People*, pp.39-40.

¹¹ CRO, Dynevor 60A, Enclosure apportionment of the parishes of Llanarthney, Llanon, Llandebye and Llanfihangel Aberbythick, 1820. The Act was 51 Geo. III. cliv.

¹² Williams, *Digest of Welsh Historical Statistics*, vol.1, pp.8-24; J. Saville, *Rural Depopulation in England and Wales 1851-1951* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1957), pp.46-7.

¹³ Williams, *Digest of Welsh Historical Statistics*, p.62.

¹⁴ PP, 1919, ix, *Wages and Conditions of Employment in Agriculture in Wales, Carmarthenshire*, p.54

¹⁵ PP, 1896, xxxiv, *RCLWM, Report*, p.49.

¹⁶ Saville, *Rural Depopulation in England and Wales*, p.47.

¹⁷ R. S. Craig, R. Protheroe Jones and M. V. Symons, *The Industrial and Maritime History of Llanelli and Burry Port* (Carmarthen: Carmarthenshire County Council, 2002), pp. 524-25.

¹⁸ Williams, *Digest of Welsh Historical Statistics*, vol.1, p.23. As Saville pointed out (pp.54-5), absolute decline had occurred in Montgomeryshire's population as early as the 1840s, while absolute falls were experienced in the 1850s by its continuance in Montgomeryshire and now for the first time in Anglesey, Brecknock and Cardigan.

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- ¹⁹ M. Bowen Evans, 'The Land and its People, 1815-1974', in D. W. Howell (ed.), *Pembrokeshire County History*, vol. iv, *Modern Pembrokeshire* (Haverfordwest: The Pembrokeshire Historical Society, 1993), pp.4-9.
- ²⁰ PP, 1896, xxxiv, *RCLWM, Report*, p.49.
- ²¹ Williams, *Digest of Welsh Historical Statistics*, vol.1, pp.78-82.
- ²² R. Turvey, *Pembrokeshire: The Concise History* (Cardiff: UWP, 2007), p.101.
- ²³ Cawdor box 129: Antonio Canova, perhaps with one eye on a commission from John Campbell and one eye on the mere thought of a beautiful woman, since he had as yet not met her, speaks of Caroline thus: 'All the English Gentlemen have spoken to me of your adorable bride, as being of a truly ideal beauty of mind and body.' Trans. by Mr Robert Rayner.
- ²⁴ Cawdor box 10/249, Will of John Vaughan; F. Jones, 'Vaughans of Golden Grove' IV, *THSC*, 1966 pp.213-25, discusses the lawsuit in detail.
- ²⁵ M. Symons, *Coal Mining in the Llanelli Area: vol.1, 16th century to 1829* (Llanelli: Llanelli Borough Council, 1979), pp.111-12.
- ²⁶ *The Complete Peerage*, (Stroud, 2000); *Burke's Peerage Baronetage and Knightage*, 104th ed., 1967.
- ²⁷ This was a double wedding – the other couple being Emlyn's sister Lady Elizabeth Campbell and the third Earl Desart. Their marriage was later beset with financial problems, Lady Desart frequently appealing to her father for money, and at one point Lord Desart explained that he had no money to pay her allowance.
- ²⁸ *The Complete Peerage* (Stroud, 2000), p.124.
- ²⁹ C. Hassall, *General View of the Agriculture of the County of Pembroke*, pp.13-14; David Williams, *The Rebecca Riots*, (Cardiff, 1955), p. 5.
- ³⁰ Cawdor/Campbell 3/65: Rental of the Carmarthenshire estates belonging to John Campbell, 1793-1794.
- ³¹ Cawdor box 253; Cawdor box 2/68; Cawdor box 234: rental of Lord Cawdor's estates in the Counties Nairn and Inverness, 1804.
- ³² Cawdor box 234: Sales Particulars, 28 and 29 April 1802.
- ³³ F. Jones, 'The Vaughans of Golden Grove: I The Earls of Carbery', *THSC*, (1963), pp.231-36; idem., 'The Vaughans of Golden Grove', *THSC*, (Session 1966, pt.1), p.188; Cawdor/Vaughan 41/5777.
- ³⁴ Cawdor/Campbell 3/94: a £10,000 assignment of a term in trust upon several properties in Pems, Mar. 1804; and 7/121: a £17,000 mortgage of the Wiston Estate, the Manor of Butterchin Waythen, Barony of Dungleddy and the Lordship of Wallsi Castle, 17 May 1804.
- ³⁵ Cawdor box 131: Beynon to Cawdor, 31 Jan. 1804.
- ³⁶ Cawdor archive: unlisted, amended Ordnance Survey sheets c.1896. The extant maps do not cover the Ystradffin estate nor the Carmarthen town properties.
- ³⁷ Cawdor maps 219: Lewis map of Vaughan properties in Carmarthen Town, 1786.
- ³⁸ Cawdor box 235: 1793-94 rental of Campbell properties in Merioneth, Montgomeryshire and Cardiganshire came to £1,972 13s. from 68 holdings spread over eight parishes.
- ³⁹ Cawdor box 131: Beynon to Cawdor, 25 Jan. 1806.

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- ⁴⁰ Ibid., Beynon to Cawdor, 8 Nov. 1806: F. Jones, *Historic Carmarthenshire Homes and their families* (Llandybie: Carmarthenshire Antiquarian Society, 1987), pp.8-9.
- ⁴¹ Cawdor box 141: Mousley to Cawdor, 23 Oct. 1865.
- ⁴² Ibid., Mousley to Cawdor, 10 April 1871.
- ⁴³ Ibid., Mousley to Cawdor, 5 Oct. 1868.
- ⁴⁴ Ibid., Mousley to Cawdor, 14 and 21 May 1869.
- ⁴⁵ Cawdor box 142: Mousley to Cawdor, 30 May 1877.
- ⁴⁶ Ibid., Mousley to Cawdor, 18 June 1877.
- ⁴⁷ Cawdor box 142: Farrer to Cawdor, 23 May 1872, and Mousley to Cawdor, 19 Mar. 1872.
- ⁴⁸ PP, 1874, lxxii, *Return of Owners of Land in England and Wales 1873*, Vol. 2.
- ⁴⁹ J. V. Beckett, 'Agricultural Landownership and Estate Management', in E. J. T. Collins (ed.), *The Agrarian History of England and Wales*, Vol.vii, 1850-1914 (Pt. 1) (CUP, 2000), p.704.
- ⁵⁰ *RCLWM*, Q.28,622, Mousley's evidence.
- ⁵¹ Brian Ll. James, 'The "Great landowners" of Wales in 1873', *NLWJ*, 14, (1965-66), p.303.
- ⁵² *RCLWM*, Q.28,748, Mousley's evidence, see also Q.40,246, Williams-Drummond's evidence before the same Land Commission.
- ⁵³ Beckett, 'Agricultural Landownership', p.704.
- ⁵⁴ For figures from the *Returns of Owners of Land, 1873*, see James, 'The "Great landowners" of Wales in 1873', pp.301-20.
- ⁵⁵ James, 'The "Great landowners" of Wales in 1873', pp.318-19.
- ⁵⁶ *CJ*, 29 Feb. 1828. At a meeting of some of the principal inhabitants of Llanelli it was unanimously decided that if the first Earl Cawdor was to continue to demand the market tolls 'immediate steps [would be taken] to resist such collection, and to indemnify any person who may be proceeded against for non-payment of the same.' *Cambrian* 22 Mar.1828, reported that Cawdor had relinquished his demand for tolls at Llanelli. *CJ*, 28 Mar. 1828 reported that the demand for the collection of tolls from Llandovery market was relinquished by Lord Cawdor after a protest by the inhabitants.
- ⁵⁷ G. E. Mingay, *The Gentry: The Rise and Fall of a Ruling Class* (London: Longman, 1976), pp.82-4; J. V. Beckett, *The Aristocracy in England 1660-1914* (Oxford and New York: Blackwell, 1986), p.136.
- ⁵⁸ Cawdor box 158: Williams-Drummond to Emlyn, 10 Dec.1896. To put this number into perspective, at the same date the Edwinstford Estate had 170 tenants.
- ⁵⁹ PP, 1870, xiii, *RC on the employment of Children, Young Persons and Women in Agriculture, Third Report*, Appendix A1, p.101.
- ⁶⁰ Cawdor box 141: Mousley to Cawdor, 10 July 1865.
- ⁶¹ *RCLWM*, Q.28,676, Mousley's evidence.
- ⁶² PP, 1875, lxxix, *Agricultural returns for Great Britain*.
- ⁶³ PP, 1896, xxxiv, *RCLWM, Report*, p.335.
- ⁶⁴ PP, 1870, xiii, *RC on the employment of Children, Young Persons and Women in Agriculture, Third Report*, N. p.30.
- ⁶⁵ *RCLWM*, Q.28,647, Mousley's evidence.

⁶⁶ Howell, *Land and People*, p.70.

⁶⁷ TNA, MAF 68/281.

⁶⁸ Darby, 'The Agriculture of Pembrokeshire', p. 101.

⁶⁹ Howell, *Land and People*, pp.69-70.

⁷⁰ *RCLWM*, Q.28,628, Mousley's evidence, and Q. 40,246, Dudley Williams-Drummond's evidence.

⁷¹ *RCLWM*, Q.28,651, Mousley's evidence.

⁷² *RCLWM*, Qs.28,617-18, Mousley's evidence.

⁷³ Cawdor box 235: List of manors, 1866.

⁷⁴ *RCLWM*, Q.28,759, Mousley's evidence.

⁷⁵ Cawdor Boxes 254-257: Manorial court records, 19-20 centuries.

⁷⁶ *RCLWM*, Q.28,759, Mousley's evidence.

2. Estate Administration

2.1 The Agents

Finding an efficient and loyal land agent was often a hit and miss affair, yet the agent was the single most important worker on the estate.¹ From the mid-eighteenth century onwards many books of instruction were written advising landowners on estate management, and, since the agent was central to good estate management, of what to look for in agents.² However, many landowners were unfortunate in their choice of agent. The Abadam family of Middleton Hall, a few miles west of Golden Grove, had the misfortune to hire an English agent in the early nineteenth century who was rabidly anti-Welsh and an Anglican religious zealot. This was in contrast to his employer's agnosticism and caused great friction.³ Again, a Mr Allen, agent for the Alltyrolyn estate, has been described as 'nefarious' in a recent study.⁴ In England, on the Holkham estate, Norfolk, the landlord had to deal with wholesale fraud by his agent, a Mr Caldwell.⁵ Yet the competence of an estate agent was fundamental to the success of the estate in terms of not only giving the owner a return, however small, on his investment, but also, in determining the relationship between the estate and its tenants, the estate and the local community, and indeed, the estate and the wider world.

J. L. Morton's treatise of 1858, *The Resources of Estates*, catalogues the qualifications expected of a good land agent. He should be: a practical farmer, a scientist, a lawyer, an accountant and a general businessman; he should also be skilled in wood science, fence-making and have knowledge of mineral extraction. An agent should also be something of a psychologist, and a diplomat with skill in prudence and self-command.⁶ At the end of the nineteenth century the *Report of the Royal Commission on Land in Wales and Monmouth*, 1896, concluded that the authority of the agent 'is generally very indefinite, and is only limited from time to time by the express commands of the owner' and, again, 'the agent has to do all that a prudent owner would himself perform; he is the alter ego of the landlord.'⁷ John Griffiths, in 1896 postmaster at Llanarthne, would have agreed. He believed that the only qualification for an agent was that 'they understood the law from the Landlord's point of view and can make agreements with clauses which are all on the landlord's side.'⁸ Griffiths's words are fundamentally accurate since ultimately the agent was employed to protect the interests of the estate, in order to allow the landowner to pursue a 'life of leisure with freedom to pursue occupations that were not dictated by the

compulsions of economic necessity.’⁹ This ‘was the great object of estate management’, to which everything else, in a dedicated agent, was subordinate. Moreover, to an extent the agent was perceived by the landowner as a means of shielding him from abuse and criticism sometimes forthcoming from tenants and the wider community.¹⁰

The agent was often criticised by tenants. However, in the *Land Commission Report*—which was possibly biased towards the tenant farmer—an apology is nevertheless given for the landowner if in his choice of agent he made mistakes since the agent had multifarious tasks to perform.¹¹ Moreover, the agent in Wales, it claims, cannot be described ‘as harsh, unscrupulous, arbitrary or cruel.’¹² Even so there were many criticisms of agents from those interviewed by the Commission. The latter lists the following words used by witnesses to describe agents: inexperienced, ignorant, untrained, harsh and arbitrary; additionally they could not speak Welsh, were corrupt and dishonest, and they were very often lawyers with no experience of farming.¹³ Such was the mistrust by tenants. On the other side, argues Eric Richards, the agent often had to deal with ‘employers who were wilful, prodigal and unintelligent,’ and, at the same time, maintain ‘a dutiful deference that seems mildly incongruous in retrospect.’¹⁴ Fortunately, the main agents employed by the Cawdor estate throughout the nineteenth century were very competent, hard working and loyal. They were trusted—as far as employers trust their employees—by the Lords Cawdor, none of whom could be described as either unintelligent or wilful, and they developed with each agent a good working relationship, though with a degree of deference expected, which was not, however, confined to the relationship of agent and landlord, as it pervaded society generally.

The mode of estate management in nineteenth-century England and Wales was almost as varied as there were estates. The Duke of Northumberland held weekly business meetings with his agent to ensure the good governance of his estates. However, other landlords neglected the management of their estates to the utmost degree, in some cases resulting in bankruptcy.¹⁵ During the intermittent absences throughout the century of its owner from his property in south-west Wales¹⁶ the Cawdor estate was managed principally by way of correspondence between landlord, agents, solicitors and accountants. Four main agents managed the Carmarthenshire and Pembrokeshire estates through the nineteenth century. And despite Morton’s belief in the mid-century that ‘The time has come when men who mean to devote

their attention to the management of landed property, must be educated for the profession—for it ought to be, and certainly will soon become a distinct profession',¹⁷ none of the Cawdor agents was trained at agricultural college until the late 1870s, and thereafter only briefly, until Williams-Drummond in the 1890s.

The Stackpole estate agency was in the hands of John Cooper from the late eighteenth century until his retirement in 1822. Little is known of Cooper, though he seems to have worked for the estate for an extended period. At Golden Grove, the Revd Thomas Beynon, who had worked as agent for John Vaughan for twenty-four years, continued as the agent under its new master, Baron Cawdor. Beynon was the son of the Revd. Griffith Beynon, vicar of Hereford, and was born in the parish of Llansadwrn, on 26 August 1745. He died, unmarried, in Llandeilo on the 8 October 1833.¹⁸ In his will he is described as being of Greenmeadow, Llansadwrn, which had originally been purchased by his father. Beynon received his education at the Presbyterian College, Carmarthen, rather than university, and he was ordained in 1768 as deacon of Abergwili. He soon became the incumbent of Llanfihangel Cilfargen (and by 1782 rector), Llanfihangel Aberbythych, and Llandyfeisant parishes, as well as being rector of Llanedi and Penboyr, the rural dean of Emlyn, prebendary of Clyro in Christ Church College Brecon, and, from 1814 to his death, Archdeacon of Cardigan.¹⁹ It is in the latter capacity that he is described in the burial register. Beynon was thus the archetypal pluralist, much attacked by John Wade in his *Extraordinary Black Book* of 1832.²⁰ John Vaughan and then, from 1804, Baron Cawdor, owned the livings of the several parishes in Carmarthenshire where Beynon was the incumbent. Beynon was thus fortunate in his choice of landlord, but he had property to bolster his church income, which he mostly used to employ curates at the churches where he was incumbent. He also appears to have been able to turn opportunities into profitable ventures and at his death Beynon owned four properties in the parishes of Talley and Llansadwrn. He was a thorough-going Anglican churchman who supported many church schemes.²¹ And in his will, apart from an annuity to his brother William, most of the beneficiaries were either the church or clergymen.²² Walter Morgan has stated that: 'He was the outstanding Welsh churchman of his age and an ardent patriot. But his qualities as a hard headed man of business are more in evidence than his spiritual attributes.'²³ Indeed, it is as a 'hard headed man of business' that he pursued the interest of the Golden Grove estate.

Beynon was also a great supporter of the Welsh language: he was a patron of the Cymreigyddion Society of Carmarthen, and was one of the principal movers behind the Carmarthen Eisteddfod of 1819.²⁴ As a Welsh speaker Beynon would have been of enormous help when dealing with monoglot Welsh tenant farmers. He was the only main Cawdor agent in the nineteenth century who was definitely capable of communicating in Welsh, though it is probable that his successor R. B. Williams could also speak the language.

Beynon divided his time between estate work and church affairs so was not a full-time agent for Cawdor. However, as Cawdor's agent his work-load increased considerably as the new master of Golden Grove set about making the estate more efficient. 'Ever since I have been concerned for the Golden Grove Estate I never was so much harassed with its business as I have been during the course of this Spring', he complained in 1806, 'partly on account of the falling in of Leases, as well as a variety of other contingencies which continually occur in the management of so large a property. Indeed I have scarcely had a day or an hour to myself.'²⁵ He undertook this extra work even though, as a landowner in his own right, he did not need the income. His loyalty to the estate was all the more impressive for this.

Beynon was the most openly outspoken of all of the Cawdor's agents with regard to estate matters, particularly those of a financial nature. In 1809 he wrote to Baron Cawdor over the non-payment of a bond, due to a lack of money, between the latter and a Mrs Powell: 'This has put me into such agitation that I can scarcely write...For Godsake, My Lord, make some arrangement to avoid the unpleasant consequences of a Lawsuit. You may suppose it will be extremely uncomfortable to me to be used as an instrument of hostility against your Lordship but I cannot avoid it.'²⁶ Appalled that the lack of money to pay a called-in bond was damaging the name of the estate, he continued: 'as it is now perfectly well known that the delay, in finally arranging the business is entirely owing to your Lordship, you may well suppose that the matter is publicly and generally talked of in every part of the country, which must evidently tend to lessen your Lordship's consequence in the public estimation'.²⁷ To Beynon, the estate reputation, the family reputation, and it seems almost to the same degree, his own reputation, were all at stake when a financial transaction was not paid when due.²⁸

Richard Bowen Williams took over the estate agency in 1817 and remained in post until his retirement in 1863. He was born on 9 November 1789, son of Richard

Williams of Moreb in Pen-bre parish.²⁹ His father was a coalmine speculator and agent for the Pemberton family of Trumpington Hall, Cambridgeshire, one of several families who bought property in the Llanelli area hoping to exploit it for mineral wealth. Williams senior, and R. B. Williams's brother mined Penywern on the Stradey estate at the beginning of the nineteenth century.³⁰ The first extant record of Richard junior is of an 'eye sketch', drawn for Henry Child of Llanelli, of a plot of ground intended for a chapel. The plan is dated 1810 and is signed 'Richard B Williams, Surveyor'.³¹ It may be indicative of Cawdor's intentions of developing extractive industries in the area, that the first agent he employed for the Golden Grove estate was a surveyor familiar with mining and the Llanelli/Pen-bre area. Williams became the main agent for both the Stackpole and Golden Grove estates in 1822, on the retirement of John Cooper.

The main agents were trusted by the Cawdors—occasionally to the detriment of the estate, as we shall see—in political matters as well as estate administration. When the first Earl Cawdor's friend, Sir James Graham,³² crossed the floor from the reforming Whig to the Tory party, and was contemplating standing MP for Pembroke Dock, he wrote to Williams of, 'My early friendship and uniform agreement with Lord Cawdor' who had 'reconciled me to the step, which I have ventured to take [of standing for Pembroke]'. It is to Williams that he writes in secret prior to the election.³³ And after Graham had been returned unopposed he wrote to thank the agent 'for the active and judicious, because quiet, exertions, which you have made in my favor'.³⁴ Williams retired from the agency in 1863 and lived in the Llandeilo house—named Moreb after the agents' family farm—which the first Baron had built for his agents. He died there in 1871.³⁵

If, as we have seen, Beynon was, and Williams probably was, Welsh speaking, then the main agents following these were almost certainly monoglot English (though it is probable that many the Cawdor under-agents were Welsh speaking). This opened the Cawdor estate to one of the legitimate criticisms of the Land Commission: that non-Welsh-speaking agents could rarely communicate effectively with tenants. Indeed, Williams's successor, T. T. Mousley, rather emphasises his Englishness by sending his children to school in Cheltenham.

Thomas Turnor Mousley was born at Agardsley Hall, Newborough, Staffordshire, in 1824, one of nine children, at least three of whom became land agents. His father was Isaac Mousley, a land agent firstly on the crown-owned Agardsley Hall estate,

and, by 1841, at Manwoods estate, Handsworth, Warwickshire. Thomas and his brothers, Walter and George, learned their profession from working with their father. None of them went to agricultural college though all three became respected agents.³⁶ Thomas began his career as a sixteen-year-old, initially assisting his father and then with an uncle. The latter had what Mousley described as ‘a very general agency’, and he soon sent the young Thomas to work in north Wales as an under-agent for four estates, including two ‘of Sir Watkin’s estates in Denbighshire’.³⁷ He worked in such a capacity for nine years and then had eight years as head agent for Lord Combermere’s Cheshire estate of Marbury Hall. Since the Combermere family was resident in Ireland, at their Fota Island estate, County Cork,³⁸ and rarely visited England, Mousley must have had a largely free hand in estate management on their Cheshire property. Mousley stated to the Land Commission that he also acted as farm manager under his uncle and for Lord Comberland where ‘All the bailiff’s accounts passed through my hands—all the details’.³⁹ Such experience was essential for his work on the much larger Cawdor estates where he was allowed to make important decisions without consulting his employer. Mousley became Cawdor’s agent in January 1863, on the retirement of R. B. Williams. His salary was £500, which remained the same until his reluctant stepping down in 1893.

Mousley worked unstintingly for the Cawdor estate throughout his thirty-year career, and was one of those agents ‘who achieved a remarkable versatility in all kinds of estate business’.⁴⁰ He took very few holidays and frequently worked twelve hours or more a day.⁴¹ His only ambition seems to have been to ensure that the Cawdor estate interest was advanced. To this end his own interests were subordinated. Thus, he never became a magistrate, although far lesser men in Carmarthenshire attained that position, and he never acquired land, which both his predecessors did. However, Mousley was, like Beynon before him, a committed Anglican, and, as we shall see, was actively involved with church and education campaigns.

Mousley’s relationship with John Frederick Vaughan, the second Earl Cawdor, was one of mutual fondness, albeit the correct degree of deference being shown on the part of the agent. In thirty years they only seriously came close to falling out on two occasions: once when Mousley referred to tenant right—though he wrote tenant’s rights—and had to explain himself to Cawdor; and, more disagreeably for Mousley, and perhaps for Cawdor as well, when in September 1889 the agent wrote: ‘I am greatly grieved to think that the happy spell has been broken, by receipt of this—Your

Lordship's first angry letter in nearly 27 years.'⁴² Cawdor's letter is not extant, though the falling out was with regard to a poaching case on the Stackpole estate, of which Mousley had no knowledge since he was away the day of the incident. It seems that a poacher had been beaten up by a new under-keeper, but no one, neither Mousley's son nor Colonel Lambton who were both present, reported the matter to Cawdor. In addition Cawdor had not been informed of the employment of the new under-keeper, one Henry Gittings. This breakdown of communication between Cawdor and his subordinates (though Lambton was related by marriage rather than a servant) throws a different light on the apparently amicable relationship of agent and landowner. Mousley's hand writing—usually firm, regular and self assured is, on this occasion, tremulous, either with rage, or fear, or perhaps both. Cawdor's reaction to this lesser incident is in marked contrast to his silence over the evictions of tenants, after the 1868 elections, which were ostensibly carried out without his knowledge.⁴³

Not that Mousley can be regarded as a man to be put upon. On one occasion in 1870 he was accused by the vicar of Wiston, Revd Phillips, an estate tenant, of dog stealing. He wrote to his master that Phillips was a disgrace to the Wiston estate, and 'that I should advise Your Lordship to deprive him of his land. ...of course I had no wish to take the land from Mr Phillips but I don't intend to be insulted by him in so gross a manner'.⁴⁴ Lord Cawdor wrote to Phillips in support of his agent and Mousley replied: 'he richly deserves Your Lordship's indignant reply—altho' I had no wish that it should be quite so severe—Yet I dare say that anything milder would have had no effect upon him'.⁴⁵ These examples give an indication of the working relationship between agent and landlord: as long as the latter was kept informed, he would support the agent completely; but if he was mis-led or not informed he showed a hostility which could shake the confidence of even the most devoted servant.

Mousley was a strong-willed man and, like his master, liked to get his own way. In 1869 the second Earl Cawdor decided to reorganize the management of the estate. Up to this time Mousley had been head of both the Golden Grove and the Stackpole estates. Cawdor, although he believed his agent had worked hard, wanted to relieve him of the management of the Stackpole and Wiston estates. The letter referring to the re-organization is worth quoting at length since it gives a direct insight into Lord Cawdor's views regarding the management of his estates and of his relationship with his chief agent:

No one could have executed himself more than you have done or discharged his duties with more zeal and ability and I feel you know my opinion of you too well to make it necessary for me to assure you how more than satisfied I have always been. But I have often felt that the management of the two Estates was more than one man should be asked to undertake and that from the distance by which they are separated. It is almost impossible to give that personal attention which is so necessary even with the best subagents. ...frequently personal inspection of lands and Buildings is very important with the class of men we have to deal with [i.e. men of sparse capital]. I propose therefore to make no alteration to your salary or position, further than relieving you from the management of the Stackpole and Wiston Estates. I think you will agree with me that the Carmarthen property scattered as it is all over the County will afford you ample employment and in fact is quite as much as you can fairly be called upon to undertake.⁴⁶

Typically the self-effacing agent wrote back grudgingly accepting Cawdor's intentions, but proposed to give up £200 of his salary—to which Cawdor refused.

Two days later the earl wrote: 'I think when relieved of this property [that is Stackpole and Wiston] you will still find ample employment for your time and may give personal attention to matters, the details of which have been looked after by sub-agents. Perhaps you might dispense with Brockie's services as a sub-agent and make Lockyer [the head gamekeeper at Golden Grove] do a certain amount of work.'⁴⁷ There is here a gentle criticism of his agent—that he was spreading himself too thinly, not knowing the tenants well enough and relying on sub-agents, some of whom were definitely criticised as was Mousley on occasion, by tenants. However, the only outcome of this attempt by Cawdor to reorganise the estate administration was that Mousley's younger brother, Walter, was installed on the Stackpole estate, to be trained as an agent by Mousley. Thus, Thomas Turnor remained in control of both estates: a testimony to his strength of character. However, the view of Lord Cawdor is explicit here, the estate should maintain a personal (and paternalistic) relationship with the tenants. It was a conventional attitude amongst landlords everywhere in Wales and England. It was an attitude which would ultimately lead to offence being taken by the landlords when the personal relationship, fostered by them in return for loyalty, was rejected by the working-class majority franchise in the 1885 election.

Soon after his arrival in Carmarthenshire, Mousley established himself as a respected member of the agricultural interest. He was instrumental in setting up the Carmarthenshire Chamber of Agriculture in 1865, and was an active member of the Carmarthenshire and Pembrokeshire Farmers' Clubs and the Carmarthenshire Agricultural Society. He was elected chairman of all these clubs. His opinion was frequently sought on a variety of matters and he contributed to their quarterly debates

on numerous occasions. He also gave papers to the Farmers' Clubs—for instance, on how to improve agriculture in the County, in which he was critical of Welsh farmers in general for not implementing the latest technologies in order to make their farms more efficient. On another occasion, Mousley gave a paper discussing agricultural labourers, which will be discussed in detail in a later chapter as will his contribution to the third *Report of the Commissioners on the Employment of Children, Young Persons and Women in Agriculture*.

On his retirement, which was only taken reluctantly, Mousley moved to Aberystwyth to live with his daughter for a period before moving to Hereford where he died in 1903. His son, Thomas [Tom] Pickering, born in 1859, became the main agent at Stackpole after the retirement of his father. In January 1879 Tom spent a year at the Royal College of Agriculture, Cheltenham. In the College register he is recorded as being 'resident land agent to Lord Cawdor',⁴⁸ though in reality he was under-agent at Stackpole to his uncle Walter. At college, he obtained fairly good marks—though his father over-praised his achievements to Cawdor—except in book keeping where he was firstly marked as poor and then failed to attend any lectures. When he first became the Stackpole main agent he wrote to Cawdor: 'I think I can manage the work people on this Estate as I have done since Lloyd left—but old John Thomas of Wiston (who knows every stick and stone of that Estate) would be a very great help to me. He has for years done carpenters' work himself—and has acted as my father's sub-agent for these two estates'.⁴⁹ Mousley's comments highlight what does not often come to the surface from reading the agents' correspondence—that the estates needed a number of very knowledgeable men who had their own employment but were also trustworthy enough to act as sub-agents. Tom Mousley worked as the Stackpole agent until 1907. In that year he left after what seems to have been a minor illness. Over a year later he is resident at the Greenman Hotel, Ashbourne, Derbyshire, and writing to Cawdor that he needed employment and could not understand why his former master had stopped paying his salary which had been promised for three years after his retirement. The master of Stackpole Court wrote that because of discrepancies in the estate account, and *for other reasons well known* to Mousley, his salary had been stopped. According to a note in Cawdor's hand the discrepancies amounted to £5,000 over a two-year period.⁵⁰ Interestingly, the Stackpole estate account books for 1906 have disappeared. On Mousley's departure the Stackpole estate management was combined with that of the Golden Grove estate,

under the overall supervision of Francis Dudley Williams-Drummond. The latter employed Arthur J. Pritchard to be the local agent at Stackpole.

Francis Dudley Williams-Drummond took over the main agency from Thomas Turner Mousley in July 1893. He was born in 1863 and was the youngest son of Sir James Williams-Drummond of Edwinsford. The family had a long pedigree and, like the Cawdor family, could trace itself back to Scottish gentry.⁵¹ F. D. Williams-Drummond was educated at Eton and Trinity College, Cambridge.⁵² In the Land Commission's *Report* he is described as agent for Edwinsford and Derllys (he had not, at that time, begun working for the Cawdor estate), and it went on to state that he had 'studied agriculture from youth, had a special education at an agriculture college and subsequently in a large estate office'.⁵³ Thus at thirty he had already had experience of running an estate which, in 1883, was 9,281 acres in extent.⁵⁴

Williams-Drummond ran a professional land agency that could offer its services to who ever could pay.⁵⁵ Unlike T. T. Mousley, who had extensive practical knowledge of estate management, Williams-Drummond admitted to the Welsh Land Commission that he had no practical experience as a farmer, though 'he gave it as is opinion that an "agricultural education" was a sufficient guarantee of an agent's powers'.⁵⁶ In this respect, he was of a different breed to both R. B. Williams and Mousley, who owed their livelihood to the estate, and closer to Thomas Beynon who, like Williams-Drummond, was not dependent upon the estate. As a business man Williams-Drummond was one step removed from the more intimate knowledge of the estate tenants than had been possessed by his predecessors. He became the Cawdor agent at a time when landowners as a whole were on the back-foot, struggling with agricultural depression, reeling from attacks in the radical nonconformist press, from electoral reform and election defeats, and beset by a Liberal government seemingly intent on destroying the landed estate system. As the old relationship of paternal landowner dispensing largesse to a gratefully deferential tenantry began to break down, perhaps it was an unconscious decision on Cawdor's part to employ someone who was slightly distanced from the tenants. Williams-Drummond had established his main estate office in Ferryside, with a branch office for the Cawdor estate in Spilman Street, Carmarthen. Most of the agent's correspondence was written from Ferryside, which was certainly more awkward to get to than Carmarthen for the majority of the estates' tenants. He also reintroduced written tenants' agreements which had been eschewed by T. T. Mousley early on in that agent's term of office. Moreover, he was

certainly more outspoken with regards to the tenants, especially if they were Welsh-speaking.

Williams-Drummond had an illustrious public career, which again set him apart from the other agents of the estate. He became a Carmarthenshire magistrate and Chairman of the Quarter Sessions and later (in 1924) an Alderman and Chairman of the County Council. He also succeeded in becoming Deputy Lieutenant for Carmarthenshire as well as chairman of the Territorial Force Association. In 1919 his work as the Food Controller of all Wales was recognised when he was awarded the CBE. After the war he became the first Agricultural Commissioner for all Wales.⁵⁷ In 1911 he was the Chairman of the Land Agents' Society.⁵⁸ Williams-Drummond had self-assurance in abundance as is evident from his correspondence to Cawdor and Emlyn. In fact, he seems to have seen himself as an equal to the latter, addressing him as 'My dear Emlyn'. Though, perhaps socially, he was an equal, as the younger son of a gentry family he was probably more in need of an income than the heir to the Cawdor estate. Six months after his appointment he asked for a pay rise—something Mousley would never have contemplated: 'I have been thinking of asking you whether you could see your way forward ...to increasing my present salary of £500 by making it equivalent to what it was in Mousleys (and I believe his predecessors) time *viz* £600 and a house or its equivalent, or possibly if you see fit a trifle more.'⁵⁹ Williams-Drummond was correct: there had been no pay rise during the whole of Mousley's agency.⁶⁰ He continued: 'I think if you compare the salary with that of other Estates of a similar size and character you will find it smaller than is usual.'⁶¹ He points out that he was receiving £250 as agent for Edwingsford, even though it had only 170 tenants, whereas the Cawdor estate had 1,270 tenants. Emlyn reviewed the agent's salary and raised it to £600 along with a house, in January 1897.

Under the main agents, the several estates which made up the Cawdor estate were managed locally by sub-agents. From at least the time of Mousley's agency four paid sub-agents were employed in Carmarthenshire to deal with estate business at Newcastle Emlyn, Ystradffin, Llandybie and Golden Grove. For this work they were paid £35-40 per annum.⁶² At Golden Grove and Stackpole the estates were run by full-time sub-agents, such as Tom Mousley at Stackpole and, in the late 1820s, a William Thomas at Golden Grove.⁶³

Many of the criticisms aimed at agents by witnesses to the Welsh Land Commission, may actually have been to do with the sub-agents. One of the main

criticisms of agents was their inability to communicate in Welsh. However, the Cawdor estate employed sub-agents, who were local men and tenants of the estate, and were far more likely to be fluent in the language, at least in Carmarthenshire. Most of the work undertaken by these sub-agents would have been in assisting the main agent on rent audit days, and reporting any problems needing attention on their particular estate. However, sometimes the sub-agents stepped out of line, giving the estate a bad name. Mousley was forced to advise Cawdor to ‘remove Old Rawlins from the Llandebie sub-agency. He is become so drunken that I can do nothing with him.’⁶⁴ More seriously, for the man involved and for the good name of the estate the bailiff at Nantyrmwyn ‘has been nearly killed by a fall from his Pony, in a drunken state’. Mousley again writes to Cawdor to advise him ‘to dismiss him from the Agency,’ adding: ‘I am very much afraid that I shall find he has withheld money from some of the Estate workmen.’⁶⁵ In 1852, the sub-agent Titus Lewis, of Newcastle Emlyn, was involved in a court case regarding the distraint of a tenant, one Thomas Davies. The *Carmarthen Journal* published a letter relating to the case by a James Thomas, in which he stated that although the plaintiff had no complaint against Lord Cawdor or his superior agent he did have ‘bitter reason, [to have complaint] ‘against the sub-agent and his attorney’ and was considering bringing a court action against him since he had claimed various expenses from the plaintiff which were illegal.⁶⁶ It is not the specifics of the case that are of interest, though it seems Titus Lewis was attempting to line his own pocket, so much as the fact that a sub-agent was in a position of power to take a tenant to court on behalf of the estate without firstly consulting R. B. Williams. Unfortunately nothing further was reported concerning this case.

Other Cawdor agents were employed in a more specialised capacity. On the remote Ystradffin estate, with its main source of income from lead mining rather than agriculture, the agent was foremost employed as a mining engineer. John Rolley had been the agent there for a number of years—he is first mentioned as a witness on a Llansawel farm lease in 1777.⁶⁷ However, the agricultural estate was not well run. Thomas Beynon made an inspection of the estate in 1808 and found it ‘very noble, but much neglected, and wantonly injured property...I have examined the condition of every house and outhouse upon the Estate...[and] ...nine out of ten are such miserable hovels that it would be wasting Materials and labour to attempt to do anything to them... It will require £500 per annum for thirty years to come to erect

proper farm buildings on this estate.’⁶⁸ Beynon also believed Rolley had been lining his own pocket for thirty years and mistrusted him completely.⁶⁹

Rolley died in 1804 and C. F. Greville (for whom see below), Cawdor’s new chief administrator for the south-west Wales properties, was instrumental in finding a new agent. He wrote to John Williams, of Scorrier House, Cornwall, probably the foremost mining engineer of the day, asking if he could recommend an engineer. Williams recommended his namesake Joel Williams: ‘I think him fully equal to the undertaking, a good Miner, writes well and capable of keeping any Accounts you may require...honest and very industrious... has a wife and Family which I think you seem to prefer.’⁷⁰ Joel Williams was duly appointed, though, unlike Rolley, Williams was only employed as a mines agent. Greville recommended to Cawdor that Beynon should extend his general agency work to include the agricultural holdings on the Ystradffin estate.

2.2. Estate Financial Arrangements

The finances of the whole of the Cawdor property, Scottish as well as Welsh, was administered centrally from London by the family’s accountant/solicitors, firstly a Mr Stevens and, from the early nineteenth century, Farrer and Co. Income from the estate was deposited with Thomas Coutts and Company, though, in Wales, they used local bankers Morris and Company of Carmarthen, as an interim place of deposit. The London solicitors, or ‘supervisory agents’ in David Spring’s term,⁷¹ scrutinised all land transactions and audited the annual accounts. They also supervised and to some extent controlled the sums of money being spent by the local agents. This system was established at the very end of the eighteenth century by the first Baron Cawdor, when he rearranged his finances in an attempt to curb spending, and it remained more or less the same throughout the nineteenth century. The arrangement sometimes led to conflict between local and central agency and in such cases matters were resolved by appealing to Lord Cawdor. Similar arrangements existed on many of the larger English estates, though very few Welsh estates were substantial enough to warrant such an administrative system.

In 1798-99 John Campbell, first Baron Cawdor, re-arranged the Stackpole estate finances. Years of spending on property purchases, enlarging Stackpole Court, and

extravagant art collecting had, by 1793, encumbered the estate to the amount of £123,274. By 1798 this had risen to £153,000. The finances of the estate were looked at in some detail in that year when Charles Francis Greville,⁷² friend of the family and co-author with John Campbell of a bill to develop Milford town, was put in overall charge of the estate. At the time Cawdor was busy with military duties in the wake of the attempted invasion by the French in 1797. Greville's 'Plan' is referred to in Cawdor's diaries of 1798 and 1799. Meetings were undertaken between him, Lady Cawdor, Greville, and John Mirehouse of Brownslade, Pembrokeshire.⁷³ Mirehouse was the overseeing agent for the Campbell properties in both counties and was, in his own right, one of the most respected improving landowners of the period: 'Mr Mirehouse is esteemed one of the best gentleman farmers in the kingdom: his farmyard and offices are admirably arranged. In 1800 the gold medal for improving waste moors was adjudged to this gentleman, by the Society for the encouragement of Arts, Manufacturers, and Commerce.'⁷⁴ The medal was given for turning the bog of Castlemartin Cors into fertile land. John Campbell had had an Act passed in 1788 (the second Parliamentary enclosure act in south Wales) to enclose the Cors and then leased it to Mirehouse who carried out the enclosure. However, Mirehouse seems not to have been as good at finances as he was at land improvement. Cawdor frequently requests information regarding the estate accounts from Mirehouse. Eventually, Mirehouse did respond—by writing to Greville: 'With Respect to the estate Acc't—if it can be of the smallest use to Ld Cawdor—He [i.e. Mirehouse] is ready to overlook It—but He cannot admit the Account to be made in his name—or that He should become responsible for It—till He had pass'd It.'⁷⁵

A few months later in c.1800, Greville gave his opinion with regard to Mirehouse: 'I am clearly of opinion that Mr M's removal from all situations of trust or management is indispensable. To retain an agent who has suffered his feelings to be wounded tho' yet his character impeached because there has been a strict examination of his accounts...would be absolute insanity.'⁷⁶ In view of the admiration accorded him by many, the examination of the accounts and proposal to dismiss Mirehouse was quite remarkable, and showed the seriousness with which Lord Cawdor and those introduced to assist him in his 'affairs' viewed the situation. In the summer of 1799 Cawdor stated of Mirehouse that 'his Conduct has been as injurious to us as it could, he has shown neither consideration for my interest or Credit, and I confess it is with pain I carry on the Farce of keeping any communication with him or addressing him

in a manner I consider only due to those I esteem.’⁷⁷ John Mirehouse was dismissed as the Stackpole agent soon afterwards.

The new arrangement of Cawdor’s affairs established a Trust to administer the estate finances, the trustees being Greville and Lord Cawdor’s father-in-law the fifth Earl of Carlisle.⁷⁸ The Trust enabled interest to be paid regularly on Cawdor’s mortgages thereby minimising the chances of those mortgages being called in by the mortgagee. With his affairs thus brought under control Cawdor was then able to secure further loans. It seems the idea of a Trust was a requirement put upon Baron Cawdor by his father-in-law: ‘It became then necessary for me’, wrote Greville:

without waiting for the approval of the arrangement to decide on the mode by which the accmpt, as far as I should become responsible, was to be kept and it was settled by Lord Carlisle and myself after a consultation with Mr Coutts that the accmpt of Lord Cawdor should be in our joint Names [that is Greville and Carlisle]. The cash advanced by Lord Carlisle was accordingly paid into our joint account and the proper orders have been signed by Lord Cawdor to Messrs Coutts. I had therefore the satisfaction to see the account properly open’d before I made one payment and thereby Mr Coutts will in fact keep the General Account and there will be the same satisfactory register of receipts and payments on this occasion as I had when engaged in a more formal Trust in behalf of my Brother.⁷⁹

He goes on to explain that he had directed the agents regarding what to do in future: ‘I thus make your Line Clear. As I make money and altho’ your opinion was, even after your accounts were recommended by Mr Cromwell and myself to be passed as correct, that it was my desire to load you with business without salary and to draw from you resources for the alarming pressure of the Times you now see that my Views are prospective and the present plan will I trust prove a source of Comfort and relief to Lord Cawdor’.⁸⁰

Both Cawdor and Greville wrote to the local estate agents explaining what the ‘new arrangements’ would involve as regards their finances: ‘I direct you to remitt the next Balances of your Collections to my accountant at Messrs Coutts and as certain payments are necessary in the Country you will in future make such payments only as shall be specified to you by Mr Greville.’⁸¹ The latter also wrote to Caroline, Lady Cawdor, in 1800 explaining matters: ‘Mr Stevens [Cawdor’s London accountant] has given great confidence and satisfaction to Messrs Coutts that Lord C will henceforward be under no obligation to anyone, by adhering to the plan which he has laid down—and keeping all his agents to their duty—which will be easy from Mr Stevens looking to the Account and aprizing Lord C whenever he sees any thing going wrong.’⁸² This tightening up of the accounting procedure and the watchfulness

of the London accountant seems to imply that things had been going wrong with regards to the conduct of some of the agents at least. And as we have already seen, Thomas Beynon believed that there had been crooked dealings on the Ystradffin estate.

The overall estate encumbrances were substantially reduced in 1802, when about ten thousand acres of outlying estate land in Carmarthenshire, Pembrokeshire and particularly the counties of Cardigan, Montgomery and Merionydd were sold, raising £123,900.⁸³ However, upon coming into the Golden Grove property in 1804, Cawdor found himself with an extra debt of around £40,000 from that estate, though within a year he had reduced that debt by mortgaging two Pembrokeshire properties for £27,000. Cawdor raised further large sums over the next decade. The indebtedness on the estates does not at this point follow the model put forward by F. M. L. Thompson—that landowners lived with debt for decades rather than attempting to reduce encumbrances by selling outlying holdings. Baron Cawdor was clearly attempting to reduce the estates' debts by doing just that. However, encumbrances on the estate increased as the nineteenth century progressed and for the rest of the century the Cawdors' debts fit well with the Thompson model. In 1837 the whole of the Cawdor estates, including the Scottish property had mortgages and loans to the sum of £216,679, requiring £13,810 interest per annum. In addition various annuities came to £12,182 per annum with another £30,000 expected under the estate settlement of Lord Cawdor's will. Thus total encumbrances came to £245,679 with actual and expected annual payments of £18,860. The average remittances to Coutts's, by both R. B. Williams and the Scottish agent Alexander Stables, for the six years 1832-1837 was £21,779 per annum. From this total £12,182 was taken in the various payments, while estate disbursements at Stackpole, Golden Grove and London came to £3,000 leaving £6,597 to spend.⁸⁴

At times during the first decade of the nineteenth century the availability of cash for payments of bills was quite desperate, but the situation was not unique to the Cawdor estate. The banker Thomas Coutts stated to Cawdor that: 'The Times are such as I never thought to have seen, and your Lordship cannot form any Idea of the difficulty there is in every money transaction—or the continual worry we live in not having it in our power to accommodate People even when we wish it the most.'⁸⁵ These difficulties were created by the Bank of England's decision, in 1797, to suspend cash payments and to introduce paper bank notes. This action affected

provincial banks' abilities to issue small denomination coin.⁸⁶ However, if anything, the Cawdors' cash situation became worse over the next few years. In 1808 available cash seems to have depended entirely upon the sale of lead. The aforementioned Charles Stevens, Cawdor's London accountant, remarked that:

the state of affairs reduced me to submit to your Lordship without loss of time...to endeavour with Caution, to make a partial Sale of the Ore. I did hope that the various Demands would admit of deferring a Sale to a later period [i.e. when the price of lead ore had increased] but the present state of the Account at Coutts's puts it out of the question...The Ore can now (in the state of the Market) be only described as Capital (in another Shape)—and altho' no enquiry shall be wanting to procure a Loan—the result, so uncertain, must not in the least be depended on.⁸⁷

The stricter financial regime was introduced on the Golden Grove estate after Cawdor became its owner in 1804. However it is difficult to accept that the new arrangement really worked. Beynon protested most loudly concerning the practical consequences of the new arrangement, probably because he was forever bailing out the estate from his own pocket. In February 1806 he wrote that although every part of Cawdor's 'concerns, under my management, shall be conducted with the utmost economy as if it was for myself: but I am positive that the Sum allowed for annual expenditure will fall exceedingly short of its object, unless there is considerable reduction in the expenses at the Mines, and accepting perhaps those years when few Leases fall in, and when consequently no new buildings or repairs are required: but that rarely happens'. Beynon was not slow to note that the financial stringency was not being observed in one particular area: 'In order to forward the above object of economy as much as possible, will your Lordship give me leave to put a stop to all improvements going on at Golden Grove, such as draining, planting etc., and to confine the workmen merely to the necessary business of the Farm?'⁸⁸ As we shall see, the works being undertaken at the old Golden Grove were quite extensive, and expensive.

As far as Beynon was concerned he had paid various bills from his own resources to ensure the Cawdor name would not be sullied in the community. The agent, from 1804 onwards, is owed increasing amounts of money by the estate as he pays tradesmen and others owed money by the estate. The estate accounts acknowledge the debt—£1,672. 5s. 5¼d. in 1807—with a note to that effect added by Lord Cawdor.⁸⁹ Mr Maddocks (the house steward at Golden Grove) visited Beynon in order to receive wages for workmen at Golden Grove. The agent later wrote to his master that: '(I) was under the hard necessity of adding £100 that I had destined for my own pocket';

various other tradesmen also visited Beynon expecting payments, ‘but unless I am enabled by your lordship (for from Mr Stevens I have now nothing to expect) they must all be disappointed, for the first time these Seven and twenty years [the period Beynon had been employed as an agent by the Golden Grove estate]’.⁹⁰ Beynon is here clearly criticizing Greville’s (as approved by Lord Cawdor) method. He finishes his letter: ‘Circumstances of this sort must be known, and then I need not point out the consequences to your Lordship.’⁹¹ The agent’s point was probably not missed by Cawdor! At one point Beynon asked for at least some of his money to be repaid but Cawdor’s London accountant, Mr Stevens, advised that it would not be possible for the agent to have any of his money, besides ‘he may borrow’.⁹² The underlined ‘he’ is most telling since Cawdor himself was at the time trying to borrow money, initially without much success. In 1808 Beynon wrote that he would be at least £600 over the monthly allowance, with £200 needed to pay tradesmen in the Llandeilo area and £163 owing to William Morgan of Carmarthen for deal supplied to Golden Grove.⁹³

Again, at the end of 1807 Beynon writes that in the previous year:

I advanced, out of my own pocket £923 to close the account for the year 1806, and am certain that a Sum, nearly of that amount will be wanted before Christmas to wind up the accounts of this year. ...There will be no Money to pay the workmen... next Friday... not having a sufficient sum in my own ... I am now on the Receipt [of rents] and am obliged to pay for the Tenants Dinners out of my own pocket...something should be settled immediately ...as I can go on no longer, having run myself in debt, and am completely aground. I have spoken and written both to your Lordship and Mr Stevens on this subject Several Months past, yet there is nothing done.⁹⁴

Beynon’s debt was not to be paid off until his retirement in 1817. Whatever the grumblings⁹⁵ and hardships Beynon endured on behalf of the estate, the ‘new arrangement’ of Cawdor’s finances was persevered with, and as observed earlier, remained the basis of estate finances throughout the nineteenth century.

¹ F. M. L. Thompson, *English Landed Society in the nineteenth century* (London, 1963) and D. Spring, *The English Landed Estate in the Nineteenth Century*, (John Hopkins, 1963) both give examples of less than honest agents.

² For example: J. Mordant, *The Complete Steward* (1761); N. Kent, *Hints to Landed Gentlemen* (1793); and William Marshall, *On the Management of Landed Estates* (1806). These were early works of a genre which continued well into the mid-nineteenth century with such works as J. L. Morton’s *The Resources of Estates: being a Treatise on the Agricultural Improvement and general management of Landed Property* (London, 1858). That there was a market for these volumes indicates the growing

desire of many landlords to run their estates on increasingly professional standards; see also Thompson, *English Landed Society*, ch. vi for the development of the estate agent.

³ R. Colyer, 'The land agent in Nineteenth-Century Wales', *WHR*, Vol. 8, No. 4, (Dec. 1977).

⁴ L. Baker-Jones, *Princelings, Privilege and Power: The Tivyside Gentry in their Community* (Llandysul: Gomer 1999), p.322.

⁵ Thompson, *English Landed Society*, pp 155-56 for the story of Caldwell's exploits.

⁶ Morton, *The Resources of Estates*, p.9.

⁷ *RCLMW, Report*, p.249.

⁸ *RCLMW*, Vol. iii, minutes of evidence, Q.45,000. Griffiths, however, could be seen as biased since he believed his father had had a raw deal as a tenant of the Cawdor Estate.

⁹ Thompson, *English Landed Society*, p.151.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*; D. W. Howell, *Land and People in Nineteenth-century Wales*, p.42.

¹¹ *RCLMW, Report*, p.250.

¹² *Ibid.*

¹³ *Ibid.*

¹⁴ E. Richards, 'The Land Agent' in G. E. Mingay (ed.), *The Victorian Countryside*, 2 vols. (London, 1981), p.446.

¹⁵ Spring, *English Landed Estate*, p.17: The Duke of Buckingham's estates were 'lacking a proper system of auditing their accounts' which eventually led to bankruptcy for the estates, after years of lurching from one financial crisis to another.

¹⁶ The time spent by the Cawdors on their various properties will be explored in chapter 7 below.

¹⁷ Morton, *The Resources of Estates*, p.8.

¹⁸ CRO, CPR/62/1, Llansadwrn baptism register; CPR/36/12, Llandeilo Burial register.

¹⁹ *DWB*, 1959.

²⁰ J. Wade, *The Extraordinary Black Book* (London 1832, reprint New York 1970). Wade explains that pluralism was so prevalent that to list all offenders would have made the book of 'inconvenient length...and with this view we have restricted ourselves to such shameful monopolists among the parochial clergy as hold three or more preferments', p.97. Beynon is listed on pp.100-101.

²¹ He was also, along with many other churchmen, anti-Catholic: 'If the papists gain their present point there is an end to the constitution of England.' Beynon to Bishop Burgess, 2 Feb. 1813 (SD/LET/1228/NLW). His anti-Catholicism was in contradistinction to Lord Cawdor's pro-Catholic views

²² CRO, Trant 712.

²³ W. T. Morgan, 'The Diocese of St David's in the Nineteenth Century', *Journal of the Historical Society of the Church in Wales*, No. 26, (1971), p.18.

²⁴ G. H. Jenkins, Ff. Mair Jones, and D. Ceri-Jones, *The Correspondence of Iolo Morganwg*, Vol. iii, 1810-1816 (Cardiff: UWP, 2007), original ref. NLW 21280E, No. 21: 19 Oct. 1819: Beynon to Iolo Morganwg: Beynon invites Iolo to a meeting to discuss proposals to hold annual eisteddfodau in different parts of the Principality.

²⁵ Cawdor box 131: Beynon to Cawdor, 1 May 1806.

²⁶ Ibid., Beynon to Cawdor, 20 Mar. 1809: On the same subject Beynon continues: 'I must beg leave, in the strongest manner, to press on your mind the urgent necessity of an immediate attention to this matter, which is now become of very serious moment. One of the legatees has been repeatedly arrested ... The others are very clamorous: and under these circumstances you may well suppose that the tongue of censure does not spare your Lordship... A person lately observed that sometime ago, there was not a person in the County of Carmarthen he would sooner have appointed an Executor or a Trustee than Mr Beynon; but that is now he should be one of the last he would think of? These are unpleasant circumstances and reflections and incurred for no fault of my own.'(Cawdor box 131: 25 May 1809). As a final plea to Cawdor, Beynon throws in the humanitarian card: 'one of the [aggrieved] parties is pursued by Bailiff's and his wife dying of a broken heart for want of this Money...[and]... I trust I may say no more to ensure your Lordship's best endeavours to have this matter immediately settled.' (Cawdor box 131: 27 Jan. 1809).

²⁷ Cawdor box 131: Beynon to Cawdor, 20 Mar. 1809.

²⁸ The Powell bond was eventually paid, but it is an example of how far Cawdor was prepared to go before relinquishing what relatively little money was available.

²⁹ CRO, Pembrey baptism register, CPR31/1/4.

³⁰ M. V. Symons, *Coal Mining in the Llanelli Area from the 16th century to 1829* (Llanelli: Llanelli Borough Council, 1979), p.162.

³¹ CRO, Castell Gorfod, Maps 9, (1810).

³² Sir James Graham of Netherby Hall, 1792-1861.

³³ Cawdor box 2/217: Sir James Graham to R. B. Williams, 11 Feb. 1838.

³⁴ Ibid., Sir James Graham to R. B. Williams, 20 Feb. 1838.

³⁵ Cawdor box 2/223: It is notable that Williams, unlike Beynon before him, and Mousley after him, was not a particularly religious man. His seat in Llandyfeisant church 'is, and always has been occupied by the Vicar's family as Mr RBW never went to church'. John Thomas, builder and restorer of Moreb *post mortem* R. B. Williams, to Mousley, 11 April 1871.

³⁶ George Mousley worked at Cuxwold Hall, Lincolnshire, a minor property of the Thorold family of Syston Hall, Lincolnshire, before working at Hooton Hall, Cheshire. Hooton was, for centuries, a property of the Stanley family until 1849 when it was purchased by the Liverpoolian banker, Richard Christopher Naylor. Brother Walter worked for a time at Stackpole as under-agent before becoming agent to the Duke of Wellington, at Stratfield Saye, Hampshire, a post which came with Cawdor's help. The three brothers kept in touch and on occasion asked advice from each other on matters of estate business. Thomas thus used his brother George and other contacts from former employments when Cawdor asked about the purchase of horses. On another occasion George, Walter and Thomas junior were contacted by the third Earl when Thomas seems to have become less than communicative with his lordship over retirement. Thomas Mousley's cousin, Thomas Pickering, was offered work by Cawdor, as a sub-agent in 1884. However, Mousley turned this offer down since his cousin had been left property and did not need to work. And another cousin, an N. Turnor, was 'an extensive land agent

and an excellent man of business—Agent to Lord Bagot, for his Pool Park Estate in north east Wales (Cawdor box 157: Mousley to Cawdor, 3 Oct. 1884).

³⁷ *RCLWM*, Vol. iii, minutes of evidence, Qu.28,632.

³⁸ www.fotahouse.com (accessed 17 Mar. 2006).

³⁹ *RCLWM*, Vol. iii, minutes of evidence, Qu.28,632.

⁴⁰ Spring, *English Landed Estate*, p.4.

⁴¹ Richards, 'The Land Agent', p.448.

⁴² Cawdor box 157: Mousley to Cawdor, 18 Sept. 1889.

⁴³ See Chapter 5: The Cawdors and British Politics.

⁴⁴ Cawdor box 141: Mousley to Cawdor, 26 April 1870.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 30 April 1870.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, Cawdor to Mousley, 5 April 1869.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, Cawdor to Mousley, 7 April 1869.

⁴⁸ Royal College of Agriculture, Cirencester: student register.

⁴⁹ Cawdor box 158: Tom Mousley to Cawdor, 1 Feb 1893.

⁵⁰ Unfortunately, but interestingly, the 1906 estate accounts for Pembrokeshire are missing.

⁵¹ *Burke's Peerage* (104th ed, 1967)

⁵² *Kelly's Peerage and Baronetage* (15th ed, 1968).

⁵³ *RCLWM, Report*, p.254.

⁵⁴ J. Bateman, *The Great Landowners of Great Britain and Ireland* (4th ed. Intro. by D .Spring, Leicester, 1971), p.139.

⁵⁵ A similar business was run earlier in the century by the Bishop family, solicitors and land agents to Lord Dynevor amongst others. In 1872 Thomas Mousley enthused over the record office, complete with several clerks, which Charles Bishop had established in Llandovery. (Cawdor box 142: 8 June 1872) At this time this was probably the only such business in the county. However, Lord Cawdor was not so impressed with Bishop when the latter, as Clerk of the Peace, moved the deposited railway plans of the county from the Guildhall in Carmarthen, to his Llandovery office, giving the reason that as clerk of the peace he should not let the plans out of his sight. Cawdor said that he was sure Bishop 'did not sit all day in his office, sitting like an old hen upon the documents'. *CJ*, 9 April 1864.

⁵⁶ *RCLWM, Report*, p.254.

⁵⁷ CRO, Acc. 4836: F. D. Williams-Drummond, *Annals of Edwingsford, Clovelly and Hawthornden* (n.d.).

⁵⁸ Cawdor 2/232.

⁵⁹ Cawdor box 158: Williams-Drummond to Emlyn, 10 Dec. 1896.

⁶⁰ Cawdor 266: Carmarthenshire estate accounts, 1863.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*

⁶² Cawdor 267: Carmarthenshire estate accounts, 1870-79.

⁶³ Cawdor 2/43/336: Letters written May–July 1829. Thomas seems to have been used as a clerk of works overseeing the various contractors, building the new Golden Grove. The letters refer to the work

going on at the new building as well as estate matters. See below Chapter six for the building of the 1820s Golden Grove.

⁶⁴ Cawdor box 141: Mousley to Cawdor, 18 May 1871.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, Mousley to Cawdor, 5 June 1867.

⁶⁶ *CJ*, 27 Aug. 1852, letter from James Thomas.

⁶⁷ Cawdor 2/36/66.

⁶⁸ Cawdor box 131: Beynon to Cawdor, 20 May 1808.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 2 June 1805.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*: Williams of Scorrier to Greville, 21 Dec. 1804.

⁷¹ Spring, *The English Landed Estate in the Nineteenth Century*, p.4

⁷² *DNB*: Charles Francis Greville 1749-1809 was a nephew of Sir William Hamilton and the second son of the First Earl of Warwick. There are three portraits of him in the National Portrait Gallery, one as a member of the Dilettante Society.

⁷³ Cawdor boxes 244/7 and 244/8:

26 Sept 1798: 'Talked to Car[oline] about my affairs rode to Brownslade desired a plan from Mirehouse how to go on'.

14 Oct 1798: 'talked with Car and Greville upon Mirehouses Act and plan of reduction'.

21 Feb 1799: 'the whole of the Forenoon with Mirehouse examining the state of my affairs etc'.

23 Feb 1799: 'in the house the whole Day with Mirehouse examining the General state of my affairs'.

⁷⁴ B. H. Malkin, *The Scenery Antiquities and Biography of South Wales* (2nd ed., London, 1807). Not everyone seems to have agreed that Mirehouse was a respected landowner. One of his tenants, a William Davies, whom Mirehouse had distrained for lack of rent, lured him to his house where he threatened to kill him unless Mirehouse signed papers stating that he owed Davies £380. A scuffle ensued in which Davies attempted to shoot his landlord but the gun failed to fire correctly. Mirehouse escaped but the tenant continued to threaten him. (Cawdor/Campbell 21/318: Deposition by Mirehouse to the Great Sessions, 1806.)

On Mirehouse's death the *Cambrian* reported that he 'was one of the most extensive agriculturalist in the Principality; and had the consolation of being surrounded in his last moments, not only by his family, but by six of his servants, three of whom had lived with him upwards of forty, and the remainder above twenty years'. (*Cambrian*, 5 April 1823). Perhaps it was the lot of a landowner to be loved by some and hated by others!

⁷⁵ Cawdor box 235: Mirehouse to Greville, 18 June 1799.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, Greville to Lord Carlisle, n.d. but c. 1800.

⁷⁷ Cawdor 2/133: Cawdor to Greville, 4 June 1799.

⁷⁸ Cawdor box 244: John Campbell's diary: 30 Oct. 1798. After a conversation between Mirehouse, Caroline and Campbell the latter wrote and underlined 'Trustees'. Perhaps the decision was thus made.

⁷⁹ Cawdor box 235: fragment copy letter book, c.1799-1800.

⁸⁰ Ibid., Greville writes: 'Copies of letters sent to the Howards at the commencement of my arrangement of Lord Cawdor's affairs in 1799 to wind up the Mr Mirehouse.'s agency.' Mr Cromwell was a London solicitor used by Cawdor on occasion.

⁸¹ Cawdor/Campbell 20/279: Letter book, Lord Cawdor to his agents, 9 Feb. 1799.

⁸² Cawdor box 133: n.d. c.1799.

⁸³ Cawdor box 234: Sales Particulars 28 and 29 April, 1802: In 1796 the Campbell's had 51 holdings in Montgomeryshire and Merionethshire with a yearly rental of £1,372. 9s. (Cawdor 2/39/101: Rental for those counties, 1796).

⁸⁴ Cawdor box 177: 'State of Affairs', 1837: Such statements do not, of course, include personal debt. When Lord Cawdor died in 1821 he left a personal debt of £90,000. His son, John Frederick, attempted to reduce this sum by paying some off with his own money, and by selling timber and art works. He wrote to his mother, Caroline, the dowager Countess, that he had 'serious thoughts if you do not object to Parting with the Hebe and Cupid [both purchased by Baron Cawdor from Antonio Canova in the 1790s] which with the timber might Probably make up near £30,000'. (Cawdor box 235: Lord Emlyn to Lady Cawdor, draft letter, 1821).

⁸⁵ Cawdor box 129: Thomas Coutts to Cawdor, 25 July 1798.

⁸⁶ P. Deane, *The First Industrial Revolution* (Cambridge: CUP, 1965), pp. 171-75.

⁸⁷ Cawdor box 131: Charles Stevens to Cawdor, 30 Jan. 1808.

⁸⁸ Ibid., Beynon to Cawdor, 22 Feb. 1806.

⁸⁹ Cawdor 2/123: Estate accounts for 1804 and 1807. In 1804 Beynon was owed a mere £127. 9s. 11½d.

⁹⁰ Ibid., Beynon to Cawdor, 25 Dec. 1807.

⁹¹ Ibid. In the same letter Beynon states that 'the man who has superintendence of the buildings on the Tivyside Estate came here to have his account settled...but he was obliged to return ...without having his business completed, the money in my hands not admitting of my settling with him. This is the more to be regretted as his account was not settled last year, and for the same reason viz the want of Cash.'

⁹² Ibid., Charles Stevens to Lord Cawdor, no day Dec. 1809.

⁹³ Ibid., Beynon to Cawdor, 22 Dec. 1808.

⁹⁴ Cawdor box 131: Beynon to Cawdor, 1 Dec. 1807.

⁹⁵ Ibid., Beynon to Cawdor, 7 June 1808. Beynon was also upset by the way Greville communicated the new proposals. In the same letter he commented: 'I received a very strange letter from Mr Greville, couched in very offensive terms' requiring immediate remittances even though he had paid out £1,200 of his own money. 'If such conduct, on my part, was not thought to merit thanks, Surely I was entitled, at least, to exemption from insult. Mr Greville apparently thought he was writing to a Mirehouse or a Rolley but, I thank God, I am neither the one nor the other.'



John Frederick Campbell, First Earl Cawdor
1790-1860

3. The Agricultural Estate:

3.1 The Cawdors and their agents as farmers

Although most of the Cawdor estate was let out to tenants, the family, with the help of their agents and bailiffs, played a commendable role in promoting improved methods of farming on the estate and further afield. This was accomplished through adoption of new techniques on the home farms at Stackpole and Golden Grove, which, it was hoped, would be imitated by the tenants, and through participation in local and national organizations which were set up to inform landlords and tenant farmers alike about new techniques. The first Baron Cawdor was an enthusiastic improver. His diaries between 1778 and 1821 make frequent reference to his walking around his home farm at Stackpole Court before breakfast inspecting his turnips and other crops. When away from his estate, he was an inveterate visitor to other gentlemen's farms and his diaries describe what he saw. For instance, whilst travelling from Castle Howard to London in April 1817, he stopped off at Belvoir in Derbyshire, and had this to say about the home farm: 'went over the whole Demesne Farm with [the Bailiff] which is in very good order as to Crops, Fences and Grass grown. Sheep new Leicester very good Cattle all sorts most crossed with Alderney for the Dairy which is well managed and very productive cream excellent and a quantity of very good cheese 24 cows at present in milk in all 33 or 4. the last winter they add [sic] 3 or 4 acres of Carrots for them which assisted the milk greatly.'¹ By dint of such visits to other gentlemen farmers' home farms and the demesnes of various aristocratic families, as well as reading agricultural theorists such as Arthur Young, William Marshall—in *c.* 1800 Marshall drew up a draft lease for Cawdor to adapt for use in Pembrokeshire²—and, nearer home, Charles Hassall, Campbell formed his ideas on how to improve agriculture and practised them on his home farms at Stackpole and later Golden Grove. In 1814 there was introduced at the Stackpole home farm, a four-course rotation of the crops: turnips, barley, oats and wheat, with clover in those fields left for fallow. They varied the planting with carrots 'Choosing the deepest soil in the field' and beans as well as just over an acre of 'lucerne in barley for a permanency'. This was done on 170 acres of land.³ John Cooper, Cawdor's Stackpole

agent, wrote to him on 11 May 1820 how a certain Lieutenant Brown had agreed to lease the 213-acre Merrion Court farm: 'He is very willing to enter into a lease for a term of years and to be restricted from taking two white straw crops in succession and seems fully impressed with the propriety of following the turnip system, *particularly after seeing the result of that practice on your lordship's farm* ...and I have no doubt his capital is equal to the undertaking.' (my italics).⁴ Cawdor was similarly informed in April 1821 that a certain Mr. Young had taken a farm under a lease for twenty-one years 'subject to his farming the lands on a four course system'. According to Cooper, this was the first instance of this having taken place on the estate. 'However', he continued, 'I have no doubt Mr Young's neighbours will soon perceive the advantages he will derive from pursuing a system so far superior to that generally practiced in the Country that they will be induced to adopt it, and more particularly as he is a native of the county.' This last observation about a local-born farmer practising the system as distinct from an incomer was a significant point to make given the suspicion of farmers to outside influences and personalities. The communication concluded on an optimistic note: 'I have therefore no doubt in a few years by your Lordship's supporting the Agricultural Society and by a strict attention on the part of your Lordship's Agent in exacting upon the Tenants whenever the opportunity offers such a system as is best adapted for the soil that this district will become as well cultivated as in any country.'⁵ Cooper was clearly actively involved in promoting good farming practices on behalf of his master, as the following communication written from Stackpole Court on 8 April 1819 testifies: 'I am happy to inform your Lordship that the ploughs which I had constructed here...is coming very much into repute...and I think after a short time there will not be a Welsh plough to be found in the neighbourhood, for the Farmers cannot get them made fast enough to take the place of the old worn out Welsh plough.'⁶

The home farm at Stackpole continued as a vital centre for improved farming in south-west Wales. In the 1830s, if not before, Talavera wheat, considered the best for making bread,⁷ was being grown at Stackpole, whilst at mid-century Earl Cawdor would replace his Black Cattle herd there by a valuable herd of Shorthorns, but, as we shall see, only to exchange them once again by 1878 for the fast improving native Blacks. For all their serving as shop windows for up-to-date farming, these home farms on the Cawdor estate

and on other landed properties were often run at a loss. In summer 1866 Mousley wrote from Stackpole Court explaining to Cawdor:

To advise your Lordship about the two home farms is very difficult. If they could be strictly separated in every respect from the Domains—which I fear is impossible—they might be made to pay their way. It is the domains that swamp the farms—and it is very easy for Bailiffs to charge to Domain that which would have to be borne by the farm, if there was but that one account. With the number of men employed here and at Golden Grove—at the present high rate of wages—the expense per annum must be very serious and the Domains make nothing towards it.⁸

The estate's successive owners and their agents, along with other gentlemen, were prominent in founding and promoting agricultural societies within south-west Wales with the aim of encouraging improved farming. In 1800 Revd Thomas Beynon, John Vaughan and Lord Cawdor all subscribed to the Society for the Encouragement of Agriculture and Industry in the county of Carmarthen.⁹ The Pembroke Farmers' Club came into being in August 1817 mainly through the efforts of Lord Cawdor, Sir John Owen of Orielton, Abraham Leach of Corston and Joseph Adams of Holyland, and its sponsorship of ploughing competitions in the district and its discussion of various farming topics were all the more valuable given the moribund state of the old Pembrokeshire Agricultural society between 1813 and 1844. Cawdor's diary entry for 1 November 1817 reads: 'to the Ploughing Match 10 Candidates, a number of people present...dined after at the Farmer's Club Green Dragon on 2 Tables'.¹⁰ Later in the century, a new organization came into being with a different slant to the traditional county agricultural societies and farmers' clubs. These were the county Chambers of Agriculture, that for Carmarthenshire being founded in March 1868. Mousley expressed doubts to his master on 23 March 'whether Carmarthenshire is ripe enough for a Chamber of Agriculture though there would probably be many and important questions for it to deal with—and they would be Political questions bearing upon the Agricultural interest which the Farmers Clubs and the Agricultural Society are not allowed to meddle with'.¹¹ His reservations notwithstanding, Mousley went on a few days later to become a prime mover in its establishment, with Cawdor himself being nominated its representative at the Central Chamber in London that had come into being in 1866 largely through the perceived shortcomings of the Royal Agricultural Society of England to deal with politico-economical subjects like the cattle plague crisis of 1865-6.¹² Other such county Chambers

established in Wales in the late nineteenth century were limited to Glamorgan and Monmouthshire.¹³ Indicative of the standing of Mousley in the agricultural circles of Carmarthenshire, it was he who on 23 May 1868 gave the first paper on the theme as to whether tenure should terminate at Lady Day or Michaelmas.

From 1841 the first Earl Cawdor was a member of the Royal Agricultural Society of England that had been founded in 1838, and the second Earl was elected as the sole south Walian Governor of the Society in March 1875. Likewise, his son, Lord Emlyn, became a member in 1863 and a Governor in 1892. Mousley was also a member. In addition, Emlyn was also a Vice-President of the Society, a council member and served on three committees.¹⁴ In one of his moves to promote Welsh agriculture within the Royal Society, the second Earl Cawdor pushed for Welsh Black cattle to be recognised as a breed good enough to receive the same number of prizes as other breeds. Upon hearing, in spring 1879, that a fellow Carmarthenshire landowner, Buckley of Castell Gorfod, was to deliver a paper to the Carmarthenshire Farmers' Club on the subject of 'pedigree', Cawdor wrote to him on the 1 May: 'Lately I had occasion to learn the importance attached to purity of Blood and to a record being kept of the descent of the animals of one breed.'¹⁵ (He was here referring to the establishment of the first Black Cattle Herd Book in 1874 through the endeavours of Pembrokeshire landowners James Bowen of Llwyngwair and Richard Harvey of Slade Hall in the early 1870s to improve the long-neglected native Black cattle.)¹⁶ Cawdor was successful in persuading the Royal Agricultural Society to accept the Welsh Blacks 'on the same footing as other Breeds of Cattle' but only after he had sent one of the members of the Council the Welsh Herd Book. He advised Buckley that: 'This shows the advantage of keeping up a Herd Book and the importance to every breeder to his stock.' However, there still remained the problem in getting the Welsh breed properly recognised in that north Wales had no such herd book and the Royal Society would not give prizes just to south Walians. Accordingly, Cawdor asked Buckley to 'say something in your paper that would stimulate the north Wales people either to have a Herd Book of their own or to enter their cattle in ours'. By doing so, he wrote, 'you would be conferring a benefit on Black herds in south Wales'. Warming to his theme, he went on to stress that 'the value of purity of Blood should be brought prominently and often before the Welsh farmers'. His fervency

was clearly heightened in the face of the obduracy of Pembrokeshire landowner Lewis of Henllan, who had told him ‘that we should spoil the Welsh breed of cattle by our Herd Book and that he never would enter one of his. Perhaps you know that it is no use arguing with him, but if we find such opinion entertained by a gentleman of his position, education etc., it certainly shows that a similar opinion maybe held by persons less enlightened and in a humbler position.’¹⁷ As mentioned above, Cawdor had been so struck by the improvement in the native breed that occurred in the early 1870s that by 1878 he replaced his Shorthorn herd at Stackpole home farm with Blacks. In 1884, he was a key founder of the Black Cattle Herd Book Society, a venture he commended to fellow landowner Philipps of Picton Castle in a letter he wrote to him on Christmas Eve of that year: ‘I am very anxious to get this society started as I really think it would prove of great advantage to the Farmers and stimulate them to take more care of their stock and improve its value.’¹⁸ For all the benefits to the native breed that came out of these efforts on the part of Earl Cawdor and fellow landowners, it appears that by the late 1880s Shorthorns were overtaking the native breed in its traditional strongholds of Pembrokeshire and the Vale of Towy; indeed, by 1888 the second Earl Cawdor had once again, as at mid-century, abandoned his Black stock for Shorthorns. This was only a year after Cawdor’s Black Cattle herds had been praised as one of the best in the kingdom.¹⁹

Certain landowners throughout the British Isles also attempted to promote agricultural improvements among their own tenantry by various other means. Lord Cawdor thus gave, in 1802, five guineas for the best two-year-old bull of the pure Pembrokeshire breed reared in Castlemartin and also five guineas for the best two-year-old heifer. Additionally efforts were later made by Cawdor to improve the quality of cart horses. From the late 1840s the first Earl Cawdor introduced to south Pembrokeshire superior sires, his tenants having use of them at nominal charges, outsiders paying double the fee. In the later decades Lord Cawdor’s stud of Clydesdales at Stackpole Court considerably improved the carthorses of the surrounding district.²⁰ The interest in Clydesdales continued with the second Earl. In May 1885 Mousley reported that in the three years 1882-85, Cawdor had spent £1,070 on Clydesdale horses.²¹ The Earl was a prominent member of the Clydesdale Society for a number of years, and became its president in 1891.

One aspect of the landlords' role as agricultural improvers remains to be discussed, namely the enclosure of commons and wastes. We have already seen that John Campbell had been instrumental in the enclosure of Castlemartin Cors, in 1788. This resulted in big improvements to the land which soon became some of the most fertile in Pembrokeshire. The enclosures of Pinged Marsh, Llanelli and Kidwelly (Baron Cawdor was lord of the manor in both places) in 1812 was also an attempt to improve the land—this time for industrial or urban uses. However, the majority of lands in south-west Wales enclosed after the 1801 General Enclosure Act were marginal, with poor soils, unfit to grow very much. The desire to establish boundaries between owners seems to have been behind some enclosures.²² The Pothouse area of Carmarthen was enclosed by Lord Cawdor in 1877, and caused irritation amongst the Town Council, since by doing so Cawdor prevented free access to the River Tywi at that point. An agreement was eventually reached, and free access was restored. But the dispute raises a point which the Land Commission made comment upon—that landowners, by enclosing areas of common, were denying the populace access. When the commons and wastes of Llangeler, Penboyr and Cilrhedyn parishes were enclosed in 1873, Lord Cawdor, as lord of the manor, received a total of 6,728 acres.²³ The acreage retained for free access was 12 for recreation and 14 for the poor. Mousley's comments in a letter to his master of 1865 puts forward the real reason for enclosure of such poor land when he writes that the Penboyr petitioners:

should be told that you wish to put a stop to much of that which they pray to have continued – viz. the wholesale stealing and burning of the turf and soil from the commons by which they are fast becoming quite worthless for any purpose. To prevent an increase of Pauper population in the neighbourhood. To give employment in enclosing and cultivating or planting any portions of the Commons that are worth the outlay. To prevent abuse of the Commons from pasturage or otherwise by those who have no right thereon. And to make those who are interested to know their own, and to do as they like with it.²⁴

Mousley also received an anti-enclosure petition from the tenants 'and others (who have been made to sign it)' at Newcastle Emlyn. The agent informed his Lordship that he told them he was going to advise Cawdor not to comply with their request.²⁵

The Cawdors and their agents were improving, active farmers throughout the period of this study. They introduced the use of crop rotation at Stackpole home farm and were

amongst the first to use agricultural machinery in south-west Wales. In the 1870s the second earl was very supportive of the native Welsh Blacks, and was instrumental in establishing a herd book, which he had approved by the Royal agricultural Society. And the first earl became a member of the Clydesdale Society, while the second became that Society's president in 1891. The Cawdors and their agents, particularly Thomas Mousley, also promoted the idea of improving farming methods by their involvement in the establishment of farmers' clubs in both counties and the Chamber of Agriculture in Carmarthenshire. On a wider front Mousley was a member, and both the second earl and his son Archibald, Lord Emlyn, were active members and governors of the Royal Agricultural Society of England.

Some of the larger tenants of the estate took up the ideas of their landlord, for instance William Benjamin Roberts of Loveston farm, on the Stackpole estate, who was commended for his 'very creditable herd of Pembrokeshire cattle, and his excellent flock of Coltswood and Leicester sheep', at the Royal Agricultural Society's farm prize competition in 1872.²⁶ However, in so far as the majority of the tenants were concerned, a lack of capital, small farms with poor land and inadequate farm buildings, and an innate sense of doing things the old way meant that they remained unresponsive to any new ideas and technologies. And perhaps the Cawdors' essentially ruthless role in the enclosing of land, denying as it did, various rights to tenants and others cast a shadow over their improving activities.

To establish whether the Cawdors could have undertaken a greater part in encouraging agriculture on their estates we will now turn to their role as landlords.

3.2 The Cawdors as landlords.

A. The Contract of Tenancy.

As a class of *rentiers*, landowners let out most of their estates to tenant farmers. The discussion will now turn to considering the contract of tenancy between landowner and

tenant on the Cawdor estate. Until the last quarter of the nineteenth century when statutory control of the relations between landlord and tenant in England was introduced, the 'conditions' of the occupation of the tenant regulating cultivation were governed by the covenants inserted in leases or annual agreements and also by custom. A great number of leases were renewed on the Carmarthenshire properties of the Stackpole estate in 1777. The holdings were mainly in the lead mining areas of Llanfair-ar-y-bryn parish on the Ystradffin estate. The leases were all for three lives which was the most predominant form at this time in both England and Wales.²⁷ The covenants in these leases were uniform and conventional. The tenant was responsible for general repair work: hedges, ditches, gates, stiles, fences and weirs all to be repaired at the tenant's expense. In addition ten young trees per annum provided by the landlord were to be planted by the tenant. Any corn produced by the tenant was to be ground at the nearest mill owned by the estate and at the end of the tenancy any corn remaining was to be left on the farm. At any time the landlord or his agent was to be allowed to inspect the farm. And on entering into the lease the tenant paid a duty and a heriot. The last two covenants, manorial in origin, were adhered to strictly, though they began to disappear as the estate moved from lease to tenancy at will. F. M. L. Thompson states that in the eighteenth century the lease for lives went from being an ideal method to ensure tenants 'undertook and financed all buildings and improvements', the incentive being 'a long and perpetually renewable occupation', to being a perfect method 'for ensuring land and buildings were allowed to decay and rot by tenants who could meet the nominal annual rent by slovenly farming, and whose capital was periodically raided by landlords taking fines'.²⁸ As far as the Ystradffin estate was concerned this was an accurate picture, as we shall discover.

The move away from leases is evident at the end of the eighteenth century on parts of Campbell's Pembrokeshire property, as, for example, on the Bangeston estate, where by the 1780s tenancies-at-will were in existence alongside leases for lives or for a term of years.²⁹ In contrast, on the Golden Grove estate John Vaughan renewed a large number of leases at the beginning of 1782 through to the early 1790s, and, with the exception of the occasional lease for a term of years, usually for 21 years, they were all for three lives. When the Cawdor family took over the Golden Grove estate in 1804 many of these leases were still unexpired, so the move to tenancies-at-will was slower to establish itself on the

Carmarthenshire property. It will be apparent that by the early 1820s the lease for three lives was generally much less common on the Pembrokeshire estate. The tenancy-at-will, which, at the time of the Welsh Land Commission *Report* in 1896, was ‘well nigh universal in Wales’ was, that exhaustive document claimed, ‘an innovation introduced for the first time in the early part of this century’.³⁰ A Stackpole rental for 1821 shows that two-thirds of the tenants held their farms at will rather than by leases for lives or by leases for terms of years, a circumstance which stood in contrast to the general prevalence of leases for lives in the county at that time.³¹ From this evidence it seems that the Stackpole estate was in the vanguard with regards to the change from leases to yearly agreements; this would be expected from arguably the leading agricultural improver in south-west Wales. The Welsh Land Commission *Report* stated that, in the opinion of south Wales tenant farmers the yearly agreement was regarded as an innovation ‘introduced over the heads and somewhat against the will of the tenants’.³² However, there is no evidence that tenants on the Cawdor estate openly disagreed with the gradual changeover to yearly agreements. From the middle of the century the Cawdor estates went one step further and merely relied upon verbal agreements, which showed great trust in its tenants. However, printed agreements were again produced under the agency of Williams-Drummond at the very end of the nineteenth century.

One of the reasons often stated for landlords’ liking of longer leases was that prior to the 1832 Reform Act such leaseholds were considered, for election purposes, as freeholds, thereby giving the tenant the right to vote—for whomever the landlord wished. After the reform of the franchise this was not the case. F. M. L. Thompson comments that political radicals and pro-lease supporters saw the very prevalence of the tenancies-at-will as being motivated by political considerations, with landlords believing the very existence of the tenancy-at-will as a guarantee of compliant voting, thereby rendering actual eviction unnecessary.³³ A Mr Footman, speaking to the Carmarthenshire Farmers’ Club in 1859, believed that annual agreements allowed the landlord ‘to act the tyrant’.³⁴ Arguments over the relative merits of leases and annual agreements continued for much of the century. The insertion of restrictive cultivation covenants in the yearly agreements was to draw criticism from ‘Adfyfr’ (T.J. Hughes), that late-century scourge of Welsh landlords, as eradicating ‘every scintilla of self respect and self dependence in the Welsh

farmer'.³⁵ To justify his stance, he quoted at length from a tenant's agreement describing what were, for him, its tyrannical features. The agreement cited by Adfyfr is probably the printed agreement produced by the second Earl Cawdor, which contains most of the covenants that 'Adfyfr' lists as oppressive.³⁶ Most landlords placed restrictive covenants into yearly agreements with the aim of improving the tenants' husbandry while at the same time affording a measure of protection to themselves from slovenly farmers. The second Earl's covenants relate to the working of the arable land, as for instance, the enforcement on the tenant of alternative rotation of crops; again, the tenant was forbidden to break up tillage without the landlord's permission; further more, £20 addition to the rent was to be imposed for every acre of turf ploughed without written permission from Cawdor. Although restrictions on many Welsh estates gave rise to complaints as being irksome,³⁷ there is no evidence of protests by Cawdor tenant farmers against any harsh measures laid out in their agreements. Certainly tenants were not eager to come by the new form of lease for twenty-one years drawn up for Cawdor tenants in 1870. Thus in that year Mousley informed his master that: 'at present I have had no application for a lease according to our new form'.³⁸

In fact, during the process of establishing the new lease agreement Mousley revealed his dislike of leases. Writing to Cawdor in 1870 he objected: 'If your Lordship grants a lease for, say 21 years, you cannot retain the power to terminate it at the end of any shorter period; altho' the Tenant may stipulate for such power. It would not be a lease on the part of the Landlord for 21 years, if he could close it at the end of any shorter term.'³⁹ It is clear that Lord Cawdor was the initiator of the lease and it is significant that in drawing up the new 21-year lease he consulted his tenantry as to their opinion about the various covenants and adopted their 'very slight' suggestions for improvement. In 1873 he granted on his Stackpole estate some five or six of these leases. Apart from these, however, no other application for any other lease was received from the tenantry up to the time of Mousley's retirement in 1893. In his evidence to the Welsh Land Commission on 6 March 1894 Mousley stated: 'There are no leases in this country. I think the farmers have begun to find out that in the hands of a good landlord they are in a better position without a lease than with.' In this last telling observation, the crucial point he was making

was that tenants' comfort and security crucially depended on the nature of their landlord.⁴⁰

Whether the switch to yearly tenancies produced a greater sense of insecurity is a moot point. John Davies remarks that on the Bute estate there is no evidence that yearly agreements gave rise to a bigger turnover in tenants.⁴¹ On the Cawdor estate, the evidence of Mousley points to the same conclusion and brings into question, at least insofar as the *large* estates were concerned, the contention of Herbert Vaughan that 'the position of the tenant farmer on the usual yearly tenancy is not so secure as it needed to be'.⁴² In answer to a question put to Mousley by the Welsh Land Commissioners in 1894 as to whether there was much increase in change of tenancy under annual agreements, he replied: 'I do not think in the 30 years, taking the two counties, we have had an average of one change a year, not an entire change of tenancy. His Lordship's desire has always been to keep as much as possible the old families in the tenancies. Sometimes, of course, there are cases where a change was inevitable—death, and so on; but we always, if we could, afforded a fair chance of re-letting to a member of the family. Where it was possible we never made extreme changes if we could avoid it.'⁴³ During the general re-letting of holdings on the estate in 1863 (to be considered later), changes of tenants occurred in only very few instances.⁴⁴ Mousley's evidence was corroborated before the Land Commissioners by Williams-Drummond, agent, we have seen, for the Cawdor as well as the Edwinstford and Derllys estates, both in Carmarthenshire. In answer to the question whether a yearly tenant felt as secure as a leaseholder or a freeholder, he replied that 'undoubtedly' this was so on the Cawdor estate, and he testified that in most cases tenancies on all three properties had remained in the same families for generations, changes occasionally becoming necessary, however, by reason of deaths of the sole family members or by tenants looking for bigger farms.⁴⁵

Reference has been made to the fact that before the imposition of statutory control of relations between landlord and tenant in 1883, tenants in some areas of England and Wales were also regulated in their cultivation by local 'customs of the country'. Such customs had evolved from the late eighteenth century to give the farmer security for the labour and capital he was investing in the process of adopting the new improved farming

techniques.⁴⁶ The crucial element was the granting of compensation to the tenant for any unexhausted improvements and such a provision became especially important with the increase in the utilisation of off-farm inputs of feeding stuffs, like artificial cake, and fertilizers, like guano, from the 1840s.⁴⁷ Most celebrated of all such customs was the Lincolnshire Custom, which, indeed, became the catalyst for the (unsuccessful) parliamentary campaign over English Tenant Right—essentially the statutory entitlement to compensation for unexhausted improvements—led by Philip Pusey in the late 1840s.⁴⁸ In Wales, the only well-developed Customs by the mid-nineteenth century affording tenant right were those in Monmouthshire and, particularly so, in Glamorgan.⁴⁹ Indeed, the Glamorgan Custom was recognized by George Shaw Lefevre, the nineteenth-century advocate of land reform, as ranking with those of Lincolnshire and Leicestershire in its provision of satisfactory compensation.⁵⁰

As noted earlier, the issue of tenant right was to occasion a brief hiccup in the normally harmonious relations between Mousley and Cawdor in early summer 1868, when the latter wrote disapprovingly of a discussion which took place at the Carmarthen Chamber of Agriculture concerning tenancy agreements. (Likewise, the Pembroke Farmers' Club had discussed the issue of tenant right in February 1847, some speakers advocating the insertion of clauses in their leases guaranteeing compensation for improvements).⁵¹ In response to Cawdor's rebuke, Mousley pointed out that he, Cawdor, had misunderstood the Chamber's discussion, which had been led by a Mr Green: 'I must assure your Lordship', the agent wrote firmly, 'that he did not propose "Tenant Right"—I believe the term was just made use of by myself.' And in a passage that revealed Mousley's conviction that tenants needed greater security to encourage them to adventure capital, he continued:

I said...that the present bad system of farming throughout the Country might be very much checked, and a better system established, by the general adoption of a good Farm Agreement...that I did not like farm leases, but that I thought a short simple but wisely drawn agreement—that they might call 'Tenant Right' if they chose—might be drawn out and submitted for general use, that would Interest the Landlords Property and give an improving Tenant a fair security for the Capital expended in the improvement of his farm...I believe that such an Agreement would be more applicable to this Country than leases—and our Agricultural improvement will be very slow unless some such additional confidence is established.⁵²

Although there is no hint here of any call for legislative enactment to place tenant right on a statutory basis, thereby violating the landlord's cherished privilege of freedom of contract, Cawdor was clearly upset at farmers showing signs of making demands as a body on their landlords. Responding to this alarm, Mousley proceeded to reassure his master that in the discussions by farmers about what they called tenant right, they were not 'inclined to take any improper advantage—and if I perceive any such inclination, I shall at once withdraw from the Society'.⁵³ Such hostility to the concept of tenant right on Cawdor's part explains the fact that while his estate was subject to the Agricultural Holdings Act of 1883 which provided compensation for unexhausted improvements, it was not allowed to interfere with what Mousley referred to before the Welsh Land Commissioners in 1894 as the 'old established customs of the estate'; they remained in conjunction with the Act. The allowances to the outgoing tenants were met by the custom of the estate and where there was compensation by custom that was accepted in lieu of compensation under the 1883 Act. Thus the growing crops were valued by arbitration if the outgoing tenant and incoming tenant failed to reach an agreement. According to Mousley in 1894, his master did not 'admit' any tenant right on the estate. While the re-lettings of their holdings to tenants in 1863 following the re-valuation of the estate in the previous year acknowledged, on Cawdor's instructions, the unexhausted permanent improvements of tenants and made allowances in the re-lettings, thereafter, as a matter of policy, most of the permanent improvements on the estate were carried out by the landlord. Cawdor set his face against tenants doing specific improvements, contending that it was not reasonable to expect tenants to improve the Cawdor property unless they got some compensation for it. Moreover, not a single tenant was to approach Mousley following the 1883 Act for permission to undertake specific improvements under the terms of that Act. It is clear that Cawdor, like most of his fellow landowners, did not take kindly to tenant right being made statutorily binding and that he and his agent got round the Act by doing the permanent improvements they deemed necessary for the well-being of the tenants. And, as shown, the Act was overridden by the old established customs on Lord Cawdor's estate.⁵⁴

B. Rents.

With the improvement in farm prices that set in from the mid-1850s—following a long, if intermittent, run of low prices since 1815—and the better marketing opportunities afforded farmers with the gradual spread of rail communications from mid-century, many landed estates were re-valued in the third quarter of the century which led to their rents being raised.⁵⁵ As stated earlier re-valuation of the entire Cawdor estate was carried out in 1862 by a professional gentleman, a Mr Hall, who recommended, in Mousley's words, a 'very considerable' increase in rents. In some cases the new higher values proved unacceptable to Mousley and, in his re-letting the whole Cawdor property in south-west Wales in 1863, he reduced some of the rents. We have seen that, on Cawdor's instructions, he reduced certain of the rents recommended in the re-valuation of 1862 to take account of tenants' unexhausted improvements.⁵⁶ While the 1862 re-valuation would have seen an increase in rents on the estate of about £6,000 a year, the actual letting did not amount to an increase of £5,000, which meant that the rents were set at nearly 17 per cent below the re-valuation level of 1862.⁵⁷ (How tenants on the estate re-acted to these rent increases will be examined below). Certain other Welsh landlords likewise considered re-valuations of their estates in the third quarter of the century to be too high and accordingly set their rents below the level recommended by the valuer, as, for example, did the owner of the Carmarthenshire Dynevor estate in 1874.⁵⁸ Following the Cawdor re-letting in 1863, except in a few instances rents were not raised on the estate over the next thirty years.⁵⁹

The main duty of the agent was to set the level of and to gather the rent, on which the landowner depended to keep him in his chosen lifestyle. Rents were payable twice a year, as they were throughout England and Wales, at Ladyday and Michaelmas, reflecting the necessity on the part of a landlord in a community of mainly small farmers to accommodate the tenants as much as possible in the payment of their rents. Actual rent audit days on the Cawdor estate were fixed by Williams-Drummond in the 1890s and by his predecessors as near as could be managed to coincide with the local fairs.⁶⁰ For instance Tom Mousley commented in 1893 that he had had a good rent audit but several tenants had asked if they could pay after selling their cattle.⁶¹ This was usually accepted by the agents. Under Thomas Turnor Mousley's agency rents were fixed by mutual

agreement between landlord and tenant, the gross sum being arrived at on the basis of the value per acre—calculated by the agent—of different parts of the farm.⁶² As such, there was little uniformity in the rents of the estate as all farms varied in certain respects, not least in elevation. Thus there were very large sheep farms on the Golden Grove estate above Llandovery, ‘farms that are calculated for very little else than the growth or run of mountain sheep’ according to Mousley.⁶³ Rents could indeed vary from 2s. to £2. an acre; not surprisingly on the fertile Stackpole estate the average rent at around 18s. an acre was higher than elsewhere on the Cawdor property.⁶⁴ Generally, small farms of between 15 and 20 acres or so were let at higher rents than were bigger ones, on account of the buildings and the expenses attached to them.⁶⁵ Both Mousley and Williams-Drummond were adamant that the rent was fixed by private treaty between landlord and tenant, farms never being let by auction or tender.⁶⁶

C. Estate Repairs and Drainage.

Fair and, as we shall see, often lenient as were the Cawdor family in their capacity as landlords, there is no mistaking their neglect in the early and mid-nineteenth century to carry out permanent improvements and to keep up repairs on the estate. It was abundantly clear from descriptions of dilapidated properties belonging to the estate at the start of the nineteenth century that urgent repair work was needed, the old system under leases for lives of laying all repairs upon the tenants having produced this miserable state of affairs. Thus Beynon reported to Lord Cawdor in 1806 that on the Tivyside properties rents had increased due to expired leases but that a ‘considerable sum must be laid out on each, before they are in a tenantable state. With respect to the Farm of Llanrhydwen, the House and all the offices must be entirely rebuilt from the Foundation, which is generally the case with most of the farm buildings in this Country, when old leases expire, for in their original state they are little better than the Huts of Indians’.⁶⁷ Likewise, the estate of Ystradffyn, owned by the Campbell family since the early eighteenth century,⁶⁸ was also in a dire state. In 1808 Beynon took a

leisurely view of this very noble, but much neglected, and wantonly injured property...I have examined the condition of every house and outhouse upon the Estate...nine in ten are such miserable hovels that it would be wasting Materials and labour to attempt to do anything with them. The Tenants likewise are such shameless Thieves that they are not to

be trusted with timber...It will require £500 per annum for 30 years to come to erect proper farm buildings on this estate.⁶⁹

As a final example, in 1800 the Wiston estate in Pembrokeshire (purchased by John Campbell 1793) badly needed money spending on it; indeed, some of the farms were not tenantable because of their condition: ‘No Estate ever was in so bad plight as to repairs—that as one House is put up another falls and the tenants are full of complaint’, wrote the agent, William Hand, to Lord Cawdor.⁷⁰

Repair and rebuilding work on the Cawdor estate was financed by both the landlord and tenants themselves down to the early 1860s. We have seen how the re-lettings in 1863 took account of tenants’ permanent improvements. Thus in 1863 Mousley wrote to Cawdor concerning the recent re-valuation of the aforementioned Ystradffin estate: ‘Some of Mr. Hall’s values in that district I find cannot be enforced without driving away a number of hard-working tenants. In many cases we shall have to deduct a percentage for recent outlay by the Tenants upon the houses and buildings.’⁷¹ Again, an anonymous volume, undated but from the early 1860s, describing the physical condition of the estate’s Pembrokeshire properties, observed of the 345-acre Longstone farm, in Warren parish: ‘The Farm House is in good repair, and is kept in nice order by the tenant. The Homestead greater part of which has been built at the Cost and from the design of the occupier, is decidedly the most compact one on the estate, and in the best state of repair. Mr Rees has expended a very considerable Sum in improving the property, which should have due consideration in arranging terms of his future living if any change is made.’⁷² The mid-1860s saw a greatly increased sum being spent by Cawdor on farm buildings. This was partly in recognition of the earlier neglect by the landlords to sufficiently undertake repairs. In June 1866 the agent wrote to Cawdor from Stackpole Court that: ‘10 per cent should keep these estates in repair—but 10 per cent per annum will not put them in repair after the neglect of past years’.⁷³ (The percentage ratio of gross rents spent on buildings and repairs on other of the larger Welsh estates up until mid-century likewise ‘fell out at around 10 percent’.⁷⁴) The increase in building expenses on the Cawdor estate from the mid-1860s was also necessitated by the re-lettings that had been made on the estate in 1863 which, we have seen, saw a rise in rents. Thus, in the same letter of 16 June the agent observed: ‘Our building expenses are very heavy—and must be for some

years I'm sorry to say, if we are to maintain the recent advance of rents.' A similar point was made by the agent to his employer in a letter of 3 April 1867: 'I attribute in great measure the good receipts lately to an impression amongst the Tenantry that we intend to treat them fairly as to houses and buildings—and it will be useless to expect the present rents to be paid, unless we do give better accommodation both to the Tenants and their Stock.'⁷⁵ When rebuilt, some farms, especially on the Stackpole estate, became models for others to copy.⁷⁶ Thus the farm at Rowston which was designed by Poundley, was an 'example of a Victorian industrialized farm, with central cow-house forming a spine, from which the subsidiary buildings extend.' Likewise, the farm at Merrion Court, Warren, which was improved in 1874, included a narrow-gauge railway linking the feed stores to cattle sheds.⁷⁷

Table two reveals the sharp increase in estate expenditure on building works that took place on both the Carmarthenshire and Pembrokeshire properties from 1864. This may have partly been due to the influence of Mousley who began working for Cawdor in 1863.

Table Two

Estate Building Expenditure⁷⁸

	Carmarthenshire	Pembrokeshire
	£.	£.
1863	590	686
1864	2,931	1,867
1865	3,312	2,110
1867	8,067	3,159
1868	5,839	3,643
1869	4,655	2,431
1879	3,991	3,944
1891	3,644	1,733
1893	1,132	1,800
1899	5,023	1,707

Indicative of Cawdor's firm control over general estate policy, it was he who by early 1870 had laid down the limits of estate expenditure on building repairs at £8,000 per annum.⁷⁹ Mousley was always at pains to inform his master, too, of any particular expenses that had been incurred. For instance, he explained the expenses of £3,855 on the Stackpole estate in 1877 as follows: 'The two [farm] houses...Flimston and Hayston, make the outlay heavy. And these houses Cannot remain in their present state another winter.'⁸⁰ Despite the ongoing—though shrinking—outlays on buildings during the years of farming depression from the 1880s, individual cases of awful dilapidation were to be found into the 1890s demanding urgent attention; in July 1893 Tom Mousley reported that: 'the St Twynnels farm dwelling house ...is really not fit for anyone to live in. We have recently propped-up the ceilings, and done other temporary repairs—but the walls cannot stand up much longer.'⁸¹

It has been pointed out that from the mid-1860s the expenditure on permanent improvements in the way of buildings was borne by the landlord. The tenants, however, did the haulage.⁸² Williams-Drummond insisted before the Welsh Land Commission that it was not the custom on the Cawdor estate 'for the landlord to do repairs, and for the tenants to be compelled to pay interest...With respect to interest charged on buildings upon the Cawdor Estate I have to state that no such charge is ever made on any outlay of this kind other than (but only occasionally) additional buildings for special purposes asked for over and above those necessary to and originally let with the farm.'⁸³

Unsuccessful as the Land Commission of the 1890s was in delivering for Welsh tenant farmers a Land Court and the security of tenure that went with it, the huge amount of evidence collected by the Commissioners has proved of immense value to historians of the Welsh countryside. Among the data assembled, there is detailed evidence concerning the amount of estate expenditure on improvements on Welsh properties, including those of the Cawdors. Williams-Drummond informed the Commission that Lord Cawdor had requested him to state the rental of the estate, which information Mousley had refused to divulge (since he had retired as agent). In the early 1890s Cawdor's agricultural rental other than minerals (that is, for farms, cottages, and leaseholds of mills) from his Carmarthenshire estate was around £22,000 a year. He expended in buildings and repairs in the county over the years 1863 to 1893 £120,000, averaging £4,000 a year and

comprising an annual average of 18 per cent of the gross rental.⁸⁴ The Stackpole estate rentals reveal that the gross rental in the late 1880s and early 1890s was around £13,700. Mousley informed the Welsh Land Commission that over the 30 years from 1863 to 1893 the amount spent on buildings and repairs on that estate was over £91,000. The yearly average would thus have been around £3,000 and would have comprised an annual average of around 22 per cent of the gross rental.⁸⁵ (At the same time, these overall figures conceal the fall-off in building outlays on both estates during the farming depression years.) These amounts of expenditure were similar to those on other of the large estates in Wales in the late nineteenth century.⁸⁶ Given its greater financial resources, it is not surprising that the Cawdor estate expenditure on repairs and improvements compared favourably with that of neighbouring lesser estates in Carmarthenshire; whereas on the Cawdor estate between 1890 and 1893 the amount was 18 per cent, on the Derllys and Edwinsford estates the figures were 7½ per cent and 10 per cent respectively.⁸⁷

Drainage was an imperative for good farming throughout Great Britain and important technological strides were made on this front from the mid-nineteenth century, not least the introduction of machine-made tile pipes.⁸⁸ Until the mid-century it seems that south Wales, more so than elsewhere in the United Kingdom according to Clare Sewell Read, was notably lacking in drainage,⁸⁹ though a delivery of 90,000 pipe tiles was distributed amongst the Cawdor tenants in 1846.⁹⁰ Although progress throughout Wales in under-drainage seems to have been slow right down to the close of the century, indicative of the want of capital in Welsh agriculture,⁹¹ some strides forward were made, particularly on the large estates. On a few estates in Wales, the landlord elected to do the drainage entirely—in contrast to the general practice for the work to be carried out jointly by landlord and tenant, the landlord providing the pipes, the tenant the haulage and labour—charging the tenant a percentage on the outlay.⁹² On the Cawdor estate the landlord drained and generally charged 5 per cent for the outlay.⁹³ In addition to purely private financing of drainage on the part of landlords, which constituted the major mode of expenditure, a significant amount of drainage was nevertheless undertaken by dint of landowners taking out loans.⁹⁴ However, such was the necessity to furnish a precise plan of the existing building and any proposed to be erected that the Cawdor estate could not

furnish the information to the Land Improvement Company since it would entail ‘enormous cost and labour’, it being effectively a survey and plan of all the premises on the estate. Mousley suggested, as an alternative, that loan money should only be used on the ‘most important places’ on the estate, naming Danylan farm, St Ishmaels, as one such property.⁹⁵ This notwithstanding, in respect of his Golden Grove estate Lord Cawdor borrowed £4,675 from various Land Improvement Companies. He also borrowed about half this sum for the Stackpole estate, paying interest of between £108 and £113 per annum between the years 1868-1892. These sums, however, were exceeded by seventeen other estate-owners in Wales.⁹⁶

D. Estate and farm labourers.

Only from the 1840s was there serious debate entered into concerning the appalling physical (and particularly moral) state of agricultural labourers, a degradation stemming in no small part from the dilapidation of their cottages. Their dwellings, poor in almost every part of Britain, were particularly bad in Wales, an unfavourable comparison that would persist down to the close of the century.⁹⁷ Descriptions of labourers’ cottages in south Wales by Thomas Roscoe in 1837 and by Dr Hunter in 1865 paint a depressing picture of their ‘squalid misery and dirt’ and ‘diabolic odour’.⁹⁸ Some idea of the state of the labourers’ cottages even on the Golden Grove demesne can be glimpsed from a letter written around 1852 by Lord Emlyn to the agent, R. B. Williams, about cottages he, Emlyn, was contemplating renting from his father—presumably because Emlyn had recently taken up residence at Golden Grove:

Walker has lately given me a report of the state of the cottages [commenting] “Caeau...is in a very bad state as the walls are in a ruinous state I do not consider it worthy of being repaired”, under these circumstances I think you must strike it out of my list he says it is not fit for anyone to live in ...The roof of Glan Y Bach is very bad...number 6 and 7 is a double cottage in indifferent repair...number 8 is also in a bad state, bad situation, wet walls a bad roof.⁹⁹

That no significant improvement in labourers’ dwellings in the Welsh countryside would come about by the end of the century and beyond was made clear in 1914 by the anonymous writer of ‘Hovels and Houses in Wales’.¹⁰⁰

The understandable concern felt from the 1840s onwards about such appalling rural cottage accommodation was often expressed in the form of publications suggesting

improved designs for labourers' cottages. From 1840, The Royal Agricultural Society of England began to offer a prize for the best essay submitted with designs of cottages for farm labourers. While in 1846 J. C. Loudon published his *Encyclopaedia of Cottage, Farm and Villa Architecture* wherein he put forward five simple rules that were to be taken into consideration when building cottages—that they should be warm, dry, light, well-ventilated and convenient.¹⁰¹ Most of the essays published had as premises the moral well-being of the occupants and the cheapness of the buildings. For instance, the winner of the 1849 essay competition was Henry Goddard, a London architect, whose stated objective was to 'attain at smallest cost the greatest amount of comfort and convenience in the construction of cottages...for the large majority of the bona-fide agricultural labourers'.¹⁰² Landowners and their agents were, of course, closely associated with cottage building and a few of them gave a lead in advocating better designs and in constructing model cottages on their estates. For instance, the Duke of Bedford published an essay in the Royal Society's *Journal* in 1849 in which he appealed to the paternalist principles of fellow members thus: 'Cottage building...is, we all know, a bad investment of money; but this is not the light in which such a subject should be viewed by landlords.'¹⁰³ The Duke's estates were looked upon as model properties, and he had built hundreds of cottages. In 1861 he was to publish a work entitled *Plans and Elevations of Cottages for Agricultural Labourers*,¹⁰⁴ which stimulated a handful of other landowners to publish similar volumes.

Eight years later, in 1869, Lord Cawdor likewise published a book bearing the title *Cottage Plans dedicated to the Landowners of Carmarthenshire and Pembrokeshire*. This slim volume was a collaborative effort: Cawdor provided the Preface, his daughter, Lady Muriel Campbell, drew the plans, and a certain Mr Rogers, a Tenby builder used frequently by Lord Cawdor, supplied the specifications. The title is significant, Cawdor deeming it his paternalistic duty to offer guidance to his fellow landowners of the two counties, the majority of whom had done very little with regards to housing their labourers. In Cawdor's opinion many of the plans for cottages already published were inappropriate because they were 'generally arranged for labourers earning 15 shillings a week and upwards, they are not adapted to the purely agricultural districts of Carmarthenshire and Pembrokeshire, where wages are from 10-12 shillings a week'.¹⁰⁵

He hoped that the plans would be useful to landowners and tenants ‘anxious to provide decent accommodation for their labourers at the smallest outlay’ and he acknowledged realistically that if the result ‘should be the erection of only a few cottages, somewhat better than the miserable abodes in which it is sad to think that so many of the agricultural labourers of South Wales are housed’ then the compilers of the small volume ‘will not feel that they have wasted their time’.¹⁰⁶ There are ten plans in the volume, beginning with a very basic single-storey cottage with two bedrooms, a kitchen with a fireplace, and a pantry. This, it is stated, is the same plan as a *single* cottage built on the Carmarthenshire estate in 1868, which was erected for £67. 14s. 0d. including haulage. A more substantial plan, for a three-bedroom cottage, which the Duke of Bedford looked upon as a minimum number, could be built in Carmarthenshire or Pembrokeshire for £72. 5s. 0d., not including haulage, whilst a pair of two-storey cottages upon a similar plan could be constructed for £131. 15s. 7d.¹⁰⁷ The other plans are of increasingly expensive buildings, ending curiously with a fairly substantial four-bedroom farm house, bothy, and farm buildings respectively. In the same year that Cawdor’s volume was published, 1869, Mousley spoke in a debate at the United Counties Chamber of Agriculture of ‘labourers’ accommodation being a very great evil which Lord Cawdor was desirous of removing.’¹⁰⁸ That the subject of labourers’ cottages was a topical one at the Carmarthenshire Farmers’ Club at this time was a reflection of the desire among employers to keep the farm labourer on the land. In May 1868 an editorial in the *Welshman* inquired after the ‘practical result of the discussion ...at the Carmarthenshire Farmers’ Club on Labourers’ Cottages’ and went on to ask: ‘Can we any longer wonder at the scarcity of labourers?’ The editorial also quotes Mousley as stating that Lord Cawdor ‘felt very warmly upon the subject’, believing that it was the landlord’s duty to build cottages for labourers rather than leaving it to the tenant farmer and that he had commenced doing so on his estates.¹⁰⁹

The recommendations of the various publications and discussions do not, however, appear to have been taken up with any great enthusiasm by landlords; a mere four were referred to in the Public Health Reports of Dr John Simon as being improvers of labourers’ cottages who were ‘conspicuously different from the general run of neglectful landlords’.¹¹⁰ Even on the Duke of Bedford’s estate progress was slow, for in the 1880s most of the cottages thereon consisted of one room downstairs, thatched roofs, and

outside privies.¹¹¹ One of the problems for landlords was that building cottages would never be cost effective since the labourers' wages would not allow them to pay more than a few shillings per week in rent. This economic fact prevented many of the smaller landlords from building labourers' accommodation, since the cost could not be absorbed by estate income. Even if on the Cawdor estates, as was noted above, some cottage building on the part of the landlord was carried out—for instance Countess Cawdor had four cottages built at her own expense in 1873¹¹²—Mousley in particular, always had one eye on the cost. He thus informed Cawdor in July 1881: 'We have been obliged to commence the repairs of the pair of cottages at the Stackpole Quay—And they are so bad that it will amount to making them into new ones [but] I'm afraid I shall have to ask your Lordship to postpone for another year the building of the Castle Martin Almshouses.'¹¹³

In the early 1870s, labourers at Stackpole Court displayed grievances which may link them to the agitations seen in various parts of England in 1872. The first major agricultural labourers' strike in England had occurred in March 1872 and there was continued unrest over the next two or three years in England. At the end of 1871 there seems to have been the stirrings of revolt amongst labourers at Stackpole. The question of cow land was raised by Cawdor in November 1871 when he had been informed by Mousley, 'that you fancied the Stackpole Labourers were dissatisfied with their wages, and that some of them kept more than one Cow'. The agent continued that Cawdor was mistaken in this, stating: 'I believe we pay quite as high a rate of wage as others in the same neighbourhood.'¹¹⁴ In November 1871 Walter Mousley, underagent at Stackpole and brother of T. T. Mousley, explained the cow land situation further to his Master: 'There are 10 people now in one company who keep cows and four in another lot. 12 is the greatest quantity ever kept in the large company lot, and I am assured that none of them ever kept more than one at a time except those who have fields and pay a regular rent for them.'¹¹⁵ Nothing further was raised about this seeming grievance, until, in May 1872, Walter Mousley wrote from Stackpole that 'two more men out of my department left me on Monday for America. The wage agitation appears to be gaining ground here, some of the farmers are obliged to give from 14s. to 17s. for extra labour.'¹¹⁶ J. P. D. Dunbabin, challenging the view of contemporaries like Joseph Arch that the labourers' condition was responsible, states that the 'chief periods of unrest among agricultural

labour, 1872-4 ...were years when work was plentiful and wages rising'.¹¹⁷ This would have been the case at Stackpole, where the early 1870s probably witnessed the most prosperous farming period in the nineteenth century. The emigration of the Stackpole men also raises speculation that union agents were active in the area, since part of Arch's work was to encourage both internal migration and emigration in pursuit of better working conditions. In January 1872 an émigré writer living in Kansas stated that both farmers and agricultural labourers would be much better off if they were 'to take courage and remove to some Western region [that is the USA]'.¹¹⁸

A few months later, in August 1872, Mousley senior raised the problem of labourers' wages at Stackpole. The labourers had approached the agent or his brother regarding a raise in wages. Mousley's rather sly solution to the request was not a wage rise since that would amount to £2. 12s. 0d. per man per annum, 'which I thought unnecessary considering their present rate of wage and other advantages', but to give each of the twenty-five men one pound 'as an acknowledgement of the advance in the value of labour, and the increase price of provision. This compensation we may consider for six months to Lady Day 1873—but we need not tell the men so—and perhaps by that time Labour may be gone down again, or if not, there may be stronger reasons for a general increase of weekly wages.' Mousley, indifferent to the labourers' condition, again places the interests of the estate first when he continues: 'I think it might do harm just now if we were to increase the labourer's wages, just in the face of winter.'¹¹⁹ John Brockie, the Golden Grove farm bailiff, believed Mousley's scheme should be implemented there likewise, which seems to imply that there was also unrest amongst the labourers on the Carmarthenshire estate. However, nothing is extant from Cawdor on the subject. He certainly would not have accepted any hint of combination, as we will see regarding the tenant farmers in 1885-6, so perhaps he disagreed with a wage rise since it would have had to acknowledge combination. Or he may not have approved of Mousley's solution. Even so, it seems that Mousley's proposal was introduced, since just before Lady Day 1873 the agent referred to the 'proposed increase of wages at Stackpole [nothing is said regarding Golden Grove]...I think it will *now* be right to give them 1s. a week extra [my emphasis]'.¹²⁰ Nothing further was said regarding this outbreak of labour unrest on the Cawdor estates. However, at the beginning of May 1872 Picton Castle labourers had

received a rise, from 9s. to 10s. per week, while those employed by a farmer, a Richard Williams, were also given a 1s. rise to 16s. per week.¹²¹

The 'labour question' was discussed at a Carmarthenshire Farmers' Club meeting in November 1872, with Mousley presiding. A discussion paper 'The Labour Question' was read by a certain Revd J. Cautley who 'found the farmers, and not a few of the general public, bitterly hostile to the combination of laborers'. Buckley of Penyfai responded by saying that the labourers' agitation in Wales was much less in extent than Cautley tried to make out. And a Mr Pugh remarked that this was because the agricultural labourers, in south Wales at least, were better paid at 12s.-15s. per week. Pugh finished with: 'I say we have everything to gain by treating our labourers well.'¹²² The labour question was further advanced in February 1873, when Lord Emlyn addressed the Carmarthenshire Farmers' Club. This is one of the few extant utterances regarding labourers by the Cawdor family and as such is worth reciting in detail. Emlyn refers to this 'terrible strike ...this contest between capital and labour', that though 'we ourselves have not yet been injured by it, or had it actually at our door [a statement which contradicts Mousley's correspondence cited above]', the Carmarthenshire farmers have seen what it has done in England, and this 'should teach us to draw our labourers more closely to us'. Referring to himself, rather pedantically, as a tenant farmer, he stated that all tenant farmers ought to 'try and make the labourers understand that we are their real friends, and then there will be less danger of them leaving us, and becoming victimised by men [union men] who selfishly exercise an evil influence over them'. He then discussed raising labourers' wages, which he did not approve of since it did not necessarily lead to an improved labourer:

It is a fact that in proportion to the high wages the labourers have been receiving in England, the greater is the consumption of spiritous liquors. That does not look well. It shows, that in discerning the improvement of the labourer, we must look to something else besides the actual increase of wages. We ought to try and raise the condition of the labourers to teach them to save for themselves, and that when they are old or out of work, they must not fall back on the rates.¹²³

The improvement of the morals of the labourers, whereby they drank less—a desire which dissenters shared with Anglicans—and could thus save money, so negating the need for a wage rise, as espoused by Emlyn, was a conventional Tory party theme, stated again and again in many different contexts by the Cawdor politicians. Of course, as

Emlyn recognised, the end result of such thrift on behalf of the labouring class would be a reduction of poor rates, since they would have saved enough to enable them to be independent in their old age.

An adjunct to the second Earl Cawdor's anti-combination stance was his reaction in 1877 to remarks made at the Llanboidy Agricultural Society's show by Powell of Maesgywnne condemning hiring fairs. Powell preferred twelve-monthly agreements, with servants registering at the register office as proof of their worthiness. Cawdor responded with a published letter accepting that hiring fairs did much harm and that a registry could be a great improvement, but urged that caution was needed since within a registry 'lurks a great evil, which Mr Powell does not see or does not disapprove'. The evil, according to Cawdor, was that no limit to wages was to be included. Once again Cawdor argues against any wage rise if it is demanded as part of a combination of workers. Powell believed any farmer who hired servants not on the register should be ostracised, but Cawdor believed that any labourer who was worthy, even though *not on the register*, should be hired even if at a higher wage.¹²⁴ The Land Commission of the 1890s commented that at the end of the century the hiring fair was declining in Wales, though at times of a shortage of labour they acted similarly to a trade union in their bargaining power. However the Commission stated that servants' registries had not been established in south Wales excepting an experimental free registry in Brecon.¹²⁵ This notwithstanding, there was an attempt to establish a servants' registry in Pembrokeshire in 1885, under the guidance of Mousley, who 'got half a dozen Farmers to meet ... They all admit that a Servants' Registry will be a very good thing'.¹²⁶ Whether this went any further is not recorded. Nevertheless, Cawdor's preference for individual rather than any combined negotiation displayed his rigid paternalism, as he had done on other occasions when dealing with tenants, as we shall see.

E. Relations with tenant farmers.

What were relations like between the Cawdors as landlords and their tenant farmers? In the first place, did the linguistic and the growing political and religious differences between them over the course of the nineteenth century cause rancour and a feeling of insecurity on the part of tenants, as was claimed by radical, nonconformist leaders? In

response to a question put to him on 6 March 1894 by Lord Kenyon, one of the Land Commissioners, as to whether language or politics had anything to do with the choosing of tenants, Mousley replied: 'We have only the English language down here [on the Stackpole estate]. In the Carmarthenshire district of course we have to acknowledge the Welsh. I do not know that the language makes any difference. Politics make no difference, unless we get some very rabid gentlemen applying that we do not choose to have. Religious principles make no difference whatever.'¹²⁷ Although this claimed benign state of affairs may well have been true for the later decades of the century, in part secured by the Ballot Act of 1872, earlier decades down to the 1860s certainly saw interference on the Cawdor estate with the way tenants cast their votes in parliamentary elections. Such interference was general throughout the United Kingdom until the mid-nineteenth century, landlords instructing their tenants as to which way they should engage their votes. However, at the same time it was deemed important that no coercion was brought to bear on them.¹²⁸ Failure to act accordingly at the Carmarthenshire election of 1837 spelt trouble for the Cawdor family. The conduct on that occasion of Cawdor's agent, R. B. Williams, in writing a letter to the tenants instructing them 'to plump for Colonel Trevor...who is the only candidate supported by your noble landlord'¹²⁹ and his subsequent directing a sub-agent, one Daniel Rees, to inform four tenants who were suspected of supporting the opposing candidate, Sir James Williams of Edwinsford, that their independence and ingratitude meant that they should pay their rents in arrears immediately, met with widespread condemnation from nonconformists in the local press and was brought to the notice of the House of Commons.¹³⁰ It may well have been the case that R. B. Williams, as agent, was overstepping the mark in issuing this direction to a sub-agent to contact the four tenants and that it would not have been sanctioned by Earl Cawdor, absent on the Continent during the whole period of the election.¹³¹

Through the agency of the nonconformist press and the Liberation Society, tenants from the middle of the century were becoming increasingly politicised. Their growing independence was manifested in the 1868 election, when the Irish Church question led tenants to follow their consciences and to vote against the wishes of their landlords.¹³² The latter, believing certain of their tenantry to be ungrateful for past largesse on their part, served them with notices of eviction. In a fevered atmosphere, rumours of numbers

of eviction notices issued on the Cawdor estates were wide of the truth. Mousley thus apprized Earl Cawdor on 31 March 1869: 'There are some wonderful reports in circulation as to the number of Notices that we have issued—one is that I have served between 200 and 300. I believe we have served fewer than usual! [on the previous Lady Day] 18 for the County [Carmarthenshire] and 4 in Pembrokeshire.'¹³³ Later, on 21 May 1869, Mousley presented Cawdor with a list of the Notices served his tenants in Carmarthenshire and Pembrokeshire at Lady day 1869 and in an accompanying letter he 'hopes' that Cawdor would be satisfied with the reasons he gave for issuing such Notices. Clearly, Mousley's key role in the process should not be ignored. After informing Cawdor that four notices were served in Pembrokeshire, the agent added: 'but all quite distinct from Political reasons'. Those Notices appertaining to the various Carmarthenshire estates were then listed and explained. Five were served on tenants of the Newcastle Emlyn estate. James Thomas, a surgeon of Newcastle Emlyn holding accommodation land, was served Notice 'entirely in consequence' of his 'violent disgraceful conduct...during the Election'. Mousley stated that he visited Cawdor's tenants and told them that if they did not vote for Sartoris then he would not treat them when they fell sick. James Thomas's brother, Timothy, a tenant of accommodation lands within Newcastle Emlyn, received Notice on the grounds that his 'behaviour at the Election was much the same as his Brother's'. Another tenant of accommodation lands, Thomas Jones of the Red Cow public house, Adpar, Cardiganshire, was issued Notice because he 'did all in his power against the Conservative Candidates during the Election'. Notice was given John Thomas of Kenarth—the agent and tenant of Mr. W. A. Brigstock—as tenant of Cells Fach which he occupied as a bye-hold to Brigstock's farm, for having also 'very actively opposed the Conservative Candidates' as well as robbing the Cells farm by taking the produce to the Gellydywyll farm. Although Notice was served on John Davies, a holder of accommodation land, it was subsequently withdrawn stated Mousley. The latter went on to inform his master that on the Ystradffin estate, the tenant of Cefn Blewog had been served Notice on account of the fact that after immediately having a new farm house built by the estate, 'voted against the known wishes of his landlord'. Mousley added that the Notice had been withdrawn some time afterwards and that 'the Tenancy will continue at a slight advance of rent as percentage

for the outlay'. It may be asked if this was the real reason for the increase. On the Golden Grove estate itself, William and John Thomas, tenants of Pant Mawr farm in Llanarthney as, too, of a Llanfihangel meadow, were given Notice only for the meadow accommodation land, on account of their always under-letting it and partly 'owing to their having voted contrary to the known wishes of their Landlord'. Two holders of Cawdor property in the town of Carmarthen were served with Notices. One was a certain John Lewis, who 'behaved very ill at the Election (altho' mayor at the time) in forcing his numerous under-tenants to vote for Col. Stepney, and contrary to their promises'. The other was Samuel Francis, an elderly tenant of accommodation land, 'who allowed Col. Stepney's Party to take him by force to vote for the Colonel, after he had promised T.T.M. that he would not vote against Mr. Treherne'. Mousley added that this Notice had been later withdrawn because of his old age and ill health 'occasioned by the violent treatment of the Radical Party'.¹³⁴ There is no mistaking the determination of Mousley to punish tenants who had defied the express wishes of Cawdor, although it is only fair to acknowledge that some of the Notices served were to do with non-political matters and that some were subsequently withdrawn. Moreover, if Mousley is to be believed, certain tenants had been especially active in opposing the Conservative cause and so retaliation, if unwise, was not surprising. Nor were Conservatives alone in exerting undue interference with the way that tenants voted. In his communication with Cawdor, and doubtless in his own mind justifying his conduct, Mousley was to remind him that no one Party had a monopoly in bringing pressure to bear on tenants: 'It ought to be represented to the World that at the last election there was not more interference by the Conservative than by the Radical Landlords—with the freedom of voting by their tenants—and certainly nothing to be compared with the systematic intimidation of the Dissenting Preachers'.¹³⁵

Political matters apart, the overriding impression that emerges from close scrutiny of the evidence is that there was a disinclination to evict tenants. Where the estate moved decisively against tenants was if they acted unreasonably in the eyes of the agent. Taking timber by tenants was always seen as a serious affair. In 1809 Thomas Beynon responded to several thefts of timber as follows:

I took occasion, when all the tenants were assembled at Dinner at Llandovery, to inform them that several of them were noticed out, and were certainly to lose their farms, as a

just punishment for the depredations they had committed on their Landlord's timber; and I expressed a hope that the rest would take warning, as your Lordship were determined never to pardon...offences of this description. Morgan Griffiths of Ystrad y Ffin, is much more guilty than I was aware of...In short he is a very bad man. He repeatedly intreated to be continued on his farm, but I firmly told him I would attend to no excuses...and that all the others were to quit as well as himself...the tenant of Bwlchyffin has cut several fine young Oak saplings..since his next neighbour of Ystradffin was fined for the same offence. It will be requisite to notice him out next year, for unless severe examples are made and continued, there will not be a tree left on the Estate in a very few years. When I called this man to account, he avowed the fact, and said that Mr Rolley always gave him leave.¹³⁶

Perhaps the poverty of the Ystradffin estate, and its remote situation in the north-east of the County, made the temptation to steal timber irresistible, notwithstanding the serious consequences for those discovered. The taking of timber was treated as plain theft from the landlord and was punished by notice to quit, unlike rent arrears, we shall see, which were often tolerated for a period of a year or more. In some cases, Beynon had summonses issued against the perpetrators. This happened in 1809 with regard to a Morgan Richard, whom the agent knew 'to be knave enough to take any advantage hereafter [that is, following the issue of the summons] he can, particularly if he finds he is to quit the premises. A man more deserving of being made an example of there certainly never was—and the Method he took to destroy one Ash, if the information I have had is correct, is a masterpiece of ingenious knavery.'¹³⁷ In the same year, Beynon reported that: 'There are three others of the Tenants who have been convicted in a Penalty of Ten Pounds apiece. They have not yet paid their Fines; but I hear they intend applying to your Lordship...for indulgence and a remission...I give your Lordship this previous intimation, lest you should by compassion be induced to show lenity where none is merited, but where on the other hand, the strongest examples are required to prevent the continuance of the most wanton depredation.'¹³⁸

As well as strictness shown towards timber theft, a like firmness was displayed towards those tenants who sub-let their holdings. Throughout the century the practice was discouraged since it meant that the estate lost control of the holding. At Castle Green, Newcastle Emlyn, the tenant, the Revd James Evans, sub-let his land, which resulted in the ploughing up of a 'considerable part of the hill, on which the Castle is built, and set corn in it...I sent for the under-tenant, reprimanded him severely for what he had done, and insisted he should never do so any more, adding that I was sure Lord Cawdor would

give a Thousand Pounds if what he had done could be undone. This appeared to make a deep impression.’ Betraying a sense of duty to preserving the past, Beynon was particularly upset that the action of the under-tenant might deface the ‘lines and ramparts and render the old military works more difficult to be traced’.¹³⁹

Otherwise tenants were given a certain amount of leeway. They never seem to have been badgered with regard to keeping the covenants in their leases. And, as stated, there was an unwillingness to evict tenants for arrears of rent, even troublesome ones. Normally the Cawdor estate would start pursuing a tenant for rent arrears after twelve months.¹⁴⁰ When a tenant *was* evicted it was usually as a very last resort and often by way of a compromise. Richard Lewis of Walton parish, according to Mousley, was always backward with his rent: ‘and I found that he was borrowing money, and every year becoming less able to manage his Farm—I gave him a Notice, and it was arranged for his son David Lewis to succeed him at Michaelmas 1867 at the same rent £245. There is no small place at present that could be offered to R. Lewis.’¹⁴¹ These comments reveal the paternalism of the estate at its best: even a failing farmer was considered for a smaller place and the holding he was evicted from was kept within the family if at all possible.

Apart from periods of farming depression, a particularly difficult time experienced by the agent in receiving rents was on the occasion of the revaluation of 1862 and re-letting the following year, referred to above. At the rent audit after the increase Mousley experienced some quibbles but in the main most tenants paid up. At Newcastle Emllyn: ‘Two or three of those Tenants hesitate to pay their advanced rents, and many give us some little trouble.’¹⁴² Seemingly worse opposition was encountered at Llandovery: ‘several of the Tenants refused to pay their increase of rent. I shall make examples of 2 or 3 which will bring the others to terms.’¹⁴³ One protracted dispute occurred between Rees Evans of Llanerchindda, on the Ystradffin estate, and Mousley, which led Evans to write to Lord Cawdor in 1869 complaining about the agent. Every year since the 1863 re-valuation Evans had received a Notice to quit for not paying the increase in rent. Various matters were raised by the aggrieved tenant: ‘I have expended at least £1,000 from time to time in buildings, for work and labour’ [so was it] ‘reasonable that I should have thus a Notice to Quit as Your old tenant and my predecessors before me for a number of years consequently, after I have expended so much and exerted myself and all in vain but

nevertheless turning me out without making any recognition or Compensation for my outlay.’ He finally apologised for thus writing, ‘but I was compelled to do so—as I understand the Farm has been let to another’.¹⁴⁴ A week later Mousley wrote to Cawdor regarding Evans: ‘This man has behaved worse, and gives me more trouble than all the other Tenants together belonging to that estate...Rees’ outlay in buildings including his supposed expense of carting materials (most of which were given to him by the estate) amounted to about £310. In consequence of this I reduced Mr Hall’s valuation of £72 to £62...over and over again he has agreed with me to his rent account, and promised to settle it.’ But, Mousley informed his master, Evans never acted upon his agreement with him and hence the repeated Notices, which, however, were never carried out. But this present year, 1869, and after several interviews, wrote Mousley, ‘I have been obliged to act upon the notice and let his farm to another, because he positively refuted payment of the arrear of £14. 1s. 7d. In fact he has quite set me at defiance, in a thoroughly Welsh cunning fashion, for the last six years.’¹⁴⁵ The complaints aired in this case, namely, of no compensation for improvements undertaken, of the longevity of tenure, and of the general unreasonableness of the agent were re-iterated by tenants about their landlords throughout the nineteenth century, but particularly in the second half, and especially before the Welsh Land Commission of the 1890s. Mousley’s response also expresses views seemingly held by many other Welsh estate agents, of lying, grasping, cunning Welsh tenants, intent on whatever they could squeeze from the estate. Such views were also repeated by Mousley’s successor, Williams-Drummond. However, despite all the Notices and the fact that Mousley was actually in the throes of letting the farm to another, Rees Evans died in 1883-84, but family was still farming Llanerchindda in 1901, on a rent reduced to £60 and no arrears owing.¹⁴⁶ What caused their reprieve is unknown, but it may have stemmed from the long-suffering nature of the Cawdors as landlords.

Unpaid rents were, of course, a common feature on this estate, as on others throughout Britain, at times of farming depression. What follows is a brief examination of the attitude of the Cawdor owners and their agents towards tenants in difficulties during the long, if intermittent, depression that set in from 1815 and lasted until mid-century and, again, during the depression of the 1880s and the 1890s. In June 1815 Cawdor’s Stackpole agent, John Cooper, wrote from Pembrokeshire that: ‘Money is getting a very

scarce article in this Country the farmers are all making heavy Complaints for want of a market for their produce. They have been backward in their Rents and we have a deal of arrears now which I have threaten'd them about but not to much purpose. Three of the Wiston tenants have given up their farms and I have not let them again yet, shall not be able to get (I am afear'd) near the Rent the old tenants Quit at.'¹⁴⁷ Four months later he had collected a rental which he thought was quite good at £1,400, about £600 in arrears.¹⁴⁸ A year later, in July 1816, the agent R. B. Williams informed Cawdor that he was to receive the arrears of rent at specially arranged meetings at Golden Grove and Carmarthen for tenants in arrears, where the utmost endeavour would be made to collect as much as possible.¹⁴⁹ But these extraordinary meetings largely failed to fill the coffers: 'Many of the Tenants in arrear attended here [Llandeilo] but were unable to pay their Rent. There being several Fairs to be held in the course of nine days we have appointed Friday 2nd of August for meeting them again and unless the Rents are paid at that time immediate steps will be taken to compel payment.'¹⁵⁰ However in February of the following year rent arrears were still not paid, the agent informing his master: 'I forebore distraining upon any Tenants except those whose effects were likely to be taken to the Sheriff and I am glad to say there were but few.'¹⁵¹ The evidence is clear: at periods of depression, the estate was left with no option but to permit their tenants to run up arrears.

The drastic fall in prices led Walter Davies (Gwallter Mechain)¹⁵² to write in 1816: 'Rent should be reduced, or rather restored to, its proper level, universally and immediately, whilst the remaining farmers have any capital left.'¹⁵³ It appears that on the Cawdor estate Lord Cawdor and his agent were persuaded to make rent allowances in response to requests from their tenants. Faced with such a collapse in prices, it is likely that the Cawdor tenants took the unusual step of petitioning their landlord for reduced rents. In July 1817 the agent, R. B. Williams, in a letter to Cawdor referred to a petition of the Ystradffin tenants, but did not mention its nature.¹⁵⁴ Later, Cawdor notes in his diary for 23 October 1820: 'The Tenants from Castlemartin called I saw them with Cooper.' Again, unfortunately he did not specify why the tenants of this part of the estate met with him. A week later the tenants called again, on which occasion Campbell saw them with George Bowling and Cooper.¹⁵⁵ Once again, no fuller explanation was provided concerning the nature of the visit. That the mission of the farmers was probably

to seek a rent reduction is suggested by the comments made by the agent, Cooper, in a Stackpole rental from Michaelmas 1821 to Michaelmas 1822 concerning rent reductions at this time: with reference to a 301-acre farm, whose rent was £400, was the observation that 'Lord Cawdor proposed allowing the tenant out of this Rent 20% from Lady Day 1821 to meet the depression of the times'. Similarly, it was noted concerning the 273-acre Longhouse farm in Wiston parish with a rent of £190: 'The tenant was promised an allowance of 20% of his rent'.¹⁵⁶ There is no evidence here, however, that such allowances were permanent reductions in rents; they were seemingly merely temporary abatements which, unlike permanent reductions, failed to give tenants any real confidence in their enterprise. Once again in the farming crisis of the early 1840s landlords in south-west Wales failed to ease the financial pressures on their tenants by lowering their rents, a neglect which had much to do with the outbreak of the Rebecca Riots as a farmers' self-help movement. In September 1843 the Haverfordwest land agent, John Harvey, wrote to Lord Cawdor that a revision of rents was certainly demanded in south Wales in the face of the continued depression.¹⁵⁷ As earlier, the Cawdor estate nevertheless saw tenants being allowed abatements. Some thirty-two farms on the Carmarthenshire estate and twenty-three on the Pembrokeshire one were thus granted abatements to Lady Day 1843.¹⁵⁸

From 1853 down to the close of the 1870s farming in south-west Wales enjoyed a period of prosperity,¹⁵⁹ a benign situation mirrored in the more promptly paid rents and the low level of rent arrears on the Cawdor estates. Indeed, the good times were to last longer for pastoral farmers in the north and western districts of Great Britain than for their corn-growing counterparts in the south and east of the country. Whereas arable farmers were feeling the pinch of falling prices from 1874, livestock farmers were hit only from 1879 and, that year apart, were reasonably prosperous down to the mid-eighties.¹⁶⁰ In September 1876 Mousley reported that the estate rents had 'never better been paid up...there is so much complaining by the English Farmers, and deductions from their rents being made in many districts, there is no appearance of distress amongst our People. Every rent was paid in full, and without any grumbling.'¹⁶¹ Likewise, two years later Mousley reported concerning the Stackpole tenants: 'I have had an excellent week of Rent days. I never saw Farmers so cheerful about their agricultural prospects.'¹⁶²

However, a year later, in July 1879 (in which month a special service was held in St Peter's Church, Carmarthen, to pray for good weather),¹⁶³ he was referring to the tenants not complaining 'about the hard times, except J. Roch of Longstone', one of the principal farmers on the Stackpole estate.¹⁶⁴ At Newcastle Emlyn, three weeks later, the receipt 'has not been quite as good as usual. All the small rents were paid. But 2 or 3 of the principal ones made the excuse that they had not been able to turn their Cattle into money and begged for another month, for a chance of late Fairs. The receipt was about £400 less than it should have been.'¹⁶⁵ Fulfilling the role of a leader of the local farming interest, Lord Emlyn, in an after-dinner speech at the Carmarthenshire Agricultural Society in September 1879, observed that: 'In all parts of the country there is depression in agriculture', and went on to state that it was caused by the bad seasons and bad trade, the latter the result of 'excessive competition...excessive speculation, and over production'.¹⁶⁶ He was to repeat the speech over the next few days at both the Llandeilo and the St Clears Agricultural Societies' meetings. However, although Emlyn clearly recognized that a depression was hitting the rural community, the estate did not feel it necessary to give abatements until the mid-1880s.

Whereas rents on the Carmarthenshire estate were being paid promptly in the early 1880s, some difficulty was encountered by the agent in collecting the Stackpole rents from 1880 to 1882 with the level of arrears varying from £963 to £1,500¹⁶⁷—doubtless a reflection of the more arable nature of farming there. Only from 1885, however, did a farming depression strike the farmers of south-west Wales as a general phenomenon. In answer to a question put to him by one of the Land Commissioners in March 1894 as to when the depression began, Mousley replied: 'I should say about the year 1885; in 1885 for three or four years; then again in 1890 to the present time', and he attributed it to 'several bad climatic seasons, unfair competition in the wheat trade and other cereals, especially in foreign flour...[and] the greatly diminished demand for store cattle to go to the Midland pastures'.¹⁶⁸

So severe was the depression in 1885 that Lord Cawdor, as a foremost leader of the agricultural community in south-west Wales, was in communication with other gentry of Carmarthenshire, particularly Lord Dynevor, about what could be done to alleviate the burden imposed on the farmers. In October 1885 he wrote to Dynevor concerning the

situation at Golden Grove as follows: ‘My rents have not been altered since 1863—but I have no doubt I shall have to make a considerable reduction’. He continued in optimistic vein: ‘I shall try and not do more than give the reduction for the half year, though I expect I shall have to do it for the whole year. It is impossible to give an opinion [sought of him by Dynevor] as whether 10 per cent would be enough, but I should doubt it; the more so as your rents were readjusted 10 years ago.’¹⁶⁹ A few days later Cawdor wrote that he had decided to allow a rent reduction of 20 per cent. The size surprised Dynevor, who responded:

I see you have taken a much more serious view of the necessity of a large general reduction than I and others in this part of the country have yet seen the reason to do. I have been talking lately to many landowners and agents...and they hoped 10 per cent on the half year was sufficient...and that it was better to say nothing about the 2nd half year till we saw what was really necessary. Sir A[rthur] S[tepheny] and his agent have not yet seen the necessity for any reduction. I can fairly say that I had not a single application from a Tenant and was myself the first to mention the subject to them.¹⁷⁰

Dynevor was concerned that if other landowners gave 20 per cent following Cawdor’s lead, then he and all the smaller landowners would ‘have to shut up their houses and leave the country. If you consider 20% absolutely necessary, at once I can say nothing more—You certainly intend acting most generously.’¹⁷¹ Such commendation from a neighbouring landowner is significant for this study as testimony to the largesse of the Cawdor family. In a telling reply, Cawdor wrote:

Reduction is not the right word, a temporary allowance or return of portion of the Rent is more correct. Neither Mousley nor any other Agent would recommend a return unless he thought it absolutely necessary—and were of opinion that 10% would not be enough...All I say now is 20% for the next ½ years rent will be returned. Like most other landlords my Estate is heavily burdened with incumbrances and debts of various kinds and in order to cut my coat according to my cloth I shall have to make many reductions in my private expenditure, as well as outlay on the estate.

He went on to make a general observation about the impact of depression on all classes in the rural community: ‘The worst of it is that these compulsory economies will be felt by all classes the labourers who will lose their employment as well as the landowners who must deny themselves many things they have been accustomed to.’¹⁷² However in July 1886 the agent gave as his opinion: ‘I think a 10 per cent reduction, all round, this receipt, is the right thing to decide upon’ and, upon Cawdor having accepted this a month later, Mousley justified this course of action with the observation: ‘That I think is what the

generous Landlords seem inclined to do at this time.’¹⁷³ It was an abatement which was continued the following year. In June 1887 Mousley spelt out the cost to the estate: ‘It is a question of £1,550—for the two counties—about £4,650 for the year, and for the two years about £9,300.’¹⁷⁴ With an easing of depression from early 1888, abatements ceased being given after Lady Day of that year,¹⁷⁵ although abatements were given on the Pembrokeshire estate in 1889 despite the improvement in farmers’ payments in the summer of that year.¹⁷⁶ It is necessary to point to the discrepancy between the evidence forthcoming from the correspondence between agent and landlord and Mousley’s evidence to the Land Commissioners, which ran as follows: ‘For the year ending Lady-day 1886, abatements 15 per cent; Lady-day 1887, 15 per cent; Lady-day 1888, 15 per cent.’¹⁷⁷

A new system of granting abatements came with the return of deep depression in the early 1890s. Mousley continued before the Land Commission: ‘In 1891 the tithes were allowed, 7½ per cent. on the rents; in 1892, the same; Lady-day 1893, 10 per cent. and the 7½ per cent. for the tithes, making about 17½ per cent. That was up to Lady-day 1893, and that is going on for the present year, up to Lady-day 1894.’¹⁷⁸ The years 1893 and 1894 clearly saw a deepening in the depression. A sum of £4,855 was rebated to the tenants for both counties in the two years 1893-94. This sum increased in the following two years to £5,563.¹⁷⁹

Although abatements were favoured by Cawdor and other landowners, so serious was the depression from the mid-1880s that by October 1887 he was thinking in terms of a permanent reduction in rents. Should this take place then Mousley hoped that ‘we shall be able to limit it to the Stackpole estate’.¹⁸⁰ However, both the Pembrokeshire and the Carmarthenshire properties weathered this economic storm, and by 1889 talk of permanent reductions fell by the way side. However, the possibility of granting a reduction was once more mooted, by Mousley, when the bite of depression was being severely felt in the spring of 1893.¹⁸¹ Mousley exactly revealed his thinking on the matter in his evidence to the Land Commissioners in March 1894: ‘We have kept hoping and hoping, year after year, that this depression would not long continue, and that these abatements might meet the case, and that there would soon be no necessity for them; but now, if it keeps going on in this way, I do not see what is to become of the question but

that the landlords must be satisfied to make a reduction of their rents.¹⁸² There is no evidence, however, that such a policy was adopted by the Cawdor estate, though the abatements continued to be given until 1897 in Carmarthenshire and 1898 on the Pembrokeshire properties.¹⁸³

It will be recalled that Cawdor had ruminated in 1885 that the effect of depression on his encumbered estate would necessitate his making reductions in his private expenditure and in outlays on the estate. As far as the latter was concerned, Mousley in 1886 reduced estate expenditure by £3,734 'to meet the allowances to the tenants of £4,583...In this present year I hope we shall be able to make a still further reduction to meet the 20 per cent just allowed and the possibility of the 10 per cent again in August.'¹⁸⁴ Insofar as the cut-back in private expenditure was concerned, one such saving suggested by Cawdor was revealingly dismissed by Mousley as follows: 'I also hope that you may not consider it necessary further to contemplate anything so extreme and dreadful as dispensing with your Valet.'¹⁸⁵ This sentiment on Mousley's part certainly underlines the pampered nature of the landowner class and emphasizes that, for all their willingness to ease their tenants' plight, the 'sacrifices' they were contemplating having to make were relatively painless, except, perhaps, socially.

It will be apparent that Cawdor's generosity in granting abatements exceeded that of neighbouring landowners in south-west Wales. Of course, he could, more than most, afford to be so charitable. What motivated him and other landowners in granting such help was their perception of themselves as leaders of their local communities and providers of largesse in times of difficulty. Such leadership was also readily accepted and unquestioned by their tenants and the wider body of estate dependants. Any class-based organisation of farmers threatened this traditional authority.¹⁸⁶ This explains Cawdor's fear of any combination among the tenants, a nervousness he voiced to Mousley as early as July 1879 and concerning which his agent was able to reassure him: 'I don't think there is any such Combination, as suggested by your Lordship, amongst the Tenants.'¹⁸⁷ Later, in November 1891, Tom Mousley informed a certain tenant, George Williams of Hayston in Pembrokeshire, that his landlord, Lord Cawdor, declined to receive a 'Deputation of his Tenants to discuss the question of a reduction of Rents. But that he quite admits the present difficulties which the Farmers have to contend with...and that he

will be prepared to entertain the question of making temporary allowances out of the Rents.’¹⁸⁸ Cawdor and other landowners in the Castlemartin district of Pembrokeshire withstood the tenant combination there and let it be known that tenants were to approach them individually. Prominent within that combination or association of tenant farmers of different landlords within Castlemartin was the aforementioned Cawdor tenant, George Williams of the 253-acre farm of Hayston in St. Twynnells parish. At a meeting of the tenants in 1891 a motion, proposed and seconded by two Cawdor tenants respectively, that every one should approach his own landlord was defeated and instead a circular was sent to the landlords from the meeting.¹⁸⁹ However, this circular was not actually sent to Lord Cawdor since abatements were agreed on the estate soon after the meeting took place.

To what extent was the mounting criticism in the 1880s and 1890s of Welsh landlords by nonconformist radical Liberals in the press, in political speeches during election campaigns, on the floor of the House of Commons and before the Welsh Land Commission applicable to the Cawdor estate? In mid-March 1892 Tom Ellis introduced his Tenure of Land (Wales) Bill to the Commons¹⁹⁰ wherein he detailed the need in Wales for a land court. He believed that landlords’ charging of exorbitant rents justified such a court to guarantee fixity of tenure and fair rents; he thus pronounced at Rhyl in November 1892: ‘The system of rent was tolerable when the rent-receiver and the rent-producer were sympathetic partners. When estranged in language and religion, politics and social dealing, the system became unjust.’¹⁹¹ As is to be expected, the Cawdor estate officials painted a glowing picture of relations between Cawdor and his tenants at this time. When asked by the Land Commissioners in 1894 about the ‘general relations between Lord Cawdor and his tenants’, Mousley replied: ‘Excellent; could not be better’,¹⁹² and he declared himself utterly opposed to any kind of Land Court being adopted.¹⁹³ Yet similar testimony to the good relations enjoyed on this estate was submitted to the Land Commissioners by a prominent Radical, Gwilym Evans, the chairman of the Carmarthenshire County Council. He averred that on ‘good estates’, by which he meant large hereditary ones, there was a ‘very large amount of good feeling. I could mention an estate in this county—that is Lord Cawdor’s estate—where the tenants are so situated that practically I do not believe that any land court or any recommendation

that might be made by the Commission could to any extent affect the tenants to their advantage.¹⁹⁴ What was perceived as obtaining on the Cawdor estate was similarly claimed for other large Welsh estates. Thus the radical *Carnarvon and Denbigh Herald*, after considering the evidence put before the Welsh Land Commission, concluded in November 1894: 'It is perfectly true that large Welsh estates are managed with what is termed generosity.'¹⁹⁵ Even game preservation does not seem to have been a source of irritation for Cawdor tenants. While there was extensive game preservation on the Stackpole estate, it was Mousley's contention that: 'The tenants do not make any complaint or grievance of it.'¹⁹⁶ Indeed, there is evidence of some liberality on the part of Lord Cawdor towards tenants taking hares and rabbits on their farms a decade before the Ground Game Act of 1880 legally entitled them to do so. The question was being discussed between landlord and his agent in 1869, Mousley taking a cautionary, elitist line in writing to Cawdor in September of that year: 'The propriety of giving tenant farmers the game on their holdings depends, I think, upon the Class of Tenant—and to grant the privilege to 9/10 of your Lordship's tenants would, I fear, encourage poaching and cause great annoyance to Gentlemen and bona-fide sportsmen.'¹⁹⁷ His advice was not heeded, however, for in 1871 Cawdor's tenants were permitted to kill hares and rabbits on their own holdings, though this was revised a year later when it was discovered that some of the tenants were abusing their privilege.¹⁹⁸ From Cawdor's perspective, it was as much an instance of good estate management as it was an act of patronage towards the tenants since the plague of rabbits had long been a nuisance on the estate.¹⁹⁹ When the Ground Game Act was passed in 1880, Mousley sent the estate tenants a copy of that section of the Act which affected them.²⁰⁰

Yet there was discontent aired in private correspondence and before the Land Commissioners which must not be discounted, grievances which were voiced throughout the century. Lack of sufficient buildings was especially a grievance in the early decades. In 1811 Rees Morris, the tenant of Rhiwradar, wrote to Cawdor:

I beg leave to state to your Lordship the inconvenience we suffer under for the want of necessary Building on the Farm; I have been under the necessity of borrowing the use of a Beast House this winter; I spoke to Mr Lewis of Llandilo [Cawdor's solicitor] about it, but had no satisfactory answer. I therefore trust your Lordship will take it into consideration, and order such Building as are undisputably necessary to be made in the course of next summer, as really it will be impossible for me to manage the farm to any degree of advantage without convenient Building, for when I am obliged to borrow the

use of Beast Houses on other people's property, I loose the advantage to procuring Manure.²⁰¹

Complaints from tenants of a lack of compensation for repairs sometimes led to bitterness being expressed towards the agents for their alleged harsh treatment. Richard Lewis of Walton East Farm on the Stackpole estate wrote to Lord Cawdor in around 1869 of 'having failed to prevail with your Agents to allow me the money I expended. They have refused to allow me more than £10, which I declined to accept'. Lewis had spent £33 in repairing his holding. He continues: 'Soon after the repairs were completed, I was served with a Notice to quit and without Mercy was forced to quit, although being the oldest tenant on your Lordship's Estate in the parish of Walton East. My forefathers had lived a great Many Centuries at the same place in which I was born.' There followed a passionate plea to Cawdor to 'mercifully allow me the above [sum], and grant me a small farm on your Estate, so that I and my wife may have a little bread and cheese as long as we shall live in this world of difficulties and troubles'.²⁰² Sometimes, too, ill-feeling could arise over the estate's decision to discontinue a tenant on the grounds of the latter's want of means or in other ways questionable suitability to properly run the farm. In early 1869 a certain Mrs Hood, a tenant of Marledge farm in the parish of Stackpole Elidir, for which she paid a rent of £279, wrote complaining of her having been 'sent away' from her farm. In his reply, Mousley explained that he had discussed her situation with Lord Cawdor who 'feared the place was larger than she could manage with advantage, in consequence of her own ill-health and her children being too young to be of much assistance'. Cawdor believed that a smaller place would be better for her, a familiar 'paternalistic' policy adopted on other landed estates, but she objected to this proposal, pleading that she had a full stock, sufficient capital and that she had recently laid down tillage land in good condition for pasture. However, Mousley on his meeting with her 'went into her son's irregularities—which she did not deny—although she thinks he had not committed himself very much, but stated that he had promised her to be steadier for the future. She also 'begs that the Farm may be carefully looked over before Your Lordship decides finally to send her away.'²⁰³ Perhaps Mousley would have accepted the son as a succeeding tenant if his ways were not 'irregular', a term that was not expanded upon by the agent. The family was removed and the place was let to a Robert Morris at a

slightly increased rent of £285 a year. Increased rents following the re-valuation of Mr Hall in 1862 also, it has been shown, gave rise to some ill-feeling between tenants and their landlord. Indeed, the rent of the aforementioned Marledge farm was on that occasion raised from £156 to £279 which led to the sitting tenant leaving and making way for the Hood family. Although rent increases after 1863 were very seldom made, a number of increases that were made in 1885 gave rise to much bitterness and led the tenants concerned to complain before the Welsh Land Commission on 7 March 1894. In the case of Joshua Watts who tenanted the 143-acre Longlands farm in Wiston parish, his complaint to Mousley on 9 March 1885 was that the rise in rent from £98 to £110 was 'unfair', although this was justified by Mousley in a letter he sent the tenant two days later on the grounds of the recent estate outlay on the premises.²⁰⁴ It was a rent rise in 1885 of merely £3 that upset William James of Stubbleborough; he was at a loss to account for it except, perhaps, that other 'land-grabbers' had been applying for the holding. When pressed by a question put by J. E. Vincent in the Land Commission hearing at Narberth as to whether or not Lord Cawdor had made 'very much improvement', he answered in the affirmative, though, he contended, not more so than in other places where no additional rent had been charged.²⁰⁵ Later, Thomas Pickering Mousley, the son of T. T. Mousley, who had succeeded his father in 1893, denied before the Commissioners that either his father or himself would ever have been influenced in raising rents by the awareness that other 'land-grabbers' were waiting behind the scenes for the farms.²⁰⁶ It is, however, significant that both Watts and James believed that it would be advantageous to have some means of appeal to some person or persons to settle the question of rent between tenant and landlord, in other words, though not explicitly mentioned, a Land Court.²⁰⁷

If these individual cases were indicative of clashes between tenants and the estate, they were a small minority. Perhaps the only real groundswell of dissatisfaction among the tenant community manifested itself on the corn-growing Stackpole estate in the late 1880s and early 1890s. Against a background of deep depression which the government had no intention of relieving by protection, Disraeli realising that reduced prices 'were a boon to the consumer',²⁰⁸ farmers there called for a permanent reduction of rents. In his evidence before the Land Commission on 6 March 1894 referred to earlier, George

Williams of Hayston stated candidly, albeit that the agent T. T. Mousley was in the room: 'I have to say that I have no fault to find with our landlord or with his agent at the present time, only that they have so far failed to recognize the great depression in agriculture as to give us that permanent and substantial reduction in rent which I think we need.'²⁰⁹ Williams averred that other Stackpole tenants present would support his stance if called upon to testify. He went on to dispute the earlier testimony of Mousley that the depression began in 1885, contending that the 'landlords began in the year 1885 to believe that there was a little depression in agriculture'. Rather, he insisted, the real depression in agriculture began in 1879. So bad was the loss sustained by his family in that year alone, he claimed, that in the years following 'we were working on the loss in 1879, and we could not recover before the other great depression in 1885'.²¹⁰ It was his contention that despite the hefty abatements of 17½ per cent made to Lady-day 1893 and 1894 respectively, they were not sufficient to meet the dire circumstances of 1893-4, 'but if we could have a permanent and substantial reduction of something like 20 to 25 per cent that would put spirit in us to go on again, and we would still work the land'.²¹¹ The situation was, he acknowledged, that farmers were having to draw upon their capital in order to pay their rents.²¹² His whole complaint boiled down to the fact that Lord Cawdor and his agent 'have never been brought to believe the depression we are under—that is it'.²¹³ Similar evidence emerged during the questioning of T. T. Mousley earlier on that day, 6 March, about the response of landlords in the Castlemartin district to their tenants' discomfort. Mr Brynmor Jones thus alluded to the fact that several farms had been mentioned that morning, some on the Stackpole estate, 'where the tenants could not get the landlords to believe that they could not pay for their farms, and the consequence was that they were obliged to emigrate or to remove to some other part.' To which Mousley replied rather evasively: 'I suppose landlords and their agents are at liberty to exercise their own judgment in such a matter, just as much as the tenant.'²¹⁴ Nevertheless, it will be recalled that Mousley did acknowledge on this occasion that if the depression persisted then landlords would have to reduce their rents. There can be no doubt that during 1893 and into 1894 landlords had been 'educated' to such a great extent, to use the word employed by George Williams, as to the scale of the crisis that they were 'improving'.²¹⁵ Even so, such was the degree of dissatisfaction felt that, according to

George Williams, some of the Stackpole tenants—though not himself personally for the time being—‘are of opinion that it would be better even for landlord and tenant to agree to have some place that we can refer to, something like a Land Court’.²¹⁶ However, this criticism directed at the Cawdor estate was commonly levelled against British landlords in general during the Great Depression. E. J. T. Collins concludes: ‘It was complained by arable farmers in the late seventies and eighties, and by pastoral farmers in the nineties, that either rents had been lowered insufficiently, or that they had been lowered too late, and that reductions when granted were temporary not permanent.’²¹⁷

One final question invites comment, namely, the degree of irritation afforded tenants by the ubiquitous interference of gamekeepers. It was the contention of the aforementioned Gwilym Evans that the gamekeeper caused more mischief between landlord and tenant in Carmarthenshire than all other irritants combined.²¹⁸ There is a lack of ample explicit evidence to support this contention insofar as Cawdor tenants were concerned, though it may well have been the case. If Evans is to be believed, tenant farmers who had ‘the highest regard for their landlord and agent, very often, indeed generally, view with unfailing distrust the gamekeeper’.²¹⁹ Although evidence is scarce, affrays between gamekeepers and poachers did occur, especially on the heavily preserved Stackpole estate.

We saw earlier how one such affray, in 1889, resulted in a falling out between Cawdor and his agent. Five years later in September 1894 five men were found guilty of beating-up Cawdor’s under-keeper, Henry Tipping, after he had accused them of poaching.²²⁰ Such violence towards gamekeepers was indicative of the resentment felt by many rural dwellers and bears out Gwilym Evans’s words. As does the request made by a certain Mr Tuck, Stackpole gamekeeper, to Mousley in 1878. Tuck wanted to be moved from his home because the neighbours had been unpleasant to him.²²¹ Much earlier in the century a keeper reported to R. B. Williams ‘that the bog on the Black Mountain [Betws parish], which the Grouse used to frequent, was set fire to, but that he had been unable to ascertain by whom of or for what purpose it was done’. These instances at least indicate that in some quarters there was the desire to give gamekeepers a hard time, which was most certainly reciprocated when the keeper was in pursuit of poachers.²²²

In conclusion, the evidence points overwhelmingly to the Cawdors as being paternalistic landlords, anxious to promote the well-being of their tenants and wider dependants. Here was exemplified fully 'the moral economy of the great estate' as envisaged by Matthew Cragoe. Security of tenure in the Welsh countryside against a hinterland of competition for farms was seemingly enjoyed only by those tenants on large estates; certainly Cawdor tenants were secure and their rents were not ratcheted upwards in the face of the competition for holdings. Even so, there was some unwise if understandable eviction of tenants following the 1868 election, a hasty response that would not be repeated. It does not appear to have been the case that tenants were disadvantaged by their religious or political affiliations in the later decades of the century, although there can be no doubt that some tenants at least would have resented the ignorance of the native language on the part of the Cawdor landlords and certain of their estate officials. Although estate expenditure on buildings and improvements was unsatisfactory in the early century, a big outlay commenced from the mid-1860s, and this applied to farm premises and labourers' cottages alike. While his tenants' plight during the late-century depression did exercise Lord Cawdor and his agent which gave rise to their granting generous abatements, there is no mistaking the depth of feeling on the Stackpole estate at their failure to act soon enough and to grant permanent rent reductions. Again, if Mousley denied that game preservation on the estate caused ill-feeling between tenants and their landlord, there may well have been an artesian well of resentment felt towards the gamekeeper. There finally remains one qualification to be made with regard to the 'good feeling' that prevailed on the Cawdor estate. Despite the fact that on the large estates at least, landlords in the last quarter of the century were more popular on a personal basis, more respected and less feared, than they had been earlier in the century, the landlord and agent were still regarded as persons who had to be approached in a servile manner. The aforementioned Gwilym Evans, the son of a tenant farmer who knew Carmarthenshire's rural communities, testified thus: 'I believe that the fact that the farmers have had to go cap in hand to their landlords and agents, for any little improvements, repairs, or small concessions, has much to do with the cringing, *salaaming* spirit of the small tenant farmer.' He concluded that 'it will be difficult for the Commission to suggest in their report many reforms which would benefit the tenant under a good landlord, excepting,

and this is important, *that they should get as a right* what they now obtain as a *favour*.²²³ That Lord Cawdor would have nothing to do with such emancipation from the feudal embrace is suggested in his determined stance against tenants acting as a body rather than properly approaching him on a personal basis.

Having so far examined their role as estate-owners and agricultural landlords, it is now appropriate to inquire into the role the Cawdors played in the development of industry in south-west Wales.

¹ Cawdor box 244: John Campbell's diary 1817.

² Cawdor 2/67: 'Draft of a lease as proposed by Mr Marshall for Lord Cawdor to adopt in Pembrokeshire', c.1800.

³ Cawdor box 223: 'Rotation of Cropping Stackpole Farm from Michaelmas 1814', anon. [?John Cooper].

⁴ Cawdor box 135: Cooper to Cawdor, 11 May 1819.

⁵ Cawdor box 135: Cooper to Cawdor, no day cited, April 1821.

⁶ D. W. Howell, 'Farming in Pembrokeshire, 1815-1974', in D. W. Howell (ed.), *Pembrokeshire County History*, Vol. iv, *Modern Pembrokeshire*, (Haverfordwest, 1993), pp.81-2; idem, *Land and People in Nineteenth-Century Wales* (London, 1978), p.75.

⁷ H. Colman, *European Agriculture and Rural Economy*, Vol. ii, (Boston, 1851), p.235. Talavera wheat was introduced into England in c.1816.

⁸ Cawdor box 141: Mousley to Cawdor, 16 June 1866.

⁹ Cawdor box 260: *The rules, orders and premiums of the society for the encouragement of Agriculture and Industry in the County of Carmarthen* (Carmarthen, 1800). Beynon subscribed 2gns, Lords Dynevor and Cawdor matched each other at 10gns each, while John Vaughan subscribed £21. W. O. Brigstocke was the president, and Beynon and Vaughan were members of the committee.

¹⁰ Cawdor box 244: John Campbell's diary, 1817; Howell, 'Farming in Pembrokeshire 1815-1974', p.81

¹¹ Cawdor box 141: Mousley to Cawdor, 23 Mar. 1868; *Welshman*, editorial, 27 Mar. 1868 comments regarding the meeting: 'we should not be surprised to see the room half empty, somehow or other it is extremely difficult to bring together a large number of Welsh people to initiate anything that is new. This may arise from over cautiousness, or a reluctance to enter upon an undertaking which does not move the passions.'

¹² N. Goddard, 'Agricultural institutions: societies, associations and the press', in E. J. T. Collins (ed.), *The Agrarian History of England and Wales, 1850-1914*, Vol. vii. pt. 1, (CUP, 2000), pp. 661-64.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p.671.

¹⁴ *JRASE*, Series Two, Vol. 12, 1876; and Series 3, Vols. 1891-92.

¹⁵ CRO, Castell Gorfod, B178: Lord Cawdor to Buckley, 1 May 1879; R. J. Moore-Colyer comments that the aristocracy and gentry 'derived considerable comfort from a profound belief in pedigree...Breeding thoroughbred horses or pedigree cattle and sheep was means of celebrating one's belief in the hereditary principle, and in so doing celebrating oneself...behind the library doors of the plas, those rows of stud books nestling alongside Debrett and the Landed Gentry were both a source of solace and a confirmation of the rectitude of the old order.' See his 'Gentlemen, Horses and the Turf in Nineteenth century Wales', *WHR*, Vol. 16, No.1, (June, 1992), pp.61-62.

¹⁶ Howell, 'Farming in Pembrokeshire, 1815-1974', pp.90-1.

¹⁷ Castell Gorfod, B178, *op. cit.*

¹⁸ Howell, 'Farming in Pembrokeshire, 1815-1974', pp.90-91.

¹⁹ W. Barrow Wall, 'The agriculture of Pembrokeshire', *JRASE*, Series Two, Vol. xxiii, 1887, p.76.

²⁰ D. W. Howell, *Patriarchs and Parasites: the gentry of South-West Wales in the Eighteenth Century* (Cardiff: UWP, 1986), p.80; Howell, 'Farming in Pembrokeshire, 1815-1974', p.92.

²¹ Cawdor box 157: Mousley to Cawdor, 27 May 1885.

²² Howell, *Patriarchs and Parasites*, p.69

²³ CRO, A19b, Enclosure award of Penboyr, Llangeler and Kiltrhedyn parishes, 1873.

²⁴ Cawdor box 151: Mousley to Cawdor, 10 Jan. 1865: cited independently of Howell, *Land and People*, p.40.

²⁵ Cawdor box 141: Mousley to Cawdor, 28 Dec. 1864.

²⁶ Bowstead, with Jenkins and Dun, 'Report on the Farm-Prize Competition, 1872', *JRSAE*, Second Series, Vol., 8, p.281. Only twelve farms in the whole of the south Wales area were shortlisted for prizes by Bowstead, all except Loveston, in Glamorgan and Monmouthshire. J. Darby, 'The Agriculture of Pembrokeshire, *Journal of the Bath and West of England Society* Third Series, Vol., XIX 1887-88, p.103, states that several Castlemartin farms can be mentioned as having been subjected to improvements again singling out Loveston: 'in the occupation of Mr W R Roberts, has been improved year by year by the application of artificial and other manures and top-dressings. Merrion Court Farm, occupied by Mr Richard Griffiths, has undergone much the same treatment, and with highly beneficial results'.

²⁷ Howell, *Land and People*, p.58.

²⁸ Thompson, *English Landed Society*, p.228.

²⁹ Cawdor/Campbell 3/34: Articles of Agreement for the purchase of the Bangeston Estate, 1786.

³⁰ *RCLWM, Report*, 1896, pp.287-88.

³¹ Cawdor 2/254: Pembrokeshire estate rental, 1822.

³² *RCLWM, Report*, 1896, p.280.

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- ³³ Thompson, *English Landed Society*, p.203.
- ³⁴ *Welshman*, 26 Feb. 1859.
- ³⁵ T. J. Hughes (Adfyfr), *Landlordism in Wales*, (Cardiff, 1887), p.18.
- ³⁶ Cawdor box 234: Unused printed [draft] agreement between Earl Cawdor and [blank] c.1870. ‘Adfyfr’ does not say what sort of agreement he would like to see.
- ³⁷ *RCLWM, Report*, pp.492-93.
- ³⁸ Cawdor box 141: Mousley to Cawdor, 2 July 1870.
- ³⁹ *Ibid.*, Mousley to Cawdor, 18 May 1870.
- ⁴⁰ *RCLWM*, vol. ii, Q. 28,634, Mousley’s evidence, 6 Mar. 1894.
- ⁴¹ J. Davies, *Cardiff and the Marquesses of Bute* (Cardiff: UWP, 1981), p.157.
- ⁴² H. M. Vaughan, *The South Wales Squires* (1st pub, 1926: Golden Grove Editions, 1988), p.219.
- ⁴³ *RCLWM*, vol. ii, Q. 28,637, Mousley’s evidence, 6 Mar. 1894.
- ⁴⁴ Cawdor box 158: Mousley to Cawdor, 3 Nov. 1892.
- ⁴⁵ *RCLWM*, vol. iii, Qs. 40,512 and 40,249.
- ⁴⁶ J. R. Fisher, ‘Landowners and English Tenant Right, 1845-1852’, *AgHR*, 31, (1983), pp.15-6.
- ⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, pp.16-7.
- ⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, pp.17ff.
- ⁴⁹ *RCLWM, Report*, pp.483-84.
- ⁵⁰ A. W. Jones, ‘Glamorgan Custom and Tenant Right’, *AgHR*, 31, (1983), pp.1-14; Daniel Owen, *Tenant Right* (Cardiff, 1881).
- ⁵¹ Howell, ‘Farming in Pembrokeshire, 1815-1974’, pp.83-84.
- ⁵² Cawdor box 141: Mousley to Cawdor, 5 June 1868.
- ⁵³ *Ibid.*
- ⁵⁴ The evidence for this paragraph is drawn from Mousley’s testimony before the Welsh Land Commissioners on 6 Mar. 1894, covering Qs. 28,611 to 28,803.
- ⁵⁵ J. E. Vincent, *The Land Question in South Wales* (London, 1897), pp.95-101.
- ⁵⁶ *RCLWM*, vol. ii, Qs. 28,658-60, Mousley’s evidence.
- ⁵⁷ Cawdor box 158: Mousley to Cawdor, 3 Nov. 1892; *RCLWM*, Q. 28,668, Mousley’s evidence; *RCLWM, Report*, pp. 467-68.
- ⁵⁸ *RCLWM, Report*, pp.467-68.
- ⁵⁹ *RCLWM*, vol. ii, Q. 28,667, Mousley’s evidence.
- ⁶⁰ *RCLWM*, vol. iii, Q. 40,263.
- ⁶¹ Cawdor box 158: Tom Mousley to Cawdor, 1 Sept. 1893.
- ⁶² *RCLWM*, vol. ii, Qs. 28,643-44, Mousley’s evidence.
- ⁶³ *Ibid.*, Q. 28,628.
- ⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, Q. 28,649.
- ⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, Qs. 28,647-48.

⁶⁶ Ibid., Qs. 28,655-57, Mousley's evidence; Q. 40,258, Drummond's evidence.

⁶⁷ Cawdor box 131: Beynon to Cawdor, 27 Mar. 1806; Some idea of the general state of Welsh farms, in the 1870s is given in a report of that year regarding farms put forward for prizes at the Cardiff Royal Agricultural Show, where the judges found some of the entries 'totally unfit' with dirty out of condition lands, crooked and broke fences, neglected ditches and watercourses missing gates and 'buildings low, dark, dilapidated, badly ventilated, and inadequate to the design of the farm.' T. Bowstead, with T. Jenkins and F. Dun, 'Report on the farm-prize Competition, 1872', *JRASE*, Second Series, vol. 8, (1872), pp.278-79.

⁶⁸ Cawdor/Campbell 2/30: Lease and Release from John Campbell to William Alington, co Middlesex, dated 1717, describing Nantbay and Ystradffin lately belonging to the Ystrad Fleere monastery, Cardigan.

⁶⁹ Cawdor box 131: Beynon to Cawdor, 20 May 1808.

⁷⁰ Cawdor box 235: William Hand to Cawdor, 7 Jan. 1800.

⁷¹ Cawdor box 141: Mousley to Cawdor, 30 July 1863.

⁷² Ibid., Mousley to Cawdor, 26 Sept. 1863: Mousley believed 'old Rees' was a deliberately awkward tenant. He commented that at the Rent Day the tenant 'took no notice of the occasion; because all the others did. I must write to ask him if he had any other reason for absenting himself.' The agent complained to his master that a great deal of talk would have to be had with Rees 'before we can arrange the terms'. Rees gave Mousley a statement of £600 improvements carried out at the farm, and in view of this, 'I suppose I shall have to reduce the valuation of his farm about £20 which will leave him an increase of £60-£65'.

⁷³ Cawdor box 141: Mousley to Cawdor, 16 June 1866.

⁷⁴ Howell, *Land and People*, pp.47-8.

⁷⁵ Cawdor box 141: Mousley to Cawdor, 3 April 1867.

⁷⁶ Loveston farm on the Stackpole Estate was shortlisted by the Royal Agricultural Society in 1872 as one of twelve farms in south Wales and Monmouthshire to win a prize at the Cardiff meeting of the Society held in that year. However, the farmer, William Roberts, failed to win a prize but was commended for his 'very creditable herd of Pembrokeshire cattle, and his excellent flock of Coltswoold and Leicester sheep.' Bowstead, with Jenkins and Dun, 'Report on the farm-prize Competition, 1872', p.281.

⁷⁷ T. Lloyd, J. Orbach and R. Scourfield, *The Buildings of Wales: Pembrokeshire* (Yale University Press, 2004), p.87.

⁷⁸ Cawdor 261-69: estates rentals for Carmarthenshire and Pembrokeshire estates, 1863-1899.

⁷⁹ Cawdor box 142: Mousley to Cawdor, 26 Mar. 1870.

⁸⁰ Ibid., Mousley to Cawdor, 4 May 1877.

⁸¹ Cawdor box 158: Tom Mousley to Cawdor, 11 July 1893.

⁸² *RCLWM*, Mousley's evidence, Qs.28,686-87.

⁸³ Ibid., Vol. iii, Q. 40,576.

⁸⁴ Ibid., Qs. 40,584-89, Williams-Drummond's evidence.

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- ⁸⁵ Cawdor 261-68: estate rentals for Carmarthenshire and Pembrokeshire; *RCLWM*, Q.28,735, Mousley's evidence.
- ⁸⁶ Howell, *Land and People*, pp.50-1; for instance, around 20 per cent of the gross rental for 32 years of the huge north Wales Wynnstay Estate was spent, on average, each year.
- ⁸⁷ *RCLWM*, vol. iii, Q.40,301, Williams-Drummond's evidence.
- ⁸⁸ Paul Brassley, 'Land Drainage', in Collins (ed.), *The Agrarian History of England and Wales*, vol. vii, 1850-1914, part 1, pp.514-21.
- ⁸⁹ C.S. Read, 'On the farming of south Wales, *JRASE*, Vol. x, (1849), pp. 146, 155.
- ⁹⁰ Cawdor box 149: R. B. Williams to Cawdor, 11 Aug. 1846.
- ⁹¹ Howell, *Land and People*, pp.52-3; Pembrokeshire was singled out by the 1890s Land Commissioners for its neglect in undertaking drainage, see *RCLWM, Report*, p.715.
- ⁹² *RCLWM, Report*, pp. 716-18.
- ⁹³ *Ibid.*, Vol. ii, Q.28,688, Mousley's evidence.
- ⁹⁴ Brassley, 'Land Drainage', p.518-9; such borrowing by Welsh landowners was done under the Public Money Draining Acts of 1846 and 1849, and the Private Acts of the Improvement Companies, such as the General Land Drainage and Improvement Company established in 1849.
- ⁹⁵ Cawdor box 141: Mousley to Cawdor, 14 May 1865.
- ⁹⁶ TNA, MAF, 66/1-9: Land Improvement: Register of Loans kept by the Inclosure Commissioners of the loans made through four of the Land Improvement Companies, namely, The General Land Drainage and Improvement Company, established 1849; the Land Improvement Company set up in 1853; The Scottish Drainage and Improvement Company set up in 1856 and The Land Loan and Enfranchisement Company set up in 1860; Cawdor 269: Carmarthenshire estate accounts 1908, note inserted by Williams-Drummond: The interest payment and therefore the loan at Golden Grove was discontinued in 1908, 'by the lapse of the Lands Improvement Loan to which it referred.'
- ⁹⁷ Howell, *Land and people*, p.105; At the Cardiff meeting of the Royal Agricultural Show, 1872, no prize was given for plans of labourer's cottages, even though 42 sets of plans were submitted. *JRASE*, Second Series, Vol. 8, (1872), p.480.
- ⁹⁸ T. Roscoe, *Wanderings in South Wales including the Wye* (1837), pp. 42 and 44. According to the *DNB* this was partly written by Louisa A Twamley (Mrs Meredith); PP, 1865, xxvi, *Seventh Report of the Medical Officer of the Privy Council, 1864: Dr. Hunter's Report on South Wales*.
- ⁹⁹ Cawdor 2/41/240: Lord Emlyn to R. B. Williams, n.d. c.1852.
- ¹⁰⁰ Anon., 'Hovels and Houses in Wales', *Welsh Outlook*, No. 1, (1914).
- ¹⁰¹ J. C. Loudon, *Encyclopaedia of Cottage, Farm and Villa Architecture and Furniture*, (1846 Reprint, 2000, Dorset), p.8.
- ¹⁰² *JRASE*, Vol. 10, 1849.
- ¹⁰³ The Duke of Bedford, 'On Labourers' Cottages', *JRASE*, Vol. 10, 1849.
- ¹⁰⁴ *Plans and Elevations of Cottages for Agricultural Labourers* (2nd. Ed., London, 1860).

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- ¹⁰⁵ John Frederick, Earl of Cawdor, *Cottage Plans*, no page number, (London, 1869); PP, 1847, XXVII, *Royal Commission of Inquiry into the State of Education in Wales, 1847*, vol. 1, p.277 states that in Llandybie parish, where many Cawdor tenants would have lived, agricultural labourers received about 8-9 shillings per week.
- ¹⁰⁶ Cawdor, *Cottage Plans*, no page number.
- ¹⁰⁷ Cawdor box 177: Account of materials used in repairing two cottages and building four dairies at Freyston, Pembrokeshire, 1851 came to £90. 10s. 3d.
- ¹⁰⁸ *CJ*, 9 July 1869.
- ¹⁰⁹ *Welshman*, editorial, 15 May 1868.
- ¹¹⁰ E. Gauldia, *Cruel Habitations: A History of Working Class Housing*, (London, 1974) pp.47-8; the four were The Dukes of Bedford, Rutland and Newcastle and the Marquis of Exeter.
- ¹¹¹ *Ibid.*; F. M. L. Thompson, 'Landowners and the Rural Community', in G. E. Mingay, *The Victorian Countryside*, vol. 2, p.470 states that 22,000 cottages had been built by 1914 hence 'cottage building is revealed decidedly as a minority pursuit.'
- ¹¹² Cawdor box 186: Rogers the Tenby builder received £309 to erect the cottages, probably at Cheriton.
- ¹¹³ Cawdor box 157: Mousley to Cawdor, 23 July 1881.
- ¹¹⁴ Cawdor box 141: Mousley to Cawdor, 3 Nov. 1871.
- ¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*, Walter Mousley to Cawdor, 21 Nov. 1871.
- ¹¹⁶ Cawdor box 142: Walter Mousley to Cawdor, 15 May 1872.
- ¹¹⁷ J. P. D. Dunbabin, *Rural Discontent in Nineteenth Century Britain* (New York, 1974), p.69.
- ¹¹⁸ *CJ*, 'Llansawel: Emigration and better times – a letter from a farmer's son now in Kansas', 29 Jan. 1872.
- ¹¹⁹ Cawdor box 142: Mousley to Cawdor, 28 Aug. 1872.
- ¹²⁰ *Ibid.*, Mousley to Cawdor, 10 May 1873.
- ¹²¹ *CJ*, 17 May 1872. A month earlier (19 and 26 April, 1872) the same newspaper reported the agricultural labourers' strikes in eastern England; Bowstead, with Jenkins, and Dun, 'Report on the farm-prize Competition, 1872', stated that: 'Strikes and labour-unions, although they have not yet extended into the Principality, have had their natural influence; and wages, both here and in Monmouthshire, have since Christmas, advanced about 15 per cent.' p.322.
- ¹²² *CJ*, 8 Nov. 1872.
- ¹²³ *CJ*, 14 Feb. 1873.
- ¹²⁴ *CJ*, Llanboidy Agricultural Show, 19 Jan. 1877.
- ¹²⁵ *RCLWM*, Report, pp.607 and 609.
- ¹²⁶ Cawdor Box 157, Mousley to Cawdor, 17 June 1885.
- ¹²⁷ *RCLWM*, vol. ii, Q.28,630, Mousley's evidence.
- ¹²⁸ For an excellent case study, see R. J. Olney, *Lincolnshire Politics 1832-1885* (Oxford, 1973)
- ¹²⁹ Hansard, third series, vol. xliii, col. 670-83, 12 June 1837.

¹³⁰ D. Williams, *The Rebecca Riots* (Cardiff: UWP, 1955), pp.30-2; D. W. Howell, 'A Sample of Coercive Landlordism', *The Carmarthenshire Historian*, 1978, pp.63-9.

¹³¹ Howell, 'A sample of Coercive Landlordism', pp. 67-8.

¹³² The election has received wide coverage, notably in the works of I. G. Jones, *Explorations and Explanations* (Llandysul: Gwasg Gomer, 1981); Ryland Wallace, *Organise! Organise! Organise!: A Study of Reform Agitations in Wales* (Cardiff: UWP, 1991); and Matthew Cragoe, 'Conscience or Coercion? Clerical Influence at the General Election of 1868 in Wales', *Past and Present*, No. 149, (1995), pp.140-69, and his *An Anglican Aristocracy: the Moral Economy of the Landed Estate in Carmarthenshire 1832-1895* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996).

¹³³ Cawdor box 141: Mousley to Cawdor, 31 Mar. 1869.

¹³⁴ *Ibid.*, Notices served Lady-day 1869: 'Four notices served but all quite distinct from Political reasons', 21 May 1869.

¹³⁵ *Ibid.*, Mousley to Cawdor, 21 May 1869: letter accompanying above notices. For the coercion practised by the nonconformist ministers, see Cragoe, *An Anglican Aristocracy* pp.182-88 and particularly the same author's 'Conscience or Coercion? Clerical influence at the General Election of 1868 in Wales', p.167 where he concludes that clerical influence was 'best understood as evidence of the continuation of a strong tradition of community morality in rural areas of the principality rather than anything more sinister'. The 1868 election in Wales has been an area of debate in recent years: see also Cragoe, *Anglican aristocracy*, pp.175-77 and *idem.*, 'The Anatomy of an Eviction Campaign: The General Election of 1868 in Wales and its Aftermath', in *Rural History* (1998), vol. 9, No. 2, where a revisionist view of the evictions is offered, and I. Matthews, ' "Disturbing the Peace of the County": The Carmarthenshire General Election of 1868.' *WHR*, Vol. 19, No. 2, (June, 1999), where a more critical account of the role played by the landowners, including Lord Cawdor and his agent is put forward.

¹³⁶ Cawdor box 131: Beynon to Cawdor, 25 May 1809.

¹³⁷ *Ibid.*, William Davys to Beynon, 17 April 1809.

¹³⁸ *Ibid.*, Beynon to Cawdor, 26 Jan 1809.

¹³⁹ *Ibid.*, Beynon to Cawdor, 1 Nov 1809.

¹⁴⁰ This contrasted with the Bute estate's allowing a tenant to run up to three years' arrears, the latter's indulgence no doubt being accounted for by virtue of its huge income from industrial royalties. See Davies, *Cardiff and the Marquesses of Bute*, p.160.

¹⁴¹ Cawdor box 141: Mousley to Cawdor, 9 Jan. 1869.

¹⁴² *Ibid.*, Mousley to Cawdor, 26 Oct. 1864.

¹⁴³ *Ibid.*, Mousley to Cawdor, 28 Oct. 1864.

¹⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, Rees Evans to Cawdor, 15 Sept. 1869.

¹⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, Mousley to Cawdor, 24 Sept. 1869.

¹⁴⁶ Cawdor 269 and 270: estate rentals 1880-1907; *Census Returns, 1881-1901*.

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- ¹⁴⁷ Cawdor box 132: John Cooper to Cawdor, 30 June 1815; for a discussion of the post-war depression in British agriculture as a whole, see J. D. Chambers and G. E. Mingay, *The Agricultural Revolution 1750-1880* (London: Batsford, 1970), pp.126-29.
- ¹⁴⁸ Cawdor box 132: John Cooper to Cawdor, 7 Oct 1815.
- ¹⁴⁹ Ibid., R. B. Williams to Cawdor, 13 July 1816.
- ¹⁵⁰ Ibid., R. B. Williams to Cawdor, 21 July 1816.
- ¹⁵¹ Ibid., R. B. Williams to Cawdor, 12 Feb 1817.
- ¹⁵² Walter Davies (Gwallter Mechain), 1761-1849, cleric, poet, antiquary, literary critic. He wrote *General View of the Agriculture and Domestic Economy of South Wales* in 1813, and two years later a similarly titled two-volume work, much indebted to Iolo Morganwg, on south Wales. (Welsh Biography on-line.)
- ¹⁵³ PP, 'Replies as to Agricultural Distress to the board of Agriculture, 1816', cited in Howell, *Land and People*, pp.9-10.
- ¹⁵⁴ Cawdor box 133: R. B. Williams to Cawdor, 16 July 1817.
- ¹⁵⁵ Cawdor box 244: John Campbell's diary, 1820-21.
- ¹⁵⁶ Cawdor 2/254: Estate rental 1821-22. The *CJ* reported that Williams of Edwinsford had given abatements of between 10-30% to those tenants 'as were thought deserving of relief, on account of the badness of the times'. (25 April 1823) and Mirehouse of Brownslade had given abatements of 25-30% and amnesty for rent arrears to his tenants (13 June 1823).
- ¹⁵⁷ PP, 1844, xvi, *Royal Commission of Inquiry for South Wales*, Appendix 3.
- ¹⁵⁸ Cawdor 284: Pembrokeshire and Carmarthenshire rentals, 1844.
- ¹⁵⁹ Howell, *Land and People*, pp.12-13, 49.
- ¹⁶⁰ T. W. Fletcher, 'The Great Depression of English Agriculture, 1873-1896', *EcHR*, xiii, 2, (1960-1); P.J. Perry (ed.), *British Agriculture 1875-1914* (London: Methuen, 1973); P. J. Perry, *British Farming in the Great Depression 1870-1914: An Historical Geography* (Newton Abbot: David and Charles, 1974), chapters 1 and 2; E. J. T. Collins, 'Rural and Agricultural Change. B. The Great Depression, 1875-1896', in Collins (ed.), *The Agrarian History of England and Wales*, vii, 1850-1914, Part 1, ch. 2.
- ¹⁶¹ Cawdor box 142: Mousley to Cawdor, 2 Sept 1876. However in a letter of 1877 Mousley advises Cawdor not to sell property because 'we are not yet out of a long period of depression. And you have now but little scattered property which I should like to advise Your Lordship to part with.' (Cawdor box 142: 27 Feb. 1877).
- ¹⁶² Cawdor box 142: Mousley to Cawdor, 2 Aug 1879.
- ¹⁶³ *CJ*, 18 July and 19 Sept. 1879.
- ¹⁶⁴ Cawdor box 142: Mousley to Cawdor, 11 July 1879.
- ¹⁶⁵ Ibid., Mousley to Cawdor, 2 Aug. 1879.
- ¹⁶⁶ *CJ*, 'Carmarthenshire Agricultural Society dinner', 26 Sept. 1879.
- ¹⁶⁷ Cawdor box 157: Mousley to Cawdor, 5 Sept. 1881; Mousley to Cawdor, 1 Mar. 1882; Mousley to Cawdor, 17 Aug. 1882.
- ¹⁶⁸ *RCLWM*, Qs. 28,730-31, Mousley's evidence.

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- ¹⁶⁹ Dynevor 155/7: Lord Cawdor to Lord Dynevor, 31 Oct. 1885.
- ¹⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, Lord Dynevor to Lord Cawdor, (draft) n.d. but c.Nov. 1885.
- ¹⁷¹ *Ibid.*
- ¹⁷² Dynevor 155/7: Lord Cawdor to Lord Dynevor, 7 Nov. 1885.
- ¹⁷³ Cawdor box 157: Mousley to Cawdor, 6 July 1886.
- ¹⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, Mousley to Cawdor, 20 June 1887.
- ¹⁷⁵ *RCLWM*, vol. ii, Mousley's evidence, Q. 28,663.
- ¹⁷⁶ Cawdor box 157: Mousley to Cawdor, 22 Aug. 1889.
- ¹⁷⁷ *RCLWM*, vol. ii, Q. 28,663.
- ¹⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, Q. 28,663.
- ¹⁷⁹ Cawdor 264 and 269: estate accounts for Pembrokeshire and Carmarthenshire, 1893-1896.
- ¹⁸⁰ Cawdor box 157: Mousley to Cawdor, 17 Oct 1887.
- ¹⁸¹ Cawdor box 158: Mousley to Cawdor, 11 April 1893.
- ¹⁸² *RCLWM*, vol. ii, Q.28,787, Mousley's evidence.
- ¹⁸³ Cawdor 264 and 269: estate accounts, 1890-99.
- ¹⁸⁴ Cawdor box 157: Mousley to Cawdor, 20 June 1887.
- ¹⁸⁵ *Ibid.*
- ¹⁸⁶ Alistair Mutch, 'Farmers' Organisations and Agricultural Depression in Lancashire, 1890-1900', *AgHR*, 31, (1983).
- ¹⁸⁷ Cawdor box 142: Mousley to Cawdor, 28 July 1879; Mutch, 'Farmers' Organisations and Agricultural Depression in Lancashire, 1890-1900', p. 33: A refusal to countenance a meeting with a tenants' deputation was similarly manifested on the Speke Estate in Lancashire in late 1888.
- ¹⁸⁸ Cawdor box 158: Tom Mousley to G. Williams, Hayston, Pembs, 24 Nov. 1891.
- ¹⁸⁹ *RCLWM*, vol. ii, Qs. 28,952-55, evidence of George Williams; Howell, 'Farming in Pembrokeshire, 1815-1974', pp. 97-8.
- ¹⁹⁰ Hansard, Series Four, vol. II, 1892.
- ¹⁹¹ *Carnarvon and Denbigh Herald*, 2 Nov. 1894. This reference was kindly provided by David Howell.
- ¹⁹² *RCLWM*, vol. ii, Q.28,733, Mousley's evidence.
- ¹⁹³ *Ibid.*, Q.28,798.
- ¹⁹⁴ PP, 1895, xl, *RCLWM*, vol. iii. Qs. 38,970-1, Minutes of Evidence.
- ¹⁹⁵ *Carvarvon and Denbigh Herald*, 2 Nov. 1894. This reference was again provided by David Howell.
- ¹⁹⁶ *RCLWM*, vol. ii, Q.28,701, Mousley's evidence.
- ¹⁹⁷ Cawdor box 141: Mousley to Cawdor, 11 Sept. 1869.
- ¹⁹⁸ Howell, *Land and People*, p.78; Cawdor box 161: Notice to Stackpole Tenants 17 Dec. 1872: revised permission to kill rabbits and hares: In August 1871 Cawdor had Granted the privilege to kill Hares to his tenants which had been 'taken unfair advantage of by some of them' Thus Cawdor withdrew that privilege and replaced it by the following:

'Hares to be killed by tenants and friends by dogs only from 1 October to 1 March

Give notice to head keeper 24 hours before day fixed for coursing

Rabbits – killed by Tenants and Friends 1 Aug to 1 April by dog, ferret, purse nets and long nets'

¹⁹⁹ However, Mousley complained to the Land Commission that the tenants did 'not keep them [rabbits] down close enough'. (*RCLWM*, vol. iii, 1895, Qu. 44,683, Note by Mousley read by the Commissioners); A temporary rabbit catcher had been employed at Stackpole Court park and farm and he killed 700 in fifteen days. Another was employed four years later and he killed over a 1,000 in twenty days. With all the problems associated with the rabbit plague it was hardly surprising that Williams-Drummond could write, regarding a sporting tenant: 'I have finished with Colonel Hall as I find he wanted a place to farm rabbits on! which would never do for us and in fact this is what one would expect from all sporting tenants so I think of finding a better class agricultural tenant for the place.' (Cawdor box 144: Williams-Drummond to Cawdor, 8 Dec. 1898).

²⁰⁰ *RCLWM*, vol. ii, Qs.28,959-60, evidence of George Williams, tenant of Hayston farm in Twynnels parish, Pembs.

²⁰¹ Cawdor 2/43/333 Rees Morris of Rhiwradar to Cawdor, 11 Feb. 1811.

²⁰² Cawdor box 141: Richard Lewis to Cawdor, undated c.1869.

²⁰³ *Ibid.*, Mousley to Cawdor, 23 Mar. 1869.

²⁰⁴ *RCLWM*, vol. ii, Qs. 30,078-87.

²⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, Qs. 30,112-184.

²⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, Q. 30,691, evidence of T. P. Mousley.

²⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, Q 30,170, evidence of William James.

²⁰⁸ D.Cannadine, *The Decline and Fall of the British Aristocracy*, p.448; at any rate, according to George Williams of Hayston in St Twynnels parish, it was the opinion of most farmers on the Stackpole Estate that protection was not practicable, *RCLWM*, vol. ii, Q. 28,958.

²⁰⁹ *RCLWM*, vol. ii, Q.28, 919.

²¹⁰ *Ibid.*, Q.28,922.

²¹¹ *Ibid.*, Q, 28,940.

²¹² *Ibid.*, Q. 28,942.

²¹³ *Ibid.*, Q.28,942.

²¹⁴ *Ibid.*, Qs.28,800-801, evidence of Mousley

²¹⁵ *Ibid.*, Q.28,946.

²¹⁶ *Ibid.*, Q. 28,945.

²¹⁷ Collins, 'Rural and Agricultural Change. B. The Great Depression, 1875-1896', p.178.

²¹⁸ *RCLWM*, vol. ii, Q.38,769.

²¹⁹ *Ibid.*

²²⁰ *WM*, 10 Nov. 1894. For accounts of poaching affrays in England, see H. Hopkins, *The Long Affray: The Poaching Wars* (London, 1985); and Pamela Horn, *Labouring Life in the Victorian Countryside* (Dublin: Gill and Macmillan, 1976), pp.233-34.

²²¹ Cawdor box 142: Mousley to Cawdor, 16 Sept. 1878.

²²² Cawdor box 133: R. B. Williams to Cawdor, 3 July 1817.

²²³ *RCLWM*, vol. ii, Q.38,764.





John Frederick Vaughan (Campbell)
second Earl Cawdor, 1817-1898

4. The Cawdors: industry and infrastructure

4.1 The Cawdors as industrial entrepreneurs

As was frequently the case with British landowners, their development of the resources of their estates extended beyond the promotion of agriculture to the exploitation of the mineral resources of their properties, both those above ground and beneath the surface. Within the more open society that prevailed in Britain landowners did not lose status through participating in commercial and industrial enterprise,¹ and, with their estates frequently encumbered by debt, they were eager to secure the additional revenues that would be yielded from industrial undertakings.² As was to be the case with the Cawdors, two options were open to landowners in exploiting the mineral resources of their estates: ‘they could employ managers and workmen to raise the minerals on their behalf; or they could lease the resources to contractors.’³ Generally speaking, as the nineteenth century got underway there was an increasing tendency for landowners to escape the risks of industrial undertakings by leasing their mineral resources to groups of adventurers.⁴ In the discussion which follows of the Cawdors’ exploitation of their mineral resources, attention will be paid in turn to their lead mines, their coal mines and their timber resources.

A. Lead mining and smelting:⁵

John Campbell of Stackpole, it has been shown, acquired the remote estate of Ystradffin in north-east Carmarthenshire in the early eighteenth century. A large part of the income from this property came from the extensive lead mines at Cerrigmwyn (later re-named Rhandirmwyn and also known as Nantymwyn). Until 1823, when the mines were leased, they were worked directly by the estate, and, as will be shown, Lord Cawdor himself was frequently involved, particularly in the haggling of prices over lead ore. According to one source, over the fifty years or so down to the end of the eighteenth century the mines brought in to the Campbell family some £300,000,⁶ that is about £6,000 per annum. But from the surviving accounts of the mines, towards the close of the century output was falling drastically and far smaller yearly incomes were received. Also, whereas in the late 1780s some 400 men were employed and the mines yielded from 900 to 1,200 tons of ore a quarter,⁷ in the period 1801-1805, according to the mine agent Rolley’s accounts, the average income from the common-ore and potters-ore was only £610 per annum and, from his successor

Joel Williams's correspondence, it is revealed that between 1806-10 the amount of lead-ore extracted in any two-month period never exceeded 80 tons and 17 cwt.⁸ Such was the dire state of the venture in 1800 that there was a lack of money to pay workmen their wages.⁹ In the same year Greville reported to the Earl of Carlisle that: 'The total produce of the mines have been averaged at £7,000 per annum 'til within the last three years when from fall of Price failure of Produce and an expensive unproductive trial they have been reduced to less than £2,000.'¹⁰

Joel Williams reported to Beynon in June 1805 that, because of the poor condition of the mines, he was unable to give a correct assessment as to their future.¹¹ However, a generally favourable view of the mine-workings was given two months later by the mining engineer John Williams¹² of Scorrier House, Cornwall, when visiting the mines. Williams thought 'many places very promising and if tried to effect likely to produce considerable profit. From the many Leads in that Hill I think four or Five Hundred Pounds per Month might be laid out to great advantage for about a year.' Williams obviously thought the profit was there to be made, if the mines were run correctly, since he then offered to purchase a third of the mining operations which would 'pay his Lordship handsome Dues'.¹³ The Williams family again tried to lease the mines in 1819, but had to wait until 1836 before they were finally successful.

Mismanagement, increasingly difficult lead ore extraction, falling prices, an erratic export market down to 1815, and, as throughout, the high cost of transporting the lead from this far-flung corner of the county—estimated in 1806 to be about £2,000 per annum¹⁴—all combined to reduce profits from the levels that had been achieved in the 1770s, 1780s and, perhaps, the early 1790s, the assistant manager, Enoch James, observing in 1799 that the mines had been 'on the decline of late years'.¹⁵ The mines were managed during the last quarter of the century or so by the aforementioned John Rolley, who was in receipt of £100 a year,¹⁶ and it is apparent that towards the end of his life there was a degree of slackness, if not embezzlement at the mines. Joel Williams, who took over as mining agent in 1805, and the Williams brothers of Scorrier House, Cornwall, all commented upon the general mess at the works.¹⁷ Insofar as procuring the ore was concerned, notwithstanding Lewis's claim that extraction of lead ore at the Cawdor mines was easy,¹⁸ a different impression is conveyed by Greville in 1800 when describing work underway at the Level then being excavated, which, he observed: 'is about 80 yards still distant from the point when the great work is looked for: and from the difficulty of obtaining air—the

hardness of the rock, and various other impediments which the length of the Level creates—It goes on very slowly and will probably require a year and a half to compleat it. In the mean time the expenses are heavy.’¹⁹ Eight years later Joel Williams remarked that the costs at the mines were high and that much time was being lost ‘owing to the arching of the level giving way not being properly done in some places owing as far as I can learn to Mr Rolley cutting the Masons time by the yard’.²⁰

Such problems of extracting the ore notwithstanding, a perennial problem at the mines was that the ore was being mined more quickly than it could be moved to Carmarthen or, later, to Llanelli. Reporting to Lord Cawdor in 1806 on the unsatisfactory state of affairs obtaining at the mines, Joel Williams thus mentioned that there was approximately £5,215-worth of lead ore there waiting to be sent to Carmarthen.²¹ Until 1811 the lead ore was transported from Rhandirmwyn to Carmarthen in carts, a Mr Edwards managing this aspect of the business. As was the case with other landed estates which exploited their mineral resources, the carriers were mainly tenant farmers of the estate; naturally, their availability was drastically lessened at harvest time. Moreover, in the winter months the primitive roads prevented any carting of ore. Nor is there any indication that lead ore was ever transported via the river Tywi from Llandovery, which lay about seven miles south of the mines. The water was probably too shallow at this point to permit moving ore down the river. Given the difficulties of transporting the lead it was hardly surprising that Lord Cawdor contemplated the construction of a canal between Llandovery and Llanelli in the 1790s. (For which, see below).

Upon reaching Carmarthen, some of the ore was, until 1811, smelted at Lord Cawdor’s lead smeltery. The latter was built on land which had once belonged to the Carmarthen Priory situated at the east end of the town. Grismond Williams, a watchmaker of the borough, held the lease of the Priory from Jesus College, Oxford, and in 1781 he sub-let part of the premises to John Campbell for £34 per annum.²² Thirty-years later, in 1811, Nathaniel Awbery was asked to write a report concerning the smeltery, which may have been in response to failing processes at the furnaces, since Awbery stated that: ‘all the furnaces must be entirely taken down and new built, and all the stacks likewise’.²³ The likely costs that would have been incurred in such rebuilding, the need for large amounts of coal to fire the furnaces which had to be brought to Carmarthen, again at high transport costs, the ongoing growth of Llanelli

as an industrial centre,²⁴ as well as Cawdor's enthusiasm in encouraging that growth, were, together, the likely reasons that persuaded Cawdor to move the whole smelting operation to Llanelli.

Smelting work was commenced there in December 1813. However, even before operations began, problems were encountered which reduced Cawdor's income from lead for a time. In April 1813, Mr Hussey of Crown Copperworks, Neath, 'the first furnace builder in the kingdom', examined the works at Llanelli and 'condemned its construction, said it must be taken down and rebuilt on another plan'.²⁵ At the end of 1813 a certain Jonathan Marsden, of the Smithworks, Llanelli, also wrote to Cawdor's Llandeilo solicitor, Thomas Lewis, on the subject of the new smelting house, stating that 'the stacks to be one storey to low on that Account the Draft is not suffishant to work the Ore in propo and time ... before you can Aulter this Present plan of smilting the stacks and furnises Must be alltered and have a Practketor Smilter from Derbyshire'.²⁶ The stacks were rebuilt, but a month later, whilst testing the new furnaces, a Mr Richard Evans, who had been employed by Nevill to supervise the building of Cawdor's new smelting house, 'broke the bottom of the furnace [and] it appeared evident that Richards Evans was kept by Mr Nevill to counteract all our proceedings'.²⁷ Joel Williams was concerned about Evans, a Bristol man, who had formerly been employed by Phillip George, the main recipient of Cawdor lead ore.²⁸ George, as we shall see, was constantly haggling over the price and quality of Cawdor's lead-ore and it would have been in his interest to see the new smeltery fail. Nevill, as the leading partner in the Llanelli Copper Works, may not have wanted Cawdor as a potential industrial rival. Evans was being lodged by Nevill very near to Cawdor's new works, and Joel Williams was concerned that he may 'get in on a Saturday, or Sunday night [and] unperceived make a hole in the bottom of the furnace and involve us in the same predicament'.²⁹ However, attempts at industrial sabotage aside, after the initial furnace had been rebuilt, and was working, Joel Williams was soon advising his master to build two more, believing production at the mines would be increasing and that three furnaces could be 'constantly at work'. This would also allow a saving of £4 per ton on George's prices.³⁰

Once at Llanelli there is evidence that the estate began to export lead (though this could also have been the case in the eighteenth century if we are to believe Walter Davies's comments about the income from the mines as referred to above). In 1816 R. B. Williams was in correspondence with a certain George Vander Linden of Antwerp

regarding the price of Cawdor lead ore – which Linden thought too high – and two years later a Mr Dutton of the Bagillt Lead Works, Holywell, negotiated with a lead buyer in Rouen on Cawdor's behalf³¹ and arranged with R. B. Williams to buy 500-1,000 tons of lead from Cawdor at the beginning of 1818. Such amounts would have put the Cawdor mines amongst the larger exporters of lead ore in Wales, though amounts were very small when compared with the quantities being exported from English ports.³² There is also evidence that Cawdor lead ore was being shipped further afield—to India, Russia (St Petersburg), as well as Rouen, Leghorn, Konnigsberg, Naples and Oporto.³³

One of the other problems which beset the mines in the early nineteenth century was the fluctuating price of lead ore, which was being affected by the disruptions to trade caused by the French Wars.³⁴ In November 1807, it has been noted, Mr Philip George, a lead merchant from Bristol and Cawdor's main purchaser of ore, offered to buy Cawdor lead ore at 12 guineas per ton—a year earlier it was being sold at around £20 per ton, and in 1805 it was selling at £33 per ton in Bristol³⁵—but a month later George wrote that he could no longer offer that price. In March the following year, Cawdor again offered his lead ore to George at the same price, but again the latter refused to buy.³⁶ A few days later, and after receiving instructions from his master to do so, Joel Williams wrote that he had 'Stopped all the Bargains on Ore etc, and given orders to bring all the Tools ...to be weighed and put in the Storehouse'.³⁷ All but eight men, kept on to ensure the mines suffered 'no detriment', were put out of work. Beynon, showing his super efficiency but hard-heartedness, wrote to his master the day after mining had been stopped that: 'I immediately sent notices to quit at Michaelmas... on two of the [mining] tenants, who have no other means of paying their Rents, and I fear money will be lost by them, as well as by most of the small cottagers who were in the habit of working at the mines.'³⁸

Even after the mines had re-opened, the haggling over prices between George and Cawdor continued, though prices gradually improved. At the beginning of October 1809 George wrote to Lord Cawdor that: 'You and I think very differently respecting the prospects of the Lead Trade, if you still continue the same opinion it will be useless for me to make your Lordship an offer for the Ore you have now lying at Carmarthen.'³⁹ George was offered £20 a ton in the summer of 1810 but again refused, even though lead ore from Flintshire was being sold at Chester for £29 per ton (which was also refused by George). An ominous sign for the future of mining in

Wales and England was the increasing amount of lead ore being imported.⁴⁰ George refuses the sums of £29 and £20 since ‘there has been a large Quantity of Lead Ore imported into London from Sardinia the quality is very good, its probable I shall purchase it, its Reported we are to expect a large Quantity from the same place. The export trade of Lead will be considerably lessened owing to the quantity that is now made in America. Pig Lead is cheaper in that Country than it is here. The Duty on the Export of Lead operates as a Bounty to the Americans.’⁴¹

As mentioned, Cawdor mines were re-opened in November 1808 and after Williams had made new, reduced bargains with the miners, of whom there were about fifty. This was a reduction of nearly half on the ninety-three miners listed in the accounts for 1799.⁴² Certainly it was a very large reduction when compared with the 400 miners said to be working at the mines in their mid-eighteenth century heyday.⁴³ The new bargains did not exceed £6 per quarter, though in some instances this was less, and Charles Stevens, Cawdor’s London solicitor, wrote that this was ‘in one or two Instances, too low to enable them [the miners] to live’. He continued: ‘Those who had not quitted the Mine were all eager and hungry (literally for Bread) and, having families, did not like to or could not quit the spot—and it is expected that many will return on that account, who have quitted.’ Stevens believed that Williams would employ all he could on the new terms ‘if he thinks they have a fair chance of meeting with Ore’.⁴⁴ Greville commented that the miners were also owed large arrears in wages which ‘arrears now due to the workmen are now very considerable—insomuch—it is presumed—that the Produce and stock now in hand will hardly suffer to discharge them and provide for the effectual carrying on the works’.⁴⁵

The harsh conditions and the poor wages must have caused much discontent, though there is no evidence of labour disputes until the 1870s. The area was so remote that apart from subsistence farming, the mines would have been the only means of employment so the miners had little choice but to take whatever wage was offered. However, in 1873, the miners at Rhandirmwyn refused to accept new bargains, and left en-masse to work in the iron-works of Glamorgan.⁴⁶ The only other evidence for disgruntled miners was at the end of the century, when the manager at the mines, a certain George Oates, wrote to Mousley in March 1890 wanting confirmation from Cawdor that the latter would agree to building cottages for the miners. Oates comments that: ‘As I find it impossible owing to the scarcity of miners and the low price of lead, to make the mine pay costs. And I have just returned from Cornwall

with the full sanction of the Adventurers [the lessees] to erect another Engine for compressing air and driving Boring machinery which will enable us to open up the Mines three times as fast as we can at present.⁴⁷ He continues by stating that one of the best miners had recently left because he was living away from his wife (presumably the miners lived, as at other mines and quarries, in barracks): ‘So you can see how necessary it is for us to have houses.’⁴⁸ Oates was given permission by Mousley to build cottages, which were constructed from concrete.

Marsden’s advice, quoted above, to employ a ‘Practketor Smilter’ indicates another problem which seems to have beset the Cawdor lead-mining/smelting concern—a problem which many lead-mine owners in Wales encountered⁴⁹—a lack of local expertise. John Rolley was probably from Bristol whose background is not known but he had knowledge of mining, and his successor, Joel Williams, was also a Cornishman. When he arrived from south-west England he brought several miners along with him. And although the mines were leased to a Welsh company in 1823, by the 1830s it was back under the management of Cornishmen. The number of Cornish miners tended to cause a certain amount of resentment amongst the indigenous population, which is evident from an anonymous letter-writer who vents his anger, particularly in the direction of Joel Williams. Written in 1815, the writer states:

I meet a friend at Brecon and tould him the whole truth how the Cornish lived on the back of Harmless Lord Cawdor and under you in handir = all the workes and Levels Rund all together this long time = there is he works going on helps Mr Williams’s harvest and farm drinkin and tipsin 4 or 5 times a week them all lives Better than Boneyarter in his Best time = Mr Wms alowd all of them 3/6 a day and more for nothing you well know how this will hould they lived Better than Mr Rolley in his best time & All the old workmen is turn all away from hear som to Merthyr & other pleses All the ashes Cut-down at Bron y Court and Ystradpheen farms and Mr Wms give them for the Cornish for fire and furniture ther houses Guond = John Jenkin of Gelli ar 2 Lang of them Sould and Lack [?] Jones of Ystrapheen for £5. 5 & Mr Prichard your first seward by a calf for the fest Club and Large oak the caf Solits about 30 or more & Mr Morgan Thomas give his friends Enough of timber for 20 years & There is only two welsmen hear in all John Jenkins Me Wms is fisher and Richard Jones the Shapard of Mr Wms – they have 3/6 a Day Loke the Cornish for doing nothing.⁵⁰

Such resentment may have been endemic at the Cawdor mines in the early nineteenth century, and even later, since Cornishmen ran the mines for most of the nineteenth century. Indeed, Joel Williams’s arrival at the mines caused discontent between the Rolley family and Cawdor. His un-popularity may have made for difficult working relationships with his Welsh miners, though he was trusted by the ever vigilant Beynon.

In 1823 Joel Williams suffered an accident rendering him incapable of working underground.⁵¹ This seems to have been the critical factor in persuading Lord Cawdor to lease the mines. In March 1823 they were leased for fourteen years to Messrs Ellis, Pugh and Co.⁵² However towards the end of their stint at the mines there seems to have been a good deal of dissatisfaction with the company. R. B. Williams wrote to them at the beginning of March 1831 stating that: 'I am not prepared now to give an answer to your new proposal for the lead mines but you shall hear further by 1st April. In order to place the Premises you occupy at Earl Cawdor's control in case the treaty for the mines should not be completed I send you notice to quit at Michaelmas.'⁵³ To the aforementioned Jonathan Marsden of Llanelli, it was clear that Messrs Ellis and Pugh's lease had not been renewed, and that under their management the mines had been neglected. Marsden, albeit in whose interest it was to give a poor report of the mines, states that: 'I have been informed by some of the miners that the Messrs Ellis have let the Levels fall in, and have injured the Work very much, and [it] will cost a large sum of money to put them in proper Working order, therefore it is a great Pitty[sic] such Gentlemen should have had them on any terms—they was brought up to Farming and not mining therefore it is not to be wondered at.'⁵⁴ Marsden offers himself as a lessee but it appears that he was unsuccessful. Christopher George wrote to Ellis and Pugh in June 1831: 'I am lately informed that you are about to give up working the Lead mines ...and that Lord Cawdor has set them to some gentlemen for Cornwall.'⁵⁵ Although no lease survives between Cawdor and the gentlemen from Cornwall (the Williams brothers of Scorrier House), it seems they may have been granted a five-year lease after Messrs Ellis and Pugh left.

A further lease, this time for twenty-one years, was granted to John Williams in October 1836. The consideration was one-eighth of the gross monies received during the term of the lease.⁵⁶ Under Williams's expertise the mines continued to produce lead-ore for the rest of the century at about 500-900 tons per annum. In the 1880s the mines at Rhandirmwyn were producing about 700 tons of ore per annum, putting them amongst the highest producers of lead-ore in Wales.⁵⁷ New machinery was purchased at this time (although the mines were leased, the estate, both at the lead-mines and at the collieries, purchased any machinery needed) which satisfied Mousley, who remarked that: 'The old low level workings expand near to the New Church [Ystradffin]—And they already find some good deposits of lead. But it is now selling for such a miserable sum.'⁵⁸ By this time the lead-industry in Britain had been

in a general decline, with competition from Europe and the USA and exhausted seams being the main causes.⁵⁹ At Rhandirmwyn, the continued high costs of transportation, the probable exhaustion of seams (new seams had always been sought but it became increasingly difficult to find them), industrial depression and foreign competition together brought the lead mining venture to a close and the mines were sold off in 1901. An attempt to reopen the mines two years later came to nothing.⁶⁰

The lead mines on the Ystradffin estate, notwithstanding the difficulties described above, made a profit for the estate from the middle of the eighteenth century onwards. The farming estate was neglected and the mining concern seems to have been run in a shoddy manner by John Rolley, who was there to advance his income and, in addition, treated the miners harshly. There seem to have been anomalies in Rolley's accounts on occasion,⁶¹ and his management of both farm account and mining operations was not approved by his successors. Griffiths, who was Rolley's deputy, and was expecting to take over the management of the mines on Rolley's death, was in collusion with Mrs Rolley and her daughter in attempting to take over the management of the mines. And in 1805 Beynon was told by Joel Williams that all the mines' account books had been burnt by Griffiths,⁶² adding more than a touch of credence to Beynon's low opinion of the whole Rolley/Griffiths scenario. It also explains why later historians commenting upon the Cawdors' mines have tended to rely on the evidence of Walter Davies's diary, to show, for instance, the very large income from the mines.

B. Coal mining and other extractive industries

The Stackpole estate was almost entirely agricultural. However, the Stackpole Quay which was a Cawdor property was being used in the early part of the nineteenth century, if not earlier, to ship limestone. It is not certain from the records whether the limestone was being quarried from Cawdor quarries. Several ships were being used during this period and total amounts per year were as follows: 1819, 3,381 tons with an income of £197. 4s. 6d., and, 1820, 4,060 tons with an income of £256. 16s. 8d. Tonnage for the following year is lost but the income was only £55, and for 1823 the income was £171. 16s. 2d., again the tonnage being missing.⁶³ The limestone was probably destined for limekilns and iron and lead furnaces in Carmarthenshire since some of the ships were from Llanelli and Pembrey.

The main interest John Campbell had in extractive industries, lead mining apart, developed after he became the master of Golden Grove in 1804. Under the Vaughan's ownership, Golden Grove had long been involved in coal mining but the family's commitment had never been as good as it could have been.⁶⁴ Campbell, as Lord Cawdor, along with Alexander Raby and, slightly later, William Chambers, 'proved of great benefit to the region's economic development [as] shrewd, business-minded owners replacing spendthrift, absentee landlords'.⁶⁵ Thomas Beynon, as we have seen, was a man of considerable business acumen, but he comments upon Lord Cawdor's own business sense when the latter was becoming involved with the industrialist Alexander Raby thus: 'there is apparently a great difference between the present and late proprietor of Golden Grove in their mode of transacting business with Mr Raby. That Gentleman appears to sink under the energy and firmness of the present possessor; while the late owner, with his usual unresisting mildness, sunk under Raby's Impudence.'⁶⁶ Perhaps Cawdor's acumen in this area was gained from years of hard-bargaining with the likes of Phillip George, regarding the price of lead ore, as referred to above. However, unlike the lead workings, Lord Cawdor never managed the coal mines and quarries directly, preferring to lease the mineral rights to miners and speculators and rely upon royalties and dead-rent for income. This, it has been observed at the outset, was increasingly the usual way landlords conducted their industrial undertakings, though there were a few exceptions.⁶⁷ By leasing to industrial entrepreneurs the landlord had a legal contract to receive an income from rent even if the working produced no coal, thus minimising financial loss to the estate.

Lord Cawdor also encouraged the establishment of other industries in the area, such as the Llanelly Copper Company. Beynon thought such encouragement 'highly advantageous to your Lordship for many reasons', not least because the copper works would need large amounts of coal and Cawdor owned the two collieries near by, at Penllwyngwyn and Penprys.⁶⁸ These collieries were leased to the Llangennech Coal Company, which Cawdor was keen to encourage. He also allowed the Company to build a railway over the foreshore near Llangennech.⁶⁹ (Cawdor, as Lord of the Manor, was within his rights to do this). The Llangennech Coal Company soon came to dominate the industry of the area and was to do so for the next half century.⁷⁰ However, Lord Cawdor also showed an interest in the development of industry further west, at Pen-bre/Burry Port. In this area he gave support to the re-development of the harbour while, at Cydweli, interest revolved around supporting, firstly, plans to build

a canal and later a railway—in particular the Gwendraeth Canal, and then the Gwendraeth Valley Railway (for both of these see Chapter 5). At the beginning of the nineteenth century Cawdor leased mineral rights to George Bowser—described by Malcolm Symons as ‘the pioneer of the early industrialisation’⁷¹—of the area to work coal mines on the Pembrey Mountain. Of course Lord Cawdor’s encouragement of the developments at Pen-bre/Burry Port and Cydweli would also be of great benefit to the estate since he was Lord of the vast Manor of Kidwelly, and was thus liable to receive large royalties from any mining carried out under manor lands. Additionally, Cawdor was a freeholder of lands in the area which lay over the anthracite section of the ‘Llanelly coalfield’.

In 1804, the Golden Grove estate accounts list income from only four collieries: Mynydd Sylen, in Llanelli parish, and Cwmcoch and the Carnwallon and Foy, all in Llandybie parish. The total annual income from these mines, in that year, was £185. Additionally, smaller mining-activities on the estate can be ascertained from the same accounts. Thus, again in Llandybie parish, two tenements are described respectively as ‘A Cot and Inclosure and a colliery’ with a yearly rent of 5 shillings, and ‘A colliery on Twyn Adam’ rented at £1. 1s. As indicated by the size of the rent, some of these ‘collieries’ must have been very small affairs, perhaps men speculating, and most probably failing as industrial enterprises. However one or two, like the aforementioned Twyn (later Towyn) Adam mine, developed as the century progressed and was still producing coal in the 1870s.⁷²

Beynon’s business acumen (which had been repressed by his loyal yet conflicting personal views as John Vaughan’s agent) came to the fore again and again in his dealings with mining speculators. However, he was realistic enough to know that his knowledge of geology and surveying was limited. By 1808, he decided that a Mr Martin, who was employed by the estate as a mineral surveyor in the Llanelli area, should become the estate’s coal-mining agent. Beynon believed that Martin should examine every coal vein prior to it being let and that every future colliery letting ‘should be rented under his direction, and that the Covenants in the Coal leases should be settled by him’. Reflecting the tendency towards specialisation in landed estate management, he believed Martin to be ‘by far the better judge than any Land Steward can possibly pretend to be [when it came to assessing a colliery]; and the Sum of his Services may cost, will be afterwards amply repaid’.⁷³ Edward Martin’s *Description of the Mineral Bason in the Counties of Monmouth, Glamorgan, Brecknock,*

Carmarthen and Pembroke, published in 1806 by the Royal Society which stimulated the search for minerals in the south Wales area, not least on the Bute estate, was the first scientific survey of the south Wales coalfield.⁷⁴ Not that Beynon was not cautious. He noted that Martin approved of Cawdor and Mr Symmons working a mining concern in partnership, but since Martin had formerly been employed by Symmons, the agent felt ‘some portion of doubt respecting the probability of his bringing an unbiased mind to the consideration of the question’.⁷⁵ Perhaps Beynon was right to be cautious—we have already commented upon instances of industrial sabotage at Cawdor’s smelting house. And Malcolm Symons refers to the rivalry and intrigue which permeated the developing industrial area of Llanelli as various men/companies struggled for dominance.⁷⁶ It is doubtful whether Lord Cawdor wanted such dominance, but, as the largest landowner in the county, he may have generated hidden resentments from men who relied entirely on a rather less stable income than that from agricultural rents, namely coal mine speculation.

The question of the partnership with Symmons became increasingly tangled until Cawdor seems to have put a definite stop to the request, but for what reason it is not known. Beynon was relieved: ‘I do not know much of Mr Symmons, but he appears to me to be actuated by the grasping and monopolising habits of a Land Jobber, and I rather suspect he acts too much in the spirit of the old commercial adage, that “There is no Friendship in Trade”.’ The self-confident agent continued: ‘Mr S took a very wrong measure of my mind, if he thought me capable of being converted into an Instrument to subserve his views, in opposition to the Interest of my Principal. I am formed of more intractable materials than he appears to be aware of.’⁷⁷ Again, Beynon’s mistrust regarding “trade” is evident and generally his attitude appears, his business awareness notwithstanding, to be archetypically conservative. He was far more cautious than his master, who though not rash had more flexible views with regard to industrial concerns.

By mid-century the number of collieries, stone and iron-stone quarries owned by the Golden Grove estate had risen to seventeen. Income from these extractive industries in the 1840s can be gleaned from the then mine-agent Daniel Rees’s accounts. The income averages £652 for the years 1838-1849. But most of this was in the form of a £500 per annum dead rent from the two collieries, Penllwyngwyn and Penprys in Llangennech parish, paid by R. E. Tunno who was, briefly, the owner of the Llangennech estate. In the late 1820s, Lord Cawdor had leased the coal under the

above two properties to Tunno who had then sub-let them to the speculators who formed the Llangennch Coal Company.⁷⁸ Most of the other workings listed in Rees's accounts were either on Betws Mountain, situated at the very eastern-edge of the county, or in the Pembrey mountain area, to the north of Pen-bre/Burry Port and in Llanedi and Llangennech parishes. Income from these mines and quarries came from a variety of means, but was mainly in the form of royalties, with one or two concerns only paying a dead-rent. However, apart from the monies paid by Tunno most of the income was small. Lanlash Colliery⁷⁹ in Llandybie parish paid a regular sum of £131. 14s. 2d. per annum throughout the period of Rees's accounts. After that, the next biggest income was £33. 19s. 7d. for royalties on stone paid by the Burry Port Company. The latter was building the west dock of the Burry Port docks at this period.⁸⁰ The rest of the royalty income was from very small concerns—for instance the £1. 5s. 0d. paid by a Thomas Williams for the 105 perches of stone removed from Pembrey Mountain, or the £1. 14s. 4d. for 103 tons of clay extracted at Cwmmawr, Llanelli parish.

The income from the extractive industries owned by Cawdor was far more variable than the steady income received from the agricultural estate. In 1846 income from collieries and quarries had dropped to £193. 9s. 8½d. when the lease of the two collieries Penllwyngwyn and Penprys expired, leaving the mineral income £500 short (plus a sum for wayleave rent—one of few wayleave rents referred to in these accounts). In the same year, only five collieries are named, but seven quarries are listed, exclusively supplying turnpike trusts with stone for road repairs. Only in that single year do the accounts refer to these small quarries supplying turnpike trusts.

By the time of Mousley's agency, commencing in 1863, the number of mines in Carmarthenshire under Cawdor control had grown to around twenty-two, though the number fluctuated as smaller concerns frequently failed; this marked the family out as very important players in the industrial life of the area given that the total number of collieries in the county in 1871 was sixty. Income from the Cawdor collieries had, by this time, become far more reliable than earlier in the century as many of the mines established themselves as going concerns. In 1866 the estate was receiving royalties of just over £3,000 (with £214 arrears) from eighteen collieries and the lead-mine. This level of income remained steady for most of Mousley's agency, though in 1892 he mentions an increase in the mineral lettings, and he and the mineral-agent, Mr Daniel, expected 'soon to make a considerable improvement in the Royalty income'.⁸¹

The improvement in royalties took place in the last years of the nineteenth century, but Mousley did not foresee a drop in mining-income in 1893, to £2,891 with arrears of £1,788, a response to the economic depression then gripping the coal industry. However, income soon recovered from this to such an extent that by 1902 the mineral income was £10,273, with arrears amounting to £3,697.⁸² In the first decade of the twentieth century the mineral income increased, until in 1907 it was over £15,000. At this period, mining receipts were larger than the agricultural rental from the Stackpole estate.

All but one of the collieries was owned out-right by the Cawdor estate, the exception being the Bryngwyn, Gorse, Old Castle and St George collieries (which were always included in the estate accounts as one concern). These collieries were referred to as the 'partnership collieries' in the estate accounts, since the four collieries were owned by several landowners who went into partnership, initially as far back as 1705.⁸³ This was seen as a way of solving royalty and wayleave payments on the intermixed lands under which the mines ran. John Vaughan, and then Lord Cawdor had a two-twelfths interest. However, the partnership minerals, as they became known, were a constant source of strife. Farrer, Cawdor's London solicitor, researched the ownership of the two-twelfths that Cawdor claimed and found that perfect title was only proved for one-twelfth. Farrer was preparing for a dispute between the partners which was about to erupt. The main thrust of the dispute was between the Stepney estate and the Cawdor estate, with the support of the other partners, R. L. Pemberton, C. R. and E. L. Robinson. Mousley wrote: 'what we wish to ascertain is whether Col. Stepney is not unjustly pocketing the whole percent from a large extent of mineral workings—from mines that at one time formed part of the partnership property. If he has the right, how did he become possessed of it is the question.'⁸⁴ In 1872 the case was brought before the Court of Chancery, and in true Dickensian style, continued until 1889. The arbitrator gave his decision in July of that year, and seemingly resolved the dispute. Even so, Mousley could refer, in the summer of 1889, to: 'that difficult and unsatisfactory mess—the partnership Minerals—There will have to be a terrible laws suit sometime to settle that question',⁸⁵ and quibbles continued until the end of the century. As part of the partners' arrangement each of the lessors received annually 192 tons of free coal, but Lord Cawdor had never 'taken advantage' of this. Taking his lead, the other partners

had also forgone this perk: except the Stepney estate, which had been receiving all the others' coals for itself!⁸⁶

One of the problems with the tenants of coal mines, especially at the beginning of the nineteenth century when speculators were very often hoping for a quick return on very little investment, was a lack of capital. Another was their lack of experience. Within weeks of becoming the master of Golden Grove, Lord Cawdor was involved in a failed colliery which had been established by Lord Dynevor's agent, a Mr Roderick, in partnership with others, including a Mr Bowen. According to Beynon, Roderick and company 'starved the project of capital' and had insufficient knowledge of the business to succeed. Beynon hoped Cawdor would allow him to serve a notice to quit since, well-run, the colliery would bring the estate £500 per annum.⁸⁷ At the end of the nineteenth century the *Reports* from the Royal Commission on Mining Royalties⁸⁸ identified the high cost of royalties as one of the reasons for collieries failing. A colliery owned by Lord Dynevor was closed because the tenant could not pay the royalty asked. In this case the colliery had been sub-let, and the tenant paid a royalty to both the immediate tenant and to Lord Dynevor. The sub-tenant was thus paying a total royalty of 10*d.* for every ton of coal raised. The Cawdor estate is not referred to in the Commission's report; however in both the 1820s and the 1840s Cawdor mining leases included 10*d.* royalties on coal and 5*d.* on culm.⁸⁹ A fairly typical lease was that detailed in a letter to William Chambers in 1840 when the latter was thinking of taking the Carnwallon mine. The estate's royalty terms were 9*d.* per ton for coals, 5*d.* per ton for culm and 10*d.* for iron, as well as a sleeping rent of £700. per annum.⁹⁰ However by the 1860s the Cawdor estate had reduced such high royalties, with most collieries paying 7*d.* for coal per ton, with one or two smaller concerns only being asked 3*d.* per ton. Albeit, at this later date culm was rated at a higher royalty of 6*d.* per ton.⁹¹ The amount of royalty seems to have been worked out in a similar fashion to what obtained on the Bute estate in Glamorgan:⁹² a well-established concern paying a higher royalty as well as a dead rent. Also collieries located nearer to industrial development were also charged at a higher rate.

Relations between landlord and mineral tenant were often strained, due to an inability to pay their rent. This was especially noticeable in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. In 1885 the mineral income amounted to £1,648, whilst the arrears totalled £2,608, and two years later income was £1,947, arrears £2,938.⁹³ In 1896, Williams-Drummond remarked to Emlyn that he found 'the mineral people give me

more trouble almost than the agriculturalists'.⁹⁴ Moreover, just as with troublesome agricultural tenants, the industrial tenants could also be (from the viewpoint of the agents) unreasonable: 'The Emlyn Colliery [at Penygroes, Llandybie parish] are prosperous people but they constantly give me trouble over their royalty accounts. They have experienced a good deal of difficulty and loss owing to faulty ground and soft coal and hence their application for us to wipe out their half year's dues which I think quite unreasonable.'⁹⁵ However, at this time, depression in the coal-industry had been forcing collieries to close, and in some cases go into receivership. The peak of coal production on the Llanely coalfield was reached in the early 1870s and 'from this time onwards the region would experience intermittent periods of growth and decline'.⁹⁶ The depression in the industry, which began to be felt from about 1891, was one of the effects of the McKinley Tariff, by which the coal industry lost a large part of its export trade. In 1896 Williams-Drummond writes to Lord Cawdor: 'That the minerals are again giving me trouble. This time it is Elliot's Metal Co (Elkington's) at Pembrey who are clamouring for a reduction.' Two weeks later the agent reports a poor mineral rental 'owing to the Colliery difficulties chiefly'.⁹⁷ During the 1890s two or three of the Cawdor-owned collieries went bankrupt. In December 1896 the agent wrote to Cawdor explaining the situation:

Our Colliery returns have fallen off to this extent – not only have the profits of the Cawdor Colliery been lost but I have had to pay £650 odd for its maintenance until it was abandoned. In addition to this the Rockcastle Colliery have liquidated and no royalty has been received since Michaelmas 1895. Our bailiff is still in possession and the bank have not been able to find a purchaser and I fear it will have to be abandoned as people are shy of going into a concern that has just collapsed. I regret to hear rumours that the Cross Hands colliery are likely to go into liquidation too! They have been in difficulty for some time.⁹⁸

Both Williams-Drummond and Lord Emlyn were concerned over the demise of the Rockcastle Colliery, in particular since it would entail large loss to the estate if a new tenant could not be found. The colliery was only leased in c.1890 and brought in around £500 per annum in royalties.⁹⁹ Unfortunately, the colliery was abandoned in 1898. The rumours reported by the agent of the demise of the Cross Hands colliery were also true. The colliery finally went into liquidation in 1898, after two years of financial struggle, owing over £1,000 arrears in dead-rent. Williams-Drummond made a deal with the receivers and accepted only £550 of the arrears, for the alternative was to distrain the company which 'would have resulted in the stopping of the Colliery for all time probably'.¹⁰⁰ As mentioned above, by the very end of the

century the depression was coming to an end but Williams-Drummond could still write to Emlyn in March 1899 that, 'Colliery matters throughout the district are in a very unsatisfactory state I regret to say'.¹⁰¹

In the early nineteenth century the Cawdor estate income from mineral extraction was small. However from the mid-century mineral income began to increase, a rise which was probably due to the situation of the Cawdor-owned collieries. Most of them were on the anthracite coal-deposits, known as the Gwendraeth coalfield, to the north of Llanelli and Pembrey/Bury port, with relatively few on the bituminous coalfield centred under Llanelli and known as the Llanelly coalfield. Bituminous coal burned quickly and was used to fire the relatively primitive furnaces of the first decades of the nineteenth century. Only with the discovery of the hot-blast furnaces in the mid 1830s was the need for anthracite or stone-coal increased to any great extent.¹⁰² As a proportion of total estate income the mineral income advanced as the century progressed, whereas, as we have seen, the agricultural rental remained steady from at least the 1860s until the end of the century.

C. Timber:

In the early eighteenth century the Duke of Bolton, husband of Anne Vaughan of Golden Grove, had attempted to sell much of the timber on the estate to pay off gambling debts. Fortunately, Anne prevented him from completely denuding the estate and ended up parting from her rake of a husband.¹⁰³ Even so, by the beginning of the nineteenth century Beynon could comment that: 'There is but little timber remaining on the estate [Golden Grove], so little, ...you might probably live to be under the necessity of sending to your paternal Estate of Ystrad ffin for timber to repair the Golden Grove Estate. This shows the necessity of preserving the little that remains, by punishing offenders in the most exemplary manner wherever evidence can be procured to convict them, which seldom can be obtained.'¹⁰⁴ The agent was under the impression that the timber was being taken illegally. In about 1807, an estimate was drawn up which put the value of the trees on the properties of Lord Cawdor to be sold at £12, 904. 12s. 6d. Beynon may have been referring to sales of this magnitude when commenting on the lack of trees on this part of the property. Many trees were also consumed on the estate, for props at the lead mines and for building repairs.

A fairly precise idea of the value of the timber on the Golden Grove and Ystradffin estates is known since a timber survey was undertaken on these estates in 1809. The surveyor, a certain David Thomas, estimated the value of the timber at that time to be £55,015. 1s. 4d.¹⁰⁵ The survey may have been carried out in response to the increasing demand for timber by the Navy.¹⁰⁶ It was seen as a patriotic duty for landowners to grow trees for this purpose. However a sale was not always forthcoming. Beynon refused to sell ‘old Oaks’ to Government contractors who visited Golden Grove in September 1808. Beynon explained himself: ‘Your Lordship will have full employment for the small quantity of timber now remaining on the Golden Grove Estate.’¹⁰⁷ The agent was obviously determined that the estate would not be denuded of trees, even for the Navy. He commented three years earlier that he was very reluctant to have trees cut down on the Ystradffin estate to supply the lead mines: ‘When I was there last, I saw several scenes, in my rides about different parts of the estate, that would have done honor to the proudest Parks in England, and I shall feel extreme reluctance to injure a single feature of those Beautiful and highly picturesque views, and I will endeavor to select the trees from those situations where they will be least missed.’¹⁰⁸ The agent’s picturesque sensibilities seem to have closed his eyes to the run-down nature of the estate he had written of in the previous year. No doubt a ruined farm house or two enhanced the picturesque nature of the view!

That the estate’s beauty was enhanced by trees was beyond doubt but in times of financial hardship sales of timber were a good way of raising money. In 1814, payments due to the Golden Grove estate for timber sold amounted to £4,120,¹⁰⁹ while in the following year timber sales between April and July came to £3,672.¹¹⁰ In 1816, timber marked for sale at Ystradffin and Golden Grove was valued at £6,515, though in this case R. B. Williams stopped the sale, believing the timber to be overvalued.¹¹¹ Sometimes those buying the timber failed to pay and Lord Cawdor’s immediate response was to pursue the offender in the debtor’s court to recover any loss. George Thomas of Brechfa and two others had agreed to purchase 5,114 Oak trees in 1814, and had paid for most of them, but they were still pursued in the courts in January 1816 for the small amount outstanding.¹¹² However, at other times non-payment was retrieved in a rather tardy fashion. A Messrs Humphreys and Griffiths bought a large quantity of timber from the estate in 1816, but after repeated demands for payment and threats of court they still owed money—£1,950 as one part of the instalments agreed upon—in November 1817.

Timber sales fell off drastically from the middle of the century onwards. The death knell of large timber sales was sounded as early as 1862, when the Navy began building iron clad ships. In 1885, Cawdor, hoping to sell timber to shore up finances at Golden Grove where over spending had occurred, asked Mousley why no sales had recently taken place, to which the agent answered: 'For many years, owing to trade depression, there has been no demand for Timber of any description. A great quantity on the Newcastle Emlyn estate should be felled. But we wait for the Railway—or we should get next to nothing for it. Coal pit props and Chemical timber now fetches but about 1/3rd of the price that we got for it 12 or 14 years back. So we can make nothing in this way at present.'¹¹³ In the second half of the century income from timber was very small and often showed a loss. In 1883 for instance, £84. 2s. was received for timber while £395. 10s. 10d. was expended on the cost of converting the timber into planks. By this date, most of the timber would have been used on the estate for repair and building work rather than being sold to merchants or the Navy.

The Cawdor family were involved with the development of extractive industries in Carmarthenshire prior to their becoming owners of the Golden Grove estate. The lead mining concern on the Ystradffin estate, run directly by the Campbells until the 1820s, supplemented the income of the otherwise totally agricultural estate of Stackpole from the mid-eighteenth century onwards. However, by the end of the nineteenth century income from the lead mines had declined somewhat, though, except for a brief period in 1808 they continued to operated into the twentieth century. After the first Baron Cawdor became master of the Golden Grove estate in 1804 that estate gradually expanded its involvement in mineral exploitation, particularly coal mining in Carmarthenshire. As with other landowners throughout England and Wales, the Cawdors realised that a large income, with potentially a better return on investment, could be gained from such exploitation. By the mid-nineteenth century they had become the largest owner of extractive industries in Carmarthenshire, with a third of the county's coal mines being under their control, as well as the single largest lead-mine as well as a hand full of stone qaurries. To minimise the risk of financial failure the Cawdors leased these concerns to industrial companies and to individual mining speculators, enjoying for themselves income from royalties and dead rents. Until the middle of the century the annual income from coal mining was around £500.

However, by the 1860s this had risen substantially, Mousley receiving about £2,500 per annum, owing to an increasing numbers of anthracite mines being opened. This sum gradually rose until, by the early nineteen hundreds, the estate was receiving around £10-15,000 per annum in mineral royalties.¹¹⁴ By the beginning of the twentieth century the mineral income was as large as the agricultural rental received on the Stackpole estate.

To enable increased production, both in agriculture and in industry, to reach markets, a much improved infrastructure was required. This study will now turn its attention to the part played by the Cawdors as leaders of agriculture and industry in south-west Wales in creating better roads, building canals and harbours, and in encouraging the expansion of railways.

4.2 The Cawdors and the development of the local infrastructure

The development of the estate as an industrial entity went hand-in-hand with the development of the local infrastructure, since the establishment of better quality roads, the building of a canal or the construction of a railway line helped to ensure the easier movement of bulky or heavy goods such as lead or coal. An improved infrastructure also enabled farm produce to be shifted more easily to markets, and made for easier access to lime, the main fertiliser used in the area at least until the mid-century, thus allowing for the advancement of better farming practises. In these concerns the Cawdors can also be seen as paternalists in that any improvements to the infrastructure, although greatly benefiting the estate, was also of great utility to the locality as a whole.

A. Roads, Canals and Harbours

W. P. Griffith has stated that ‘Better communications links and transport networks featured in the ideals and aspirations of agricultural innovators, industrial adventurers and land improvers’,¹¹⁵ and this was the case with the Cawdors. They attempted to improve the communications system of the area by supporting various projects, from the southern mail road to Milford Haven, to the connecting by railway of south-west Wales with England. Lord Cawdor was one of leading members of the South Wales

Association for the Improvement of Roads, which was established in the 1790s. Although A. H. T. Lewis states that it was primarily a Glamorgan-led association,¹¹⁶ by the end of the 1790s C. F. Greville, Cawdor's friend (and, as we have seen, supervising estate agent from 1799), was also one of the Association's leading members, as were several other prominent families from south-west Wales. Thus, in 1798, the committee of the association included Lords Dynevor, Milford, Robert Seymour and Kensington, as well as Greville and Cawdor. The sixth Duke of Beaufort, the Lord Lieutenant of Monmouthshire, was the Association's chairman at this time. These landowners had realised that an improved road communication between England and Wales would be of benefit not only to the area generally, but also to their estates in particular. This being so the Association advanced, no doubt under the influence of Cawdor and Dynevor in particular, two routes for the Irish mails—the original coastal route, and an inland road which would have especially benefited the numerous landowners of the Tywi valley. At the same time, an improved communications link with Pembrokeshire would not only have greatly benefited the rather isolated Stackpole estate, but would have been of enormous help to Greville who was intent upon developing Milford.¹¹⁷

At a committee meeting in London in May 1805, the Association resolved to carry out a survey of the route, to be undertaken by the Association's surveyor, Evan Hopkin, to establish what improvements were needed. Lords Cawdor and Dynevor, and Mr Morris, the Carmarthen banker, were to form a sub-committee to oversee the survey. Additionally, Greville, together with Morris, was to investigate what improvements could be made to the Severn ferry-crossing, which had been a dangerous bottle-neck to the mail-coach service into Wales for a number of years.¹¹⁸ However, even though the Association had the support of the Post Master General, very little enthusiasm was forthcoming from the government, which favoured the route to Ireland via Holyhead.

The southern communication with Ireland was still being fought over in the 1820s and was energetically supported by the first Earl Cawdor. It was threatened by the Tory Government with abandonment, after a parliamentary committee to inquire into a route via Holyhead commissioned Thomas Telford to survey it. As a result of Telford's work the northern road was upgraded, and bridges over the Conwy and Menai Straits built. In all over £750,000 in government money was expended on what has been called the first state-sponsored road.¹¹⁹ Even so, Lord Cawdor believed that

to abandon the southern route would remove the only real link from south-west Wales not only with south-east Wales and its markets, but also with England, and particularly London. To abandon the route would, of course, also have isolated the Cawdor estates in both Carmarthenshire and Pembrokeshire. In the 1820s the southern route was the subject of discussion by parliament on several occasions: in 1827 by the Commons in Committee, in 1830 by the Commission of Revenues Enquiry and by a Committee of the Commons concerning the Post Office in 1832, 'all of whom concurred in the recommendation of a Southern Irish Communication, and that it should be by way of Milford'.¹²⁰ However, criticisms of the slowness of the mails on the southern route prompted the Government to establish a Select Committee in 1832 to seek the reasons. At the beginning of June 1832 Cawdor defended the route and commented on the idea put forward by the government that the mail packet should leave for Ireland at Bristol. Such a move would not only slow the mails destined for south Wales by up to twelve hours, but would retard the 'great intercourse between Llanelly, and the coal country round about it, and Ireland'. In fact, using Bristol as the place from which the Irish mail-packets sailed would 'sacrifice the whole commercial interest of South Wales to the interest of the town of Bristol'.¹²¹ Here, Cawdor was clearly thinking not only in terms of his own property, but the economic vitality of the whole area. Whether it was due to his involvement or otherwise, the southern route was not immediately abandoned and work was undertaken to create a better road after Telford was again used to survey the route and establish the best course for the road.

One of the problems with the southern route was that, unlike the road to Holyhead, it was to be built and maintained by several turnpike trusts, all of which had to rely on loans to pay for the work, which delayed progress again and again. In January 1830, at a meeting of the Carmarthenshire Trust (the trust mainly involved with the mail-road in Carmarthenshire), it was stated that £13,000 had already been spent and a further £3,500 was to be borrowed from the Treasury. Lord Cawdor stated at the meeting that various sections of the road had been completed and that the grant sought for was for an 'undertaking of ... national importance'. If the loan was not approved he believed it was because it was the government's intention 'to discontinue the Milford Packet line of communication with south Ireland'.¹²²

By 1841, the route and additionally Milford Haven as a port from which the Indian mail ships could depart, was again under threat, this time from Peel's Tory government, and again Lord Cawdor demonstrated his support for both the route and

the port. In 1841 he wrote to the esteemed Admiral, T. B. Martin,¹²³ asking if he would use his influence on a recently established committee looking into this subject. Unfortunately, Martin disagreed with Cawdor over the merits of Milford Haven as a port for what would be large steamers to carry the mails. His opposition rested mainly on the weather, since he perceived it to be dangerous to shipping approaching the Haven and even in the Haven itself. For this reason Martin thought Liverpool should be the chosen port for the Indian mails, though he also added that it was advantageous that Liverpool also had good rail connections¹²⁴ which were not to reach Milford until 1855. A year later Cawdor wrote to Sir Robert Peel on the viability of keeping the south Wales route. He explained that he had taken an interest in this line of communication for a long-time, since he believed it to be ‘of vital importance to the improvement and extension both of the agriculture and commerce of Wales’.¹²⁵ As such, of course, it would be of benefit to the Stackpole and Golden Grove estates. His Lordship believed, perhaps cynically, that one of the reasons Milford was earmarked for abandonment was that as a port it was already fully developed, so large profits for contractors would not be forthcoming. Even so, Cawdor believed Milford Haven had great natural advantages ‘which only require to be made accessible, with every prospect of great improvement to the traffic and intercourse of the country’. He pointed out that the only inducement to abandoning the route was that the packets did not pay, but that this was due to the great delays created by Post Office bureaucracy at Bristol. ‘There can be no doubt,’ stated Cawdor, ‘that South Wales will be extensively injured by the abandonment of the present route’ and that if any other route was used in preference to the south Wales one then ‘Wales will, ...be sacrificed to a great extent, and impediments thrown in the way of her rising commerce’.¹²⁶

The Cawdors’ continuing support over a number of years for the southern route to Ireland would no doubt have been regarded by many contemporaries principally as a patriotic act—ensuring the fastest route for the Royal Mail. However, the members of the Association, and other landowners, were also involved with creating both new and better roads within their own areas of influence in the two counties. Baron Cawdor was no exception in this respect. We can see him in the early parts of the nineteenth century attempting to influence the building and improving of turnpike trust roads, especially where they would be of benefit to the estate. Of particular interest in that it portrays the role of the agent, Thomas Beynon, is the attitude taken when Baron Cawdor was attempting to improve the communications between the lead mines at

Rhandirmwyn and Carmarthen. In 1809 Beynon referred to the road plan as 'a child of my own',¹²⁷ and in the company of the aforementioned surveyor, Evan Hopkin, plotted a route to the mines. The agent's comments throw light on his attitude towards the gentry of the area, and also reveals his dedication to the House of Cawdor. He writes to his master:

Knowing, by long experience, that the Country Gentlemen always wish to have the roads near their own houses, or to benefit their own properties, I would not suffer any of them to accompany me...It will be impossible to improve your Lordship's Ystradffin Estate without a Turnpike Road [but] the generality of the Gentlemen of that County...suppose your Lordship does not wish to carry the Road farther than the Mine Works whereas, (to be effectual) I think it ought to extend to the extremities of the Estate...to the Confines of the County of Cardigan. This would enable your Lordship to bring timber from Aberbandda and other distant farms to the Mine works; it would bring the Bark to a Market, and be of incalculable advantage to your Estates in Cayo and the upper part of Cilycwm, which at present, are, in a manner, removed out of the world.¹²⁸

With a route worked out, Beynon attended meetings of the Llandovery Trust to forward his proposals. He later wrote to Cawdor of the meeting: 'I must confess I did not much like the business I was going upon, as your Lordship knows how unpleasant it is to transact business with the third-rate gentlemen of this County [the Rhandirmwyn area], who are influenced by self interest and local considerations, and are totally destitute of every particle of liberality.'¹²⁹ Of course, considering Beynon's desire to route the road to the benefit of the Cawdor estate to the exclusion of other gentry, the agent was acting with the same self-interest with which he accused others. At the same meeting Beynon proposed that a branch turnpike road be made from Llandovery to Rhandirmwyn and that this should be included in the new Bill then being proposed. This 'was viewed with a sort of sullen silence, and some of the Trustees, in a distant corner of the room observed that no man should be accommodated with a Road, unless it was of public utility'. One Trustee asked if Cawdor would subscribe the sum required for the road proposed, to which Beynon stated 'Most certainly, and if His Lordship does not, the Road, of course, falls to the ground, and you go to Parliament simply to renew your Act, as it stands at present.'¹³⁰

Campbell-Davys of Neuadd Fawr was one of the trustees who disagreed with Beynon's route, desiring instead that the road go to Cilycwm, such a route being 'evident to every impartial man...[as being] ...by far the most convenient and desirable to the public as well as the forming a good road so as to increase the

communication between Llandovery and Aberystwyth thereby laying open for improvement a vast tract of now unknown and barren but very improvable land'.¹³¹ This route would also have served well Campbell-Davys's own property. However, it seems this line was ignored and Beynon's route accepted. The tenants of the Ystradffin estate, according to the agent, 'not only most cheerfully gave their consent that the Turnpike Road should go through their farms; but also expressed their Joy and gratitude to your Lordship, for the prospect of such an accommodation'.¹³²

Beynon believed it would take at least five years to complete the road and since it mainly went through Cawdor property the estate would have to bear the brunt of the expenditure—about £200 from a total estimate of £1,500 which was to come from other landowners in the area. The agent, swelling with pride that his plan was to come into fruition, stated to his master:

This road ought to have been made many years ago; but the present opportunity should not be lost, for it is of the utmost consequence to your Lordship's Ystradffin Tenants, as it opens a Communication on one side with Coal and lime, and on the other with Cardiganshire Fairs, on which they greatly depend. I say nothing of the advantage the road will bring to the Mine works, and to carry Lime and Timber for building and repairing on the different parts of the estate.¹³³

It seems that the branch wanted by Beynon was built by the Lampeter and Llandovery Trust; however, it stopped at the Nantyrwyn mines.¹³⁴ An older road continued into Cardigan and Brecknock but it was not under the control of a turnpike trust.¹³⁵ Beynon continued: 'My success, in carrying the question for the road, at the Turnpike meeting ...is not at all to be ascribed to any skillful management on my part, but to the unpopular characters of my opponents; for they certainly had the best of the arguments, as to the Road it will not materially increase the revenues of the Trust for years to come, but will, most undoubtedly be highly beneficial to your Lordship.'¹³⁶ Whether Beynon was merely bragging with this statement or not, it is evidence that fundamentally the advancement of the estate was paramount, even to deceiving the 'third-rate gentlemen' of that part of the county, by insisting on a route which evidence suggests was not the best for the county as a whole.

Commenting on another turnpike road project near Golden Grove, in 1809, Beynon believed that: 'It is really very hard that the principal Subscribers [one of whom was Lord Cawdor] are not permitted to exercise their own judgement, in the direction of a business, where their own Interest, and that of the Public, is so very materially

concerned. If the Road was not of such great importance to Golden Grove, and to the flower of the Estate, I would give myself no sort of trouble about it.’¹³⁷ This attitude, that those who put most money into a road scheme, should have the largest say as to the route of the road, was probably a conventional view of the time; after all each landowner stood to benefit from these roads, which have rightly been described as ‘the very arteries of “polite society”’.¹³⁸

Lord Cawdor became a Trustee of the Three Commotts Trust in August 1804, in the room of John Vaughan of Golden Grove. He was also one of the principal creditors of the Trust. Significantly, he was Lord of the Manor of Kidwelly within which lay the Three Commotts Trust roads. And Beynon stated that ‘both Mr Campbell’s’¹³⁹ were also trustees. Sir William Paxton, a political ally of Cawdor, was one of the principal creditors of the Trust and also a trustee as were three of Paxton’s sons. Beynon was one of the original trustees and his successor, R. B. Williams, became a trustee on the death of his father, also an original trustee, in July 1813.¹⁴⁰ These trustees ensured Cawdor had an overwhelming interest on the Trust: Beynon commented that the new ‘list of Trustees ...consists Chiefly of your Lordship’s Friends’.¹⁴¹ The new trustees would doubtless have been aware of the state of the Trust’s roads and administrative chaos. Beynon, displaying his business acumen, wrote that: ‘The condition of the Roads, and the deranged state of the affairs of the Trust, require a considerable increase of Tolls, when the Act is renewed...Llwyd, it seems, fixed the Toll on Coal and Lime so low as 4d. a Cart. This is a miserable instance of mean attention to self-interest. These Tolls must be advanced but still I think it would be good policy to keep them some trifle lower than the next Trust, otherwise we shall lose Custom.’¹⁴² This strong presence on the Trust of Cawdor and his friends enabled the Three Commotts Trust to be manipulated in the interests of the estate, but it also an instance of the determination of Cawdor to become active in the improvement of the infrastructure of at least this part of the county.

Given that the turnpike roads were important to the estate, it comes as no surprise that Beynon was very particular when choosing a new clerk for the Three Commotts Trust in 1809, after the former clerk had drowned in the River Tywi. Several people applied for the job of clerk, but according to Beynon not one was unexceptionable, though ‘the least so, was a young attorney...but as he was a Red, I had given him no encouragement’. The man finally chosen by the agent was the head-writer in Thomas Lewis’s (Cawdor’s Llandeilo solicitor) office. Beynon commented: ‘He is sober,

active and intelligent; and from his situation in Mr Lewis's Office, he will be able to procure us a little legal advice, now and then.'¹⁴³ The agent does not expand on what sort of legal advice was expected!

The number of turnpike gates and the dreadful state of the roads in Carmarthenshire and Pembrokeshire was notorious.¹⁴⁴ Six years before the Rebecca Riots broke out, the *Carmarthen Journal* commented that Carmarthen town was 'positively be-leagued with Turnpike Gates; for in no direction can a man on horseback, or in a vehicle of any description, go a mile out of town without dipping his hand in his pocket'. The worst culprit in this respect was the Royal Oak gate owned by the Main Trust. The editor states that if the trust was not prepared to move it the town's burgesses should erect a gate within the borough to indemnify them from the large number of carriages which travel west—these being lime carts, which did a great deal of damage since upward of 1,200 per day passed over the bridge during the liming season. The editor refers to the lime carts as 'the greatest of all possible nuisances'.¹⁴⁵ The large numbers of gates that existed became increasingly burdensome, particularly for the farmers who were heavy users of the turnpike roads for carrying lime, as the *Journal* points out. The lack of money during the depression years of the late 1830s and the early 1840s was the last straw in the tenant farmers' economic plight and spurred the Rebecca Riots. Initially it was the turnpike trusts which became the target for the accumulated grievances of the farmers. The trusts were in trouble financially, and had recently been handed over to the notorious Thomas Bullen and his family, and other English toll farmers in an attempt to extinguish trust debts. Farmers had hitherto used side-gates to avoid paying tolls. However, the newly-installed toll-farmers restricted the use of the side-gates—which the farmers perceived to be very 'catching'—thereby enforcing payment of tolls. The tolls were agreed upon by those with a vested interest, including Cawdor and many of the other landowners of the two counties. However the Trusts of the two Counties were heavily in debt for most of their existence—in July 1843 the total amount of debt stood at £18,580. This notwithstanding, Cawdor believed the only way 'that these disturbances can be quieted [was if] some form of relief from the pressure of the tolls is given and this can only be done by a sacrifice on the part of the Creditors and those in the County will not be well pleased if having reduced their rate of interest the Government still exact 4 and in one instance 5 per cent from those insolvent Trusts'.¹⁴⁶ Ultimately, Cawdor saw the riots as a response to the poorly treated Trusts,

who had to try and recoup some money from users to try and pay back monies borrowed at high interest rates. By December 1843 Cawdor was writing to Thomas Frankland Lewis, the chairman of the recently established Royal Commission which was inquiring into the grievances which caused the Rebecca Riots, as follows: 'if we remain in our present position there will in many cases be neither funds to pay the interest of the debt [of the Trusts] or surplus to apply to the repair of the roads. It is this additional burthen thrown on the occupiers, the labour and money required for the Turnpike road in addition to the tolls which has been the cause of *just* complaints [my italics] and which it is most desirable to avoid in the future.' Cawdor's close involvement with the problem of the tolls explains his key role in the passing of the Turnpike Toll Act of 1844 (so much so that it was to become known as Lord Cawdor's Act)¹⁴⁷ which brought all the Trusts under a County Roads Board, made tolls uniform, established only one toll per seven miles and reduced the toll on lime carriers by half. J. H. Vivian, Swansea MP, commented that he agreed with the principles of the bill and believed it to be a 'great experiment to be applied to South Wales for the benefit of the whole kingdom at large'.¹⁴⁸ Despite Home Secretary, and friend of Cawdor, Sir James Graham hoping that the bill would be discussed by a Committee of the whole House, it was passed through all its stages in both houses without debate and was given royal assent on 9 August 1844.¹⁴⁹

The county roads board of Carmarthenshire which was established as a result of this Act came into force in 1845 and amalgamated the Turnpike Trusts into three district boards, namely, those of Carmarthen, the Three Commotts and Llandovery. Likewise, in Pembrokeshire two district boards were established, the Haverfordwest and the Narberth.¹⁵⁰ The first Earl chaired the inaugural meeting of the county board in both counties, overseeing its establishment; thereafter he attended occasionally, as did other gentry, for instance, Lord Dynevor and Sir John Mansell in Carmarthenshire and Sir John Owen in Pembrokeshire. To discuss Carmarthenshire in detail, the county roads board oversaw the operations of the district boards, and appointed annually the toll Farmers for those boards. The Bullen family was not employed, but the county roads board continued to lease the farming of tolls to English toll collectors, though some local collectors were also used.¹⁵¹ Lord Emlyn sat on the board occasionally during the 1850s and acted as chairman on two or three occasions in that decade. In the summer of 1856 Emlyn and then Lord Cawdor acted as chairmen. The Cawdor estate benefited from the county roads board as did other

landowners in that it was believed the trusts were now being fairly administered. If nothing else, the board seems to have ensured that more money was spent on road maintenance, which enabled easier movement around the county, and as stated before, would have been of great assistance in the movement of both farm produce and materials. In the first report of the county roads board, in 1845, the total expenditure on material for roads under the Three Commotts Trust was a mere 17*s.* 1*d.*, while the other two districts Carmarthen and Llandovery, spent, £109 and £139. 0*s.* 8*d.* respectively.¹⁵² Four years later, in 1849, the expenditure on road maintenance came to £1,823. 5*s.* by the Three Commotts, £1,529 by the Carmarthen and £2,023. 5*s.* by the Llandovery District.

It is very clear from Beynon's evidence that since Cawdor was heavily involved financially with the turnpike trusts, it was expected that the estate would reap major benefits from them. Cawdor as a creditor of the trusts received income in the form of tallies. In 1834 the total tallies owed to him came to £4,964 in the three counties of Cardigan, Carmarthen and Pembroke, with £1,654 of that total from the Three Commotts Trust, though 'no interest to the creditors had been paid for the last thirty years and upwards'.¹⁵³ When the county roads board was established in the wake of the Commission of Inquiry, Cawdor received £3,976. 6*s.* from the Commissioners for tallies he owned in the three counties, £1,065 less than the sum he had secured on the Trusts. In 1864 J. H. Scourfield, MP for Pembrokeshire and chairman of the Pembrokeshire county roads board, advocated that the toll system which had been established under the 1844 Turnpike Road Act should be continued rather than adding to the Highways rates, even after the debts on the roads had been paid off. His reasons were that the roads were in excellent condition and there were very few complaints.¹⁵⁴ This is testimony to the effectiveness of Cawdor's Act.

As we have seen, the Campbell family had exploited the lead veins on their Ystradffin property from the mid eighteenth century onwards. However the Ystradffin estate was in a remote part of the county, with very poor communications. Consequently, it was shown, the cost of transporting lead ore was very high.¹⁵⁵ Lead ore was transported by cart to the smelting house at Carmarthen, a distance of nearly forty miles. The furnaces at Carmarthen were coal-fired, using bituminous coal, which would have had to be transported to Carmarthen, probably from collieries on the bituminous Llanelli coalfield in the south of the county, again at great expense. In the 1790s, two decades before the Llandovery-Rhandirmywn turnpike road was built, in

an attempt to reduce these transport costs Campbell contemplated moving the smelting works to Llanelli and building a canal from Spitty, on the river Loughor, to Llandovery, about seven miles south of the lead mines. Water-bourne transport was very much cheaper than any other (according to one source it was about one fifth less than road prices¹⁵⁶), and fuel transport costs would have been at a minimum since the smelting furnaces would have been situated on the coalfield, and near to Cawdor-owned collieries.

In early 1793 Campbell instigated a series of meetings, by what became known as the Carmarthen Canal Committee, to assess the level of interest in building the canal. John Vaughan of Golden Grove, Lord Dynevor and the Stepneys of Llanelli were also involved from the outset. They and Campbell were of the opinion that such a canal would stimulate the local economy, as well as benefiting their individual estates. The first meeting was held in March 1793 at which ‘the gentlemen subscribed 500 guineas toward the expenses of bringing down surveyors’. Campbell and Dynevor subscribed 20 guineas each, the other landowners present 10 guineas; hence forty-eight gentlemen attended.¹⁵⁷ The canal engineer, James Cockshutt,¹⁵⁸ was employed by the Committee to survey the likely route to be taken by the canal, but he seems also to have had a special relationship with John Campbell since he also wrote privately to the latter. At the end of July 1793 he wrote to Campbell regarding the feasibility of a canal, especially northwards of Llandovery, which would have greatly benefited the Ystradffin estate: ‘Up the Taliaris Valey[sic] a Line or branch may be extended to some distance, without difficulty. Up the Towy above Llandovery I find ... so much fall in an unfavourable Country that if any thing is done I would recommend it to be a Rail Road.’¹⁵⁹ Cockshutt’s conclusion may have convinced Campbell not to continue with the project of a canal to Rhandirmwyn, but his decision may also have been determined by other reports given in Cockshutt’s letters. The engineer speaks on two or three occasions of the canal committee becoming split between those who wanted a route northwards of Llandovery, and those referred to as the Llandybie proprietors, who wanted a canal to run along the Taliaris valley and eventually join with canals in Radnorshire. There was also a group hoping for a canal branch into the Mynydd Mawr area. Of this scheme Cockshutt stated: ‘this day some kind of meeting is held but with so much secrecy I can say little about it. It is today said it is to commence at Llandybie [sic], proceed under or nearly under the Great Mountain [Mynydd Mawr] come out and fall down the Gwily Valley to Loucher[sic].’ The engineer continued:

‘It surely cannot be right thus to attempt to defeat a great Scheme [that is Campbell’s canal to or near Rhandirmwyn], by one so partial not that I suppose it will be allowed.’¹⁶⁰ The canal scheme to Mynydd Mawr would have entailed building a tunnel about a mile long under the mountain, but would also have greatly benefited the coal and quarry workings of the Stepney estate. However it would have done nothing to promote John Campbell’s lead workings and at the time he had no coal mining interests on Mynydd Mawr. Those on the committee who wanted the alternative line of canal actually employed a different engineer, a Mr Sheasby.¹⁶¹ Cockshutt, reporting to his master, stated: ‘It is proper I should inform you that Mr Sheasby is now actually making a Survey of the Line mentioned in his last report: by *whose direction I cannot inform you.*’¹⁶² Cockshutt also stated that he would not consider undertaking the project if the canal was merely being built at the least expense: ‘My instructions were not confined to a Communication with Llandovery alone, but to find a Line that wou’d be most generally useful to the Country at large; and this I believe was also the sense of the first meeting at Carmarthen.’¹⁶³ Since Campbell was the chairman of the first meeting it can be inferred that he agreed with such sentiments. William Hopkins, agent for the Stepney estate, wrote to Lady Stepney regarding the meeting he attended concerning the canal and its failure to agree:

a meeting of the Gentlemen of the County respecting the canal, at which they did nothing but appoint another meeting...they differ about which line to take, that proposed by Mr Jones of Duffryn and Mr Phillips the attorney, which is the short one from Llandilo to Spitty, or the long one from Llandovery to Spitty, which was proposed by Mr Campbell, Mr Vaughan, Lord Dinevor, and the generality of the Gentlemen in the County. I don’t find one Gentleman espouses Mr Jones and Mr Phillips for the short Canal. [The long canal] will bring Mr Campbell’s Lead to be smelted at Pencoed, which I hope will be of advantage to your Ladyship in regard to the Lead House, as well as Sir John in regard to the Coal—as to the disadvantage it can prove to any of the Estate I cannot see it, but Mr Evans is no great advocate for it, as it will cut up the land.¹⁶⁴

Two months after Hopkins wrote with optimism, a Mr Powell wrote: ‘I know not what to say about our Canal they have frequent Meetings about it and Mr Vaughan and Mr Campbell attend often but I am told by those who pretend to know that there is very little prospect of its ever taking place.’¹⁶⁵ All plans for a canal seem to have been aborted just after this.¹⁶⁶ The underhanded competition, splitting prospective proprietors into two if not three factions, and the adverse report by Cockshutt to

Campbell meant the canal scheme failed to go any further than discussions. However, the idea of connecting the lead mines with the coast was not completely forgotten. In the summer of 1810 'LS' gave some advice to Cawdor concerning the benefits of such communication. He believed the Swansea Canal, which was only twelve miles south of Llandovery, could be linked by tram or railroad. This would allow Cawdor to carry his lead ore much more cheaply to the coast than carrying it to Carmarthen. And it would also open 'immense quantities of lime and coal to the extensive district behind Llandovery and procure for the farmers of that country one of the best Markets (Swansea) in the Kingdom'.¹⁶⁷ Two years before 'LS's' letter Beynon, as we have seen, was busy arranging to have a turnpike branch road built to Rhandirmywn from Llandovery. That turnpike, once built, served the carriers of Cawdor lead ore until the end of the mining operations at the beginning of the twentieth century.

At the beginning of the nineteenth century the first Baron Cawdor became involved with the improvement of the harbour at Kidwelly and the building of a canal along the Gwendraeth Valley. The anthracite coalfield to the north of Pen-bre was beginning to be opened up as colliery owners began to realise the advantages of this coal over the bituminous variety. As the new master of Golden Grove, Lord Cawdor owned land and anthracite collieries in the area whilst, as Lord of the large manor of Kidwelly, he would have benefited from royalties and wayleaves accrued from other coal workings. In June 1811 Cawdor chaired a meeting of landowners and industrialists to consider a proposal brought forward by the canal engineers Messrs Martin and Davies. Their proposal would have improved the harbour at Kidwelly and establish a 'canal system up the entire length of the Gwendraeth valley with an extension across Pinged Marsh through Pen-bre to Llanelli'.¹⁶⁸ At a subsequent meeting Martin and Davies's plan was approved and a month later, in August 1811, the committee agreed to pursue an Act of Parliament. Lord Cawdor subscribed £2,000 as did Lord Ashburnham, while Lord Dynevor and several other gentlemen subscribed £1,000 each. Thomas Lewis, Cawdor's Llandeilo solicitor, was appointed solicitor and secretary of the undertaking.¹⁶⁹ However, Kidwelly Borough briefly objected to the project, fearing that the harbour at Kidwelly would be by-passed in favour of that of Llanelli.¹⁷⁰ These fears may have been justified since in the same year, 1811, a committee of Llanelli industrialists, headed by Alexander Raby, had been established to seek an Act to improve the navigation of the Burry River and the harbour at Llanelli, so as to increase trade.¹⁷¹ Interestingly, Lord Cawdor seems to

have been (?unintentionally) snubbed by the latter committee. In 1813 John Rees, the industrialist, wrote: 'I am not surprised that your Lordship should oppose a Bill whose terms and provisions had not first been submitted for your approbation especially when the Publick and your own particular interests are so much Concerned.' Rees blamed a Mr Lewis (the aforementioned Thomas Lewis, Cawdor's sometime solicitor ?) for this omission and then continued: 'No persons can be more Sensible than the Framers of the Bill how fatal to its interests would be any disrespect to your Lordship and how ungrateful in many of them who have met with the politest attention to their requests from you.' Rees stated that the 'ill-fated Port of Llanelly' was in need of 'immediate assistance' and he hoped Cawdor would not oppose the Bill in its Committee stage.¹⁷² Two weeks later Cawdor and Rees had arranged a meeting to discuss the provisions of the Bill, so it seems Cawdor accepted the apology of the Committee.

J. V. Beckett distinguishes between the improvement of roads and bridges—which, although benefiting the landowners were also of general benefit to the local community since better roads made for easier access—and railways and canals. The latter two methods of communication were perceived as 'private promotions for private ends'.¹⁷³ The Cawdors' involvement in canals certainly fits this analysis. However, though they did promote some railways for private ends, in particular mineral lines, they were also involved with the larger scenario of supporting the advancement of large-scale schemes such as the South Wales Railway, linking south Wales with London. So we will now turn to discuss the establishment of railways in Carmarthenshire and Pembrokeshire and the part played by the Cawdors.

B. Railways:

The Cawdor estate encouraged railways to be built throughout the century. The first Earl Cawdor, John Frederick Campbell, encouraged railway undertakings from at least as early as the 1820s. In 1828 he allowed the Llangennech Coal Company to build a railway on very reasonable terms on land he owned as Lord of the Manor of Llanelly. He asked only ten shillings rent per annum, and a wayleave of 1*d.* per ton of coal or culm.¹⁷⁴ Though the bill approving this was eventually enacted, R. B. Williams could comment in the summer of 1828 that the 'continued opposition to the Llangennech Railway Bill appears to be carried on by a vindictive feeling and I trust

it will be completely defeated [the vindictiveness] in the House of Lords as it was in the House of Commons'.¹⁷⁵ The Llangennech railway gave access to the sea to two of Cawdor's most profitable collieries, the Penprys and the Pwllwyngwyn, which were leased to the Llangennech Coal Company.¹⁷⁶ This line was fairly typical of the mineral lines which were given approval by landowners throughout England and Wales, especially in the early nineteenth century, in that it was short, and was established to move minerals, mostly owned by the proprietors, to the coast.¹⁷⁷

Later in the century we also find the second Earl Cawdor actively promoting the establishment of railways, though this time the trains would be carrying both minerals and passengers. In 1861 he stated his views to the House of Lords when giving evidence concerning the Llanelly Railway and Dock Bill. The proposed railway would pass through about six miles of the Cawdor estate. However, Cawdor was wholly supportive of the railway, and in a telling remark, stated that, 'it will be of great advantage to the County'. He was particularly pleased that the proposed line would improve the communications between Carmarthen and Llandeilo, which at the time consisted of one omnibus per day. And he had also considered the beneficial effect the railway would have on communications with Milford and therefore Ireland, and with the Midland counties.¹⁷⁸

In 1871 Mousley reported to Cawdor that a mineral railway was proposed from Mynydd Mawr to connect with the Towy Valley line at Llandovery and hence to Carmarthen. Mousley doubted 'there being sufficient encouragement given in the neighbourhood to enable the scheme to be gone on with but I can see no reason for advising Your Lordship to oppose it'.¹⁷⁹ Support for a railway which was not likely to go ahead shows the Cawdors in a progressive light, attempting to advance communications in the face of ingrained conservative opposition from other less adventurous landowners. The estate, of course, would also have benefited as Mousley continued: 'such a line might be of very great importance to you, as a direct means of transit for your Coals from Mynydd Mawr...to Carmarthen and Cardiganshire. And particularly [it will be of benefit to the estate] if it should bring about the extension from Llandyssil to Newcastle Emlyn.'¹⁸⁰

The intended railway from Llandysul to Newcastle Emlyn, following the Teifi valley, was supported by the Cawdors both financially and in other ways for a number of years from the late 1860s. The Cawdors' estate at Newcastle would benefit greatly from this railway, as would the estates along the north side of the Teifi valley. In 1871

‘another scheme’ was presented to build the railway. In the first instance Cawdor proposed subscribing £1,000. However, a year later Mousley stated that the directors of the company had withdrawn their bill ‘in consequence of that mad Fitzwilliams [owner of Cilgwyn estate, Cardiganshire] who refused to have the railway on his land. They will now try to get it down the Carmarthen side [of the river Teifi] above Newcastle which will require lots of good land belonging to your Lordship.’¹⁸¹ In 1879 Mousley was meeting with the Carmarthen and Cardigan officials who had proposed the railway, initially confiding in his master that: ‘I have for many years been of the opinion that some of these C[armarthen] and C[ardigan] officials have not been sincerely anxious for the extension. And I think your Lordship has thrown away into the concern quite enough money already.’¹⁸² The Llandysul-Newcastle Emlyn line was also hampered by the continued hostile attitude of Fitzwilliams of Cilgwyn, in particular, and of other landowners in the area whose attitude to the railway recalls the anti-railway aristocracy of the 1820s in England.¹⁸³ As stated above, the line was originally to run along the northern-side of the Teifi, and in 1877 Emlyn chaired a meeting of a committee which was established amongst Tivyside landowners to bring this railway to fruition. Captain Gwinnett Tyler of Mount Gernos,¹⁸⁴ one of the few pro-railway landowners in the area (he was also a railway inspector), together with Cawdor and Emlyn, were the prime movers in the venture, and Tyler thanked Lord Cawdor for not only establishing the meeting, but for getting the bill passed in the Commons. Approval of the scheme was ‘entirely due’ to his lordship, stated Tyler.¹⁸⁵ However, most of the landowners in the area were luke-warm in their support for this railway which took another twenty-two years to build, only opening 1895.¹⁸⁶

The South Wales Railway Bill was passed in 1844. Lord Emlyn sat on the provisional committee to establish the railway and was one of its initial shareholders.¹⁸⁷ The proposed railway was to run through the counties of south and south-west Wales, to Swansea and then onto Fishguard (this was later changed for Neyland). This main line standard-gauge railway arrived towards the end of the first wave of ‘railway mania’, so it was a relatively late development. (As noted above, Cawdor was still fighting for the southern *road* route in the early 1840s). In 1849 the Company was under financial pressure to take the railway no further than Swansea. This would have been an economic disaster for south-west Wales, leaving the area without a main line railway for several years. A Mr Cole, Cawdor’s London solicitor, realised this when he wrote to his Lordship that he did not know ‘what

advantage or disadvantage it may be to your Lordship, the abandonment of the South Wales Railway beyond Swansea, but it is in your Power to compel them to go on to the whole extent whatever may be the loss or injury to the Company'.¹⁸⁸ It is not known what pressure Cawdor or Emlyn, who as we have seen was a shareholder, put upon the Company, but the railway continued to be built, and arrived in Carmarthen in 1852. As befitted a shareholder, Lord Emlyn gave a speech at the opening of the railway in Carmarthen in which he encouraged everyone to travel by railway, since by so doing dividends would be increased. Although at the opening he was the only member of the family present,¹⁸⁹ very soon after its arrival in Carmarthen the Cawdors as well as other local gentry were regularly using the railway, which reached London within a day. J. V. Beckett states that as far as the landowners were concerned: 'the railway transformed the aristocratic lifestyle, permitting shorter but more frequent visits to estates, opening up new opportunities for foxhunting, and virtually inventing the country house weekend'.¹⁹⁰ Lord Emlyn's diaries dating from the 1850s give evidence of this increased mobility. And although many of the tenant farmers of the Cawdor estate would not have been able to afford train travel at this period,¹⁹¹ occasionally they did benefit in unexpected ways with the arrival of the railway. Thus, in 1896 a tenant suffering from a spinal injury was taken to London at the estate's expense, to be seen by a London physician. Williams-Drummond, on this occasion, asked Emlyn, then Chairman of the GWR, if 'an ordinary third class compartment [could] carry an invalid in his bed'.¹⁹²

In 1845 Emlyn is listed as one of the provisional committee of the Welsh Midland Railway.¹⁹³ It was hoped that this railway would connect south-west Wales, and particularly Milford Haven, with the English Midlands and the north of England. This would have been an enormous economic boost to Milford, establishing it as a major exporting port for products from the Black Country and Manchester.¹⁹⁴ It would also have stimulated the rural economy of the area by raising prices and opening up new markets. Not least, the Stackpole estate would have benefited, especially the larger farms, through being able to sell surplus produce to the English midlands and beyond. The railway was never built, though there were several railway schemes which, it was believed, may have been connected to a Midland line, such as the Pembroke and Tenby line, which opened in 1866.¹⁹⁵

Occasionally all that was needed was a nod of approval for the estate to benefit by railway schemes. In 1895 Williams-Drummond approved the proposal to build a

mineral railway by a William Davies, a collier and limestone agent from Llandybie. The route suggested by Davies would branch off the GWR line at Tirydail, in the Amman valley, and go up to Carreggwenlais ‘tapping some coal seams en route, to the silica stone, plastic clay and limestone on the latter farm and district. The scheme is I think a good one and likely to be a considerable source of income to the Estate if the Company has sufficient Capital to carry it out.’¹⁹⁶ Williams-Drummond wrote to Emlyn that Davies was prepared to sink £12,000 of his own capital into the scheme and was hoping Cawdor would grant him a lease of land. Here the Cawdors looked set fair to benefit at very little risk to their income.

The Cawdor estate also derived income from selling land to railway companies at higher than market price values for land, as was done by other landowners. Varying sums were charged according to the perceived advantages to be gained by the estate. In the early 1870s Mousley believed that the ten acres of land the Great Western Railway wanted for developing Neyland Pill as a dock and railway was worth £100 per acre. However, he went on to explain to his master why this was a relatively low price, compared with the £300 to £350 per acre Cawdor had received for land at Burton Ferry. ‘This [the £300-£350] would not be a safe guide for us’, stated the agent, ‘as a small quantity then was required and you could not expect any improvement to the adjoining property to arise from the sale. I think Your Lordship might offer 10 acres at £100 per acre and any additional quantity at not less than the same price, but to be open to arbitration if at some future time the extra extent should be considered worth more than £100 per acre.’¹⁹⁷ Several years later, when the Carmarthen and Cardigan Railway Company, as we have seen, were intending to build a railway along the river Teify, Mousley wrote to Cawdor that although the land the line was to pass through ‘is good meadow land—and valuable—I don’t suppose that you would wish to put the full value upon it in offering it to this line of Railway which should be of the greatest benefit to Your Lordship’s property’.¹⁹⁸ On other occasions Mousley had few scruples about overcharging a company. When the Central Wales Railway wanted land in 1863, the agent received £350 for less than seven acres, admitting the price to be ‘considerably above its value’.¹⁹⁹

So the evidence of the Cawdors’ support of both mineral and main line railways is substantial. They approved of proposals as long as the undertaking was not seen as detrimental to the estate. However, in 1856 the South Wales Railway Company had a bill to extend the railway to Pembroke rejected in the House of Commons ‘at the

insistence of the Member for Pembrokeshire'. Lord Emlyn was the county member in 1856, and his opposition contradicted his welcoming the same Company when they opened the railway station at Carmarthen. C. R. M. Talbot, the Company director, stated to J. P. Owen, the Mayor of Pembroke, that such opposition 'would have the practical effect of preventing the Pembroke branch being made at all'.²⁰⁰ However, Cawdor wrote to H. P. Jones that he had no objection to the railway, 'If I saw any *bona fide intention* [my italics] on the part of the Company to complete the line, I should not like to throw any difficulties in their way.'²⁰¹ Cawdor wrote to the *Pembrokeshire Herald* to the same effect. Other landowners of the area followed Cawdor's lead. Allen of Cresselly, an ally of the Cawdors, went so far as to issue an injunction to the Company requiring it to complete the line since it had been authorised to do so by Parliament. The pressure put upon the company by landowners succeeded and the railway was eventually opened, after David Davies the 'Railway King' turned his talents to complete it.²⁰² However, it was noticeable that no member of the Cawdor family was present at the formal opening.²⁰³

J. R. Kellett has commented that 'direct monetary return on an investment remained the essential feature of Victorian railway enterprise'.²⁰⁴ And this was the case with the Cawdors as they invested in railways, principally by buying stocks and shares, throughout the Victorian years. The return on railway investment was both quicker and higher than the return from investment in land. It was stated above that Lord Emlyn was one of the early investors in the South Wales Railway, but the Cawdors also invested in other railway projects as the century progressed. By 1868 the second Earl had made over eleven thousand pounds in Consols in the Llanelly Railway and Dock Company, the sum being held in trust for the Earl by the Duke of Buccleuch.²⁰⁵ And twenty years later Farrer, Cawdor's London Solicitor, together with Coutts, the Cawdors' London bankers, played the stock-market on the second Earl's behalf. In the summer of 1887 he was looking to invest monies in a railway concern, particularly the Taff Valley Railway since it had very high returns. However, Farrer wrote to Cawdor that no Taff Vale Stock was then available and offered alternative stock in the Furness Railway. A few days later Coutts had, however, managed to buy £1,000 shares in Taff Valley Railway stock for £2,413. 19s. Farrer informed Cawdor that, according to the brokers' list, 'Taff Vale Stock pays over 4¾ percent. If therefore you have to hold on, it would do more than pay the interest for a proportionate part of the charges on your estate.' This stock was kept by Cawdor until

January 1888 when some was sold by Farrer for £3,275.²⁰⁶ Since 1881, the ‘exceptionally wealthy’ Taff Vale Railway had been paying its shareholders dividends of 12¾ per cent—a profit enjoyed by Cawdor as a shareholder.²⁰⁷ The third Earl also had a smaller sum of thirty-nine shares worth £300 in the Burry Port and Gwendraeth Valley Railway on his death in 1911.²⁰⁸

The estate also benefited from the rising prices which railways and other improvements in communications bought in their wake, in the form of rent increases.²⁰⁹ As we have seen the estate was re-valued in 1863, and even though Mousley frequently either reduced or did not implement the increase, the estate still benefited to the sum of £5,000 (though it must also be said that many of the farms were very under valued before the 1863 rises).

Although the Cawdors were generally supportive of railway undertakings, and they benefited from shares in railway companies, it was not until the late nineteenth century that any of the family became directors of railway companies. By the last three decades of the nineteenth century, the Great Western Railway (GWR) had become the biggest and most powerful of all the railway companies in Britain. At this time the Company ‘was more or less at peace with the rest of the railway world: [and it was] a gilt-edged investment for three-quarters of its shareholders’.²¹⁰ As the century progressed the GWR became an increasingly large concern as it absorbed smaller railway companies. Thus, as early as 1862 it purchased the South Wales Railway Company.²¹¹ In 1890 Lord Emlyn paid £3,400 to qualify as a director of the Great Western Railway Board²¹² and within a year had become joint Deputy-Chairman with a certain Alexander Hubbard. In 1895, Emlyn, at the age of 48, was elected Chairman of the Company, becoming the youngest chairman of any railway company to that date. During his term of office, his influence brought about ‘a thorough revolution in the conduct of the railway [company]’ which had become increasingly resistant to change. Emlyn, as Earl Cawdor, was personally active in the introduction of several innovative measures, including high speed non-stop trains (and in order to speed up train services, he bought the lease of the refreshment rooms at Swindon since, for many years, the so-called refreshment stop there had been a thorn in the side of the company), dining-cars, more comfortable carriages and better lavatories. He also introduced the GWR bus services, integrating them with the rail service. Additionally he established ‘short cuts’, short linking lines which enabled direct routes between London and the Midlands, south-west England and south

Wales.²¹³ This change in direction of the Company was almost entirely the work of Emlyn who gave a great deal of his time to the business of the railway, and had an intimate knowledge of its affairs.²¹⁴ This is evident from Emlyn's one surviving GWR notebook, which details the minutiae of a variety of subjects—from what type of lighting ought to be used in carriages to what measures should be taken regarding a strike at Llanelli.²¹⁵ The attention to detail displayed by Emlyn, was similar to that which he, and the other Cawdors' gave to the governance of their properties and in their leadership of south-west Wales, throughout the nineteenth century.

In the major undertakings of both extractive industries and improvements to the communications links in south-west Wales the Cawdors proved themselves to be a positive force, though in both activities it was the Cawdor estate which was always the first consideration. Both the first baron and the first earl fought an extended battle to keep open the southern road route into south-west Wales. Although selfish motives may be attributed to this struggle, since without the southern route the Cawdor properties would have become much more isolated than they already were, the overall effects of keeping the road open was to benefit all of south-west Wales, especially the developing industrial south-east of Carmarthenshire, at least until the coming of the railway, which tended to decrease the importance of road access. In other concerns, principally local turnpike roads and canals, the Cawdors were generous with their time and money, though they expected large returns on their involvement. Thus the manipulations of Beynon to establish a turnpike route which benefited Cawdor property to the detriment of other properties belonging to the 'third rate gentlemen' of the area. Somewhat in contrast however, was the welcome the Cawdors gave to the coming of the railways to south-west Wales. They only opposed schemes that were inherently wasteful, such as when lines were being unnecessarily duplicated, or when the company was reneging on its mandate to build a line. However, in supporting railways they risked very little since they, on occasion, profited by selling land above the market rate, and invested money in already thriving concerns, such as the Taff Vale railway. The Cawdors' involvement with the railways reached a pinnacle when the third earl Archibald became the chairman of the GWR, and seemingly re-energised that company to the benefit not only of south-west Wales but to all the areas under its sway.

It is now time to turn our attention to the moral economy of the Cawdors as their support of the Established Church and its offspring, education, and particularly their succour of the poor are examined.

¹ G. E. Mingay, *English Landed Society in the Eighteenth Century*, pp.189-90.

² D. W. Howell, *Patriarchs and Parasites: The Gentry of South-West Wales in the Eighteenth Century*, p.91; Beckett, *The Aristocracy in England, 1660-1914*, p.210.

³ Beckett, *op. cit.*, p.209.

⁴ *Idem.*, p.209; F. L. M. Thompson, *English Landed Society In the Nineteenth Century*, pp.264-5.

⁵ For a discussion of John Campbell's lead mining operations in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries with Campbell given as an example of gentry involvement in industry see M. D. Matthews, 'In Pursuit of Profit?: Local enterprise in south west Wales in the Eighteenth Century' (Ph.D. Wales, Swansea, 1997), especially pp. 77-85.

⁶ W. J. Lewis, *Lead Mining in Wales* (Cardiff: UWP, 1967), p.164 quoting W. Davies's diary, NLW, Ms. 1756, Nov. 1811.

⁷ Walter Davies's Diary, NLW Ms 1756B, 31 Oct. to 7 Nov., reproduced in David Ceri-Jones, 'The Rural Economy and Society of Wales between 1790 and 1815 with special reference to the manuscripts of Walter Davies ('Gwalter Mechain'); (unpublished end-of project Report, University of Wales, Board of Celtic Studies, 2000-01).

⁸ Cawdor box 131: Correspondence and accounts of Joel Williams, 1806-10.

⁹ Cawdor 2/39/130: John Rolley to John Mirehouse, 10 April 1800.

¹⁰ Cawdor box 272: Greville to Earl Carlisle, n.d. but c.1800.

¹¹ Cawdor box 131: Beynon to Cawdor, 5 June 1805.

¹² *DNB*, John Williams (1753-1811), described as a banker and mining adventurer and the 'greatest living authority on matters connected with mining', was the grandson of a John Williams (d.1761) who left Wales to seek his fortune in Cornish mining. It will be remembered that Joel Williams became Cawdor's mining agent on the recommendation of John Williams junior.

¹³ Cawdor box 131: J. Williams to Greville, 6 Aug. 1805.

¹⁴ Cawdor box 131: Beynon to Cawdor, 18 May 1806.

¹⁵ Cawdor 2/39/128: A letter of 28 Sept 1799 from one Enoch James, Nantyrwyn, to C. F. Greville writing to ask for 'a situation...as a clerk in one of the Public Offices...[I] ...Have been in Mr. Rolley's service for the last 13 years. The first ten as an Apprenticeship. The mines have been on the decline of late years'. A few months later Rolley wrote: 'Progress in the Great Level was impeded for want of Air or rather for want of Water to force air'. (Cawdor 2/133: Rolley to Cawdor, 17 Aug. 1800).

William Marshall, *On the Landed Property of England*, states that 'in a moral light, mining is a sister to gambling. The productiveness of a mine is neither more nor less than a run of good luck'. Marshall thus disapproved of gentleman becoming involved in mining. However, if minerals are found on an

estate one of Marshall's golden rules was that the gentleman should not work the mines himself since 'A gentleman among miners is a pigeon to be plucked.' p.322

¹⁶ F. Jones, 'The Vaughans of Golden Grove', *THSC*, 1964, p.207.

¹⁷ Cawdor box 131: Beynon to Cawdor, 5 June 1805: Beynon wrote that the mines had become 'so clogged and encumbered with rubbish in all its parts, and to have been ...worked out of course'.

¹⁸ Lewis, *Lead Mining in Wales*, p.246.

¹⁹ Cawdor box 272: Greville to Earl Carlisle, n.d. but c.1800: One of the concerns raised by that constant worrier Thomas Beynon was the large quantity of timber being used at the mines. Just before the mines were closed in 1808 Beynon states they were busy felling oaks for the mines and at Pantysaison Beynon 'retired from the scene of wanton destruction as soon as I could'. Beynon's eighteenth century gentleman's disposition was obviously troubled by the advances of industry! (Cawdor Box 131: Beynon to Cawdor, 20 May, 1808).

²⁰ Cawdor box 131: Joel Williams to Beynon, 18 Feb. 1808.

²¹ Cawdor box 235: State of the Right Hon Lord Cawdor's Lead Mines by Joel Williams, 26 Oct. 1806. In the same report Williams describes the mines: 'At present there are 17 Bargains on Ore, ...[which] contain 60 men Exclusive of Labourers, there are also 6 Men Sinking a Shaft, on the levell, Crossing the panne to prove, Several Veins in Goromellyn, where it is Expected they meet together [sic], there is one Other Shaft Sinking on Carrigmwyn to prove the vein, as well to Bring Air, and Discharge the Ore much cheaper...there is also a Levell drawing at the North East Part of Carrigmwyn, to Cut the main Vain, which has never been proved Since the Romans, worked it there are, two Other Levells drawing to Discover Ore, so the whole number of Men Employ'd, sinking and Drawing (Exclusive of Labourers) is 22 Men, Expect to Cut the Vain at the North East Part of Carrigmwyn in two or three Months at most.'

²² Cawdor 2/39/162: Three-life lease of Grismond Williams to John Campbell, 30 June 1781. Interestingly, the lease states that Campbell had built the smeltery prior to the lease being drawn-up.

²³ Cawdor box 131: Nathaniel Awbery to Cawdor, 20 Feb. 1811.

²⁴ For the industrial development of Llanelli and area see R. S. Craig, R. Protheroe-Jones and M.V. Symons, *The Industrial and Maritime History of Llanelli and Burry Port* (Carmarthen: Carmarthenshire County Council, 2002) and M. V. Symons, *Coal Mining in the Llanelli Area*, Vol. 1: *16th Century to 1829* (Llanelli: Llanelli Borough Council, 1979).

²⁵ Cawdor box 131: Joel Williams to Cawdor, 17 April 1813.

²⁶ Cawdor 2/134: Jonathan Marsden to Thomas Lewis, 12 Dec. 1813.

²⁷ Cawdor box 132: Joel Williams to Cawdor, (no day) May 1813: Williams has nothing good to say about Nevill himself, whose behaviour 'was such as almost to make me leave the place, indeed nothing but your Lordship's interest could induce me to put up with such repeated insults and abuse, as what I received.'; For the industrial activities of Richard Janion Nevill see Symons, *Coal Mining in the Llanelli area*.

²⁸ Cawdor 2/39/148: Statement of Joel Williams concerning the Llanelly smelting house, n.d. but 1813.

²⁹ Cawdor box 132: Joel Williams to Cawdor, (no day) May 1813.

³⁰ Ibid.

³¹ Cawdor boxes 133 and 132: Henry Vander Linden, Antwerp, to R. B. Williams and Mr. Dutton, Bagillt Lead Works, Holywell, to R. B. Williams, 18 Mar. 1816 and 3 Jan. 1818.

³² R. Burt, 'Lead Production in England and Wales, 1700-1770', *EcHR*, New Series, Vol. 22, No. 2, (Aug. 1969), p.257. In 1769 Hull was exporting over 10,000 tons per annum, whilst Chester dealt with 5,526 tons, but these amounts were from many mines. Bristol a year later was exporting 552 tons.

³³ Cawdor 2/42/251: Shipments of lead and current prices to those places, 15-19 Aug. 1817.

³⁴ B. R. Mitchell and P. Deane, *Abstract of British Historical Statistics* (CUP, 1962), p.169. There is a downward trend in the export of lead from 12.8 thousand tons in 1799 to 7.7 thousand tons in 1808.

³⁵ Cawdor box 131: Mr Watts of Bristol to Cawdor, 15 Feb. 1805: Beynon to Cawdor, 1 Feb. 1806.

³⁶ Ibid., Letters from George to Cawdor, and Cawdor to George, 20 Nov. 1807 to 10 Mar. 1808. George writes in Nov. 1807: 'in the present state of the Lead Market I do not see a prospect of an advance taking place, I am certain that Sheet Lead and Shot will not support the price a fortnight longer, the export Trade is almost gone. If this Branch of our Trade is to be preserve'd Parliament must take off the Duty on its being Exported.'

³⁷ Cawdor box 131: Joel Williams to Cawdor, 25 Mar. 1808.

³⁸ Ibid., Joel Williams to Cawdor, 25 Mar. 1808: Beynon to Cawdor, 26 Mar. 1808.

³⁹ Ibid., George to Cawdor, 6 Oct. 1809: Cawdor's London solicitor Charles Stevens had earlier written on Cawdor's behalf: 'As it is a speculative subject you will not take it amiss that I still entertain a different opinion from you on the state of the Lead Market; what ever little fluctuations now exists, I think a considerable Rise will take place 'ere long. [and] I am not willing ...to dispose of the remainder of the Ore which will be on hand this season unless I receive a better price. (Cawdor Box 131: Draft letter Charles Stevens to Mr George, 24 Aug. 1809).

⁴⁰ Mitchell and Deane, *Abstract of British Historical Statistics*, pp.170-1.

⁴¹ Cawdor box 131: George to Cawdor, 6 Aug. 1810.

⁴² Cawdor 2/124: Accounts of the mines 1799.

⁴³ NLW, Ms 1756B: Walter Davies's Diary, May 1812: 'About 25 years ago from 900 to 1200 tons of galan and steel or was raised quarterly—About 400 hundred men then employed.'

⁴⁴ Cawdor box 131: Charles Stevens to Cawdor, 6 Nov. 1808.

⁴⁵ Cawdor box 272: Statement by Greville to Lord Carlisle.

⁴⁶ Lewis, *Lead Mining in Wales*, p.249 citing the *Mining Journal*, 1873, p.843.

⁴⁷ Cawdor 2/172: George Oates to Mousley, 25 Feb. 1890.

⁴⁸ Ibid., 29 Mar. 1890.

⁴⁹ Lewis, *Lead Mining in Wales*, chaps. v-vii. Lewis states that Rolley was notoriously harsh towards the miners and that his fortune was made working for Cawdor's mines, p.164.

⁵⁰ Cawdor 2/74: Anon to Thomas Lewis, Llandeilo, no month 1815. When Joel Williams arrived as mine agent in 1805, 'He brought eight Cornish miners and a carpenter along with him, who appear very decent looking people...Our people, it seems only work Six hours a day: but the Cornish men work nine hours under ground, which will make a very great difference. Mr Williams seems very sanguine,

and entertains little doubt of making the work abundantly profitable.’ (Cawdor Box 131: Beynon to Cawdor, 17 Mar. 1805).

⁵¹ Cawdor 2/133: Joel Williams to R. B. Williams, 16 May 1823: ‘I cannot leave this Place to try to procure another Situation until things are settled and I am at a loss to Conceive what Situation I can get in Consequence of being rendered incapable of going under Ground.’

⁵² Cawdor 2/40/186: Lease for fourteen years between Cawdor and R. Ellis and J. Ellis both of Wenallt, miners and Lewis Pugh a coal merchant of Aberystwyth; Cawdor box 2/133: memorandum of agreement between Cawdor and Ellis Pugh and Co, 4 Mar. 1831.

⁵³ Cawdor 2/133: R. B. Williams’s copy letter to Messrs Ellis, 16 Mar. 1831.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, Jonathan Marsden, Llanfair Silver mines near Lampeter to Cawdor, 13 Mar. 1831. Copy of letter made by R. B. Williams—the latter may have corrected the spelling and grammar of Marsden’s letter before sending it on to Lord Cawdor if the earlier citation from Marsden is anything to go by: see fn. 26 above.

⁵⁵ NLW, Ms. Ellis 21: Christopher George to Ellis and Pugh, 25 June 1831: the last letter Christopher George addresses to Ellis and Pugh at Rhandirmwyn is dated 30 Sept. 1831.

⁵⁶ Cawdor 2/39/99: Lease 27 Oct. 1836.

⁵⁷ PP, 1884, LXXXV, *Mining and Mineral Statistics of United Kingdom, 1882*: Only one mine in each of Ceredigion, Denbighshire and Montgomeryshire produced more ore, and only three in Flintshire.

⁵⁸ Cawdor box 157: Mousley to Cawdor, 25 Sept. 1880.

⁵⁹ J. T. Ward, ‘Landowners and Mining’, in J. T. Ward and R. G. Wilson (eds.), *Land and Industry: the landed estate and the Industrial Revolution: a symposium* (Newton Abbot, 1971), p.91.

⁶⁰ The site was not finally sold off until 1933.

⁶¹ At one point Mirehouse panicked when Rolley’s accounts were £3,999 adrift. (Cawdor 2/39/154).

⁶² Cawdor box 131: Beynon to Cawdor, 13 June 1805. The earliest mine accounts to have survived are from 1799 when Grenville took over the estate finances.

⁶³ Cawdor box 283: Four account books: Limestone Shipped from Stackpole Quay 1819-23. These small volumes are in very poor condition and only a few of the pages are legible.

⁶⁴ According to Beckett, *Aristocracy*, p.211, ‘The major industrial concern of English landowners was coalmining.’ This held true for Welsh landowners, witness the Stepney family of Llanelli, and the prime example of the Marquesses of Bute in Glamorgan.

⁶⁵ Craig, Symons and Protheroe-Jones, *Industrial and Maritime History*, p.30. For the career of Raby, Chambers and other early industrialists in Llanelli, see Symons, *Coal Mining in the Llanelli Area*.

⁶⁶ Cawdor box 131: Beynon to Cawdor, 10 June 1804.

⁶⁷ See D. Spring, ‘The English Landed Estate in the Age of Coal and Iron: 1830-1880’, *The Journal of Economic History*, vol. xi, No. 1, (1951), pp.3-24. Spring lists amongst others the Earl Fitzwilliam and the Earl of Durham as examples of aristocrats mining directly.

⁶⁸ Cawdor box 131: Beynon to Cawdor, 6 Dec. 1804.

⁶⁹ Symons, *Coal Mining in the Llanelli Area*, p.116.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, pp.56-61 and pp.114-16.

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- ⁷¹ Craig, Symons and Protheroe-Jones, *Industrial and Maritime History*, p.42.
- ⁷² Cawdor 2/123: Estate accounts 1804; and Cawdor 267: Estate rental 1870.
- ⁷³ Cawdor box 131: Beynon to Cawdor, 12 Jan. 1808.
- ⁷⁴ Symons, *Coal Mining in the Llanelli Area*, fn. p.18; J. Davies, *Cardiff and the Marquesses of Bute* (Cardiff: UWP, 1981), p.214 and fn.4. Martin died in 1818.
- ⁷⁵ Cawdor box 131: Beynon to Cawdor, 9 June 1804.
- ⁷⁶ Craig, Symons and Protheroe-Jones, *Industrial and Maritime History*, ch. 3 for the rivalry between various industrialists.
- ⁷⁷ Cawdor box 131: Beynon to Cawdor, 24 June 1804.
- ⁷⁸ Symons, *Coal Mining in the Llanelli Area*, pp.121-22.
- ⁷⁹ In 1809 Cawdor used Lanlash (or Glanlash) colliery to trial a method of reducing fire-damp discovered by a Mr John Jones of Holborn Court, Grey's Inn, using 'a few lumps of fresh lime in the level[s]'. This was reported to have been a successful experiment: 'the carbolic acid gas produced by throwing a few lumps of lime into a little water corrects the air in the works'. Additionally 'it is cheap and a rational remedy, and ought to be generally made public'. (*Derby Mercury*, 30 Nov. 1809). Glanlash was a slant mine which survived until the early twentieth century when it was expanded and became known as the Emlyn Colliery.
- ⁸⁰ Craig, Symons and Protheroe-Jones, *Industrial and Maritime History*, p.488.
- ⁸¹ Cawdor box 158: Mousley to Cawdor, 13 Oct. 1892.
- ⁸² In 1907, the mineral receipt had reached its highest ever figure: £15,757 with £3,369 arrears.
- ⁸³ CRO, Stepney estate, SE1223: Earl Cawdor v Stepney, Copy report of Official Referee, Chancery, 12 July 1889.
- ⁸⁴ Cawdor box 141: Mousley to Cawdor, 28 Jan. 1871.
- ⁸⁵ Cawdor box 157: Mousley to Cawdor, 20 Aug. 1889.
- ⁸⁶ Cawdor box 158: Williams-Drummond to Cawdor, 16 Nov. 1896.
- ⁸⁷ Cawdor box 131: Beynon to Cawdor, 24 Feb. 1804.
- ⁸⁸ PP, 1890-91, XLI, *Royal Commission on Mining Royalties, Second Report*. At a time of industrial depression the Commission asked searching questions about the roll of landlords in the running of mines. Very few witnesses came from Carmarthenshire, and none was from Cawdor-owned properties. However, the manager of Box Colliery, Llanelli, Daniel Williams, stated that fixed, high royalties, wayleave charges and high dead rents had all hampered the development of mining in Carmarthenshire, p.50.
- ⁸⁹ Cawdor 2/35/59: Lease of 26 Mar. 1827; Cawdor 2/35/59: Lease of 3 April 1847.
- ⁹⁰ Cawdor box 235: R. B. Williams to William Chambers, 8 Feb. 1840.
- ⁹¹ Cawdor 266: Carmarthenshire estate accounts, 1863-69.
- ⁹² Davies, *Cardiff and the Marquesses of Bute*, p.226.
- ⁹³ Cawdor 268: Carmarthenshire estate account, 1883.
- ⁹⁴ Cawdor box 158: Williams-Drummond to Emlyn, 16 Nov. 1896; The collieries were leased to a mixture of larger industrial concerns such as Nevil Druce and Co, (alias the Llanelly Copperworks

Company), and the Birmingham firm of Mason and Elkington. However, most of the mines were run by local men such as John Rees, and Thomas Lewis. (Cawdor mineral accounts for 1886).

⁹⁵ Ibid., 20 Nov. 1896.

⁹⁶ Craig, Symmons and Protheroe, *Industrial and Maritime History*, p.79.

⁹⁷ Cawdor box 158: Williams-Drummond to Cawdor, 23 Nov. and 4 Dec. 1896.

⁹⁸ Ibid., Williams-Drummond to Cawdor, 8 Dec. 1896.

⁹⁹ Cawdor 269: Carmarthenshire estate rentals, 1890-99.

¹⁰⁰ Cawdor box 144: Williams-Drummond to Cawdor, 3 Jan. 1898.

¹⁰¹ Ibid., 9 Mar. 1898.

¹⁰² E. G. Bowen, 'Economic and social life', in J. E. Lloyd (ed.), *A History of Carmarthenshire*, vol. 2, ch. 4, (Cardiff, 1935), pp.337-38.

¹⁰³ F. Jones, 'The Vaughans of Golden Grove II: Anne, Duchess of Bolton', *THSC*, (1963), pp.223-50

¹⁰⁴ Cawdor box 131: Beynon to Cawdor, 26 Jan. 1809.

¹⁰⁵ Cawdor 2/145: An Estimate of the timber on the Golden Grove and Ystrad Ffin estates by David Thomas, 1811. Thomas not only lists the numbers of the trees but names the species and the size of each tree.

¹⁰⁶ T. Williamson, *Polite Landscapes* (Stroud, 1998 ed.), p.128. By the end of the eighteenth century the oak had become a metaphor for the British Nation—with trees and tree planting representing the established order.

¹⁰⁷ Cawdor box 131: Beynon to Cawdor, 3 Sept. 1808. In the same letter Beynon stated that the government had also tried to buy Golden Grove trees on two separate occasions in John Vaughan's day and had again been refused.

¹⁰⁸ Cawdor box 131: Beynon to Cawdor, 28 May 1805. Beynon did not forget about the Navy however. In 1808 he saw advertised a timber sale in Llan-non but the timbers, though not fit for estate purposes 'are fit for the Navy' (Beynon to Cawdor, 26 Mar. 1808).

¹⁰⁹ Cawdor box 235: Note concerning timber sales and amounts due, Mar. 1814.

¹¹⁰ Cawdor 2/145: estate accounts, 1815.

¹¹¹ Cawdor box 132: R. B. Williams to Cawdor, 8 April 1816.

¹¹² Cawdor 2/110: £57. 13s. 2d. was outstanding.

¹¹³ Cawdor box 157: Mousley to Cawdor, 12 Sept. 1885.

¹¹⁴ To put this into some sort of comparison, the Bute estate mineral income was over £10,000 in the 1840s and was around £40-45,000 for most of the rest of the century: Davies, *Cardiff and the Marquesses of Bute*, pp.239-40.

¹¹⁵ W. P. Griffith, *Power Politics and County Government in Wales: Anglesey 1780-1914*, p.35: D. W. Howell, *Patriarchs and Parasites: The Gentry of South-West Wales in the Eighteenth Century*, p.2, also states that the introduction of turnpikes linked remote districts with areas of more progressive husbandry.

¹¹⁶ A. H. T. Lewis, 'The Development and Administration of Roads in Carmarthenshire, 1763-1860' (M.A. Wales, Swansea, 1968), p.207.

¹¹⁷ *DNB*, Sir William Hamilton 1730-1803, diplomatist and archaeologist and art connoisseur. He left most of his estate to Greville who was his nephew and sole executor. In return Greville passed his mistress, Emma Hart, to his uncle; Lewis, 'The Development and Administration of Roads in Carmarthenshire', p.207. For the development of Milford Haven see: J. F. Rees, *The Story of Milford* (Cardiff: UWP, 1954). The Irish mails had been leaving Milford since 1787, a service established by William Knox; D. Williams, *The Rebecca Riots*, pp.26-7; R. Thorne and R. Howell, 'Pembrokeshire in Wartime, 1793-1815', in B. Howells (ed.), *Pembrokeshire County History*, vol. iii, *Early Modern Pembrokeshire*, pp.374-75.

¹¹⁸ Cawdor box 132: South Wales Road Association, minutes of the general meeting held at the Thatch'd House, St James's Street, London, 23 May 1805. In 1806 a 'Telegraph Coach' service was established three days a week from Fleet Street to Carmarthen, via Gloucester, thus avoiding the crossing of the Severn estuary by ferry. The list of subscribers includes four or five names from the Road Association, most notably Lord Milford, who had reason to back alternative schemes to Cawdor. However the latter's name is absent as is Dynevor's and Greville's. (*Cambrian*, 4 Jan. 1806).

¹¹⁹ Griffith, *Power, Politics and County Government in Wales*, p.180.

¹²⁰ John Frederick Campbell, Earl Cawdor, *A letter to RT Hon Sir R Peel on a Southern Communication with Ireland* (London, 1842), p.5.

¹²¹ PP, 1831-32, XVII, *Select Committee on Post Office Communication with Ireland: Report, Minutes of Evidence*, Appendix 1831-1832, evidence of Lord Cawdor, p.321.

¹²² Anon., 'Carmarthenshire and Pembrokeshire Road improvement', *Cambrian Quarterly Magazine*, Vol. II, No. 6, (April, 1830), pp.246-47.

¹²³ Sir Thomas Byam Martin was a career naval officer, who became admiral in 1830, vice admiral of the UK in 1847 and Admiral of the UK two years later. He was also MP for Plymouth from 1818-1831.

¹²⁴ BL, Add. 41369 ff.125 and 128: Cawdor to T. B. Martin and the latter's reply, 1841.

¹²⁵ Earl Cawdor, *A letter to RT Hon Sir R Peel*, p.3.

¹²⁶ *Ibid.*, pp.14-15.

¹²⁷ Cawdor box 131: Beynon to Cawdor, 6 Oct 1809. Beynon continued in this letter to air the surveyor Evan Hopkins' concerns over part of the route which went near a precipice at Aberbranddu: 'if a Traveller fell from the upper Road he would first of all break his neck, and then tumble into the River and be drowned; whereas if he fell from this road, he would only simply be drowned, but it would save his neck'. Beynon's sniggers are almost audible!

¹²⁸ Cawdor box 131: Beynon to Cawdor, 8 June 1808.

¹²⁹ *Ibid.*, Beynon to Cawdor, 20 Aug. 1808.

¹³⁰ *Ibid.*, Beynon to Cawdor, 20 Aug. 1808.

¹³¹ *Ibid.*, William Davys to Beynon, 2 Sept. 1808.

¹³² *Ibid.*, Beynon to Cawdor, 16 Feb. 1809; Howell, *Patriarchs and Parasites*, p.2: 'This introduction of turnpikes was indeed to play a crucial role in providing the inhabitants of hitherto remote districts with a knowledge of more progressive methods of husbandry being practised in adjacent areas.'

¹³³ Cawdor box 131: Beynon to Cawdor, 5 Sept. 1808.

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- ¹³⁴ See Map of the Turnpike Trust roads included to the Commission of Inquiry, 1844.
- ¹³⁵ Ibid.
- ¹³⁶ Cawdor box 131: Beynon to Cawdor, 5 Sept. 1808.
- ¹³⁷ Ibid., Beynon to Cawdor, 25 Dec. 1809.
- ¹³⁸ T. Williamson, *Polite Landscapes* (Sutton, 1998), p.103.
- ¹³⁹ Cawdor box 132: Beynon to Cawdor, 7 Jan. 1815.
- ¹⁴⁰ Cawdor 2/43/338-339: List of Original Trustees of the Three Commotts Trust.
- ¹⁴¹ Cawdor box 132: Beynon to Cawdor, 7 Jan. 1815.
- ¹⁴² Cawdor box 131: Beynon to Cawdor, 9 Sept. 1809.
- ¹⁴³ Ibid., Beynon to Cawdor, 25 Dec. 1809.
- ¹⁴⁴ D. W. Howell, *Land and People in Nineteenth-Century Wales*, p. xi: 'Communications were atrociously bad, the few improved turnpike roads forming only a small proportion of the entire road system'.
- ¹⁴⁵ *CJ*, editorial 13 Sept. 1833.
- ¹⁴⁶ Cawdor box 137: Cawdor to Sir James Graham, 7 July 1843.
- ¹⁴⁷ Williams, *Rebecca Riots*, p.281; however to reinforce authority in Carmarthenshire Cawdor headed the list of those gentry who had 'determined to build a barracks in Carmarthen'. Cawdor donated £300 and Dynevor £200 towards this. (*Freeman's Journal and Daily Commercial Advertiser*, 29 July 1843).
- ¹⁴⁸ Hansard, third series, vol. LXXVI, 1844, 331-1332.
- ¹⁴⁹ Ibid, col. 1944.
- ¹⁵⁰ Pembrokeshire Record Office, PCC/SE/38/1: Minutes of the Pembrokeshire County Roads Board, 1845-63.
- ¹⁵¹ CRO, TT4: County Roads Board minute book. In 1850 the tolls of the three districts were let to Henry Hodges of Brookfield, Bristol, for a total £9,020. In 1854 the Three Commotts district was let to Thomas White of Wincanton, Somersetshire, for £2,675 while the tolls for the other two districts were let to William Lewis of Swansea for £5,435.
- ¹⁵² CRO, MUS 523: Account of Expenditure of Carmarthenshire Turnpike Trusts, 1845; Cawdor Box 234: Particulars of Turnpike Trust Tallies belonging to Lord Cawdor...and of the sums awarded in lieu thereof by the South Wales Turnpike Trust Commissioners, 1 Jan. 1845.
- ¹⁵³ Cawdor box 137: Turnpike Tallies belonging to Lord Cawdor, 25 Jan. 1834. The Three Commotts Trust covered the Lordship of Kidwelly (with Cawdor as Lord of the Manor) and consisted of the commotts of Iskennen, which included the parishes of Llanfihangel Aberbythych, Llandilo, Llandebie, Llanarthney and Llandddarog; the Commott of Kidwelly, which included the parishes of Llangenderyn, Llangunnor, Llandefalog, Pembrey, Kidwelly, and St Ishmael; and the Commott of Carnawllon which included the parishes of Llanon, Llanedy, Llangennech and Llanelly. The Cawdors had a major interest in this Trust and thus would have had a large say as to where road building was carried out.
- ¹⁵⁴ PP, 1864, IX, *Select Committee on Expediency and Practicability of abolishing Turnpike Trusts*: evidence of J. H. Scourfield, MP, p.72.
- ¹⁵⁵ Cawdor box 131: Beynon to Cawdor, 18 May 1806.

¹⁵⁶ Thorne and Howell, 'Pembrokeshire in Wartime', p.367.

¹⁵⁷ CRO, Stepney 1088: William Hopkins to Sir John Stepney, 31 Mar. 1793.

¹⁵⁸ James Cockshutt was an engineer who was employed by Cawdor to design the lake dam and seven-arch bridge at Stackpole, for which see ch. 7 below. (Cawdor box 228: letters from Cockshutt to Cawdor, 1793-1795).

¹⁵⁹ Cawdor box 228: J. Cockshutt to John Campbell, 29 July 1793. Cockshutt was also employed on several canal projects in England.

¹⁶⁰ Ibid.

¹⁶¹ Thomas Sheasby (1740-1799) was the engineer of the Glamorgan Canal. See C. Hadfield, *The Canals of South Wales and the Borders* (Cardiff: UWP, 1960).

¹⁶² Cawdor box 228: Cockshutt to Campbell, 22 Dec. 1793.

¹⁶³ Ibid.

¹⁶⁴ CRO, Stepney 1088: William Hopkins to Lady Stepney, 12 Nov. 1793. Hopkins had written a few months earlier to Sir John Stepney that 'If it [the canal] should come there it will prove a very beneficial thing to your estate in this Country, I wish you would please to write to Mr Cambel[sic] to make him an offer of your smelting house, which would be much better for him than to Cary his ore to Carmarthen where he pays a heavy freight for the Coals from Llanelly to Smelt it there, when he might have the Coals worked at Pincoed within 300 yards of the smelting house.' (Stepney 1088: 31 Mar. 1793).

¹⁶⁵ CRO, Stepney 1088: A. Powell to Lady Stepney, 18 Jan. 1794.

¹⁶⁶ Ibid. Lady Stepney, writing from Bath where she was taking the waters, noted that 'she had been inform'd all thoughts of a Canal has[sic] been dropped', 13 Feb no year but 1794.

¹⁶⁷ Cawdor box 131: 'LS of the neighbourhood of Llandovery' to Cawdor, post marked 1 June 1810.

¹⁶⁸ W. H. Morris and G. R. Jones, 'The Canals of the Gwendraeth Valley', pt. 2, *CA*, Vol., viii, (1972), p.29

¹⁶⁹ *Cambrian*, 29 June; 3 and 31 Aug. 1811.

¹⁷⁰ Morris and Jones, 'The Canals of the Gwendraeth Valley', op. cit., p.30.

¹⁷¹ *Cambrian*, 31 Aug. 1811.

¹⁷² Cawdor box 132: John Rees to Lord Cawdor, 11 Mar. 1813. Rees also ensures Cawdor that he had nothing to do with the framing of the bill or the exclusion of his Lordship which so offended.

¹⁷³ Beckett, *Aristocracy*, p.239.

¹⁷⁴ Cawdor 2/70: Cawdor to E. R. Tunno, grant of a right of making and using a rail road for twenty nine years, from 1828. As part of the undertaking the company agreed to keep a wet dock they were building a public dock, for the use of others, rather than exclusively for the Llangennech Coal Company. (Cawdor to Llangennech Coal Company, deed of covenant to make a wet dock, 21 April 1828).

¹⁷⁵ Cawdor box 137: R. B. Williams to Cawdor, 8 June 1828.

¹⁷⁶ Symons, *Coal Mining in Llanelli*, pp.231-32.

¹⁷⁷ Beckett, *Aristocracy*, p.239.

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- ¹⁷⁸ CRO, unlisted GWR; The House of Lords, Minutes of Evidence concerning the Llanelly Railway and Docks Bill evidence of Lord Cawdor, 17 July 1861.
- ¹⁷⁹ Cawdor box 141: Mousley to Cawdor, 18 June 1871.
- ¹⁸⁰ Ibid., Mousley to Cawdor, 18 June 1871.
- ¹⁸¹ Cawdor box 142: Mousley to Cawdor, 20 Feb. 1872.
- ¹⁸² Ibid., Mousley to Cawdor, 28 July 1879. Mousley was not pleased that the monies had been wasted – each year Lord Cawdor paid about £60 interest which was his share of the money borrowed for the expenses of trying to establish this railway. The agent comments that when he made the payment in 1876 ‘I thought there was no harm in my giving them a bit of my own mind’.(Ibid., 2 Aug 1879).
- ¹⁸³ L. Baker-Jones, *‘Princelings, Privilege and Power’: The Tivyside Gentry in their Community* (Llandysul: Gomer, 1999), p.103.
- ¹⁸⁴ Ibid.,, for the Tyler family.
- ¹⁸⁵ *CJ*, 19 Jan. 1877.
- ¹⁸⁶ Baker-Jones, *Princelings, Privilege and Power*, p.85, citing Tyler re the lack of commitment of the ‘Tivyside’ gentry concerning the railway.
- ¹⁸⁷ *Cambrian*, 27 July 1844. The company needed to raise £2.5 million, in 50,000 fifty-pound shares.
- ¹⁸⁸ Cawdor box 149: John Cole, Adelphi Terrace, London to Cawdor, 27 Dec. 1849.
- ¹⁸⁹ Cawdor box 245: Emlyn’s diary entry reads: 17 Sept: ‘Ball at Carmarthen. Public Breakfast Opening of the Railway—Fireworks etc I went alone and came back at 4 AM’.
- ¹⁹⁰ Beckett, *Aristocracy*, p.240.
- ¹⁹¹ J. R. Kellett, *The Impact of the Railways on Victorian Cities* (London, 1969), pp.92-93, comments that even in the 1890s the urban working class would have found rail travel too expensive. This would have equally applied to the rural poor of south-west Wales.
- ¹⁹² Cawdor box 158: Williams-Drummond to Emlyn, 11 Dec. 1896.
- ¹⁹³ *CJ*, 18 April 1845.
- ¹⁹⁴ On the South Wales Railway’s arrival at Milford the *Carmarthen Journal* for 13 Jan. 1854 commented that: ‘The commerce of the major part of the Empire – must of necessity become concentrated upon this point.’
- ¹⁹⁵ One of the problems with the South Wales Railway was that it used the Standard Gauge of the GWR, which was, by the 1860s, being superseded by the Narrow gauge of other railways, mainly because of expense. The Midland railways had used the narrow gauge from their inception.
- ¹⁹⁶ Cawdor box 158: Williams-Drummond to Emlyn, 22 Feb. 1895.
- ¹⁹⁷ Cawdor box 141: Mousley to Cawdor, 28 Oct. 1871.
- ¹⁹⁸ Cawdor box 157: Mousley to Cawdor, 25 Sept. 1880.
- ¹⁹⁹ Cawdor box 141: Mousley to Cawdor, 30 July 1863.
- ²⁰⁰ Cawdor box 137: C. R. M. Talbot to H. P. Jones, Mayor of Pembroke, 28 June 1856.
- ²⁰¹ Ibid., Cawdor to H. P. Jones, note added to latter’s letter, c.12 Sept 1856.
- ²⁰² H. Williams, *Davies the Ocean: Railway King and Coal Tycoon* (Cardiff: UWP, 1991), p.92.
- ²⁰³ *Welshman*, 7 Sept. 1866.

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- ²⁰⁴ Kellett, *The Impact of the Railways*, p.26.
- ²⁰⁵ Cawdor box 141: Farrer to Cawdor, 7 May 1868.
- ²⁰⁶ Cawdor box 156: Farrer to Cawdor, 14-20 July 1887 and 11 Jan. 1888.
- ²⁰⁷ A. Vaughan, *Railwaymen, Politics and Money: The great age of Railways in Britain* (London, 1997), p.261.
- ²⁰⁸ CRO, DB103/b/1/3: Burry Port and Gwendraeth Valley Railway, preference share ledger, 1880-c.1922.
- ²⁰⁹ D. W. Howell, 'The impact of the Railways on Agricultural Development in the nineteenth Century', *WHR*, No. 1, (June 1974), p.58.
- ²¹⁰ Vaughan, *Railwaymen, Politics and Money*, p.192.
- ²¹¹ G. R. Hawke, *Railways and Economic Growth in England and Wales* (OUP, 1970), p.75 After the take over of the South Wales Railway by the GWR the company made great efforts to increase its share in the London coal market with supplies from south Wales.
- ²¹² Cawdor box 157: Emlyn to Cawdor 5 Jan. 1893.
- ²¹³ E. T. MacDermont revised C. R. Clinker, *History of the Great Western Railway*, vol. II, 1863-1914 (London, 1927, rev. 1964), p.225.
- ²¹⁴ This is in marked contrast to many other aristocrats who became directors and, as such, 'emerged from the shires for monthly meetings and then went home, while sub-committees did all the work and took most of the important decisions'. (D. Cannadine, *The Decline and Fall of the British Aristocracy*, p.648).
- ²¹⁵ Cawdor box 251: Lord Emlyn's notebook concerning GWR affairs, 1889-90.

5. The Cawdors and the Community:

5.1 Religion, Education and Charities

In nineteenth-century Wales, the Anglican Church was a long time, firstly, in stirring from its eighteenth-century physical and moral decay,¹ and, secondly, recovering to a point where it could hold its own with the nonconformist denominations. Only at the end of the century was the *Carmarthen Journal* able to say of the Anglican church in Wales that it ‘is doing admirable work at the present time, and ...she has not been so popular for at least a hundred years’.² For most of that century the nonconformists of Wales were not only in a majority but became increasingly distanced from, and critical of, the Anglican Church. And in this process of alienation they became radicalised by a prolonged anti-church campaign waged in the Welsh-language denominational and popular press. The Anglican Church was rightly seen by the leaders of nonconformity as providing spiritual justification and succour for the landed elite; as David Cannadine states, ‘the church of England was truly the landed establishment at prayer’.³ Welsh nonconformists who, by the mid-nineteenth century, had a far more powerful voice within their communities than did their counterparts in the various shires in England, opposed the established church over a variety of issues. English-speaking bishops, church rates, education, tithes, all rankled, and out of these vexations there emerged a growing call for the disestablishment and disendowment of the Anglican Church in Wales, a call which became increasingly vociferous after the Irish church was disestablished in 1869. (It is necessary, however, to recognise that insofar as the Diocese of St. David’s was concerned ‘the provision of Welsh-language services was substantial’ and belied some of the ‘outspoken comments made about the Englishness of the Church in the heated campaign for Disestablishment’).⁴ In the years before 1885 the call for disestablishment in Wales was framed very much along the lines of English Liberationism—that church and state in all countries should be separated on principle. However, from the mid-1880s the argument for disestablishment changed its nature by becoming closely associated with the surging spirit of Welsh nationality. Indeed, the campaign for disestablishment was the main goal of Welsh nationalism.⁵

The fast growth of population in Wales during the first half of the nineteenth century in rural and especially the urban areas centred on the coalfields of south-east and north-east Wales was a phenomenon which the Established Church was ill-equipped to deal with, since it was parish bound and beset with government bureaucracy. Thus the building of new churches and the creating of new parishes was hampered by the need to get parliamentary sanction for change. In stark contrast, the nonconformist denominations could build wherever they could acquire a plot of land and so they were well-placed to meet the religious needs of the expanding population.⁶ Hence the tardiness of the church 'paled before the extraordinary mobility of the Nonconformists'.⁷ This is well illustrated in the towns of Carmarthen and Llanelli. Until 1839, St Peter's parish, Carmarthen, which was coterminous with the town, only had the ancient church of that name, which provided seating for 800, to administer a population of about 10,000. In contrast, by 1851 the nonconformists of the town had built 12 chapels with accommodation for 5,543 or just over 50% of the population. Again, in Llanelli, which had a population of over 13,000 in 1851, only St Elli provided for Anglicans, until St Paul's was built in 1850. In the half century to 1851, the nonconformists of the town had built no less than 15 chapels.⁸ K. D. M. Snell, states that 'From the 1840s, new churches, church restorations, mission halls and the like were undertaken, but the scale of the Welsh changes was much smaller than in England, and never kept pace with the advance of Welsh Nonconformist chapels and institutions.'⁹

Even so, some efforts were being made to increase the number of Anglican churches in England and Wales in the early decades of the century.¹⁰ The government, in response to a petition of the Evangelicals in 1817,¹¹ began to provide grants for church building from 1818 through its newly-created central authority, the Church Building Commissioners.¹² In Wales however the Church Building Commissioners was of little use, since grants were only provided for parishes of 4,000 or more inhabitants and only one grant was given.¹³ Nor did a second Act, in 1824, yield any significant improvement. Only two churches within St David's Diocese were given grants—at Swansea and Carmarthen. The Anglicans in Carmarthen town applied for a new church to be built named St Paul's. Lord Cawdor offered a plot of land in Lammas Street.¹⁴ Unfortunately, the land was discovered to be too soft to build foundations and the building of the church

was abandoned though the offer of grant-in-aid was continued until a St David's church was built, on a different site, in 1838.¹⁵ A church was eventually built (Christ Church) on the site originally offered by Cawdor but not until the 1860s.¹⁶

'By the early 1830s', Gilbert observes, 'the impetus towards ecclesiastical reform had assumed irresistible proportions within Church and State alike.'¹⁷ The establishment of the Royal Commission into Ecclesiastical Revenues in 1832 'marked the beginning of a serious parliamentary commitment to Church reform'.¹⁸ It produced its Report on the finances of the church in June 1835.¹⁹ Earlier, in April 1835, Peel had instituted a new Commission to 'consider the State of the Established Church', which, in 1836, under Lord Melbourne's Whig ministry, was renamed the Ecclesiastical Commission, a dynamic body which quickly became the main agent for reforming the administration and organisation of the Church of England, and which included administering the Incorporated Church Building Society.²⁰ It was the last-named Society which was to emphasise the problem of church dilapidation in rural Wales when stating in 1851 that: 'Many of the churches in Wales are in a much more dilapidated condition than any in England, and yet, like those in the latter country, are susceptible of complete restoration.'²¹ Nevertheless, insofar as the Diocese of St David's was concerned, a noticeable activity in church building was discernible in the 1840s. Bishop Connop Thirlwall noted that fifteen new churches had been built and forty restored in the Diocese in the decade 1841-51, and it is from that decade that the church can be said to have really begun in earnest its long but uncomfortable road to recovery.²² At the same time reform within the church had also come in the form of the Oxford Movement, whose adherents desired a purer, Anglo-Catholic church. The Oxford Movement,²³ though of limited influence in Wales, did, in the area of church building, have a wider impact, in that the Gothic style was endorsed by the Movement.

A. J. Johnes in his prize *Essay* of 1832 was critical of those who attacked the landowners for not doing enough church building: 'they, it is said ought to build chapels of ease. My own opinion is that if the Church did her duty, they [the gentry] would do theirs.'²⁴ Certainly, as demonstrated in the previous paragraph, their earlier apathy gave way to a heightened activity from the mid-century onwards as a response to the disturbed nature of society at this time—manifested in Wales in the Rebecca riots and in the

Chartist activity of the late 1830s and the early 1840s. Such social unrest, coupled with the widespread attempted revolutions in continental Europe in 1848, must have jolted the ruling class into activity far more than parliamentary commissions relating to the administration of the church. The Established church was perceived by the upper landed elite of society as the moral policeman of England and Wales. As was observed at the outset of this chapter, the rule of the church went hand in hand with the rule of the landed proprietor: they shored each other up in support of a hierarchical and paternalistic society where the morally superior assisted, cajoled and where necessary punished to ensure Society was kept comfortable and orderly. It was such an ethos that underlay the Cawdor family's support of the church. The closeness of the family to the church was emphasized when the first Earl, in 1841, employed a private chaplain, the Revd Ryce W. Lloyd, at Stackpole Court.²⁵ This may be an indication that the family were becoming more serious with regards to their Christian duties—a trend apparent in much of society as a whole (it was notable that the first Baron Cawdor (d.1821) had only attended church spasmodically²⁶). Even so, the Cawdors produced no theologians, and only two members of the family followed church careers, with only a solitary family member appearing to be outwardly pious. Rather, they supported the church through their involvement in charitable concerns, through sitting on Boards of Guardians, through granting lands for spiritual and educational purposes and through kindly treatment of their tenants. Perhaps unsurprisingly, the pious family member referred to was a female, Sarah Mary Campbell, Countess Cawdor, who may have been influenced by the Evangelical movement.²⁷ Her diary entry for 15 April 1878, apart from its testimony to the poor state of attendance at a south Pembrokeshire church at an important time in the Christian calendar, conveys her conscientious approach to the spiritual and moral well-being of members of her locality: '(Easter Term Begins a Monday): To Cheriton Church in Morning where there was no congregation excepting Evie and I and Mrs Brown and her three children and old Canton. Mr. Brown feebly pulled the Bell for a short time, but it brought no one to church. After a very short service I went up to the Village and paid Several visits.'²⁸ She did, however, manage to fill the same church, in November 1878, with tenants and servants, when she gave the reading, though miserably according to her own reckoning.²⁹

Even though Sarah Campbell's piety stood out, there is good reason to assert that the family's adherence to the Anglican Church sprang not just from its recognition that its teachings upheld the hierarchical order of society; the family, as did other aristocratic families, genuinely believed that only Anglican doctrine represented true Christian religion as laid down in Holy Scripture, albeit as interpreted by the clergy. If we look for instance, at the attitude of the landed elite towards the coming of the Board schools in 1870, then it is quite clear that they opposed the school board legislation but not just because of the extra financial burden that it would impose on the parishioners via the rates but also because of a genuinely held belief that only in the voluntary schools (most of which were National schools) would children be taught the true religion as laid down in the Bible, though as interpreted by church leaders. The second earl put his name to a letter in the *Pembrokeshire Herald* in which he and archdeacon Clark referring to the 1870 Act stated that 'it has this one dark blot upon it—in that it casts a slight upon the Christian religion, and is in plain and direct contradiction to the principles inculcated by the inspired word of God.'³⁰ When the nonconformists began to call for a disestablished church in Wales, the same criticism applied: if the church taught the true religion, then its disestablishment would be sacrilegious. It was also feared that 'wholesale asset stripping'³¹ of the church would be undertaken, a view no doubt shared by the Cawdors who had, from at least the mid-century, invested large sums of money in their support of the call to assist in the revival of the church.

Although evidence of financial support given by the Cawdors, for both church building and the establishment of schools, in the early decades of the nineteenth century is relatively sparse,³² such financial support came to be made on a regular basis from the middle of the century. Evidence points to the fact that it was from the late 1840s that the first Earl Cawdor became deeply involved with the renovation and restoration of churches and the foundation of schools. In so far as the latter was concerned the 1840s 'were to be years of considerable significance'³³ with regards to education in that both the established church and nonconformist denominations increased their efforts to provide education for the poor. The Rebecca riots and the Chartist uprising at Newport had brought Wales to the attention of the government, which, shaken by such manifestation of unrest which it believed was connected with educational neglect, in 1846 appointed a

Commission of Inquiry into the state of education in Wales.³⁴ The furore occasioned by the publication of the *Report* published in 1847 stemming from the three Commissioners' ill-considered indictment of the moral standards of the Welsh people is well-known.³⁵ What is of concern here is the educational response to the *Report* which, rightly, and meeting with a general acceptance, had pointed to the lamentable provision of elementary education in both rural and industrial areas of Wales.³⁶ 'The grim state of education portrayed in the 1847 report', observe Jones and Roderick, 'galvanized the agencies responsible for school provision.'³⁷ Similar faith in the ameliorating influence of schooling can be identified further afield: 'The answer to Chartism, nearly everyone agreed, lay in more churches and more schools.'³⁸ Similarly, F. M. L. Thompson observes that education 'took pride of place as the panacea prescribed by Victorians in authority when they sensed any whiff of social or moral decay'.³⁹

The marked increase in school building in Wales in the 1840s would continue in the following decades, most of the provision in the countryside, as was the case in English counties,⁴⁰ in the form of Church schools. In 1868-9 across Wales, there were 890 schools in receipt of a government grant—voluntary schools were 'inspected' from 1839 and thereby received grant-aid⁴¹ —a mere 274 of these schools (30 per cent) being maintained through the British and Foreign School Society, which was supported by the nonconformist denominations. In Carmarthenshire, of the total 83 schools, just 35 (29 per cent) were British schools; in Pembrokeshire British schools numbered just 23 (15 per cent) of a total 67 schools.⁴² Notwithstanding the numerical superiority of nonconformists in Wales over their Anglican counterparts by the 1840s, and despite the valiant efforts of the British Society's agent, Revd William Roberts of Blaenafon, from the 1850s in bringing additional British schools to south Wales,⁴³ nonconformist denominations were unable to keep pace in the building of schools, mainly because the wealthy members of the community, above all the landowners and industrialists, were Anglican and supporters of National schools.

Landowners supported Anglican National Schools on their estates by means of annual subscriptions and gifts of sites.⁴⁴ Ideally, these schools fitted village boys and girls 'to their proper station in life' and to become God-fearing⁴⁵ rather than to inculcate them with a very rudimentary literacy and numeracy, while the Biblical instruction of Jeremiah

to 'Train up the child in the way he should go, and when he is old he will not depart from it'⁴⁶ may have been sub-consciously informing the increased activity from the 1840s: in E. R. Norman's words, 'it upheld a natural hierarchy of mutual obligations which were thought to provide social cohesion'.⁴⁷

The discussion will now turn to examining in detail the contribution of the Cawdors to churches and schools on their estates over the course of the nineteenth century. Helpfully, an (undated) document entitled 'Churches, Schools etc., since 1848' lists Cawdor estate expenditure in both Carmarthenshire and Pembrokeshire on churches, schools and a few miscellaneous charities. The largest figures are those relating to church building work, which comprised a sum of £11,800 out of a total expenditure of £16,884. From the monies spent on church work the largest sums were for the churches of Cheriton (£2,650), Llanfihangel Aberbythych (£2,000), and Castlemartin (£1,869). St Petrox was given £892 whilst Bosherton and Warren churches received £688 and £666 respectively. These churches were close to the seats of the estates in the two counties and so their restoration would have also enhanced the attractiveness of those estates.⁴⁸ Architecturally, the Gothic revival was in vogue and Cawdor employed one of its chief advocates, George Gilbert Scott, from around 1851 when he was at the height of his career.⁴⁹ His rebuilt Stackpole church (in 1851-52), with its solid decorated detail, notably the roof, which stands out with Ferrey's rebuilt Cilgerran church (in 1852-53) as representing 'that first phase of ecclesiology as defined by the Cambridge Camden Society, later the Ecclesiological Society, rooted in fourteenth century decorated culled from the best English examples'.⁵⁰ Constraints of cost explain why there were not similar restorations elsewhere, Cawdor's bill, at £1,800, if not excessive by English standards, far outstripping the norm that ranged between £500 and £1,200.⁵¹ Just as Cawdor used Scott for this one restoration only in Pembrokeshire, so, too, in Carmarthenshire, did he employ him to design but a single church, namely, his estate church at Golden Grove, in 1849.⁵² As already indicated, his employing Scott and other Gothic architects does not necessarily indicate that the first Earl Cawdor was overtly influenced by the Oxford Movement, since Gothic was at this time the in-vogue architectural style for church design. By 1855 Cawdor was employing another advocate of the Gothic, namely, the London architect and church restorer, David Brandon.⁵³ Not only did he restore the

Cawdor churches at Bosherton (1856), Warren (1856), Castlemartin (1857), St Twynells (1858) and Wiston (1864-65)—Lord Cawdor owned the Wiston estate—but under Cawdor's patronage he also came by restoration commissions at Penally (1850) and Carew (1856).⁵⁴ During this period he asked Cawdor for £1,600 to pay a carpenter, a Mr Baneti, and a Tenby builder, a Mr J. Rogers, a sum paid out of Lord Cawdor's private account.⁵⁵ The bank account books of the Earl sometimes show large amounts being withdrawn. For instance, Brandon received two payments in 1858-59, one for £993. 11s. 6d. and another for £541. 10s. Again, from August to December 1854 the architect Richard Kyrke Penson⁵⁶ received £500. Two builders, the aforementioned J. Rogers of Tenby and W. P. James of Cardiff, also received regular payments of monies in, usually, £100 payments. James worked on the restoration of Cheriton Church to Scott's specification.⁵⁷ The aforementioned Penson became the County Bridge Surveyor for Carmarthen in October 1848, on the understanding that he gave up the same position in Cardigan.⁵⁸ He worked as Cawdor's overseer of work on the Pembrokeshire churches for an eighteen-month period beginning in 1853.⁵⁹ However, his church restoration work in Pembrokeshire undertaken on Cawdor's behalf was confined to one church only, St Petrox, in 1853; following the financial difficulties of the contractor, Cawdor quarrelled with Penson, and, as has been shown, gave the restoration commissions for his other churches to David Brandon.⁶⁰ However, the work undertaken on Cawdor's behalf by Penson was to the detriment of his own architect's business and of the management of his limestone quarry at Cilyrychen, in the parish of Llandybie, Carmarthenshire. Towards the end of his period with the estate he thus wrote complainingly to Cawdor: 'I cannot help feeling the greatest annoyance that the unfortunate circumstances in which I have been placed during the last 12 months have compelled me to abstain from exercising that immediate and personal supervision over my business affairs which is so necessary to success.'⁶¹ However, in a later letter he thanks his employer for the 'uncommon kindness your Lordship has shown me in sending me a draft for a sum exceeding the amount of my account'.⁶²

The *Returns of the number of churches in Dioceses in England [and Wales] built or restored at Cost exceeding £500, 1840–1876* indicates that none of the churches in either Carmarthenshire or Pembrokeshire where the Cawdor influence was greatest received

grants from the Church Building Society.⁶³ In other words they were restored or rebuilt with funds raised entirely at the expense of the first Earl. In the case of the six churches in south Pembrokeshire, at Castlemartin, Bosherton, St Petrox, Stackpole Elidir, St Twinnels and Warren where Cawdor spent £8,990 over the period 1851-58, this activity not only supports the theory that Cawdor was a High Church man, but rather contradicts, at least in this instance—if occurring in a weak nonconformist area of Pembrokeshire—the nonconformist’s criticism of the Anglican Church that it was financially assisted in its revival by government grants.⁶⁴ The largest single amount spent was at Stackpole Elidir (Cheriton)—£3,000. In the late 1870s the second Earl spent a further £3,171 at Cheriton building a new rectory.⁶⁵

Although church restorations were also carried out by the second Earl in Carmarthenshire at this time the work undertaken was not as extensive as that carried out in Pembrokeshire. This may have been due to the more dispersed nature of the Carmarthenshire property, though the county was noticeably stronger in nonconformity. Llanfihangel Aberbythych church (within which parish stood Golden Grove mansion), however, was extensively restored, even though it had been kept in good order by Thomas Beynon the incumbent there during the years 1777-1817. In 1838 the diocese applied to the Incorporated Church Building Society for a grant to re-build Llanfihangel Aberbythych church but was unsuccessful, the application being withdrawn at an early stage.⁶⁶ Was it decided that a re-building was not necessary in view of the work carried out under the supervision and at the expense of Thomas Beynon? Or had Cawdor already decided to rebuild at his own expense? Whatever the reason, by the early 1840s the first Earl had spent £2,000 on the church, again employing Sir George Gilbert Scott. Later on the second Earl spent £2,620 on the Golden Grove rectory, as well as smaller sums on vicarages, and rebuilding the church at Ystradffin. He also gave £600 towards the restoration of St Elli Church, Llanelli.⁶⁷

Two other churches, Penboyr and that at Rhandirmwyn, as well as the Anglican chapel at Ystradffin were also rebuilt by the second Earl. Penboyr church which, again, had been rebuilt entirely at the expense of Thomas Beynon in the early part of the nineteenth century, was rebuilt at the second Earl Cawdor’s own expense in 1864. J. Rogers of Tenby was once again the builder, and Cawdor spent £1,825.⁶⁸ At Rhandirmwyn, on

Cawdor's Ystradffin estate, St Barnabas church, with its 'magnificent ten-sided font with angle shafts' was built in 1878, designed by the architect J. L. Pearson.⁶⁹ The first Baron Cawdor had contemplated building a new Anglican chapel at Ystradffin, to replace the old building as early as 1805. Beynon was asked to take legal advice regarding the removal of the existing chapel 'from its ancient site', but this would have lost Cawdor the right of presenting the living.⁷⁰ However, by the 1870s the idea of a new chapel on a site more central to the mining population was broached with Mousley. A new chapel was built in 1876-78, by Messrs Wall and Hook, builders of Stroud.⁷¹

Several churches received much smaller sums—maintenance rather than restoration—of £50, £25 or £10. Other items included in the list 'Churches, Schools etc., since 1848' include Altar cloth for Warren, Bosherton and Castlemartin churches, and Communion Plate for Warren and St Twynnells. From the late 1840s to the 1890s both Earl Cawdor and Lord Emlyn paid numerous reverend gentlemen sums ranging from £10 to £180. Their Lordships' bank account books do not specify for what purpose the vicars received the money, but the likelihood is that their requests were for the upkeep of either church, vicarage or school.⁷² Such restoration and maintenance of churches furnishes a very clear statement of the Cawdors' objective of fully supporting the (minority) established church, a commitment for which they were attacked in the nonconformist press, as will be shown below. Although an ulterior motive for church building by the Cawdors as well as other landowners in England and Wales was the buttressing of political interest, at the same time, and to reiterate, an important motivation was their desire to uphold the established church as a bulwark of social order and to produce a God-fearing local population.⁷³

Much of the correspondence between the agents and Earls Cawdor regarding the church relate to amounts of money the estate should pay towards supporting various churches.⁷⁴ As in other areas such as charity and school subscriptions, the amount given depended largely on how much rental the estate received from a particular parish. Despite the revival of the established church's fortunes, some parishes continued to suffer from church accommodation which was in as poor a condition as many of the farm buildings and labourers' cottages. Thus Mousley wrote in 1872: 'St Thomas's is a frightful building, and is in a disgraceful state. It is of no use to any of Your Lordship's Tenants. Your income from the Parish is about £460 a year—I think they need not spend £3,000—

And perhaps you had better reserve your answer [regarding a subscription] until you hear more about it.⁷⁵ Although he does not specify in which parish St Thomas's church lies—though the likelihood is that it was in St Ishmaels, Ferryside, which church was re-built in 1875-6 by T. E. C. Streatfield, replacing a Georgian church of 1825-26⁷⁶—his letter raises concerns both as to the physical state of the building and the amount of financial help the estate should contribute, concerns which are reiterated time and time again, in relation to farm buildings and farm houses as well as to churches and schools.

With regard to religion and, as we shall see, education of the poor, the estate's overwhelming support was, as shown above, to the Established Church. However, since a majority of the population who attended a Christian place of worship in the two counties attended nonconformist chapels, and since a majority of the tenants on the estate were nonconformists, the Earls Cawdor would have been unwise to ignore the religious needs of this majority. Whether for political, pragmatic, or altruistic reasons the estate gave or sold land, on occasion, to the nonconformist sects. In doing so, they were typical of other Welsh landlords. However, as the leading landed family in the two counties, any hint of reluctance on the part of the Cawdors towards satisfying the needs of the chapel community was exploited to the fullest extent by the radical Welsh press. The second Earl Cawdor was, according to one anti-landlord writer, 'a Church and Tory landlord, and, like 100s of other 'Church' landlords in Wales, he did not regard it as any violation of conventional charities and courtesies to treat with contemptuous indifference of spirit the nonconformists who stood at his gates'.⁷⁷ True enough, at times various nonconformist sects 'standing at the gate' did have confrontations, not only with the Cawdor estate but also with other Welsh landlords. The nonconformists at Newcastle Emlyn had been agitating the landowners of the area for a considerable number of years. As early as 1808 Beynon wrote that: 'what passed between me and the heads of the Methodists at Newcastle, coupled with the intelligence conveyed in Mrs Lloyd's [of Bronwydd] letter, your Lordship may see that *the Saints will lie in the cause of God as well as their own cause.*' Mrs Lloyd had rejected Beynon's offer of a twenty-one year lease at one-shilling rent, since it had not been sanctioned by Baron Cawdor. She believed a 99-year lease with a peppercorn rent was reasonable. Beynon, in anger, wrote: 'This is very serious business, and should be strictly examined into; and if the result

should be ...a confirmation of the truth of my statement, your Lordship hereafter will be able to appreciate the value of the representatives of these Fanatics.’ Beynon totally opposed the granting to the Methodists a lease at a peppercorn rent since the latter was ‘a Rent few Agents ever receive, and if it is neglected to be received for twenty years, the freehold is in danger to be lost and transferred from the Landlord to the Tenant’.⁷⁸ On this occasion, as, too, on an earlier one, the agent felt it necessary to make a trip to Newcastle Emlyn to ascertain whether the extra space asked for by ‘the Sect can be granted...without injury to the property’.⁷⁹ As always protection of the estate was Beynon’s priority. Perhaps the agent’s struggle with ‘Fanatics’ was more about property and rent levels than the Cawdor estate’s denying a chapel, but the Methodists’ demands were an indication of things to come with regards to the nonconformists.

Decades later, Mousley wrote that: ‘There are three different schismatic Establishments at Newcastle Emlyn and they all must have their separate places of business’,⁸⁰ words that betray a want of warmth towards the dissenters and impatience with their demands. In truth, he had as little sympathy as Beynon with nonconformists if they put demands on the estate, and in Newcastle Emlyn he encountered particular difficulties. Worst of all, according to Mousley, were the ‘horrid Baptists’ who had quarrelled with Fitzwilliams of Cilgwyn, who refused to renew their lease, hence their coming to the Cawdor estate. Soon after becoming Cawdor’s agent in 1863 Mousley went to meet one of the Baptists, a certain Dr. J. Thomas, at Newcastle Emlyn, and informed him of his new master’s disinclination to grant the Baptists a site for a chapel, unless they could persuade Mousley that they had no other means of obtaining one.⁸¹ In this they were successful, but no speedy resolution of the problem was forthcoming. Thus as late as March 1871 Mousley was writing to Cawdor that: ‘There are two sites, either of which I think Your Lordship might offer, if we cannot otherwise get rid of the question, but the rent should be something approaching Mr Fitz’s figure.’⁸² The sites were in the middle of the town and the agent suggested that Cawdor might offer either, though, added Mousley rather sarcastically, ‘the situations would probably not be very acceptable. For either of these sites we should have to charge £4 or £5 yearly rent unless we make a sacrifice. No doubt they expect a fine open situation, at a nominal ground rent—And this I don’t see they have any right to expect.’ Indeed, Mousley viewed the demands of the

Baptists for land almost as a threat to the integrity of the estate: ‘In allowing such a building to be built on lease ...we must take great care that it is not so placed as to be likely to interfere with future building schemes.’⁸³ T. J. Hughes (Adfyfr), writing in 1887, refers to Cawdor’s refusal as absolute and as an affront to the nonconformist community. At the same time he fails to mention Fitzwilliams’ initial refusal to renew the lease of the Baptist chapel, though he does refer to the master of Cilgwyn as a fellow nonconformist.⁸⁴ Hughes is in fact attacking the Cawdors as a prime example of a landlord active in their support of an oppressive, alien, Anglican church, to the detriment of the majority of nonconformists. Mousley wrote to his master on 18 March 1871 in a tone of exasperation: ‘If you knew all that they say and wish in the papers about Your Lordship, I don’t think you would consider them deserving of any favours—and if you refuse them a site for a Chapel, no doubt there will be a shameful outcry.’⁸⁵

The ‘horrid Baptists’, were still plaguing Mousley 14 years later, but this time he was, significantly, more lenient, since: ‘Looking to what is coming [the 1885 election], perhaps it will be judicious to be rather more “sympathetic” towards them this year—And the result will be that, the next day, every D[evil] of a Preacher will vote against Lord Emlyn. I therefore propose to write to them in very affectionate terms, to say that with proper safeguards against the Old Castle, Your Lordship will comply with their request’,⁸⁶ namely, of allowing them a meeting within the grounds of the castle at Newcastle Emlyn. Time and the growing political strength of the nonconformists, associated closely with the much enlarged franchise, had tempered Mousley’s response if not his views. However, in both of the instances cited here as well as at other places, the estate did not refuse nonconformists land for chapel building *because* they were nonconformists. The main criterion was, as in other matters, whether or not the proposal was detrimental to the estate.

Where the estate does show its Anglican bias is in a reluctance to respond as generously to nonconformist requests as it did to Anglican ones. The new vicarage at Walton East, on the Stackpole estate, built by the estate in 1884, took an acre from Corner Farm, as well as a small field for the vicar to graze his horse, and Mousley expressed the hope that the tenant would not be awkward about it. In the same letter, he informed Cawdor that the Calvinistic Methodists of Burton had met with him and agreed

upon a plot of land for their chapel. It comprised an eighth of an acre, for which the Chapel was to pay £1 a year rent, for eight years. 'For these two matters of business', Mousley smugly commented, 'all parties are greatly pleased, and express themselves very thankful to your Lordship.'⁸⁷

Not that the Anglican church or its representatives always had it easy when dealing with the estate. When the newly-installed vicar of Llanarthne, the Revd David Griffiths, expected more from the estate than either Mousley, Emlyn or Cawdor were prepared to give there ensued a nine-month-long correspondence between the agent and the vicar, who received exactly what Cawdor had offered him in the first place, namely, an acre of land for a new vicarage. The correspondence affords a good example of the kind of irritation from which the agent could shield his master. The episode is also an indication that the criticism levelled at landed estates, that they were freely giving to the church, was not wholly correct, though, in this instance, had Revd Griffiths not been so aggressive in his demands one cannot help feeling that the estate would have reacted differently to his request which, after all, was a modest one.⁸⁸ And in similar situations, for instance at Wiston, land had been freely given. Another refusal to comply with the wishes of a particular incumbent occurred at the end of the century, when Emlyn refused a request for a mission room at Llandeilo. He wrote to his agent, Williams-Drummond, that 'I doubt there being any need for this—and I do not propose to give any site to the Vicar of Llandeilo. If he made full use of the accommodation he has at present, and the leading people at Llandeilo wished for a new site or Church well and good... [but] ...I am not disposed to grant such a site as he asks for.'⁸⁹ There is a sense that towards the end of the century the family and their agents were becoming weary of 'begging letters' from vicars.

One important aspect in the appointment of clergymen was their social background, and in those parishes where the Cawdors held the living they could decide who was, or alternatively, who was not, suitable. Matthew Cragoe comments on the social origins of the new bishop of St Asaph, Joshua Hughes, installed in 1870 by Gladstone principally because he was a Welsh speaker, making the point that the revival of the Anglican church in Wales during the latter part of the nineteenth century was partly due to the less aristocratic and British and more middle-class and Welsh appointments being made to the

church in Wales.⁹⁰ The second Earl Cawdor was asked for his opinion regarding one of the candidates for the see of St Asaph by Gladstone.⁹¹ The Revd John Griffiths, rector of Llandeilo, had made himself known to be interested in the bishopric. Cawdor comments that Griffiths was a man of very good character and ‘very popular and I believe a good preacher in Welsh. Certainly not High Church nor professing to be low. He is a very fair specimen, above the average, of the clergy in South Wales and if you wish to go in with the cry of Wales for the Welsh he might do as well as another.’ However, he continues, ‘I don’t think I should appoint a Welshman, unless obviously fit in other respects’.⁹² The other respects referred to class and social differences. In a later letter Cawdor comments more fully that Griffiths was ‘a Lambeth DD’ and ‘educated at Lampeter, and would not be able to take that position in a diocese which a Bishop ought either with the Clergy or Laity. He would be a cipher and harmless unless after the custom of Welshman he took to jobbery and making bad use of his patronage’.⁹³

In another case the more lowly position of vicar of Penboyr was coveted by the curate there. He was described to Cawdor, by Mousley, as ‘a man of very humble origin, tho’ I am told he is a very good Welsh parson. I don’t think your Lordship would consider him a proper Person to have the living.’⁹⁴ The curate was probably one of the ‘Welsh mountain curates,’ that St David’s diocese was known to produce, via St David’s College Lampeter,⁹⁵ as was John Griffiths above. They were mostly poorly educated, only receiving one year’s education at a grammar school within the diocese, before proceeding to St David’s College Lampeter, where they were ‘often obliged to occupy in elementary studies the time needed for collegiate pursuits’.⁹⁶ Although they were generally Welsh-speaking and thus able to communicate with congregations, they did not possess the social skills or the education to mix with their social superiors. To install such a man, however ‘very good a Welsh parson’ he was, as vicar of a parish where the Cawdors held the living, would have been a social embarrassment to the family.

One of the outcomes of the ‘Treason of the Blue Books of 1847’ had been to give ‘a new impetus’ to the Welsh-language nonconformist journals.⁹⁷ However, the established church had had very limited success in publishing Welsh-language journals, with only *Yr Haul* surviving for any length of time.⁹⁸ It was part of the church’s failing that for a long time it did not seem to recognise the importance of the Welsh language in reaching the

general populous. This may have had something to do with the mainly gentrified pro-English language users of the church, including, of course, the Cawdors themselves. However, another attempt to establish a pro-church Welsh-language newspaper was made in 1870, and Thomas Mousley was a keen advocate for its advancement. As part of his church activities he invited correspondence from various people as to their opinions regarding the pro-church Welsh-language newspaper *Y Dywysogaeth (The Principality)*, a weekly which commenced publication in 1870.⁹⁹ Its founding date coincided with the establishment of the school boards and was probably not coincidental. Mousley's respondents were mainly in favour of the venture. William Harris of Llanarthne stated that the paper should be circulated as widely as possible 'in order to counteract the bad effects produced by those Welsh radical publications which actually teem with falsehood and misrepresentation'. For his part, Campbell-Davys of Neuadd Fawr wrote of his delight that Mousley was hoping to obtain the full support of Lord Cawdor for the paper, observing darkly: 'for we are now inundated by a frightful amount of Radicalism and disloyalty administered weekly even daily to the Welsh speaking population...without a possibility of refuting the atrocious falsehoods told them in a language understood only by themselves... I should recommend you asking the Schoolmasters to distribute the numbers of The [sic] Dywysogath through the children.'¹⁰⁰ Only one of Mousley's correspondents, William Rowlands, the vicar of Fishguard, objected to the paper since he thought it was promoting ritualism—which was why dissenters were able to persuade many Welsh people to leave the established church—whereas the newspaper should be 'a thoroughly Conservative Newspaper, and defend the church on its own merits as a National Church'. Lord Cawdor left it to Mousley regarding the amount he should subscribe, but suggested £10 per year. The agent was also allowed to distribute the newspaper amongst the estate tenants—with Cawdor's blessing.¹⁰¹ Additionally, Mousley brought the newspaper to the attention of the Education Union, an anti-school board pressure group (for which see below).

In the early part of the nineteenth century the provision for the education of the poor was sparse in the extreme. In the *General Table of State Education in Scotland and Wales*¹⁰² of 1820 there were 75 schools in Carmarthenshire with 2,267 children attending and in Pembrokeshire 76 schools with 3,139 children attending. These statistics included

endowed schools, such as the Carmarthen Grammar school, but also dame schools, the majority of which were probably useless as a means of education. Of these schools only seven in the two counties had been established since the founding of the National and the British and Foreign Schools Societies respectively in 1811 and 1814. In the Stackpole estate accounts for 1803 a John Collins, school master, was being paid £3. 15s. 0d. a year and three years later George Morris, schoolmaster, was being paid £6. 6s. 0d. for six months, though the place is not specified. Later, in 1811, a John Llewelin began a tenancy in Stackpole parish, and within a year was paying rent for a schoolhouse.¹⁰³ This could be an early response by the estate to the establishment of the National Society. The Select Committee on Education of the Poor 1818: *Digest of Parochial Returns* states that in Bosherton parish, Pembrokeshire: 'The poorer classes are mostly labourers under Lord Cawdor, and their children from the age of 6 years to 14, are educated in a free school founded by his Lordship's family at Hawkfield Elidir (*sic*).'¹⁰⁴ The same Select Committee reported that a school had been established by Lord and Lady Cawdor at Cheriton (Stackpole), built in the park at Stackpole, containing 60 children, whilst Lady Cawdor had also established one in the same place for girls, where 12 were in attendance. By 1835 the Cheriton school was described as having 47 male and 43 female children, the school being supported solely by the Cawdor family, and they received children from the parishes of Stackpole Elidir, Bosherton, St Petrox, and St Twinnells. The Cheriton school also had 'a lending library attached'.¹⁰⁵ Children usually attended from 5-13 years of age and about 100 children were registered at the school in 1847. Some of the children were given homework.¹⁰⁶

In Carmarthenshire from at least the early 1830s a John Williams was being paid £5 per annum to teach 'charity children' on the Ystradffin estate.¹⁰⁷ And the Cawdors established a school at Golden Grove, at the same time that the new mansion was being built in the late 1820s and early 1830s. As the schools at Stackpole and Golden Grove were established and maintained by the Cawdor family, and as they were situated close to Stackpole Court and Golden Grove and attended by many of the children of tenants, they were model schools, and received more attention from the family than would schools further afield, with the landlord as the paternal head of the extended family which included the children of tenants. The school buildings were of a superior quality, and

architecturally in keeping with buildings close to the mansion house. Even so, the slow advance of the education of the poor is indicated, even at these models on occasion. The school at Golden Grove had to be closed for some time when the master died and no replacement was appointed, and the same school suffered (as many others did) at harvest times when the usual 60-70 pupils dropped to around 20.

The Cawdors also provided a school at Warren, opened in 1844, and described as an Agricultural School. Unfortunately no records of this school survive. However, from the 1847 *Report* the master occupied the school-house rent free whilst five acres of ground were rented from the estate at £1 per acre per annum. The children paid 1*d.* per week attendance fee. For two hours a day the boys practised agricultural methods and the profits of any produce sold went towards paying the rent since it was intended for the school to be self-supporting. At the same time girls were taught needlecraft. Learning such skills went towards providing a good supply of labourers for the estate, either as agricultural workers or, in the case of girls, domestic servants. The HM Inspector, Revd H. Longueville Jones, reporting in 1849, stated that three hours a day were spent farming. The school, according to Jones, was 'Fairly maintained without corporeal punishment'; the latter perhaps explaining why the 'children [were] very cheerful and healthy'.¹⁰⁸ Warren school was also used for evening classes. In 1847 it was open five days a week from 6pm to 9pm and had an average of 17 pupils, 12 of whom were agricultural labourers and the others monitors from the day school. They paid 2*d.* per week to attend and were taught reading, writing and arithmetic and the same subjects as taught in the day school, which included geography and music as well as agricultural methods.¹⁰⁹ The schools at Stackpole and Warren, both close to Stackpole Court, were model schools, and served as examples to neighbouring gentry as to how a paternalistic landowner should provide for the wellbeing of his dependants.

The document referred to above, 'Church, Schools etc., since 1848', gives details of the amounts spent on school building from that date—a sum of £5,000. The largest sums went to Llanfihangel [Aberbythych] (£800), Burton (£790) and Warren (about £500, in several payments). However, the largest single payment was £900 for 'Welsh Education to 1856' to which can be added £50 towards the 'Education Fund, Carmarthen'. The former was a payment of £100 per annum pledged by Cawdor, to be paid for ten years,

into a fund created in 1846 to help establish a teacher training college in Wales. This was carried out under the auspices of the National Society. The latter established the Welsh Education Committee for this purpose, and Lord Emlyn sat on it. The Committee was a formal link between the National Society and the Privy Council's Council of the Committee on Education, which was at this time the executive body with regards to education in England and Wales. The first project of the Welsh Education Committee was the establishment, in 1848, of the Teacher Training College, later Trinity College, Carmarthen (see below). Other beneficiaries in the list include Haverfordwest model School and the Deaf and Dumb School, Swansea, which received £50 each, and a 'Miss Higson's school' which received £5.

The list also includes payments to other causes: £50 towards the lifeboat at Ferryside, £20 for the Gwendraeth Colliery Accident, which occurred in 1852 when 26 miners were drowned, and £300 to the Carmarthen Infirmary. It was expected that the largest landowner in south-west Wales would bestow its munificence upon such local causes; it was their Christian duty to do so, and it was good for the family politically. However, as with monies paid to church restorations, the bulk of the money contributed towards schools came from Lord Cawdor's private account rather than the estate accounts, the latter showing only small sums paid towards the support of education. Thus, the average amount expended in Pembrokeshire for the ten years 1871-1880 was £176 for both schools and churches, while in the same period for Carmarthenshire the average was £313.

Wiston school was established in 1828, though the estate accounts state that a schoolmaster was being paid there from 1811. The school was rebuilt at the expense of the estate in the late 1850s. Earl Cawdor employed the London architect Henry Ashton¹¹⁰ to design the new building, and this work may have been in response to a critical HM Inspector report in 1858. The report was written by Alexander Stammers who also undertook to write to Cawdor personally regarding the school. He was particularly dismayed to discover that with regard to religious instruction 'none of a definite character appears to be given. No portion of the Church Catechism is taught, nor is anything else substituted in its room.' He went on to say that the children were ignorant, not only of the Bible but of the secular subjects taught at the school. Only one book, the Bible, was used

for teaching reading in the upper classes. A graduated scale of payments by the parents was made at Wiston—a sort of payment by results—but Stammers pointed out that this was entirely to the disadvantage of the younger children. Only 18 children were in attendance on the day of Stammers' visit, though the master said he had 85 on the register, which he could not produce. Stammers concluded that: 'A Sunday school is held, at which about 20 children attend; but few, the master informed me, ever go to Church.'¹¹¹

The vicar of Wiston, the Revd J. Philipps, who was having a new parsonage built by the estate at the same time the school was being rebuilt, wrote to Cawdor in 1860 that the rebuilding of the school was 'getting on very well'. However, Philipps continued: 'I am sorry to say that the dissenting parents will not as yet permit their children to attend Church, but I trust that I shall in time overcome their prejudices. I am obliged to exercise great caution and circumspection. A dreadful Republican and destructive feeling has taken possession of all dissenters.'¹¹² Here is a case in point of dissenting parents not being troubled by their children being taught in an Anglican school, as long as they were not expected to attend the Anglican Church. As the century progressed, 'great caution and circumspection' was, indeed, increasingly exercised by landlords and their agents when communicating with nonconformist radicals.

Where the estate established schools or granted lands for the church to build schools, covenants were written into the leases which stipulated how the schools were to be run. Plots of land were either granted or at very low rent—usually 1 shilling per annum—to enable the church to build a school. Additionally, the family often gave monies towards building the school and then continued to support it by way of annual subscriptions, and, in the case of schools near Stackpole Court and Golden Grove, the payment of the headmaster's or headmistress's salary. Fairly typical of the way the estate leased land for schools was that of the Llandybie National school. It was built on land leased to the diocese for ninety-nine years at one shilling per annum in 1848. The deed specifies that the school was to 'be in union with the National School society', that whoever was appointed master or mistress must be a member of the Church of England, and that the religious instruction was to be 'under the exclusive control' of the minister of the parish.¹¹³ Newcastle Emlyn National school was established under the same terms in the

same year, as was Llanarthne school in 1855 and Cenarth school three years later. The Cawdors also leased land for a National School at Rhandirmwyn in 1858, again at one shilling per year. However, in this case the deed specifies that no child should be required to learn the catechism or 'other religious formulary'. The catechism was one of the overtly Anglican instruction techniques which nonconformists found abhorrent and frequently withdrew their children from National schools performing it. The deed for Rhandirmwyn went further however, stating that no child should be made to attend Sunday School 'or place of worship to which respectively his parent...should on religious grounds object' and that Sunday school or place of worship should be the free choice of the parents without the child 'thereby incurring any loss of the benefits and privileges of the school'.¹¹⁴ Such a stipulation may seem surprising for such staunch supporters of the Anglican establishment, but the area was overwhelmingly nonconformist¹¹⁵ and any more stringent covenants would probably have reduced the number of parents sending their children to the school. However, there also seems to have been less acrimony in this remote area between the church and the nonconformists than is generally portrayed by the radical press. The nonconformists of the Rhandirmwyn area contributed towards a new font at Ystradffin church, rebuilt by the Cawdors in the 1870s, and, according to Mousley, the dissenters were 'quite as anxious to contribute as the Church people'.¹¹⁶ The liberal covenants in the Cawdor's school lease thus indicate a sensible pragmatism on the part of the estate.

At other times the second Earl can be seen exercising his influence regarding the curriculum at a Cawdor-leased school. The Felindre National school, in Penboyr parish, was according to its lease to be open to the inspection of Cawdor or his representatives. The master at the school had resolved to reduce the time spent in religious study—it had been undertaken from nine to nine-forty-five everyday—because a widening of the curriculum meant less time to cram in more subjects. Cawdor questioned the decision to have less religion taught and suggests to Mousley that at least one hour a day religious study should be undertaken before a subscription is forthcoming from the estate.¹¹⁷

Mousley was very active in the fight against the establishment of school boards, although it is doubtful that he would have been quite so openly zealous without the approval of his master. From his personal conviction as a good churchman, he became

very involved with the controversy over the 1870 Education Bill and with the setting up of school boards, after the bill became law. He saw it as more a question for others rather than landlords, stating that: 'This education question will be a very troublesome one, and one very difficult to form an opinion upon. It appears to me to be more an occupiers question than for Owners of Property.' Mousley's views were here shaped in the light of the obligation of paying an extra local tax needed to run board schools: 'I cannot see how these large sums which seem to be required, will be obtained without a Rate—and no doubt there will be a very strong feeling against a School Rate.'¹¹⁸ Mousley was partly mistaken in this as, by 1876, twenty-seven from a total of eighty (or 33%) of the parishes in Carmarthenshire had established school boards.¹¹⁹ The second Earl Cawdor, as was to be expected, took a firm line in opposing the new legislation. According to the *Pembrokeshire Herald* for 25 March 1870, Earl Cawdor, Archdeacon Clark and others had demonstrated that 'the voluntary principle would be superior to that of rating the parishes for the support of Education, in as much as it would be far more economical, and ensure the teaching of the Bible'.

Mousley played a leading part in the local branch of the anti-school board National Education Union, which held a conference in Carmarthen in May 1870 to discuss the 'merits and demerits' of the Education Bill which was then proceeding through the Commons. The Union had as its local honorary secretary Mr George F. H. Rowe, a 'very clever young man from the north of England'¹²⁰ who worked for the *Carmarthen Journal*. Mr Parkinson, headmaster of the Carmarthen Grammar school, was the chairman of the Union and others, including Mousley, were committee members.¹²¹ Local membership of the Union comprised conservative anti-school board individuals who, Mousley and Rowe apart, were mostly clergymen. Mousley, as an active member of the Union, supported an organisation the aims of which coincided with the views of Lord Cawdor, cited above. Rowe gave a speech at the pro-school board meeting in Carmarthen held in early April 1870, organised by the National Education League (otherwise known as the Birmingham League) established by the radical Joseph Chamberlain in Birmingham in 1869.¹²² The Carmarthen meeting followed a similar one held in Aberystwyth in February 1870. The *Carmarthen Journal* reported that at the Carmarthen meeting there were a 'good many supporters of the National Educational Union present',

and it is not hard to imagine Mousley, as an active member of the local committee there, giving support to his fellow Union member Rowe, as the latter stood up to put forward their anti-school board views. The other reported speakers at this meeting wanted school boards to be established in every district and supported secular education in those schools. The National Education Union wanted religious instruction to be taught in the schools and boards established, only if it was impossible for a voluntary school to be established. Apart from the religious argument, their main grievance against board schools—repeated again and again at meetings—was that they would be a burden on the rates. The main argument of the pro-school board League was that religious instruction in schools was impossible to teach since each denomination had variations in their theology. Thus schools should be non-denominational and the teaching of religion should be undertaken at those places which were firmly established to do so, namely the Sunday schools (of which the nonconformists were particularly strong).¹²³ Part of the pro-school board argument also revolved around the nonconformist notion that the only intermediary needed between an individual and God was scripture.

Mousley's tenet that the estate should give most of its support to those areas from which they received substantial revenue is somewhat contradicted in his anti-school board zeal. Thus in Cilrhedyn parish, where the estate only owned 73 acres, the agent asked Cawdor to donate £5-10 towards the establishment of a voluntary school. Again a Mr Nicholls of Llanegwad asked for 'assistance to build a school in the upper part [of the parish], where it adjoins Llanllawddog and Abergwili [where] they are trying very hard to force a School Board upon the District—but if they are defeated in the attempt, I think your Lordship might give £10'.¹²⁴ In this instance, too, very few acres were owned by the estate in those parishes. However, Mousley was always cautious regarding monies spent from the estate income. In the same letter, Cawdor was informed that Porthyrhyd parish had appealed to him and again Mousley suggests that the estate should give a sum towards building a voluntary school: 'I dare say there may be several other similar appeals so that we must not be too Liberal at starting.' The ever careful Mousley ends his letter somewhat triumphantly with the news: 'We upset the attempt to carry a School Board for Llangathen yesterday.'¹²⁵

Some of the complexities of establishing a school board, and of Mousley's manoeuvrings to prevent one from being set up, are portrayed in the foiled attempt in Llangathen. Mousley wrote to his master: 'it must be recollected that the present school belongs to Your Lordship, yearly rent 1 shilling being paid by the Bishop and Vicar—to whom it is leased. A Board must either obtain another site and build a larger School, or they must beg or buy the present one from Your Lordship. And then there will be the question: Can you dispose of the School which is leased for the purpose of a Church School?'¹²⁶ Other methods were also found to frustrate the advancement of board schools, with Mousley playing a leading part. After a meeting of the managers of the Llanfihangel Aberbythych school, he wrote: 'It was found that by requiring some few of the Children who live near the Parishes of Llandybie, Llangathen and Llanarthney, to attend the schools of those Parishes, Llanfihangel [Aberbythych] is sufficiently provided for.'¹²⁷ The HM Inspectors had deemed it too crowded, and could have insisted a board school be established in the parish. Mousley together with the school managers resolved this by shunting those children living close to other parishes into the schools of those parishes! Not that Mousley's ploy worked indefinitely: in 1875 the voluntary school at Llanfihangel Aberbythych had become a board school, one of those belonging to the Llandebie, Llanfihangel Aberbythych, Llanddarog and Llanarthney United District School Board, with Lord Emlyn as its chairman, whose involvement with the Board will now be examined.

In those instances where the estate, under the guidance, it seems of Mousley, could not ultimately prevent the establishment of school boards, it used its influence in other ways to ensure boards were managed with the minimum of disruption to the status quo. The Llandebie, Llanfihangel Aberbythych, Llanddarog and Llanarthney United District School Board, an amalgamation of the school board districts of those parishes, held its first meeting at the beginning of February 1875. The school boards of the several parishes were given permission to amalgamate by the Committee of the Council on Education. There is no evidence that either Lord Cawdor or his son Emlyn had a decisive say in this amalgamation but, as Robert Smith points out, Lord Cawdor's opinion, referring to the neighbouring Llandeilo School Board, which was controlled by a majority of nonconformists, with the broad churchman, Lord Dynevor as a figurehead chairman, was

that the narrow attitude of the board members was having a detrimental effect on education in that parish.¹²⁸ He believed that the members of the board ‘could think only in terms of villages while he, with his vast experience of running a disparate estate, could conceive of the interest of the entire district’.¹²⁹ The Llandebie United District Board’s influence covered a wide area, extending along the Tywi valley almost to Carmarthen and southwards from Llandybie towards Llanelli. By 1880 the Anglicans had gained complete control of this Board, and it was declared a turning point for the Church though, ‘despite the jubilations of the Llandybie Anglicans, the results were not typical’.¹³⁰ However, unlike Dynevor, Lord Emlyn was never a figurehead chairman.

At the first meeting of the Llandebie United District Board those present were Lord Emlyn, William Dubuisson of Glynhir, John Brodie of Tirydail, Llanelli, David Lloyd of Blayne, Llandybie, Thomas Lewis of Maesdulais, and James Stephens of Lan, both in Llanddarog parish, William Jones of Pantglas, and a Thomas Davies. Most of these were either landowners or substantial tenant farmers (for instance Brodie was the largest tenant farmer on the Dynevor estate and a leading member of the Carmarthenshire Farmers’ Club). Others who served on the Board were of middle-class background. Thus, in the 1887 election to the Board, the candidates included a tin-plate manufacturer, auctioneer, surveyor, ironmonger, colliery proprietor, and one farmer, David Jones of Wern, Llanarthne. The latter served the board as chairman on occasion.

At a time of advancing democratisation, the elections to the boards which were triennial, ‘introduced Welsh society to the experience of representative government and as such they provided a crucial initiation into democratic processes in the localities’.¹³¹ Nevertheless, in the 1887 election Emlyn, at the top of the poll, received 1,135 votes, though the two other landowners elected, William DuBuisson of Glynhir and Richard Gwynne Lawrence of Middleton Hall, only received 623 and 586 votes respectively and were the bottom two candidates to be elected. Emlyn’s election many have been a result of his undoubted popularity at this time amongst the farming community. Interestingly, considering the nonconformists’ support of school boards no chapel minister appeared in the list of 14 candidates for 1887, and only one reverend, a Nathaniel Thomas of Llanddarog, who, however, was not elected since he only received 298 votes. In the 1891 election to the Board Emlyn came second to George Lloyd Hancock, a colliery agent

from Blayne lodge.¹³² It seems ironic as well as indicative of the eroding sphere of influence of the Cawdor family that, as they lost their seats in parliament and as the control of the county was taken away from them at Quarter Sessions after the 1888 Local Government Act, their public influence became vested in the relatively democratically run chairmanship of school boards.

Lord Emlyn was voted chairman and DuBussion vice-chairman at the first meeting of the District Board in 1875. That Emlyn held the chairmanship until 1892 is a real indication of his concern for the education of the poor. He attended meetings whenever he was in the county, and attended at least one adjourned meeting at which he was the only member who bothered to turn up!¹³³ He attended his last meeting in March 1892. In October of the same year the Board resolved to re-elect him (there was a ruling that board members lost their seat if they had not attended a meeting for six months), though the triennial election was not due until January 1893. Whatever the reason for Emlyn's sudden lack of attendance (and it may have been to assist the Conservative cause in the general election of that year), his proposed re-election seems to have involved a bit of back-room dealing and not to have been entirely legal, though it seems to indicate that he was genuinely supported by the Board. When the Board elections were due—in January 1893—Emlyn did not put himself forward for election. In these years his commitments, which included being on the Board of Directors of the Great Western Railway (GWR) (for which see chapter six), on the Ecclesiastical Commission and on the Commission in Lunacy, all of which would have taken him away from south-west Wales, denied him the time to be fully involved with the United District School Board.

The United District Board seems to have borne out Lord Cawdor's words concerning the experience of managing large districts. HM Inspector Shadrach Pryce (admittedly a reverend of the established church) stated that the board was 'efficient and influential' and was in contrast to smaller boards which were often 'composed only of small farmers, who hardly understand the work which they have elected to perform'.¹³⁴ Other criticisms made by HM Inspectors were that once elected the managers rarely did anything constructive for the school they were supposedly representing and often their presence at meeting quickly dwindled. However, under the chairmanship of Lord Emlyn the

Llandybie United District Board raised £3,735 from grants and rates in the period 1875-78.¹³⁵

As the agricultural depression deepened, the estate became more selective with its contributions and subscriptions to various causes. However, even in the mid-1890s Williams-Drummond, although aware of the financial difficulties, still encouraged Emlyn and Cawdor to assist in the upkeep of voluntary schools, in what seems like a last ditch attempt to stave off the offensive board schools. Such continued support belies, at least in the instance of the Cawdor estate, the view of F. M. L. Thompson that ‘the superiority of the Board schools increased over the years and the standards which voluntary schools had to meet in order to qualify for government assistance were continually raised so that the struggle was slowly conceded and landowners’ contributions fell away’.¹³⁶ Even so, the Cawdor estate was forced to cut back on its earlier level of support to voluntary schools. In late January 1894, in response to comments made by Cawdor, Williams-Drummond wrote in agreement that ‘the school demands are very heavy now as the inspectors have insisted on extra accommodation in almost every parish and you have had some 4 or 5 applications already, so that with the agricultural times as they are you cannot be expected to assist so heavily’.¹³⁷ Later, on 12 March 1894, he wrote to Emlyn suggesting a strategy, which had been estate ‘policy’ in all other areas of *largesse* for most of the nineteenth century, for preventing the estate from being inundated with demands for money from school managers. Only ‘where we are largely interested it may be wise to contribute, and I shall be glad if you will suggest what you consider we should pay’.¹³⁸ In the same letter he informed Emlyn that the schools at Cwmamman, Cenarth and Penboyr were all asking for financial assistance to meet the inspectors’ requirements.¹³⁹ The vicar of Penboyr had already, in early January 1894, written to the estate for help in building a £300-extension to the school in order to comply with the Education Department’s more stringent standards. Williams-Drummond informed Cawdor on 11 January 1894 that: ‘They seem to be leaning on your support as Lewis of Llysnewydd is the only other landlord they expect to get anything from as Davies of Pentre never assists apparently. No doubt the farmers and others will make a good effort to subscribe in order to retain the school from the Board.’¹⁴⁰ A month later the vicar wrote to Emlyn asking for a further donation, even though £50 had already been advanced which was, averred Williams-

Drummond, 'a much larger donation than was usual when our interests were proportionate in other districts'. However, in the case of Penboyr, Williams-Drummond—true to the spirit of his later advice to Emlyn cited above—continued, 'this district is deserving of every help by means of the strong position in which both the Church and schools occupy, and it is of course as much to our interests as owners as to that of the tenants to prevent the National Schools being "Boarded" and the heavy rates thereby entailed from falling on the land'.¹⁴¹

While a large percentage of the estate's largesse with regard to school funding went to church schools, the Cawdors did not completely ignore Board schools' demands. Lord Emlyn and his work on the Llandybie United Board may have been an influence in this respect. Also, by assisting a Board school under the control of nonconformists or in a nonconformist area, the estate was able to indicate that its largesse was not biased. Llanelly School Board, in a nonconformist stronghold, requested a plot of land in 1893, and Williams-Drummond wrote to Cawdor that he could not see any objections to them having half an acre at Dafen, though since it was a Board school the agent did 'not think a gift is necessary nor is it expected in any way'.¹⁴² In this instance the land was granted, but this was not the case two years later when the Llandilo School Board wrote requesting land at Llandeilo. 'I see no objection to a site', Williams-Drummond wrote, 'but I should ask £400 per annum instead of £200'.¹⁴³ The unwillingness to gift land and the high price asked are reactions to the fact that Board schools were in receipt of income from the rates and grant money from the Department of Education with which to assist their establishment.

The influence and interest members of the family had in education did not end with the elementary education of the poor (which, as stated above, was more directed towards social and moral control than learning). The Cawdors were, on occasion, asked to support intermediate and higher education. However they were more critical about which cause they chose to support in this area. In 1849 John Williams, the archdeacon of Cardigan and new warden of the Llandovery Welsh Collegiate Institution, wrote to the second Earl Cawdor and his son Lord Emlyn to ask them to become patrons of the college, adding that he could not understand why they had not already done so—the College had opened two years earlier. Cawdor replied: 'I am fond of a quiet life and if I on that account

decline entering into any controversy with you on the subject of Llandovery Institution I trust you will excuse me. I have for reasons which are satisfactory to myself come to a determination to have no connection with it.¹⁴⁴ Williams, in responding, accepted that Cawdor did not want to become involved in any controversy and was pleased that someone ‘with your great name and influence have taken up neutral ground and feel confident that your Lordship ... will not attempt to press upon others those arrangements which however convincing to yourself you are unwilling to communicate to me’. He went on to ask ‘that you should withhold your judgement—at least the public expression of it for five years’,¹⁴⁵ to which Cawdor replied that the five years’ silence ‘implies you are liking to do the same. I am ready to agree to this treaty and even extend the term of our Mutual silence to nine years if yet you wish it. In the mean time I too disclaim having taken neutral or any other ground on the subject. I have simply declined to enter into a controversy with you by letter.’¹⁴⁶ Did Cawdor withhold his support because of the emphasis given at the college on the Welsh language? Williams was a vociferous critic of the Anglican College at Lampeter and what he saw as that college’s neglect of the Welsh language. Teaching at the college at Llandovery was through the medium of Welsh, and amongst its founders were the Lady of Llanover and Sir Thomas Phillips, both great supporters of the Welsh language.¹⁴⁷ Williams also remarked that he hoped John Frederick Campbell Vaughan, Lord Emlyn, need not hold the same opinion. Unfortunately there is no extant correspondence relating to this matter from Lord Emlyn. However, he had early on shown a deep interest in educational matters, and by the 1850s had become a member of the Welsh Education Committee of the National Society. Other members included the Bishops of Bangor and St Asaph, G. R. Rice-Trevor, D. A. Saunders-Davies MP and Sir Thomas Phillips. This committee reported to the Committee of the Council on Education concerning certain discriminations regarding orders in council which had been omitted to the detriment of Welsh education. And, as we have seen, after 1860, John Frederick as the second earl, greatly assisted the cause of education in both counties.

Another area of controversy arose between the second Earl and St David’s College, Lampeter. The college had opened its doors for the first time in 1827, and one of its leading supporters, at least initially, was the Revd Thomas Beynon, the Golden Grove

estate agent—though he soon became critical of the college for what he saw as its neglect of teaching Welsh students. On one occasion, Beynon scathingly referred to St David's as the English College, and he refused to donate any more to it after an initial gift of £732. The college was established to train Welsh scholars to become Church of England ministers. However, in order to attract finances it soon began to draw in students from England. Hence, as a college its first few years were not encouraging.¹⁴⁸ However, by the last quarter of the century it was looking to expand: in 1880 the College was attempting to raise £3,000 to build a new chapel. The second Earl was contacted to ask if he would support the venture financially. His letter in response does not survive but a letter dated 27 December 1880 from the High Church principal, F. J. Jayne,¹⁴⁹ to Cawdor cites the latter: 'As I am of the opinion that St David's College, Lampeter, should be put an end to, and its Endowments etc., transferred to Colleges at Oxford and Cambridge, I cannot contribute to the fund for building a new chapel'.¹⁵⁰ At the same time Cawdor had gifted the College £100, in four instalments, to the Exhibition Fund—if the College was 'put an end to' this gift would presumably have been transferred to one of the Oxbridge colleges. Jayne, and no doubt other College functionaries, was rather taken back by his Lordship's response.

Jayne's letter compared Cawdor's comments with the "lynch law", whereas the College, which had many critics but few admirers, merely wanted fair play. Jayne continued:

I cannot but think that your Lordship is setting an example—albeit on a "vile corpus"—which is but likely to be followed in these days, and to be brought to bear upon institutions of the highest importance and even sacredness...the abolition of institutions...is the treatment which many would apply to the institution of private property, to the church, to the House of Peers, to the monarchy itself.¹⁵¹

Jayne went on to append a list of the background of the 147 students who had passed through the College between 1873 and 1880. The vast majority, some 61, were farmers' sons, 15 the sons of clergymen while nearly all the remaining students were from humble backgrounds identified by Jayne as quarrymen, carpenters, builders and even four labourers.

Three days later Jayne wrote a long letter, a detailed response to Cawdor's, from which the fundamentals of Cawdor's earlier communication can be ascertained and

thereby something of his attitude towards education. It is therefore helpful if a detailed examination of the letter is presented under the several heads raised by Cawdor: (a) the siting of the colleges was of concern to Cawdor, but for Jayne the location at Lampeter ‘has carried Education and the Educational idea in a remarkable way into the heart of Welsh Wales’; (b) Cawdor complained that the College had tended to keep men away from Oxbridge, stating that it had been a rival of ‘the old Clergy Schools, and the Theological College such as St Bees’, a charge which Jayne sought to refute; (c) Cawdor drew an unfavourable comparison between the standard of the men coming out of the Universities and the quality of those produced by Lampeter, Jayne averring to the contrary that the college at Lampeter turned out quality men who were ‘from humble homes, from poor schools and perhaps no regular schooling at all’; (d) Cawdor had commented on the drawbacks of the Welsh language, to which Jayne countered: ‘I unhesitatingly, though respectfully, assent that Lampeter has not made but has found the difficulties (Welsh language etc) which have produced the signs of inferiority to which your Lordship alludes’, but ‘nowhere will you find less sympathy with the narrow and mischievous cry of “Wales for the Welsh” than among the Lampeter professors. That the Lampeter militia men, when the history of the “great world battle” is written may be found to have done as well as the more favoured household troops to whom your Lordship’s sympathies are naturally given’; (e) Cawdor had raised the question of what exactly was taught at St David’s College, believing it to be entirely theological and therefore too narrow as a general education. He also maintained that the examinations taken were too lenient. Jayne robustly refuted these contentions, claiming that the education provided was ‘general and genuinely so’ and that the examinations and degrees ‘are realities, quite unlike those to which your Lordship has referred—over lenient. ‘Last June out of 71 candidates 21 were rejected. This’, Jayne struck back, ‘surely, does not look like over leniency.’ Finally, responding to a taunt of Cawdor’s about the College’s future, Jayne requested that he pay a visit to the college ‘before it is transformed into a Lunatic Asylum, which your Lordship humorously suggests’.¹⁵²

Certain questions arise from Cawdor’s stance. Were his views of the College based on the paternalistic idea that humble men’s sons should remain humble men’s sons? And, to return to the same point, was he concerned about the downgrading of the social standing

of the clergymen, as he had been earlier regarding the appointment of Joshua Hughes, St David's College educated, to the see of St Asaph in 1870. The majority of the Lampeter students would have become clergymen, and perhaps the cosy relationship between the clergy and the landowners would have been eroded by admitting those of such backgrounds. There is also the implication that Lampeter students were inferior because they spoke Welsh—this was a “difficulty” which, as shown above, Jayne admitted. But Welsh-speaking clergymen were much needed.

The second Earl Cawdor's negative opinion of St David's, Lampeter, is in contrast to his father's support for the teacher training college at Carmarthen. The South Wales Training College, later renamed Trinity College, was opened in 1848, the fruits of the efforts of Bishop Thirlwall, and was also a college dedicated to training Church-of-England teachers. The trust deed of the college states that it shall be run ‘according to the principles of the National Society’,¹⁵³ which, of course, Cawdor fully supported. The list of trustees included both Lord Cawdor and Lord Emlyn who, of course became the second earl. The college was supported by the first Earl Cawdor who, as we have seen above, pledged £100 per annum for ten years in 1846. At the same time, Countess Cawdor subscribed £100 on its opening.¹⁵⁴

Archibald, Lord Emlyn, when he succeeded his father in 1898 as the third Earl, established the Llandovery College scholarship worth £25—known as the Golden Grove Scholarship, which was awarded to a boy under the age of sixteen living in Carmarthenshire,¹⁵⁵ but was later extended to Pembrokeshire boys under the same terms. In October 1885 Emlyn had become one of the college governors, and, on its fiftieth anniversary, he donated £500 towards funds for an extension.¹⁵⁶ Lord Emlyn, also sat on the Aberdare Commission from 1881 to inquire into Welsh intermediate education. Lord Aberdare stated that Emlyn was ‘a sensible man, who will be of service in checking nonconformist ambitions and in securing a fair representation of all interests.’¹⁵⁷ Aberdare also commented that Emlyn was one of the most valuable members of his commission.¹⁵⁸

The 1902 Education Bill, brought to the statute book in that year by a Conservative Government, abolished the school board system and established elementary education under the control of Local Education Authorities. The new Welsh county councils, which

were supporters of the Board schools refused to enforce the Act. In Carmarthenshire the county council was particularly radical ‘and adopted a casual and irregular approach to providing the voluntary schools with even their costs from parliamentary grants’.¹⁵⁹ The actions of the Welsh county councils led the Government to consider enforcing them to comply, though fearing rebellion, vacillation soon crept in on their part. In the summer of 1904 the third Earl Cawdor wrote to Prime Minister Balfour giving his opinion, after hearing that the government intended to drop the Local Authorities Default Bill (re-named the Welsh Coercion Bill by Welsh radicals, after the Irish Act). He wrote: ‘I do hope it is not true—our Welsh County Councils have a very wholesome dread of this bill and I believe that if it is passed the agitation against the Education Act will fizzle out.’ However, Cawdor’s real worry went further than the non-compliance with the 1902 Act. He continued:

The great danger to my mind is not so much [the] administration of the Education Act, but the growth of the idea that Local Authorities can defy Acts of Parliament. This in Wales is I am sure a very real danger—and if the feeling grows we shall not be far off Anarchy. With an impressionable people like the Welsh firmness is all important... I am quite sure that the passing of this bill is very important to the Local Government of Wales.¹⁶⁰

The Default Bill was not dropped by the Government and became law in 1904. The Local Authorities in Wales mainly complied with the Act, and widespread agitation, as Cawdor predicted, ‘fizzled out’. However, pockets of resistance to the 1902 Act continued on occasion. At the end of 1908 Cawdor became involved with a dispute that had flared up over the payment of salaries to a former church school in Swansea. The situation was made public when he published a letter in *The Times*, detailing the dispute. It seemed that Swansea Council and the Board of Education had jointly connived not pay the teachers at the Oxford Street school, Swansea, at the same rate as staff of former Board Schools.¹⁶¹ In addition, Cawdor stated, the managers of other former church schools had been made to pay a total £20,000, on the fabric of their establishments, ‘While they [the local authority and Board of Education] were deliberately trying to destroy the schools by squeezing out their teachers’.¹⁶² Because of the poor wages teachers had resigned—the older teachers having left en masse at the end of May 1907.¹⁶³ Cawdor had no doubt that behind this situation was ‘Lloyd George and the author of the Welsh “plan of attack” ’.¹⁶⁴ Cawdor seems not to have had any further involvement in the

dispute, which was to continue until 1911 when an appeal at the House of Lords found in favour of the school managers.¹⁶⁵

The church in Wales was very poor, and amongst the poorest dioceses in Wales was St David's, with the bishop receiving a basic income of just over £1,500 per annum. Only Llandaff diocese was poorer. The low income of most of the incumbents of St David's diocese led to pluralism and its attendant absenteeism, both of which were targets of the nonconformist critics of the church. In 1835, 70.9% of the benefices in St David's diocese had incomes of £150 or less. The perpetual curacy of St Thomas', Ferryside, had an annual income of £25.¹⁶⁶ (An agricultural labourer receiving 10 shillings per week was only earning marginally less).

In theory, a large part of the clergy's income came from tithe payments, either in kind or, increasingly, as a money payment. However, a large percentage of tithe payments had found its way into lay hands (a consequence of the lay impropriations of tithes at the time of the sixteenth-century Reformation) and others of the church. Additionally, the payment of tithe also caused intense irritation to many farmers throughout England as well as Wales: 'Tithes produce two unhappy effects, creating a rooted aversion to a national church, and depressing the spirit of agricultural adventurers', stated a writer in 1800.¹⁶⁷ As the century unfolded this became especially so for the nonconformist farmers of Wales. However, prior to the Tithe Commutation Act of 1836, payment in kind was frequently the mode of payment, particularly in south Wales. This gave the farmer, according to the Royal Commission of Inquiry for South Wales, 'a powerful hold in his transactions with the tithe-owner, since owing to the poor state of roads and the extent of some parishes, the collection of tithe in kind in South Wales was an operation of more than ordinary difficulty'.¹⁶⁸ The Commission also stated that after the Turnpike system the biggest cause of discontent amongst the farmers was the Tithe Commutation Act, and many witnesses brought before the Commission stated that since the Act the tithe had increased drastically. However, despite the increase Sir Thomas Phillips could write, in 1849, that 'little more than one-half the sums awarded as [tithe] rent charges is received by the parochial clergy'.¹⁶⁹ Supporting this statement, *The Tithe Commutation Returns* of 1887 show that over half of the tithe income which should have gone to parochial

incumbents went instead either to other parts of the church or to lay improPRIATORS. Lord Cawdor received income of £1,196 from nine parishes in which he owned the living in the two counties from this source,¹⁷⁰ though, to put this into perspective, the Bishop of St David's, received £4,623 from the tithes of 23 parishes, the incumbents of those parishes receiving only £1,969.¹⁷¹

In Wales the tithe grievance erupted into anti-tithe riots in the mid-1880s. At a time of farming depression farmers were angered at the lack of conciliation and sympathy shown them by the vicars of parishes and the Ecclesiastical Commissioners who refused to grant reductions in the tithe. The anti-tithe movement, harnessed by nonconformist ministers and radical politicians, quickly metamorphosed into a national campaign of refusal to pay tithe since it went towards the maintenance of an allegedly alien church. In the summer of 1886 anti-tithe agitation broke out in Denbighshire, agitation which was fanned into a 'tithe war' by the nonconformist press, led by Thomas Gee, editor of *Y Faner*.¹⁷² Mousley, as a committed churchman, had firm opinions on the tithe question. During the first outbreak of anti-tithe agitation in north Wales the agent wrote to Cawdor:

I cannot help feeling that it is a mistake to hurry into an admission that the Liberation Agitators are justified in their dishonest and immoral advice to the Welsh Farmers. And I think it very cowardly in Lord Dynevor to take up the question as he does – No doubt his motives are generous! But they may be unwise. If there is to be a change, I quite think that the landlords should undertake to pay the Tithes to the Tithe Owners – with the understanding with their Tenants that the same amount, as near as can be ascertained by averaging it, shall be added to the rents.¹⁷³

The following week he wrote to Cawdor: 'The subject is too extensive and too serious to be taken up in the rash ill-considered way that Lord Dynevor treats it. The North Wales agitation does not appear to spread, and if it is allowed a little time to subside, I hope the movement will soon blow over—at least for some time.'¹⁷⁴ However, the agitation did not blow over, and had spread to south Wales by 1888, with outbreaks of anti-tithe violence in the vicinity of Trelech and the St Clears/Whitland district in Carmarthenshire; interestingly, they constituted similar areas to the first Rebecca outbreaks of forty-years before and were areas not dominated by large estates.

Lord Emlyn, in one of his many speeches to local habitations of the Primrose League, outlined his views on the tithe, concluding that it should be paid by the tenant. It came as

a great surprise to him that ‘ordinary honest persons’ should for one moment entertain the idea that tithe should not be paid:

When a tenant took a farm it was conditionally upon his paying so much rent-charge etc., which were charges upon the land. This land might have been sold over and over again subject to the fact that the purchaser must pay the tithe upon it, but when the farmer paid it he got the land for a certain rent on that understanding: it was part of the undertaking. It would be equally as legitimate for agitators to advise people not to pay for their leg of mutton or Welsh cheese as not to pay the tithe....Agitators wanted to know where the money went to. What did it matter when it was a legal duty of tenants to pay it?¹⁷⁵

However, as shown in the previous chapter, during the worst years of the depression the tithe was paid by the estate. When questioned by the Land Commission with regard to tithes Mousley stated that since the Tithe Act (of 1891) the estate had paid all the tenants’ tithe,¹⁷⁶ which amounted to a reduction of 7.5%. The Act, ‘by merging tithe-rent-charge with rent, made the payment of tithe easier to enforce, and the unpopularity of the tithe-owner declined so rapidly that the tithe disturbances virtually disappeared’.¹⁷⁷ However, the Cawdors continued to pay the tithe: in 1893, Mousley wrote ‘what I require to know is, whether this year they are to have the Tithes [as they had had the previous year], in addition to the 10%? I think they should—you could not offer them less out of the rents than the 10.’¹⁷⁸ At the end of the century the estate was still paying the tithe even though both Williams-Drummond and Cawdor believed the depression was over. As shown in the previous chapter, in 1898 the agent and his employer decided to discontinue the 5% rent rebate, ‘if you are sure that it is fair to the tenants’ wrote Cawdor to his agent. This was finally agreed to, but the estate continued to pay the tithe.¹⁷⁹

The *Returns* of the Charity Commissioners do not record any charity being established by the Cawdor family.¹⁸⁰ They may have viewed charity as a temporary measure, hoping that recipients would eventually become, by their own thrift, independent. However as Christian paternalists the Cawdors gave to charities as part of their duty. As a regular Christmas or New Year charity, they, as did other landowners, gave gifts of coal or cash to be distributed amongst the poor of Carmarthen, or to the prisoners in Carmarthen gaol. Such acts were always recorded in the local press, ensuring everyone knew of their munificence. Most of the monies given to charities came from the Cawdors’ private accounts. In the decade from 1871 the Stackpole estate accounts averaged £101 per annum being given to various charities, while the Carmarthenshire estate averaged a mere

£9 in the same decade. Later in the century, under Williams-Drummond's agency the sums recorded for the Carmarthenshire estate average a more respectable £165 per annum while the Stackpole estate sum remained at around £100.¹⁸¹

Sarah, Countess Cawdor, paid for the building of four almshouses at Castlemartin in early 1881 at a cost of £395¹⁸² (though the work was postponed for two or three years since building work at Stackpole Court was consuming all available funds and workmen).¹⁸³ Thirty years before, in 1852, Lord Emlyn discussed with Lord Hardwicke, the names of three men who could be employed as runners for the expanded postal service in Castlemartin hundred. One man had lost his hand and one his arm in accidents, so they were useless as labourers. By thus employing them, Emlyn's act of paternalistic charity, would also have saved a small sum from the poor rates.¹⁸⁴

The Cawdor women displayed a conventional attitude towards charity giving and the diary of Sarah Mary Campbell, first Countess Cawdor, records various undertakings carried out by her and her daughters and siblings, mainly in aid of deserving ex-employees and tenants of the estate. Thus in January 1878 she 'Took a blanket to old Canton whose bed is scantily furnished and Evie took him a picture of the Crucifixion hung it at the bottom of his bed. He did not know what it was! partly perhaps owing to dimness of Vision.' In November of the same year she 'sent 6 beautiful Canaries to the Lunatics [at the Joint Counties Lunatic Asylum, Carmarthen]', and in the same month she called on a poor man, Tom John, of Bosherton who had decided to give up his cottage and 'has made up his mind to go to the Workhouse. I sent him 2 blankets...for which he was very grateful.' And of course the Cawdor women and children distributed good cheer at Christmas: 'Alice and her children went to Brownslade to distribute Beef and plum pudding to the poor of Castlemartin and the children gave away Comforters they had made.'¹⁸⁵

Charity was also distributed, in somewhat larger sums, at election times. Thus, when contesting the 1812 election, John Frederick was reported to have given five guineas to the prisoners in Carmarthen Gaol, whilst his brother and father gave £50 each to purchase barley for the poor of Carmarthen borough.¹⁸⁶ Whilst in Pembrokeshire Lord Cawdor gave an oxen and 100 loaves to the poor of Tenby, and £600 to purchase barley for the poor of Haverfordwest and Pembroke to which John Frederick added £200.¹⁸⁷ The sums

given at other times were rather smaller, though, as would be expected from the most wealthy landowners in south-west Wales the Cawdors always headed published lists of charitable givers, albeit political rivals often matched the sums given by the family. Such lists were, of course, public statements of the landowners' largesse, so it would have been seen as unbecoming for the family not to have headed such lists.

Many of the charities the Cawdors subscribed to were London-based. The 1850s bank account books of Lord Emlyn catalogue numerous causes to which he gave financial support, sometimes as one-off payments but frequently as regular donations. In the first category came the Lithuanian School Fund which received from Lord Emlyn £10 in June 1852. Other, regular payments included The Civil Service Cooperative Society, The Refuge for Homeless Boys, The Sick and Wounded, the Cab drivers' Benevolent Fund, St George's Hospital and The Nightingale Fund. These received sums of up to £12 per annum.

In conclusion, we have seen that the second Earl Cawdor responded with great largesse to the plea for assistance from an Anglican church under threat, though, perhaps predictably, the assistance came fundamentally in the form of church, rectory and vicarage building. The work undertaken primarily enhanced those buildings within the vicinity of the family mansions, and hence beautified the estates as well encouraging the church revival. Closely connected to the church revival was the advance of elementary education for the poor, which had more to do with instilling a moral rectitude into the lower social classes, via the teachings of Holy Scripture (as interpreted by the church), with rather less by way of general education—though the practical education received at the Warren agricultural school was an exception. The first three earls all supported the National School Society, which was, of course, closely allied to the Anglican Church. The first and second earls gave freely towards establishing schools, again mostly within the vicinity of the family mansions. The agricultural school at Warren is an interesting experiment, established by the first Earl, which can be seen as part of his role as an agricultural improver, as the school would have supplied a small corpus of relatively well-trained labourers and domestic servants. John Frederick Vaughan, the second Earl,

together with his agent Mousley, fought a rearguard action with regard to the board schools, spending time and money in attempts to stem the tide of nonconformist supported non-denominational schools. In contrast, Lord Emlyn was by far the most flexible of the Cawdors with regard to education. His work with the Llandebie United District School Board and as a member of the Aberdare Committee, though undertaken from a conservative paternalist's viewpoint, was praised by many, and stands as a lasting testimony to his more liberal view of the role of education in the last quarter of the nineteenth century.

Little direct evidence is extant regarding the Cawdors' attitude to the Welsh language. However, it is plausible to view the first and second Earl's negative stance towards, respectively, Llandovery College and St David's College, as deriving from a class prejudice, from which stemmed an anti-Welsh language bias.

The Cawdors' Christian belief entailed giving to charitable causes, though here, as in other matters, their largesse often had an ulterior motive. Thus at election times they produced larger slices of charitable cake than at other times. And they were more generous towards London-based causes than to local ones, the rewards being potentially grander in the Metropolis. However, in both south-west Wales and London they were not over generous with gifts of charity, implying a moral strictness—that even the poorest should learn to become 'independent'.

Having examined the role of the Cawdors as moral partners with the church, we will now turn our attention to their role in the more material aspects of the community, namely that of local government.

5.2 The administrative dimension

The previous section demonstrated the concern of the Cawdors to uphold the position of the established Anglican church and its schools within their sphere of influence. We will now turn our attention to their involvement with other, more material aspects of life within south-west Wales. As J. V. Beckett observes: 'Apart from schools and churches, a variety of other openings existed for the exercise of paternal duties', among which was

the very running of local government itself. To quote Beckett again: 'Local government was essentially paternalistic, from the dispensing of justice to the payment of poor relief. In part this was possible because it remained the preserve of unpaid gentlemen, and England [and Wales] did not develop a professional bureaucracy, while the fact of its survival suggests that it was relatively successful.'¹⁸⁸ As leaders of their community by virtue of their being the largest landowners of the region, the Cawdors played an influential role in many areas, from improving the infrastructure as we have seen, to a paternalistic care for the pauper and the lunatic and an involvement in the government of the county. If these paternalistic attempts at improvement benefited the two counties, it must not be overlooked, of course, that a proper attention to local administration helped to cultivate parliamentary constituencies and ensure that at a local level the Cawdors maintained their hegemony.

At the top of the local government hierarchy was the Lord Lieutenant, an office which 'had one foot in London close to central government and the other planted firmly in the county'.¹⁸⁹ The lieutenancy was responsible for maintaining the peace of the realm and to help him do so he appointed justices of the peace or magistrates, chosen from amongst the landowners of the locality. The magistrate was seen as the 'local and visible embodiment of the authority of the State',¹⁹⁰ though magistrates also 'had local affinities and local roots'¹⁹¹ to their county, acting as local governors at Petty and Quarter Sessions. Until the 1830s this dual aspect of magistrates' duties seem to have caused little disturbance to the status quo. However, from the 1830s the role of central government began to change, as it began to enforce its will upon the localities with legislation which ensured the latter became increasingly accountable to the central authorities.¹⁹² The Poor Law Amendment Act of 1834 was probably the first piece of such legislation, establishing as it did centrally based poor law commissioners. This act also created an inchoate democracy with the establishment of elected Boards of Guardians. These changes were inimical to an oligarchy of landowning magistrates, whose largely unpaid, and therefore voluntary, paternalistic role was seen to be compromised. Other acts followed, though progress was slow. However, half a century after the 1834 Poor Law Act the County Councils Act of 1888 effectively dethroned the Quarter Sessions¹⁹³ and with it the unelected rule of the magistrates, though David Eastwood states that after the

1830s the survival of the quarter sessions ‘offers an important case study in the political resilience of the landed interest’.¹⁹⁴

Since magistrates were unpaid it was a cheap form of governance, though the workload tended to devolve not upon all those named on the commission of the peace, many of whom liked the prestige without the duty, but upon a handful of active, publicly-minded men amongst whom can be counted, to a certain extent, the Cawdors.¹⁹⁵

The ensuing chapter will focus on the involvement of the Cawdors as both local administrative leaders and as representatives of the central government. It will seek to view their reactions to the slow erosion of paternalistic government and the advancement of more democratic forms, and to judge how they coped with such changes in society. We begin, however, with examples of the first Baron, John Campbell’s fervour in defending the realm, as he combined his military and magistrate’s duties to repel a foreign power.

A. The French Landing, Lord Lieutenancy and Justices of the Peace.

H. J. Hanham has remarked that the Lord Lieutenancy was the pinnacle of County society,¹⁹⁶ which was itself an ‘elite of governors’.¹⁹⁷ The Campbells however failed to reach this peak until the mid century, though John Campbell, later first Baron Cawdor took on the role of Lord Lieutenant when he led a disparate force to repel the French when they landed a force near Fishguard in 1797, in what was assumed to be an attempt to invade Britain. The history of John Campbell’s actions to prevent the French from gaining a foothold on British soil has been told and re-told. In the historiography of the French landing, Campbell’s involvement has generally been viewed positively.¹⁹⁸ Amongst most of the gentry of south Wales he was the hero of the hour, and there is plenty of evidence to believe that this was the case. From the urgency with which Cawdor himself dealt with the threat, as evidenced in his own writings, he seems to have taken the French threat more seriously than many of the other gentry of Pembrokeshire. His alacrity of action was in stark contrast to the Lord Lieutenant, Lord Milford, who was suffering from gout, and at 55, probably realised he was incapable of leading a force to repel the invaders. Thus Milford gave Campbell, the newly created Baron Cawdor, the

leadership of the various forces to be pitted against the French, although there were others who were senior to him. It is surprising, for instance, that Milford did not pass the command to lieutenant-colonel Thomas Colby, then the senior military officer in Pembrokeshire,¹⁹⁹ rather than Cawdor, who was merely the commanding officer, at the rank of captain, of the Castlemartin yeomanry, a position he had held since at least 1781. However, in 1794, probably as a response to the Militia Augmentation Act of that year, Cawdor had written a plan of defence for Pembrokeshire, should the French decide to invade, or, for that matter, to quell any internal disturbance.²⁰⁰ Revolt amongst the lower orders may have been as real a threat as the danger from the French. From the mid-to-late 1790s both Pembrokeshire and Carmarthenshire were in a state of sporadic turmoil, with the poor living in near-starvation conditions, sparking frequent disturbances, in the form of food riots, as a result.²⁰¹ Cawdor's active involvement with the security of nation and county may have helped decide Milford's mind, though he seems to have changed it shortly afterwards, causing confusion for a while between Cawdor, Colonel Colby and Lieutenant-colonel Thomas Knox.²⁰² However it was generally accepted that Cawdor was 'very much the leading man in county affairs',²⁰³ and that Milford was his political ally, both at this time being Portland Whigs. For these reasons Milford may have chosen Cawdor over more senior men. This notwithstanding, the handover was not totally amiable: Cawdor later stated that he found 'it necessary, after some conversation with Lord Milford, to offer to take the whole [command] upon myself, if he engaged under his Hand not to impose his authority. It was not a moment for compliments and, from the instant [he] transferred his authority, I peremptorily required every person to put himself under my Command.'²⁰⁴

At a county meeting in Haverfordwest, called to establish who was to receive official thanks for defeating the French, the friendship between the two men seems to have turned to animosity, if we are to believe the account of John Mirehouse. The Lord Lieutenant was, according to Mirehouse, intent on giving Lord Cawdor as little credit as possible, while allowing his own role to be inflated by his supporters. Mirehouse comments that the meeting 'was very thinly attended—and chiefly by the immediate Connexions of the Lieutenant. Lloyd of Dale (more than usually absurd and I think angry at being sent to Pembroke) had not previously settled every thing in Conjunction with Ld M: and after a

very absurd speech brought out his Resolutions [of thanks].’ Cawdor was on the list to be thanked, since his central role could not be denied, but Lloyd then moved a vote of thanks to Milford for his exertions, and promptly left the room ‘without saying anything or coming to that sort of Decision—by which one could positively say what was to be inserted or what was not’. A second proposal that all the thanks should be given to Cawdor alone was rejected by ‘Milford and his Crew’. Lloyd took the resolution he had given to be published in the newspapers. Mirehouse believed that the slant given to events by Lord Milford’s friends would be of help in gaining the Lord Lieutenant a peerage. Mirehouse continued: ‘He [Milford] sets off for Town on Thursday ...and seemed very anxious to know when you come here. I must confess I hope you [Campbell] will not have left Town before his arrival—for I am sure—He will make out a very different Tale in your absence—to what He dare do if you were present, for by what I can collect He goes to prevent your having every thing your own way.’²⁰⁵ This apparent antagonism between Cawdor and Milford supporters gives an indication of how volatile such alliances could become. Leastwise, by the early 1820s Milford and the Cawdors appeared on friendly terms again, as the former passed all his political interest to Cawdor’s son.

One other episode needs concern us regarding Cawdor’s involvement with the aftermath of the French landing: his attitude towards the twenty-eight-year-old Lieutenant-Colonel Thomas Knox, commanding officer of the Fishguard Fencibles or Volunteers. William Knox, father of Thomas, had been high-sheriff of Pembrokeshire in 1786, and had established the Fishguard Volunteers at his own expense, with his young son, Thomas, as their commanding officer.²⁰⁶ William had also supported the establishment of the Pembrokeshire Society for the encouragement of Agriculture, Manufactures and Industry in 1784, though Charles Hassall, Knox’s then agent, may have been the founder.²⁰⁷ Hassall was an agricultural improver and, in 1793, wrote the *General View of Agriculture* of both Pembrokeshire and Carmarthenshire for the Board of Agriculture. However, he had been dismissed from his agency by William Knox and there may have been some smouldering resentment awaiting revenge on the part of the ex-agent. He had the political support of both Charles Greville and Baron Cawdor and was considered to be an increasingly important man in Pembrokeshire society. In a letter

of 1 March 1797 to a Major Williamson, Hassall accused William Knox of cowardice, for retreating from the French and leaving Fishguard undefended. To confuse matters, four weeks later, Joseph Adams, a friend of Cawdor, wrote to Greville that the whole story of Knox's cowardice was originated by the governor of Fishguard, a Mr Vaughan, and that after inquiry into the matter [by Major Williamson] Knox was accused of 'lack of judgement rather than cowardice, [and that] Vaughan eats his words'.²⁰⁸ However, in a letter of 15 April, Cawdor's name headed a list of men involved in repelling the French, stating they would resign their commissions 'rather than under any circumstances risk our characters by acting under the command of lieutenant-colonel Knox whose ignorance of his duty and want of judgement must be fully known to you'. Cawdor also wrote to the Duke of York:

I lament feeling myself under the painful necessity of reporting to your RH the total want of Discipline and unsoldier like appearance of the Corps of Fishguard Volunteers commanded by Lieut Colonel Knox which your RH may believe appear'd to me more glaring when contrasted with the steadiness and appearance of younger corps whose expence to Government was comparatively trifling. I think it my duty to inform your Royal Highness that the Rank confirm'd on Mr Knox a very young Man without experience or influence in the County has to my knowledge prevented many old officers and Gentleman of consequence in the Counties of Pembroke and Cardigan from offering their services for the supplementary militia.²⁰⁹

Knox's action after this firmly points to his hostility towards Cawdor, especially as the latter refused to hand over copies of recriminating letters to Knox which may have helped him refute the accusations of cowardice. Knox challenged Cawdor to a duel, the outcome of which is, unfortunately, shrouded in mystery, though, if it took place, both parties survived. Cawdor refers in his diary to meeting Knox on 24 May 1797: 'After breakfast rode to the Ferry. Met Joe [Joseph Adams] there, and Mr Knox and Col Vaughan near the Williamson Road. Rode home alone back by ½ past one.'²¹⁰ The subsequent sad sinking into debt and insanity of Thomas Knox is told by Stuart Jones.²¹¹

Three years after he led the force to repel the French landing, Cawdor was involved in quelling a ring of rum smugglers operating from Trewent Mill, a few miles from Stackpole Court. According to an anonymously written account,²¹² Cawdor, who had just returned from Ireland on militia duties, discovered no action had been taken against an 'Establishment of smugglers'. The writer explains Cawdor's involvement thus:

Being called upon by the scarcity of the Times to examine minutely into the State of the poor he had an opportunity of observing that this Establishment had extended its ruinous Influence throughout a district of large Extent the principal part of which is his own property: he therefore considered it his duty to use his utmost exertions to counteract and suppress such illegal Proceedings so ruinous to the morals and health of the common People.²¹³

He and the excise collector at Milford Haven, a Mr [Matthew] Campbell, Cawdor's nephew, repelled the smugglers, but not before Cawdor was firstly abandoned by fellow gentry who feared being shot, and, secondly was attacked 'with a poker' by one of the smugglers. However, Cawdor managed to wrest the weapon from his assailant and arrest him.

At a time when there was no standing army or police force it was incumbent upon the Lord Lieutenant and magistracy to muster the disparate forces available to them, in order to defend the realm. Campbell's personal involvement went further than most other magistrates, in his role to achieve a French surrender, and to put an end to the civil disturbance of smuggling. However, if his actions were undertaken in the hope of gaining the Lord Lieutenancy, he failed. In Pembrokeshire Lord Milford lived on until 1823, and in Carmarthenshire the new owner of Golden Grove was ignored for the Lieutenancy—because of his stranger status?—when it became vacant in 1804, on John Vaughan's death, in favour of Cawdor's political rival, Lord Dynevor, who held it until his death in 1852. And at this date the Lord Lieutenant's office was becoming more a figure-head representative of the crown than an active crown agent as it had been at the beginning of the century.²¹⁴

On the death of Lord Milford in 1823, John Frederick Campbell, second Baron Cawdor and son of the hero of 1797, wrote to the Prime Minister, Lord Liverpool, asking for his name to be put forward as a candidate for the Lord Lieutenancy of Pembrokeshire. However, the King chose the Tory, Sir John Owen of Orierton, Cawdor's political rival,²¹⁵ an appointment which must have galled Cawdor, who would have seen the office of Lord Lieutenant, which 'wielded immense electoral power',²¹⁶ as an excellent opportunity to advance in county politics. In fact the Cawdors had to wait until 1896 before obtaining the Lieutenancy in Pembrokeshire.²¹⁷

In Carmarthenshire they attained the position in the second half of the century, and after a change of politics from Whig to Conservative. When the Lord Lieutenant of

Carmarthenshire, Lord Dynevor, died in 1852, he was succeeded by the first Earl Cawdor. This finally saw the eclipse of the House of Dynevor as political leaders of the county. On the first Earl's death at the end of 1860, the position was offered to his son and heir John Frederick Vaughan. Cautiously he wrote to a certain Mr Brand in Palmerston's Liberal government, that the offer:

Was entirely unexpected by me, and before accepting it, I must beg you to explain to Lord P that I cannot do so, if any Political adherence to his Party or any advancement of a perfectly free and unfettered course of action on my part is implied by my accepting it. I have always held myself aloof from any connection with your friends, and any support I may have given them has been, as you know, and as Hayter will tell you, before your reign, entirely free and unaccompanied by any thing like patronage.

and he emphasized this later in the letter with: 'I shall esteem it an honour and a compliment...but I could not consent to accept it if any thing like an understanding was supposed to exist as to present or future support of his party, and if after consideration he should think it better of his first determination, I shall, I can assure you, feel no disappointment but on the contrary shall only feel flattered that he should have thought me a fit person.'²¹⁸ Cawdor's stance was well vindicated, and his Lieutenancy was, according to Matthew Cragoe, distinguished by its sense of fairness and consultation, though Adfyfr and other radicals accused him of deliberately ignoring Liberal candidates for the bench.²¹⁹

In 1887 comments on the appointment of magistrates in Llanelli by the Lord Lieutenant (Cawdor) were sent to Mousley, who declined to send them on to his master. The writer, a B. Jones, remarked: 'the time is come to increase this Bench [Llanelli] with independent and more intelligent men. The public remarks here are not pleasant on the facts of a brother and brothers widows and uncle and nephews. Certainly judging the public interests of the people, and the Lord Lieutenant would remove all complaint by infusing new Blood into the Magistracy.'²²⁰ Less provocative but still critical was W. O. Brigstocke's plea to Cawdor in 1892, just prior to the Carmarthenshire County Council election. Brigstocke, the Liberal chairman of the County Council, wrote to the second Earl in confidence: 'respectfully venture to ask you whether you will not, ... be able to place a few more Liberals on the Commission of the Peace. I feel convinced that it would have a very tranquilizing and beneficial effect on the [County Council] elections', which Brigstocke hoped could be fought on non-party lines. Since Brigstocke was leading a

Council which was overwhelmingly Liberal it is difficult to see why he should request 'a few more Liberals' on the Commission, though the latter *was* short of Liberals.²²¹

The deficiency of Liberal magistrates was raised a year later and the expectations of the Cawdors is made clear in comments they made regarding some of the candidates for the Commission.²²² In this matter Cawdor was assisted by his son, Lord Emlyn, since the latter had a greater knowledge of likely Carmarthenshire candidates, Golden Grove being his main residence. In 1893 Emlyn commented as follows regarding some of the men proposed as magistrates: Mr Stephens of Kidwelly 'is a talkative aggressive sort of man and I should not think one of a judicial frame of mind', whilst Mr Morse was 'a grubby ill-educated ill-humoured farmer. Quite unfit [for the bench]'. Emlyn's concerns were mainly with regard to the social standing and the education of those proposed, but their morals were also important: 'As to Mr. Haley, ...on enquiry we found that his domestic relations with his housekeeper were such that it would not do to appoint him.'²²³ At one stage Emlyn apologised to his father: 'I am sorry I cannot make a selection of these, picking out those least unfit...as to some of them I feel sure that the present bench of magistrates would not care to sit with them—and they have I think some claim to consideration.'²²⁴ Neither Emlyn nor his father commented in regard to a candidate's politics or religion—as with choosing estate tenants these two factors appear to have been unimportant. However, others who wrote to the Lord Lieutenant on the matter did refer to the lack of Liberals, nonconformists or radicals nominated. The Clerk of the Peace for Carmarthenshire, Thomas Jones, wrote that: 'there is a great feeling among the non-conformists throughout the County that the two Members for the County, Mr Abel Thomas and Mr John Lloyd Morgan [both Liberals] should be placed in the Commission'. He also recommended a certain David Lewis Jones as a 'fit man to be put in the Commission, he is a Liberal and a nonconformist [and also] John Lloyd of Penybach [a] radical and nonconformist he is a County Councillor for Abergwili [and] seems a very intelligent young man'.²²⁵ Such a call for inclusion onto the bench of Welsh-speaking Liberals and nonconformists was also to be heard elsewhere in Wales at this time.

Local Liberals were not alone in commenting upon the seemingly biased list that Cawdor produced. Lord Herschell, the Liberal Lord Chancellor, wrote that regarding the

meagre number of Liberal magistrates in the County [Carmarthenshire] that there are a sufficient number of magistrates in various petty sessional divisions is a sufficient answer to the representations made to me. It is immediately retorted that so many conservatives ought not to have been put on the Bench and that if they wait for vacancies the Liberal Party may be out of office in which case they have no certainty that Liberals will be added. Though I trust you may be Lord Lieutenant for a long time to come, there is the least the chance that with a Conservative Chancellor and a new Conservative Lord Lieutenant the prospect of the Liberals might be a very poor one. I do not desire a very large addition [of prospective Liberal magistrates] ...but I do want enough to satisfy all reasonable men.²²⁶

A month later Herschell wrote again asking if Cawdor had any 'personal objection' to the men proposed, though he knew Cawdor did not 'consider their social position such as would justify you in recommending them'.²²⁷ The people recommended by Hereschell totalled four: a clergyman without cure of souls, a medical doctor, a builder and contractor and an ironmonger, who was also the chairman of a Llanelly school board.

By 1893 the bench was dealing almost entirely with judicial matters, but it would still have been important, in Cawdor's view, as both magistrate and Lord Lieutenant, to have had the 'best men for the job'. However he may have been hoping for men who were of a (Conservative) moral purity that never really existed. Thus earlier, in 1817, R. B. Williams wrote of fisticuffs between magistrates, and of the magistrate who had 'misbehaved himself' and no longer attended meetings. And over half a century later, in 1873, Mousley remarked upon a statement made by the second Earl regarding unsuitable magistrates. Writing of some unspecified shady transaction, the agent stated that: 'They were both Pembrokeshire magistrates—and I recollect Your Lordship saying that, perhaps a £5 note or two had something to do with their being passed on the Commission for Carmarthenshire.'²²⁸ It was probably the latter type of characters that the second Earl Cawdor, the publicly upright Victorian moralist, was hoping to avoid installing on the Commission. However, as the century progressed, whatever the desire of the lord lieutenant, the Commission of the Peace almost inevitably, given the advancement of a more democratic society, included increasing numbers of industrialists, tradesmen, and others who made their wealth in ways other than land. A majority of these men would also have been Liberal and nonconformists.²²⁹

B. The Quarter and Petty Sessions:

The magistrates of the counties, qualifying by dint of property owned, ruled as an unelected oligarchy and the quarter sessions bench was an inner circle of that oligarchy. As more democratic processes were put in place, the role of that oligarchy became ever more anachronistic to increasing numbers of people, if not to the magistrates themselves, and this was true of the Cawdors in their role as magistrates. By virtue of their properties in Pembrokeshire and Carmarthenshire they qualified as magistrates, as did other members of the family resident at Stackpole Court,²³⁰ and both Cawdor and Emlyn took the oath of *dedimus potestatem* in both counties, which allowed them to sit on the bench at quarter sessions in both counties. At several periods during the nineteenth century, both the Lords Cawdor and Emlyn sat on the bench together, reinforcing the Cawdor presence. However they did not take the oath immediately upon becoming magistrates. The second Earl was placed on the Commission for Carmarthenshire in 1835. In Pembrokeshire, he was placed on the Commission in 1834, but only took the oath in 1854.²³¹ His son Archibald, Lord Emlyn, who qualified on his majority in 1868, had not attended either quarter sessions or petty sessions as a Pembrokeshire magistrate until the year 1887-88.²³²

Since their inception, the County Quarter Sessions had had a dual function, judicial and administrative, with the latter becoming increasingly the more important part of its work. This remained so until the Local Government Act of 1888 transferred most of the quarter sessions' administrative work to the County Councils (see below). Tending towards reinforcing the oligarchical character of the quarter sessions, at least until the 1830s, was the fact that poor central government control allowed legislation on a variety of matters to be interpreted locally by magistrates, so that 'Policy-formation at local level might be likened to a series of variations on a theme by parliament.'²³³

John Campbell was active in the Pembrokeshire Quarter sessions from at least 1795.²³⁴ However he only became a magistrate for Carmarthenshire in 1804, attending his first sessions for that county in July of that year, less than six months after he became the master of Golden Grove. Although he could have attended prior to this by virtue of his Ystradffin estate, the quarter sessions order books do not record his presence.²³⁵ However ascendancy to the county's largest estate brought with it a paternal obligation to perform

public duties and at the time the quarter sessions was the only county body where those public duties could be undertaken.²³⁶ Of course by actively involving himself on the quarter sessions he was also ensuring his own interests were not invaded. Additionally, Cawdor's appearance at the Sessions of 1804 indicated to his political enemies that the Cawdors were set to establish themselves at a county level, though lack of money would prevent them from becoming directly involved in county parliamentary politics until the 1830s. At the beginning of the nineteenth century they attended about two of the four sessions per year, depending whether or not they were resident in the county. Christopher Chalklin comments that for many English counties at this time, though the gentry attended the sessions, albeit in small numbers, the aristocracy attended very infrequently since their views 'would be respected even in their absence'.²³⁷ It is impressive therefore that the Cawdors' presence at the quarter sessions, particularly for Carmarthenshire, was fairly consistent throughout the century, as was their attendance at the petty sessions for the district of Llandeilo.²³⁸ Moreover, at the end of the nineteenth century Lord Emlyn oversaw the transfer of county administrative work to Carmarthenshire County Council, and remained chairman of the truncated quarter sessions, dealing with judicial matters, from 1895 until 1908.²³⁹ Earlier in the century, the first Earl Cawdor was present at all the meetings of the Carmarthenshire Quarter Sessions in 1843, chairing the proceedings on the Epiphany and Easter Sessions, during the height of the Rebecca Riots. He was also present at one of the Pembrokeshire sessions in the same year. Remarkably, even though these sessions tried and sentenced Rebecca Rioters, Cawdor properties were never, as far as is known, targeted by Rebecca. This is in marked contrast to the Lord Lieutenant, Lord Dynevor's property (whose son, George Rice Trevor MP, had been delegated the duty of restoring order to the county from his aging father), which was attacked, and his person threatened.²⁴⁰

During the Rebecca Riots the Carmarthenshire quarter sessions debated the expense of establishing the rural police force, then about to become a reality. J. H. Rees wanted the establishment of a police force postponed until the Royal Commission of Enquiry had published its findings, since this could save the County money—the cost of the police force would be £4,700. Lord Cawdor replied that:

the mere appointment of such a Commission was not to supersede the duty of the Magistrates—it might produce a good result—he hoped it would; but it was still their

duty to do what was necessary for the peace and safety of the county. ...he hoped the time might arrive when they might be able to dispense with the Rural Police; but the most probable way to ensure that, was to organise it speedily and powerfully, or they would proceed from bad to worse, till crime became prevalent, and the police could not be done without.²⁴¹

Others on the bench pointed out the aforementioned cost to the county of £4,700²⁴² and that the government themselves had forced the county to establish a police force. This was not entirely correct since the 1839 Police Act was permissive,²⁴³ though in Carmarthenshire (and Pembrokeshire) the Rebecca Riots probably forced the hand of the magistrates somewhat. Cawdor, opposing those rejecting the idea of a standing police force, though too concerned about the cost, answered that they had pledged to establish such a force and it was too late to rescind that pledge. He also believed that many farmers were convinced, 'that if these outrages proceeded, the expense to them would be more—would be far more grievous, in the event of indictments, than some of the grievances, *which he was not prepared to deny might exist* [my italics]'.²⁴⁴ It is clear from Cawdor's response that he believed establishing a police force—hopefully a temporary measure—was the lesser of two evils, the worse being the complete break-up of society. The rural police force came into being on 25 July 1843 just over a week after the Sessions debate.²⁴⁵ The debate regarding the police force brought to the fore the desire of the magistrates to continue their local autonomy, which certainly involved not spending large sums on what was perceived to be an unnecessary police force. Cawdor's more pragmatic line was somewhat at odds with his fellow magistrates. It was a pragmatism which showed itself on a number of occasions, not least with the acceptance of nonconformists as tenants, and later in the century with Archibald, Lord Emlyns attitude over education.

If at such times the Cawdors could be seen as pragmatic magistrates, at other times they are portrayed in a more arrogant light, using the quarter sessions to achieve their own ends, at considerable cost to others, and with lasting ill-feeling. One of the areas of conflict between magistrates on the bench frequently related to the ownership, repairing and rebuilding of bridges. Payment for bridge work was either due from the county rate, which was raised by the quarter sessions from each parish, from the Turnpike Trusts, or from the parish where the bridge was situated. In 1829 a certain John Williams wrote to Cawdor's agent, R. B. Williams, that he had examined various bridges, which had been

built fourteen years before. He concluded that the bridges were not the liability of the Turnpike Trusts even though built by them, since the Trusts were not corporate bodies and therefore could not own bridges; nor were they the liability of the parish in which they were situated since there was no precedent for the parishes having ever repaired them; and therefore Williams concluded, that since the bridges were used and without them the roads would be impassable, the county, at quarter sessions, would have to take responsibility. Richard Spurrell, secretary of the Three Commotts Trust, wrote to R. B. Williams: 'You have no idea what a hard battle I had at ...the Quarter Sessions ...to throw the six bridges on the County.'²⁴⁶ Spurrell's action would save the Trust money, and was thus a benefit to Cawdor, who held a large number of tallies in this Trust, as we have seen. The reluctance to admit responsibility for bridge repair, by parish, turnpike trust or quarter sessions, often resulted in bridge repair being completely ignored, sometimes for years. In 1836, the Carmarthenshire Quarter Sessions paid to repair or rebuild 24 bridges around the County.²⁴⁷

If, however, a bridge was seen as important to them the local gentry would often have it repaired at their own expense, and attempt to recoup their money at quarter sessions. In 1852 the gentry of the Llandeilo area, led by the first Earl Cawdor, had, at their own expense, built a bridge over the river Tywi near Llangathen. Unfortunately, the approaches to the bridge, known as the Cilsane bridge, had not been rebuilt as part of the work and a gentleman had fallen over the edge and drowned. The permanent quarter sessions chairman, Conservative MP David Pugh of Manorafon, argued that the approaches should have been completed by the gentlemen who had built the bridge, whereas Cawdor, speaking on behalf of the gentlemen builders, said the approaches should be completed at the expense of the County. He stated that the bridge was of little use to himself, since 'It was not in his road to church—to London—to Golden Grove—or to Stackpole.' He continued, perhaps rather disingenuously, that the bridge was also of no advantage to his tenants, 'as those who resided in that neighbourhood could conveniently cross the ford. [Thus] It was solely on the ground of it being of utility to the County he had interested himself in it.'²⁴⁸ However, the bridge was only about half a mile from Golden Grove farm, and would have been very convenient to that place, for instance, with regard to access to lands north of the Tywi. The chairman, becoming hostile, said he

had previously stated he wanted discussion at Carmarthen rather than Llandeilo concerning this bridge since the ‘latter place had not a very enviable reputation’, an unveiled attack on the way in which Cawdor had had his way with the rebuilding of the Llandeilo bridge, four years earlier, at the cost of £23,000.²⁴⁹ Cawdor responded by publicly refuting that they were not to be trusted with the consideration of such subjects in Llandeilo, and stated that, ‘The magnificent bridge at Llandilo, so *economically* built, was refutation enough of such a charge.’ [my emphasis—the Llandeilo bridge was one of the most costly in the county to build].

Lord Emlyn, also present, lent his support to Cawdor in refuting Pugh’s allegations regarding Llandeilo bridge and as the motion was withdrawn, he was desirous of knowing whether the County would relieve those gentlemen who had at their own expense erected a temporary fence to prevent any further accident at the bridge and, if not, he thought the same gentlemen would be justified in removing the fence. Pugh seems to have ignored Emlyn’s rather sarcastic comments and merely re-iterated his earlier statement that: ‘when a man or set of men construct a bridge, the law imposed on them the necessity of completing it’. Cawdor’s final response was that if that was the case he would be glad if the Chairman would indict the parties concerned.²⁵⁰

At the October quarter sessions of 1852 Pugh announced his resignation over the Llangathen Bridge fracas, over a sense of duty, believing the Court, which had supported Cawdor, was wrong.²⁵¹ Cawdor regretted that anything which ‘might have dropped from him’ was likely to deprive the county of the services of the chairman, though, he added, having the last word, that Pugh’s charges last Sessions had been offensive to him personally, but he hoped all ill-feeling would now be banished. The ill-feeling faded but did not go away, though it was Lord Emlyn, as the second Earl, who in 1868 refused to support Pugh in the election of that year.

The Cawdors continued their involvement at quarter sessions until the end of the nineteenth century, and upon the establishment of the County Councils from 1889 they involved themselves with both bodies. Albeit, as has been shown earlier, the third Earl, Archibald, gradually withdrew firstly from parish and other bodies such as the Boards of Guardians and later the County Council as he became increasingly involved with national government matters, as Lord Emlyn, he was the chairman of the quarter sessions on the

transfer of its administrative functions in 1889. He served on the Standing Joint Committee as a magistrate rather than a county councillor, this committee being shared equally with the quarter sessions and having responsibility for supervising the police force.²⁵² In a meeting of the Primrose League he announced that he had nothing to be ashamed of in taking part in the management of the County as a magistrate.²⁵³

The counties were divided into Petty Sessions divisions, eight for Carmarthenshire and five for Pembrokeshire, and they were attended by one or two magistrates from within each district. Petty Sessions, as well as trying 'crimes' such as drunkenness, and poaching, timber theft and other misdemeanours, also carried out such administrative business as examining the accounts of the overseers of the poor and highway surveyors. David Williams comments that: 'Much of their jurisdiction was summary, and whether it was efficient or bungling, tyrannical or paternal, depended to a great extent on individual magistrates.'²⁵⁴ However the petty sessions were liked by many because they were quick, accessible and cheap. Beynon used the court on more than one occasion when he wanted to make quick example of a wrongdoer as a deterrent to others.²⁵⁵ As mentioned above, the Cawdors sat at petty sessions in the Llandeilo division in Carmarthenshire and the Castlemartin Hundred division in Pembrokeshire. Emlyn's diaries for the 1850s testify to his regular appearance at the Llandeilo petty sessions. However, until the petty sessions were given greatly increased jurisdiction in the second half of the century,²⁵⁶ it cannot be said that the workload was oppressive. Over the three-year period 1840-42, forty-six people were convicted in Castlemartin Hundred and fifty-nine in the Llandeilo Division²⁵⁷—less than one person per fortnightly meeting. Indeed, much of the work of the Petty Sessions in the first half of the century was administrative. The aforementioned increased workload was indicative of the enhanced state role in criminal jurisdiction and it is notable that the paternalistic Cawdors became less involved with the criminal court procedures of both the Quarter and Petty Sessions from the 1860s onwards.²⁵⁸

C. Joint Counties Lunatic Asylum:

The Cawdors were occasionally involved with mental health problems at an intimate level. Admiral George Campbell, whilst Admiral of the Port of Portsmouth, took his own life, after suffering what was probably years of depression.²⁵⁹ And in 1855 Lord Emlyn

was involved with removing a Miss Fox, who was residing at Golden Grove, in what capacity it is not known, to a private Lunatic asylum in London. No reason emerges regarding this episode, but Emlyn personally took the lady in question from Golden Grove by train to London. He wrote: ‘after some difficulties, brought Miss Fox to 16 Southampton St, Fitzroy Square... saw Smith about Miss Fox whom he pronounced insane as did Mr Walsh MD’. Emlyn was going to put Miss Fox in a private asylum, however her sister agreed to take her in.²⁶⁰

Whether such experience of mental stress had any bearing on the Cawdors’ involvement with the formation of an asylum for the insane is a matter for conjecture, but their support for this venture was an important aspect of their role as paternalistic magistrates in promoting the community’s well-being. The first Earl Cawdor was the chairman of the committee set up via the Carmarthenshire Quarter Sessions to establish an asylum for the insane, after the Asylum Act of 1845 made it compulsory for each county to provide for its mentally-ill. In June 1846 Cawdor was selected by the quarter sessions to lead a committee to oversee the building of the asylum²⁶¹—which became known as the Joint Counties Lunatic Asylum—though, due to disagreements, chiefly over finances, the asylum did not open until 1865, twenty years after the Act. In particular, Cardiganshire’s niggardliness retarded progress on more than one occasion.²⁶² In contrast, Carmarthenshire decidedly buzzed activity, which may have been due to Cawdor’s lead, though it can be assumed that Cawdor, as chairman of the committee, was conscience of keeping the costs down to avoid large increases to the county rate.

It was Cawdor’s patronage which led to the appointment of David Brandon as the architect of the asylum. The architect Richard Kyrke Penson used by Cawdor as a site-manager when restoring churches in several parishes of south Pembrokeshire (for which see above Ch.5.1) seemingly expected the work. However, Cawdor had fallen out with Penson when he was engaged to oversee Cawdor’s church building in Pembrokeshire and opposed his appointment as the asylum architect. He wrote to him in a very forthright manner: ‘You appear to assume that you have a prima facie right to be employed as the Architect [of the asylum]... and that not being so employed is a blow to your professional reputation. I am unable to see the matter in this light, and deny that any such right is recognised in other places.’ He continued: ‘With regard to your proposal of being

associate with Mr Brandon [the architect] in the work...if Mr Brandon's plans are approved [by the Committee of Visitors] it will be for him to make his own arrangements as to carrying them out, but I certainly will not suggest to him any such association.'²⁶³ Penson's pushy nature, his complaints to Cawdor over loss to his own business when employed by Cawdor on church work, and the fact that he was patronised by Lord Dynevor, for whom he had carried out extensive work at Newton House, probably encouraged Cawdor to part company with the County Bridge Surveyor. However, although Cawdor seems to have been happy with Brandon, his work was heavily criticised by the Lunacy Commissioners, though it may have been attempts to save money by the quarter sessions committee, chaired by Cawdor, rather than Brandon's work which was to blame. The 1870 Commissioners' Report was critical of the unfinished nature of the Asylum; for instance, no painting and decorating had been done inside the building. It also stated that the building was becoming overcrowded and the Committee of Visitors had submitted plans for additional wings to be built. Cost cutting had meant that the two wings of the original design had been omitted which had led to 'Great inconvenience...owing to culpable negligence on the part of the architect, during the progress of the building, which was given up by the contractor in such a discreditable condition that very heavy expenses will have to be incurred in the repairs already become everywhere necessary.'²⁶⁴ Despite this critical report, many of the Reports of the Lunacy Commissioners are generally positive with regards the Asylum. In particular they were impressed with the rare usage (at least recorded usage) of mechanical restraint and of seclusion as punishments.²⁶⁵ Such a relatively humane regime was in place long before the 1890 Lunacy Act attempted to outlaw the use of mechanical restraints.

It has been argued that the asylums established after the 1845 Act, although part of the post-1834 Poor law establishment, were also separated from it by the desire to *cure* the people who entered their wards, rather than *punish* them which was the *raison d'etre* of the union workhouse. As such, asylum ethos partly belonged to an older paternalistic view of society, as opposed to the poor laws which were imbued with a Benthamite harshness. Thus the asylum philosophy was symbolised by the central role magistrates played in their establishment.²⁶⁶ At the Carmarthenshire Michaelmas Quarter Sessions for 1845, upon Cawdor's motion a Committee of Visitors was established. The Committee of

Visitors, chosen from the benches of the three counties, was the controlling body of the asylum, and all visitors were magistrates which offered them a 'new opportunity for the exercise of institutional power';²⁶⁷ it also allowed the magistrates to exercise their paternalism. The Visitors would have seen pauper lunatics as a part of 'society which would learn deference, gratitude and propriety if given charitable provision of orderly, stratified, kindly, institutional care'.²⁶⁸ Six visitors were nominated by Carmarthenshire, five by Pembrokeshire and four by Cardiganshire, this ratio a reflection of the financial support each county contributed to the asylum. All the names proposed for Carmarthenshire were chosen by Lord Cawdor, reflecting the control he wielded over the whole process. By 1852 Cawdor himself had become a visitor. Even after the advent of the County Council, which took over the administration of the Asylum, the visitors continued to be made up of magistrates.

In 1866 Lord Cawdor became one of the five visitors representing Pembrokeshire and he was joined by his son Lord Emlyn, in 1872, as one of the six visitors representing Carmarthenshire. They continued as visitors, Cawdor until 1880, and Emlyn until 1892. From 1889 Emlyn was elected unanimously as chairman of the Committee of Visitors. His chairmanship coincided with the transfer of asylum administration to the newly created county councils. Here, as elsewhere, it seems that as the political power of the Cawdors waned they initially attempted to hang on to any area where a semblance of the older paternalistic authority still prevailed. However, in 1892 Emlyn resigned from the committee, and thus the chairmanship, over a decision to allow the press to attend hitherto confidential meetings of the Visitors where 'we are to discuss all matters relating to the patients (of however private and confidential a character)'. Emlyn considered this 'to be nothing short of a breach of trust' but since the Committee had decided this he felt he had to resign. He believed 'this course to be not only one that is unjust to the patients and their relations, but also one that is likely to deter patients from coming into the Asylum and thus to tend to lessen the chance of alleviation and cure in many a case'.²⁶⁹ The Clerk to the Committee, W. Morgan Griffiths, wrote to explain that reporters at committee meetings would be asked not to report anything confidential, to which Emlyn replied tartishly: 'The value of the presence of a reporter who is not to report I do not quite appreciate.'²⁷⁰ Despite Griffiths's request that Emlyn reconsider his resignation, he

did not do so, and thereby ended nearly half a century of involvement with the Joint Asylum.²⁷¹

Emlyn resigned from the asylum visitors in the same year that he refrained from standing as a Llandebie, Llanfihangel Aberbythych, Llanddarog and Llanarthney United District School Board member. He also resigned as the chairman of the Llandeilo Sanitary Board in the same year. It is also noticeable that in the year he resigned from the chairmanship of the Joint Counties Asylum he had only attended three meetings from a possible eleven.²⁷²

As noted earlier, he was becoming increasingly involved in matters which took him away from south-west Wales. With regard to the welfare of the mentally-ill he became an honorary Commissioner in Lunacy in 1890. The Commission had been established after the 1845 Asylum Act, and part of its remit was to visit all the Asylums in England and Wales once per year and to report its findings. There were only eleven commissioners and the work load would have been heavy. This is not to say Emlyn wanted an excuse to remove himself from the Joint County Asylum Committee of Visitors: his reason for resignation displays a degree of empathy towards those sufferers at the asylum which was rather lacking in the less than thoughtful Clerk and the rest of the Committee. However, it has already been noted that Emlyn's work with the GWR, and the Church Commissioners as well as the Lunacy Commissioners entailed him being away from Wales for longer periods than had been the case hitherto.

D. Board of Guardians and Local Board of Health

The Poor Law Amendment Act of 1834 established Poor Law Unions, with a union workhouse in each to receive paupers. The Unions replaced the parish as the administrative area for dealing with the increasing problem of pauperism,²⁷³ and they were administered by Boards of Guardians. The New Poor Law, as it was frequently referred to, had as its central tenet the idea of 'less eligibility', which attempted to ensure that only the most desperately poor would become inmates of the Union, since it was envisaged that most of the poor would not receive relief, but would find work.²⁷⁴

However, variations at a local level enabled an injection of humanity into such harsh legislation which led, by the 1850s, to the acceptance of outdoor relief by the Poor Law Commissioners.²⁷⁵ So though it was in the interests of the Boards of Guardians to ensure the New Poor Law was adhered to, since doing so would have kept down the poor rates, it was common practice in England and even more so in Wales to ignore the strict letter of the law which stipulated that poor relief should only be given to inmates of the workhouse. In reality the majority of those being paid relief received it in the form of outdoor relief. E. J. R. Morgan has pointed out with regard to Pembrokeshire that outdoor relief was used extensively to the end of the nineteenth century.²⁷⁶ This was also the case in Carmarthenshire Unions.²⁷⁷ As an example of the wide discrepancy between indoor and outdoor relief, in 1857-58, the four Unions of Carmarthenshire spent £110 on indoor and £4,510. 16s. on outdoor relief. In the same years in Pembrokeshire the three Unions spent £190. 19s. on indoor and £5,420. 14s. on outdoor relief. Much of this would have been payment of rent, and if not rent then money payments both of which contradicted the letter and the spirit of the new law.²⁷⁸ Outdoor relief may have given the very poor a vestige of self dignity and a hope that they could one day be free of such state assistance, which the workhouse removed. Outdoor relief also meant that a pauper could find or continue to work. Payment of outdoor relief also suited farmers (including landowners as farmers), since by employing the very poor as labourers they could pay them low wages, which would then be augmented by the Union. The desire that even the poor should be 'independent' (of receipt of poor rate or charity) was a core tenet of the Cawdors paternalism.

In east Carmarthenshire, the Llandilo Union, a combination of twelve parishes, was established in 1836. A Union Workhouse was subsequently built there in 1837-38. Lord Cawdor first appeared as a Llandeilo Guardian, sitting *ex officio*, in 1840. He appeared regularly for the next six or seven fortnightly meetings, after which he only attended intermittently over the next decade. Again in Pembrokeshire, Cawdor attended the first meeting of the Pembroke Union Board of Guardians on 7 June 1837, when he was elected chairman, though again he sat only intermittently. At the end of March 1841 he resigned from the board in a dispute with the other guardians over the 'expediency of allowing application to the magistrates for orders of Affiliation'.²⁷⁹ Whether Cawdor

resigned because he was for or against this measure is not known; however, there is evidence that he was distrusting of magistrates' decisions. He did not sit on the Board of Guardians again. Upon his death, the second Earl sat, *ex officio*, for the Pembroke Board, though again he only sat intermittently.

In Carmarthenshire the first earl's son, Lord Emlyn sat on the Llandeilo Board, again in an *ex officio* capacity, from around 1850, and he attended regularly when in the County. Archibald, Lord Emlyn, the second Earl's son also attended regularly, for instance he attended sixteen meetings from a total of twenty-five in 1875-1876. Over the next three decades Emlyn stayed involved with the Board, so much so that he sat as its chairman from November 1875 until 1880. However, in the latter year he resigned over the non-employment of a porter at the workhouse. His fellow Guardians thought they could save money by not employing the porter, but Emlyn pointed out to them that under the 1834 Act this was illegal. The board refused to accept his argument so he resigned. This gives an indication of Emlyn's principles, though at the same time there is no evidence that he protested against the payment of outdoor relief in the form of rents or monetary payments.

The composition of the Boards of Guardians, who were elected every three years, was overwhelmingly of farmers. For instance in April 1874 the elected members to the Llandilo Board of Guardians totalled twenty-six. Of these, twenty were farmers, one a colliery proprietor and farmer, one a timber merchant (and Cawdor tenant), one a land agent, with three gentlemen making up the remainder. Some of the farmers would undoubtedly have been Golden Grove tenants and most likely nonconformists. Emlyn and the other *ex officio* members, namely, William Du Bussion of Trygyb and David Pugh of Manorafon, attended in that capacity as magistrates.²⁸⁰ In one respect the Board of Guardians would have been unanimous, that the poor rates should be kept as low as possible. We have seen in the previous section that the question of higher rates was one which the anti-school board movement reiterated time-and-time again. And the same applied to the poor rates with regards to both farmers and landowners. However, the latter also had a paternalistic duty to help those less fortunate than themselves (or to punish those undeserving poor who would not work by incarcerating them in the workhouse).

As an indication of the seriousness with which Lord Emlyn took his role as a guardian, he was voted President of the Poor Law Guardians District Conference, and in 1871 chaired its second Annual Conference held in Swansea. At this conference he stated that he was searching for a 'defined relationship between [Friendly and Benefit Societies], and the administration of the Poor Law so they were not in antagonism with each other'. Fulfilment of this desire would, of course, reduce those dependent upon relief, and help reduce the local rates, since the Societies assisted working people in times of unemployment by encouraging them to save which, Emlyn tellingly added, was what provident men did. However, he did acknowledge that an Act was required to ensure Friendly and Benefit Societies were safe places for working men to save their money.²⁸¹

Archibald, Lord Emlyn, also regularly attended meetings, again *ex officio*, of the Llandilo Rural Sanitary Authority. He was its chairman from 1875 until 1892²⁸² when he attended his last meeting on 23 April. Part of his role on the County Council was as the chairman of the General Purposes Committee which had as part of its remit the public health of the county. His resignation in 1892 from the Rural Sanitary Authority is yet another instance of Emlyn's withdrawal from purely local matters. The withdrawal was doubtless partly because of increased activity at county level with his work on the new County Council, to which body we will now turn.

E. The County Councils

By the mid-nineteenth century it had become obvious to many that local government was in need of reform.²⁸³ In the 1830s there had been attempts to establish County Councils²⁸⁴ to manage county finances, but these failed since the same landed interest served both parliament and the magistracy, and they were quite unwilling to relinquish their local control. Local Government bills designed to create county governments had also been introduced in the late 1850s and again in the 1870s but these again had been withdrawn. In fact, until the establishment of the county councils in the late 1880s, 'The field of local government was overgrown with an almost impenetrable under-wood of conflicting jurisdictions, while the very existence of the laws, as well as the mode of administration, depended upon the whims of particular towns and districts.'²⁸⁵ Thus, most local

administration was left in the hands of unelected magistrates sitting at quarter sessions, and this remained so until the Local Government Act of 1888.

The reform of the Poor Laws in the 1830s was the first major step in the reform of local government. This was followed by the Municipal Corporations Act of 1835 and then the establishment of Local Boards of Health, after the 1859 Public Health Act. These reforms tended to reduce the jurisdiction of the magistrates. Even so, they managed to hold on to their government of oligarchical paternalism until the 1880s by which time the quarter sessions 'increasingly looked like a nominated county Parliament supervising a number of permanent officials, and a mass of overlapping jurisdictions'.²⁸⁶ The 1880s saw the clamour for reform become greater, and this time it was backed by a more democratic franchise, both locally with school boards and local health boards, and nationally after the second and then the third Reform Acts. The widening franchise increasingly made the unelected county magistrates appear an anachronism, dispensing a class-biased administration and justice.

The 1888 Conservative government brought in the Local Government Bill to establish the County Councils in England and Wales. The bill, as introduced, was a Conservative compromise, leaving the magistrates with a vestige of power, it has been shown, by virtue of their shared representation with elected councillors on the Standing Joint Committee. As Conservative party members Cawdor and Emlyn both supported the bill. At the Carmarthenshire Quarter Sessions, 13 April 1888, Lord Cawdor proposed, and Lord Dynevor seconded, that a committee be established to discuss the Local Government Bill after its second reading in the Commons. However, in the months leading up to its becoming law, it was Lord Emlyn who was most active in promoting the bill. His main platforms for doing so were the recently established Primrose League Habitations and the Farmers' Clubs. On 27 April 1888 Emlyn stated his views to the Emlyn Habitation of the Primrose League, held at the Assembly Rooms, Carmarthen, thus: 'I believe that if this Bill is carried into effect in its general principles, it will be a Bill of great utility to the counties.' However, there was a proviso, which Emlyn repeated at several meetings, in his hope that the bill would compel the counties to 'drag out from among them the best men to do their work'.²⁸⁷ He expanded on this theme at a Primrose meeting in November 1888 cautioning that the new authorities needed to take the best

man they could find 'provided he is an honest and straightforward man and provided he does not want to do jobs for half-a-dozen of his friends, and elect him for it'. He was here referring to one of the Carmarthenshire Liberal MPs, probably W. R. H. Powell's, address on the same subject. 'This gentleman,' continued Emlyn, 'wants to see how large a slice of the loaf he can get', referring to the Liberals' hoped-for majority on the County Council which, if gained, they would then 'pass around the loaf amongst [their] friends'.²⁸⁸ At a Carmarthenshire Farmers' Club meeting, again in November 1888, with Mousley as chairman, the discussion paper related to the Local Government Act and turned on the nature of the politics of the prospective members of the new Council.²⁸⁹ D. Thomas-Howells of Derllys stated that if 'party feeling be introduced into the Council, they would be in better hands if they remained in the hands of the county magistrates'. In response T. Evans of Treventy stated that he was against party politics being introduced, 'but I don't see how you can avoid them, and, it is, therefore, best to have a downright good fight. You Tories have had your innings a very long time, and now we will see what we can do.' Mousley summed up the day's proceedings, and believed that there 'was a considerable amount of unpleasantness ahead of them' with regard to the County Council elections. He thought the Act flawed in that it did not specify a mode of election which 'would have taken the power out of the hands of the parties, so that the perpetual party fighting with which they were threatened might be avoided'. Mousley then repeated the Conservatives' desire that the best men should be chosen: men of 'experience, with legal business heads, to do the work and conduct the business for the benefit of the county'.²⁹⁰

Emlyn, although a thorough Conservative Party man, was not totally supportive of the Local Government Bill. He objected to the qualifications of an elector for the county council: rated occupiers resident in or within seven miles of the county. Emlyn believed that the franchise should be given to all bona fide *owners and occupiers* so that all had a chance to take part in the new county administration. He suggested that the same franchise as used by parliament should be included in the bill and this was adopted by the Conservatives. Emlyn, as a rate payer, also found the proposal to allow the county council to borrow up to one million pounds 'alarming'.²⁹¹ The fear of rising rates had long been a *bête noire* of both the landowners and their tenants, on whose shoulders payment mainly fell. In 1835 the Grand Jury of Carmarthenshire, at the General Sessions,

had petitioned the House of Lords Select Committee on County Rates, ‘complaining of the Local Taxation paid by agriculturalists, ...and praying their Lordships for some relief’.²⁹² The relief was not forthcoming and the frustration of high rates was one of the grievances which led tenant farmers towards the Rebecca riots four years later. After Rebecca had started to fade in people’s memory the tenant farmers of several parishes in Carmarthenshire petitioned the quarter sessions requesting that the county police force be dissolved, as it was a great expense, and was no longer needed since the demise of the Riots.²⁹³ J. P. D. Dunbabin remarks that rates had more than doubled in the years 1841-1868 in England and Wales. And Carmarthenshire was one of the highest spending counties in Wales.²⁹⁴ In 1871 the county rate stood at £18,521. 18s. 1d., second highest after Glamorgan, while in the same year the Pembrokeshire County Rate was £4,382. 10s. 5d. We have seen how the rates argument was one that Mousley used in his anti-school board activities, and by the late 1860s ‘pressure for the relief of local taxation constituted one of the strongest lobbies in the Commons’.²⁹⁵ Lord Goschen, the president of the Local Government Board, proposed a fundamental reform of local rates, with a division of payment between owners and occupiers, which was similar to Emlyn’s argument two decades later.²⁹⁶

The result of the County Council elections was not encouraging for the future of the Conservative cause in Wales and was very different to the results in England where a majority of magistrates were returned as councillors, and where many leading landowners became chairmen of the new authorities. In Wales as a whole nearly 400 liberal councillors were returned, over twice the conservative number and it was the case in Carmarthenshire that the Conservatives, returning eight councillors, were routed by the Liberals who returned forty councillors. In Pembrokeshire the Liberals also took a commanding position with thirty-one councillors, over twice the number of Conservatives at fifteen.²⁹⁷

Lord Cawdor was returned unopposed as the Castlemartin County Councillor, Pembrokeshire. His experience was shared by a significant number of other Pembrokeshire gentry, D. L. Baker-Jones remarking that ‘many of the elected members were country squires’.²⁹⁸ Cawdor was subsequently nominated an alderman by the elected councillors—alderman were perceived as a means of bridling the vociferous

passions of some of the elected, democratic elements²⁹⁹—though he played a relatively quiet role in the council’s deliberations. Lord Emlyn was elected onto the new Carmarthenshire County Council as the councillor for Llanfihangel Aberbythych parish. He regularly attended the provisional meetings of the Council and was proposed as its first chairman by Sir James Williams-Drummond,³⁰⁰ who stated that since Emlyn had served as quarter sessions chairman for many years and had shown great ability in conducting county affairs, he should be the chairman of the new authority. However, in the vote for chairman, he lost to the Liberal candidate, W. O. Brigstocke, who received 45 votes to Emlyn’s 14.³⁰¹ This must have been a blow to Emlyn’s self-esteem, since he would have regarded himself as the natural leader of the county. However, although rejected as chairman, Emlyn remained a committed county councillor, and he became a member of several of the most important committees, including the Joint Standing Committee, the General Purposes Committee and the Finance Committee. The Joint Standing Committee, as indicated above, was a body made up of Magistrates and Councillors, and its portfolio was to administer the county police force. It consisted of twenty four members, twelve appointed by the quarter sessions and twelve by the county council, with a further member sitting as chairman, alternately taken from magistrates and councillors. Emlyn became the first chairman of the committee—as a magistrate rather than a councillor—and for a time in the mid-1890s alternated the chairmanship with Liberal Councillor Gwilym Evans.³⁰² The Cawdor estate agent Williams-Drummond also sat on this committee from 1892. Emlyn’s time on the committee was relatively uneventful, and he seems to have worked in accord with his fellow committee members.³⁰³ From April 1890 Emlyn was voted Chairman of the General Purposes Committee, which dealt with, amongst other matters, technical education and public health. Emlyn’s experience with health matters within the county, as chairman of the Llandeilo Rural Sanitary Authority and as a visitor to the Lunatic Asylum, would have brought invaluable experience to this committee.

Emlyn’s commitment to the County Council was thorough, at least in the first few years of the new local authority. In 1892-93 he served on six committees: Finance, General Purposes, Joint Standing, Small Holdings, Technical Instruction, and Joint Counties Lunatic Asylum. He also served on the Joint Standing sub-committee

established to examine police accounts. His wide-ranging concern for rates and local taxation, law and order, education, agriculture, and lunatics are reflected in his sitting on these committees. However, by the late 1890s Emlyn was becoming less involved with the County Council. Although he was voted onto three committees in 1897, namely, Public Health and General Purposes, Technical Instruction, and Finance, he rarely attended. By 1901 he was not sitting on any committee, and did not attend any County Council meeting, though technically he was still a county councillor. Two years later he attended full council meetings though he took no part in the proceedings.³⁰⁴ Dunbabin comments that the waning of interest in County Council business by councillors was quite common once they discovered, as with the quarter sessions 'the work was mainly done by a few of the more experienced Chairmen of Committees'.³⁰⁵ Though Emlyn was experienced in local government, he too, left the work to others as he spent more and more time in London on central government and GWR business.

In their role of leaders of county government the Cawdors also took an active part, even risking their own life on one occasion. And if, on occasion, they reveal a pragmatic streak, it cannot be forgotten that they were ambitious for rewards, and as such could be perceived as arrogant. When Milford relinquished his role as military leader against the French, Campbell grabbed the position and insisted that other, more experienced military men, unequivocally follow his lead. And later in the century, Cawdor and Emlyn both made it clear that they offered no quarter regarding their way over bridge building concerns, especially when the advancement of the estate was at stake. However, as magistrates they showed a willingness in attending to duties, the first earls involvement in establishing the Joint Counties Lunatic Asylum being particularly noteworthy.

At parochial and county government level the Cawdors' influence was, while not all-pervasive, very prominent, but as more democratic forces began to invade the realm of their paternalistic aristocratic world, in the shape of elected Boards of Guardians, School Boards, and County Councils, we see the Cawdors spending less time with purely local matters and more in the (still relatively aristocratic) sphere of national politics and directorships, which will now come under scrutiny.³⁰⁶

¹ I. Bradley, *The Call to Seriousness: The Evangelical impact on the Victorians* (London: Cape, 1976), p.59 states that 'There is no doubt that the Church of England went through the worst phase of its history in the late eighteenth century'.

² *CJ*, editorial, 3 May 1889.

³ D. Cannadine, *The Decline and Fall of the British Aristocracy* (London, 1990), p.255.

⁴ R. Tudur Jones, 'The Church and the Welsh Language in the Nineteenth Century', in G. H. Jenkins (ed.), *The Welsh Language and its Social Domains 1801-1911* (Cardiff: UWP, 2000), pp. 228-29.

⁵ K. O. Morgan, *Rebirth of a Nation: Wales 1880-1980* (Oxford University Press and University of Wales Press, 1981), pp. 40-1.

⁶ E. T. Davies, *Religion and Society in the Nineteenth Century* (Llandybie: Christopher Davies, 1981), ch. iii.

⁷ D. James 'Some Social and Economic Problems of the Church of England in the Diocese of St David's 1800-1874', (M.A. Wales, 1972), pp.153-154a.

⁸ I. G. Jones and D. Williams (eds.), *The Religious Census of 1851: A calendar of Returns Relating to Wales*, Vol. 1, *South Wales*, (Cardiff: UWP, 1976), pp. 281-85 and 341-45.

⁹ K. D. M. Snell, *Parish and Belonging: Community, Identity and Welfare in England and Wales, 1700-1950* (CUP, 2006), p.412.

¹⁰ A. D. Gilbert, *Religion and Society in Industrial England: Church, Chapel and Social Change, 1740-1914* (London: Longman, 1976), pp.27-9.

¹¹ Bradley, *The Call to Seriousness*, provides an excellent account of the influence of the Evangelical movement within the Church.

¹² I. G. Jones, *Communities: Essays in the Social History of Victorian Wales* (Llandysul, 1987), pp. 12-13.

¹³ PP, 1821, X, *First Annual Report of the Commissioners for building New Churches*: to build a new church at Hawarden, Flintshire, £4,000 grant.

¹⁴ *CJ*, 3 December 1824.

¹⁵ PP, 1837, XXI, *Seventeenth Annual report of the Church Commissioners*.

¹⁶ T. Lloyd, J. Orbach and R. Scourfield, *The Buildings of Wales: Carmarthenshire and Ceredigion* (Yale University Press, 2006), pp.43 and 133. The church was built between 1867 and 1869 by R. K. Penson.

¹⁷ Gilbert, *Religion and Society in Industrial England*, p.127.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 128-9.

¹⁹ Davies, *Religion and Society in the Nineteenth Century*, p.54.

²⁰ Gilbert, *Religion and Society in Industrial England*, p.129; for the work of the two inter-connected bodies, the Church Building Commissioners and the Incorporated Church Building Society, see M. H. Port, *Six Hundred New Churches: A Study of the Church Building Commission and its Church Building Activities, 1818-56* (London, 1961).

²¹ Cited in Jones, *Communities*, p. 37.

²² See G. Williams, W. Jacob, N. Yates, F. Knight, *The Welsh Church from Reformation to Disestablishment 1603-1920* (UWP: Cardiff, 2007): Nigel Yates argues that the extent of church building in Wales in the first half of the nineteenth century has been underplayed, chap 11, 'Church Building and Restoration', pp. 278-291.

²³ N. Yates, *Buildings Faith and Worship* (OUP, 1991). For the influence of the Oxford Movement on the building of churches in the nineteenth century, see, D. P. Freeman, 'The influence of the Oxford Movement on Welsh Anglicanism and Welsh Nonconformity in the 1840s and 1850s', (Ph.D. Wales, Swansea, 1999).

²⁴ A. J. Johnes, *An Essay on the Causes which have produced Dissent from the Established Church in the Principality of Wales* (2nd ed., 1832, London), p.69.

²⁵ *Cambrian*, 27 Nov. 1841

²⁶ Cawdor box 244: John Campbell's diaries 1816-21.

²⁷ Bradley, *The Call to Seriousness*, p.41.

²⁸ Cawdor box 245: Diary Sarah Campbell, Countess Cawdor, 1878; A. Trollope, *The American Senator* (Oxford World's Classics, 1876-7), p.253: 'ladies are supposed to need more church than men'.

²⁹ Cawdor box 245: Diary of Sarah Campbell, Countess Cawdor, 3 Nov. 1878: To Church in close carriage Holy Communion—Lizzie D Evie and J and a large number of servants and Villagers received it. I felt so cold, so dead so unimpressed, that I feared my Service was an insult to the Almighty Being whom I pretended to be alluding. In the afternoon I walked a mile round the Conservatory reading "Light of the Conscience" —a book I like more and more.' She was referring to Henrietta Louisa Farrer, *The Light of the Conscience*, (London, 1876). Farrer was a writer of pious Christian works.

³⁰ G. E. Jones, 'Education, 1815-1974', quoting the *Pembrokeshire Herald*, 25 November 1870, in *Pembrokeshire County History*, vol iv, *Modern Pembrokeshire, 1815-1974*, p.390.

³¹ Williams, Jacob, Yates, Knight, *The Welsh Church*, p.321.

³² The estate rentals for the first thirty years of the nineteenth century include intermittent payments for the repair of churches, for instance in 1810, a John Rudland of Gloucester was paid £15. 12s. 6d. for recasting the bell at St Petrox church, Pembs (Cawdor box 271).

³³ G. W. Evans, *Education and Female Emancipation: The Welsh Experience 1847-1914* (Cardiff: UWP, 1990), p.44.

³⁴ R. Smith, *Schools, Politics and Society: Elementary Education in Wales, 1870-1902* (Cardiff: UWP, 1999), pp.2-3.

³⁵ An excellent analysis is provided in I. G. Jones, *Mid-Victorian Wales: The Observers and the Observed* (Cardiff: UWP, 1992), pp. 1-23, 103-65.

³⁶ Smith, *Schools, Politics and Society*, pp. 5-6.

³⁷ G. E. Jones and G. W. Roderick, *A History of Education in Wales* (Cardiff: UWP, 2003), p.63.

³⁸ O. Chadwick, *The Victorian Church* (London, 1970), p.336.

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- ³⁹ F. M. L. Thompson, 'Landowners and the Rural Community', in Mingay (ed.), *The Victorian Countryside*, vol. 2, p.465.
- ⁴⁰ A. Digby, 'Social Institutions', in E. J. T. Collins, *The Agrarian History of England and Wales*, vol.vii, 1850-1914 (CUP, 2000), pt. ii, pp. 1,486-1,500.
- ⁴¹ A. Howkins, *Reshaping Rural England: A Social history 1850-1925* (Harper Collins Academic, 1991), p.176.
- ⁴² Smith, *Schools, Politics and Society*, p.54.
- ⁴³ Jones and Roderick, *A History of Education in Wales* (Cardiff: UWP, 2003) p.63.
- ⁴⁴ F. M. L. Thompson, *English Landed Society in the Nineteenth Century*, p.208; also, Beckett, *The Aristocracy in England 1660-1914*, p.351.
- ⁴⁵ E. J. Evans, *The Forging of the Modern State*, (London, 1996), p.331.
- ⁴⁶ Proverbs 22:6.
- ⁴⁷ E. R. Norman, *Church and Society in England* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1976); I. G. Jones, *Communities: Essays in the Social History of Victorian Wales* (Llandysul: Gomer, 1987), p.5: 'it was the conviction of the protagonists of church building that propriety and decency in ecclesiastical appearances led inevitably to the moral improvement of the localities concerned'.
- ⁴⁸ I. G. Jones, 'Ecclesiastical Economy: Aspects of Church Building' in R. R. Davies, R. A. Griffiths, I. G. Jones and K. O. Morgan (eds.), *Victorian Wales in Welsh Society and Nationhood* (Cardiff: UWP 1984), pp.216-31.
- ⁴⁹ *DNB*, Sir George Gilbert Scott 1811-1878: Scott was converted to the principles of Gothic architecture by the high churchman Benjamin Webb, secretary of the Cambridge Camden Society, and by meeting Pugin; Cawdor Box 150, Letters and sketches re St Petrox church, G. G. Scott to Cawdor, 1851; for Sir G. G. Scott's restoration of three of the Welsh cathedrals, including that of St David's, see P. Howell, 'Church and Chapel in Wales', in C. Brooks and A. Saint (eds.), *The Victorian Church: Architecture and Society* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1995), p. 125.
- ⁵⁰ T. Lloyd, J. Orbach and R. Scourfield, *The Buildings of Wales: Pembrokeshire*, p.59.
- ⁵¹ *Ibid.*, pp.59, 458.
- ⁵² *Ibid.*, p.458; Lloyd, Orbach and Scourfield, *The Buildings of Wales: Carmarthenshire and Ceredigion*, p.42.
- ⁵³ *DNB*, David Brandon (1813-1897) was the lesser-known brother of John Raphael (1817-1877) and Joshua Arthur Brandon (1802-1847), both architectural authors who specialised in the Gothic. Their publications included *An Analysis of Gothic Architecture* (1847) and *Parish Churches* (1848). David Brandon worked on at least twelve other churches in Wales during the period 1841-1857. Details of these churches and the extent of the work can be found at www.churchplansonline.org, the plans of churches submitted to the Incorporated church Building Society.
- ⁵⁴ Lloyd, Orbach and Scourfield, *Pembrokeshire*, pp.59, 131, 493, 495.

⁵⁵ Rogers was later to draw up the specifications for the book of labourers' cottage designs which Cawdor published in 1869. He was used frequently by the estate for various building work, though Mousley thought he was too expensive!; also Cawdor box 243: Lord Cawdor's bank account book with Coutt's 1854-55 and Cawdor box 148: T. P. Mousley to Cawdor, 24 Sept 1906.

⁵⁶ Richard Kyrke Penson (1816-86), was an Oswestry-born architect and who was also of the Gothic revival school.

⁵⁷ Cawdor box 155 and 243: Specification of works to be carried out on Cheriton Church and Lord Cawdor's bank account book with Coutt's 1854-55.

⁵⁸ CRO, Quarter Sessions Order books 1848-63. Penson was to be employed at a salary of £150 per annum though he received a reduced salary of £137 per quarter for several months—presumably because he was still being employed by Cardiganshire. His post title seems to have been a common nomenclature—though he did spend much of his time in Carmarthenshire reporting on the state of the bridges. Particularly noteworthy is his Book of bridges, which he compiled after a great storm had washed away numerous structures at the end of July 1854.

⁵⁹ For Penson's design for the rebuilding of Llanrhystud Church, in Cardiganshire, in the years 1852-54, see Jones, *Communities*, Pt. 1, Ch. 3, and P. Howell, 'Church and chapel in Wales', pp.123-24.

⁶⁰ Lloyd, Orbach and Scourfield, *Pembrokeshire*, pp.59 and 446.

⁶¹ Cawdor box 155: Penson to Cawdor, 22 July 1855.

⁶² *Ibid.*, Penson to Cawdor, 31 Mar. 1855: Penson continued his letter 'in no instance do I feel greater disappointment than in reflecting that I have now lost the position in which your Lordship's patronage placed me'. The position Penson referred to was as County Surveyor for Pembrokeshire. Despite Cawdor's patronage he failed to achieve this position, due, it seems, to antagonisms between Penson and various magistrates. Penson was appointed County Bridge Surveyor in Oct. 1848 on the understanding that he resigned the same position for Cardiganshire. Whether his appointment in Carmarthenshire had anything to do with Lord Cawdor's influence is not known.

⁶³ PP. 1876, LVII [125], *Returns of Number of Churches in Dioceses in England built or restored at Cost exceeding £500, 1840-1876*.

⁶⁴ A. D. Gilbert, *Religion and Society in Industrial England*, p.128 'High Church Conservatives and particularly Tractarians abhorred the Erastian implications of the State's ecclesiastical initiatives.'

⁶⁵ Cawdor box 142: Mousley to Cawdor, May to Dec. 1876 and Jan. to Mar. 1877; Cawdor box 157: *idem.*, 16 June 1884.

⁶⁶ Lambeth Palace Library: Incorporated Church Building Society, File 02425.

⁶⁷ Cawdor box 142: Mousley to Cawdor, May to Dec. 1876 and Jan. to Mar. 1877; Cawdor box 157: *idem.*, 16 June 1884.

⁶⁸ PP, 1876, LVII, *Returns of the number of churches in Dioceses in England [and Wales] built or restored at Cost exceeding £500, 1840-1876*; Cawdor box 235: Memorandum from J. Rogers; Lloyd, Orbach and

Scourfield, *Carmarthenshire and Ceredigion*, states that the church was not rebuilt until the 1880s but according to the www.churchplansonline.org the work at this time was only for a new vestry.

⁶⁹ Lloyd, Orbach and Scourfield, *Carmarthenshire and Ceredigion*, pp.42-3, 370. For a critical review of Victorian church rebuilding and restoration in Carmarthenshire in general, see Nigel Yates, 'Carmarthenshire Churches', *CA*, x, (1974), pp.67-8. Yates concludes: 'Unfortunately there was little money to spare in a poor county for church building and restoration, and much of the necessary work had to be done very cheaply. On the whole it was the lesser architects who were employed, and in particular R. K. Penson (1816-86).'

⁷⁰ Cawdor box 131: Beynon to Cawdor, 15 May, 5 June 1805 and 1 Feb. 1806: Lloyd, Orbach and Scourfield, *Carmarthenshire and Ceredigion*, p.389, refers to St Paulinus in Ystradffin parish being rebuilt (reluctantly) by Lord Cawdor in 1821.

⁷¹ Cawdor box 142: Mousley to Cawdor, 23 May 1872, April-June 1877.

⁷² Cawdor box 243: Private bank account books of Lord Cawdor and Lord Emlyn 1847-94.

⁷³ Thompson, *English Landed Society*, p.208.

⁷⁴ Mousley asks Cawdor on one occasion, regarding the building of rectories: 'Need you employ men as expensive as Mr Christian and Mr Rogers'. (Cawdor box 157: 26 April 1889).

⁷⁵ Cawdor box 142: Mousley to Cawdor, 28 Oct. 1872.

⁷⁶ Lloyd, Orbach and Scourfield, *Carmarthenshire and Ceredigion*, pp.193-94.

⁷⁷ T. J. Hughes, 'Adfyfr', *Landlordism in Wales* (Cardiff, 1887), p.5.

⁷⁸ Cawdor box 131: Beynon to Cawdor, 23 Aug. 1808.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, Beynon to Cawdor, 3 June 1808.

⁸⁰ Cawdor box 141: Mousley to Cawdor, 21 Mar. 1871.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, Mousley to Cawdor, 24 Mar. 1863.

⁸² *Ibid.*, Mousley to Cawdor, 21 Mar. 1871.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, Mousley to Cawdor, 18 Mar. 1871.

⁸⁴ Hughes, 'Adfyfr', *Landlordism in Wales*, p.5.

⁸⁵ Cawdor box 141: Mousley to Cawdor, 18 Mar. 1871.

⁸⁶ Cawdor box 157: Mousley to Cawdor, 28 April 1885.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, Mousley to Cawdor, 8 April 1884.

⁸⁸ Cawdor 2/277: Correspondence between Mousley, Cawdor and Griffiths, Dec.1891-Sept. 1892.

⁸⁹ Cawdor box 158: Emlyn to Williams-Drummond, 17 Sept. 1896.

⁹⁰ M. Cragoe, 'A Question of Culture: The Welsh Church and the Bishopric of St Asaph, 1870', *WHR*, Vol. 18. No.2, (Dec. 1996), pp.228-52.

⁹¹ Gladstone had written to Cawdor of his despair over finding a candidate for the St Asaph bishopric: 'You would greatly relieve my mind in one of the most anxious pieces of duty I have had to perform if you could point out to me a Welsh clergyman who is also a practical and effective preacher in his own tongue, and is

also possessed in a sufficient degree of a liberal mind, and of all other essential qualities for the episcopate.’ (BL, Add. 44424, f. 92).

⁹² BL, Add. 44424, f.62: Cawdor to Gladstone, 11 Jan. 1870.

⁹³ BL, Add. 44424, f.234: Cawdor to Gladstone, 4 Feb. 1870. Lady Llanover was more forthright in her criticisms of Griffiths: ‘He is utterly unfit for a Bishop—excepting being a Welsh preacher. He has no administrative power – agrees with anybody as they speak ... He would not be respected as a Bishop being well known as below par – as a Man in any general capacity and moral courage.’ (BL, Add. 44424, f. 65: Llanover to Gladstone 11 Jan. 1870).

⁹⁴ Cawdor box 142: Mousley to Cawdor, 10-11 April 1877.

⁹⁵ Howell, ‘Church and chapel in Wales’, p.21.

⁹⁶ Sir T. Phillips, *Wales: the language, social condition, moral character, and religious opinions of the people* (London, 1849), p.320. Phillips also comments that the incumbents were also frequently poorly educated and this had ‘strongly contributed to weaken the church in the Principality, and deprive her of the affections of the people.’ p.185; Howell, ‘Church and Chapel in Wales’, pp.120-21.

⁹⁷ There is a parallel here with the political arena, for in 1868 the *Western Mail* was set up to counter the strong political nonconformist voice of newspapers like Thomas Gee’s *Baner ac Amserau Cymru*, founded in 1859.

⁹⁸ M. Cragoe, *An Anglican Aristocracy: The Moral Economy of the Landed Estate in Carmarthenshire 1832-1895*, pp.242-43.

⁹⁹ *Y Dywysogaeth* was published 1870-1881, when it merged with *Y Llan* and was called *Y Llan a'r Dywysogaeth* 1884-1955 and then reverted to *Y Llan*, which is still published today. (B. Jones, *Newsplan: report of the Newsplan project in Wales* (Aberystwyth, 1994), pp.114-15.

¹⁰⁰ Cawdor 2/217.

¹⁰¹ Cawdor box 141: Mousley to Cawdor, 18 May 1870.

¹⁰² PP, 1820, XII, *General Table of the State of Education in England*.

¹⁰³ Cawdor box 271 and 272: Pembrokeshire estate accounts 1803, 1806, 1811 and 1812. There is a reference to a schoolmaster being paid £15 per quarter in a rental of 1801 but there is no indication that this person was teaching at a school established by the family. He was probably employed at Stackpole Court since his salary was substantial.

¹⁰⁴ PP, 1819, XI-C.1, *Select Committee on the Education of the Poor 1818: Digest of Parochial Returns*.

¹⁰⁵ *Abstract of Answers and returns on the State of Education in England and Wales, 1835*.

¹⁰⁶ PP, 1847, XXVII, *Report of the Commissioners of Inquiry into the state of Education in Wales*, p.393.

¹⁰⁷ Cawdor box 202: estate accounts 1832-33.

¹⁰⁸ *Committee of the Council on Education*, Report of H.M.I. Longueville-Jones, 1849, p.249.

¹⁰⁹ PP, 1847, XXVII, *Report of the Commissioners of Inquiry into the state of Education in Wales*, p.394.

¹¹⁰ Henry Ashton, 1801-72, was employed by Sir Jeffry Wyattville who was employed by Lord Cawdor to design the new Golden Grove. Ashton designed the stables at Windsor Castle and the Summer Palace at

The Hague for the King of Holland. His main work in London was in the improvements made to Victoria Street, where he was residing in the late 1850s. *DNB* and Cawdor box 155: letters from Ashton to Cawdor, 1859; see also Lloyd, Orbach and Scourfield, *Pembrokeshire*, p.496.

¹¹¹ Cawdor box 150: Alexander Stammers to Cawdor, 18 Mar. 1858.

¹¹² Cawdor box 156: Revd J. Philipps to Cawdor, 27 April 1860.

¹¹³ PP, 1900, LXII, *Return of Endowed Charities (County of Carmarthen)*.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁵ W. J. Lewis, *Lead Mining in Wales*, p.286.

¹¹⁶ Cawdor box 142: Mousley to Cawdor, 24 Jan. 1877: Davies, *Religion and Society in the Nineteenth Century*, p.58, observes that some bishops like Connop Thirwall of St David's were "liberal" in their attitude towards the enforced teaching of the Catechism in church schools and that: 'In many such areas, nonconformist consciences were respected, and nonconformist parents were by no means reluctant to send their children to church schools.'

¹¹⁷ Cawdor box 152: N. Harries, Llandysul, to Cawdor 7 Aug. 1876.

¹¹⁸ Cawdor box 141: Mousley to Cawdor, 18 Nov. 1870.

¹¹⁹ Smith, 'Elementary Education,' Appendix 2, (Ph.D. Wales, 1995).

¹²⁰ Cawdor box 141: Mousley to Cawdor 18 May 1870.

¹²¹ *Ibid.*

¹²² Jones and Roderick, *A History of Education in Wales*, pp.78-79.

¹²³ *CJ*, 15 April 1870, 'Meeting at Carmarthen in Behalf of the Birmingham League'. For a discussion on the Birmingham League see R. Wallace, *Organise! Organise! Organise!: A Study of Reform Agitations in Wales 1840-1886* (Cardiff: UWP, 1991), pp.185-97.

¹²⁴ Cawdor box 141: Mousley to Cawdor, 17 Dec. 1870.

¹²⁵ *Ibid.*

¹²⁶ Cawdor box 142: Mousley to Cawdor, 9 April 1873.

¹²⁷ Cawdor box 141: Mousley to Cawdor, 12 Oct. 1871: Lloyd, Orbach and Scourfield, *Pembrokeshire*: p.200: Llanfihangel Aberbythych school had been established by the first earl Cawdor, and designed by Henry Ashton, and had an attendance of over 60.

¹²⁸ The control of the Llandeilo School Board was firmly in the hands of nonconformists to the end of its existence. In 1897 Williams-Drummond comments that: 'I have had no reply from the Llandilo School Board—a fresh body has just been elected—more radical almost than the last, so that the question is sure to be proceeded with', when the estate was being asked for land to build a new school in the parish (Cawdor Box 144, Williams-Drummond to Lord Emlyn, 23 Jan. 1897).

¹²⁹ Smith, *Schools, Politics and Society*, p.117.

¹³⁰ *Ibid.*, p.109.

¹³¹ *Ibid.*, p.103.

¹³² CRO, Abercennen 834.

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- ¹³³ Ibid.
- ¹³⁴ *Committee of the Council on Education Minutes*, Report of Revd S. Pryce, HMI, 1878-79, p.675.
- ¹³⁵ Ibid.
- ¹³⁶ Thompson, *English Landed Society*, p.209.
- ¹³⁷ Cawdor box 158: Williams-Drummond to Cawdor, 27 Jan. 1894. In 1911 Williams-Drummond reported as chairman of the Land Agents Society to the Board of Education regarding the cost of school buildings. The main conclusion of the Society was that ‘that a great deal of money was now wasted on elaborate and useless ornamentation applied to school buildings’ (p.44), and they hoped the Board would ‘exercise some restraint on local authorities in respect of the elevation of buildings’. (p.44) (Cawdor 2/232: Board of Education Report on the cost of School Buildings, 1911).
- ¹³⁸ Cawdor box 158: Williams-Drummond to Emlyn, 12 Mar. 1894.
- ¹³⁹ Ibid., Williams-Drummond to Emlyn, 12 Mar. 1894.
- ¹⁴⁰ Ibid., Williams-Drummond to Cawdor, 11 Jan. 1894.
- ¹⁴¹ Ibid., Williams-Drummond to Emlyn, 9 Feb. 1895.
- ¹⁴² Ibid., Williams-Drummond to Cawdor, 8 Dec. 1893.
- ¹⁴³ Ibid., Williams-Drummond to Emlyn, 4 Dec. 1896. In 1879 Cenarth School Board was leased half an acre at a good site at the rate of £50 per acre (Cawdor box 142: Mousley to Cawdor, 11 Aug. 1879).
- ¹⁴⁴ Cawdor box 137: Cawdor to J. Williams, n.d. but Nov. 1849 copy. The second Earl’s essentially private personality is here clearly brought forth.
- ¹⁴⁵ Ibid., J. Williams to Cawdor, 3 Dec. 1849.
- ¹⁴⁶ Ibid., Cawdor to J. Williams, 6 Dec. 1849.
- ¹⁴⁷ D. Walker, *A History of the Church in Wales*, p.154; Phillips, *Wales: the language, social condition, moral character, and religious opinions of the people* (London, 1849).
- ¹⁴⁸ N. Yates, ‘Archdeacon Thomas Beynon’, *Trivium*, 35: *Readers, Printers, Churchmen, and Travellers: Essays in Honour of David Selwyn*, (U.W. Lampeter, 2004), pp.87-95.
- ¹⁴⁹ N. Yates, ‘The parochial Impact of the Oxford Movement in south-west Wales’, in T. Barnes and N. Yates, (eds.), *Carmarthenshire Studies* (Carmarthen: Carmarthenshire County Council, 1974).
- ¹⁵⁰ Cawdor box 156: F. J. Jayne to Cawdor, 27 Dec. 1880.
- ¹⁵¹ Ibid., F. J. Jayne to Cawdor, 27 Dec. 1880.
- ¹⁵² Ibid., F. J. Jayne to Cawdor, 30 Dec. 1880.
- ¹⁵³ CRO, Coleg y Drindod un-catalogued archive, 5 Dec. 1848.
- ¹⁵⁴ *Welshman*, 27 Oct. 1849.
- ¹⁵⁵ PP, 1900, LIX, *Return of Endowed Charities (County of Carmarthen)*.
- ¹⁵⁶ *WM*, 28 July 1898.
- ¹⁵⁷ G. W. Roderick, ‘“A fair representation of all interests”? The Aberdare report on intermediate and higher education in Wales, 1881’, *History of Education*, Vol. 30, No.3, p.238.

¹⁵⁸ B. B. Thomas, 'The Establishment of the "Aberdare" Departmental Committee, 1880: Some Letters and Notes,' *BBCS*, Vol. xix, pt. iv, (May 1962), fn. p.326.

¹⁵⁹ W. P. Griffith, *Power, Politics and County Government in Wales: Anglesey 1780-1914* (Llangefni: Anglesey Antiquarian Society 2006), p.355; K. O. Morgan, *Wales in British Politics 1868-1922*, pp.187-98.

¹⁶⁰ BL, Add. 49709, ff.1-2: Lord Cawdor to A. J. Balfour, 26 June 1904.

¹⁶¹ *The Times*, 'The Swansea Education Dispute', letter to the editor, 23 Dec. 1908.

¹⁶² BL, Add. 49709, ff. 53-54: Cawdor to Balfour, 21 Dec. 1908.

¹⁶³ *The Times*, 'The Swansea Education dispute', op. cit.

¹⁶⁴ BL, Add. 49709, ff. 55-58: Cawdor to Balfour, 5 Jan. 1909.

¹⁶⁵ Morgan, *Rebirth of a Nation: Wales 1880-1980*, pp.230-31.

¹⁶⁶ PP, 1835, XXII, *Royal Commission into Ecclesiastical Revenues*, p.67.

¹⁶⁷ 'A rural sketch of the County of Lancaster', *The Farmer's Magazine*, No. 3, (July, 1800).

¹⁶⁸ PP, 1844, XVI, *Royal Commission of Inquiry for South Wales Report*, p.26.

¹⁶⁹ Phillips, *Wales*, p.202

¹⁷⁰ James, 'Some Social and Economic Problems', p.195.

¹⁷¹ *Ibid.*

¹⁷² Some of the exaggerations of the tithe war can be gathered from the following: at a meeting of the Standing Joint Committee of the newly created Carmarthenshire County Council, a motion was proposed by the Councillor Revd W. Thomas that any police presence at tithe sales should be no more than at other meetings such as eisteddfodau, or cattle shows. Thomas stated that heavy police presence was the main cause of agitation. The committee which included several landowners, with Lord Emlyn as chairman, rejected the motion. Just a few months before this the diary of Newcastle Emlyn police station only refers to small numbers of police accompanying Mr. Stevens, the tithe collector: for instance on 14 Mar. 1889, PC31 accompanied Stevens and his staff to fifteen farms in Cilrhedyn parish, where they levied distraints, and three PCs assisted in Trelech a'r Betws the following day. The heavy police presence seems not to have been available on these occasions! (CRO, Dyfed-Powys Police B23/3). The Thomas was the Liberal County Councillor for Whitland. In 1891 he published *The Anti-Tithe Movement in Wales, its Justice, Morality, and legality*. In this booklet he refers to 'tilting with Lord Emlyn' on various occasions concerning Council matters (p.15).

¹⁷³ Cawdor box 157: Mousley to Cawdor, 17 Sept. 1886.

¹⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, Mousley to Cawdor, 23 Sept. 1886.

¹⁷⁵ *CJ*, Report of the Llandilo Habitation of the Primrose League, 1 Feb. 1889.

¹⁷⁶ RCLMW, Qu.28,673, Mousley's evidence.

¹⁷⁷ Morgan, *Rebirth of a Nation: Wales 1880-1980*, p.89.

¹⁷⁸ Cawdor box 158: Mousley to Cawdor, 17 Jan. 1893.

¹⁷⁹ Cawdor box 144: Williams-Drummond to Cawdor, 7-10 July 1898.

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- ¹⁸⁰ PP, 1829 XX, *Return of charities and charitable donations*; PP, 1843 [435, 436], XVIII, (ii), *Digest of schools and charities for education*, (iii) *Return of charities to be distributed to the poor*.
- ¹⁸¹ Cawdor 262-270: Pembrokeshire and Carmarthenshire estate accounts, 1872-1911.
- ¹⁸² Cawdor box 186: Account between Countess Cawdor and Mr Rogers, builder for Almshouses at Cheriton, 15 Feb. 1881.
- ¹⁸³ Cawdor box 157: Mousley to Cawdor, 23 July 1881.
- ¹⁸⁴ BL, Add. 35805, f.427, and BL, Add. 35807, ff.31, 321 and 409: Lord Emlyn to Lord Hardwicke, 28 Nov.-19 Dec. 1852.
- ¹⁸⁵ Cawdor box 245: Sarah Mary Campbell's diary 1878, entries for 11 Jan., 20 and 30 Nov. and 24 Dec.
- ¹⁸⁶ *CJ*, 30 Nov. 1811, 8 Feb. 1812 and 25 April 1812.
- ¹⁸⁷ *Morning Chronicle*, 11 April 1812.
- ¹⁸⁸ J. V. Beckett, *The Aristocracy in England, 1660-1914*, pp.353 and 385.
- ¹⁸⁹ *Idem*, p.375.
- ¹⁹⁰ D. Marshall, 'The Role of the Justice of the Peace in Social Administration', in H. Hearder and H. R. Loyn, *British Government and Administration: Studies presented to S. B. Chrimes* (Cardiff, 1974), p.155; G. E. Mingay, *English Landed Society in the eighteenth century* (London, 1963), p.118.
- ¹⁹¹ D. Eastwood, *Government and Community in the English Provinces, 1700-1870* (London, 1997), p.10.
- ¹⁹² *Idem*, *Governing Rural England: Tradition and Transformation in Local Government, 1780-1840* (Oxford, 1994), p.48.
- ¹⁹³ Beckett, *The Aristocracy*, p.393.
- ¹⁹⁴ Eastwood, *Governing Rural England*, p.75.
- ¹⁹⁵ *Idem.*, refers to an 'inner cabinet of active magistrates', p.55; W. P. Griffith, *Power, Politics and County Government in Wales: Anglesey 1780-1914*, has many instances of the lack of active magistrates on Anglesey were the 'burden of local administration seems to have remained largely with a few members of the magistracy. p.49; Beckett, *The Aristocracy*, cites examples of the lack of active magistrates in England, pp.385-86.
- ¹⁹⁶ H. J. Hanham, *Elections and Party Management: Politics in the time of Disraeli and Gladstone* (London, 1959), p.179.
- ¹⁹⁷ Beckett, *Aristocracy*, p.22.
- ¹⁹⁸ See: D. Salmon, 'The French Invasion of Pembrokeshire in 1797', a compilation of transcriptions of original documents in the NLW, PRO (TNA) and then in private hands in *WWHR*, vol. xiv, pp.129-206; R. Thorne and R. Howell, 'Pembrokeshire in Wartime'; J. E. Thomas, *Britain's Last Invasion* (Stroud, 2007); S. E. H. Jones, *The Last Invasion of Britain* (Cardiff: UWP, 1950).
- ¹⁹⁹ Thorne and Howell, 'Pembrokeshire in Wartime', p.393.
- ²⁰⁰ Cawdor box 223/6: Minutes of meeting chaired by Lord Milford, London, 19 April 1794. Cawdor submitted a plan of defence in addition to the Corps of Infantry already proposed to the Government, *viz*, a

Company at Fishguard, one at Pembroke and 'a Company for the protection of the New Settlement of Milford and Hubberston Road'.

²⁰¹ For descriptions and analysis of these conditions see D. J. V. Jones, *Before Rebecca: Popular Protest in Wales 1793-1835* (London, Allen Lane, 1973), esp. chs. 1 and 2; D. W. Howell, *The Rural Poor in Eighteenth-century Wales* (Cardiff: UWP, 2000), esp. ch. 9; Thorne and Howell, 'Pembrokeshire in Wartime' especially the first part of the chapter by Thorne, 'Social and economic change', pp.360-82.

²⁰² Jones, *The Last invasion of Britain*, p.98.

²⁰³ *Ibid.*, p.99.

²⁰⁴ Lord Cawdor to The Duke of Portland, 5 Mar. 1797, quoted in Salmon, 'The French Invasion of Pembrokeshire in 1797'.

²⁰⁵ Cawdor box 223: Mirehouse to Cawdor, 18 Mar. 1797.

²⁰⁶ Thorne and Howell, 'Pembrokeshire in Wartime, 1793-1815', p.389.

²⁰⁷ D. W. Howell, 'The Economy, 1660-1793', in B. Howells, (ed.) *Pembrokeshire County History*, Vol. III *Early Modern Pembrokeshire, 1536-1815* (Haverfordwest: The Pembrokeshire Historical Society, 1987), p.314.

²⁰⁸ J. Adams to C. F. Greville, 31 Mar. 1797, in Salmon, 'The French Invasion of Pembrokeshire in 1797', p.184.

²⁰⁹ Cawdor box 223: Cawdor to the Duke of York, n.d.

²¹⁰ Cawdor box 254: Diary of John Campbell, 1797.

²¹¹ S. Jones, *The Last Invasion of Britain*, pp.202-04.

²¹² Cawdor box 227: Minutes of the statement of the Right Hon. John Lord Cawdor respecting a smuggling establishment formed within three miles of Stackpole Court... no date but c.1801.

²¹³ *Ibid.*

²¹⁴ Eastwood, *Governing Rural England*, p.51.

²¹⁵ BL, Add. 38297 f.357: Cawdor to Earl Liverpool 30 Nov 1823; BL, Add. 38298 f.10: Liverpool to Cawdor, 4 Dec. 1823.

²¹⁶ Beckett, *Aristocracy*, p.85; M. Cragoe, *An Anglican Aristocracy: The Moral Economy of the Landed Estate in Carmarthenshire 1832-1895*, pp.74-75, states it was also 'an office made more attractive by the fact that it frequently brought the holder into official contact with the court and ministers of the Crown'.

²¹⁷ *Burke's Peerage*, (London, 1967) pp.475-77. On the second earl's death the Carmarthenshire Lieutenancy went to Sir James Williams-Drummond, father of the Cawdor agent Dudley Williams-Drummond.

²¹⁸ Cawdor box 151: Cawdor to Brand, 19 Feb. 1861.

²¹⁹ Cragoe, *An Anglican Aristocracy*, p.79.

²²⁰ Cawdor box 157: B. Jones to Mousley, 17 June 1887.

²²¹ Cawdor box 156: Brigstocke to Cawdor, 5 Dec. 1891.

²²² C. H. E. Zangerl, 'The Social Composition of the county Magistracy in England and Wales, 1831-1837', *The Journal of British Studies*, Vol. xi, 1971.

²²³ Cawdor box 156: Emlyn to Cawdor, 7 April 1894.

²²⁴ *Ibid.*, Emlyn to Cawdor, 10 July 1893.

²²⁵ *Ibid.*, Thomas Jones, Clerk of the Peace, Llandovery, to Cawdor, 27 April 1893.

²²⁶ *Ibid.*, Lord Hereschell to Cawdor, 18 Nov. 1893.

²²⁷ *Ibid.*, Lord Hereschell to Cawdor, 12 Dec. 1893.

²²⁸ Cawdor box 142: Mousley to Cawdor, 6 Sept. 1873.

²²⁹ When the County Councils were established 1889 (for which see below) there was a similar concern regarding the quality of the men who became councillors. It seems to have been a widely held view (at least amongst Conservatives) that councillors were of a much lower calibre of men than those who sat on the bench. J. D. P. Dunbabin, 'Expectations of the New County Councils, and their Realization' *The Historical Journal*, Vol. 8, No. 3. 1965, p.369, comments that in Denbighshire four men had been elected as councillors who were illiterate in both Welsh and English!; D. Williams, *Rebecca Riots*, p.37: during the Rebecca Riots, in some districts, it was difficult appointing magistrates 'without descending to a grade of persons who have not usually been included in the commission of the peace'.

²³⁰ PP, 1836, XLIII, *Return of Persons appointed to act as Justices of Peace in England and Wales*: in 1836 there were 342 magistrates in Pembrokeshire and 269 in Carmarthenshire. Of that number Captain George P. Campbell, RN, Charles Campbell and The Hon George Pryse Campbell are all listed as JPs of Stackpole Court. In the same year the average number attending the Carmarthenshire Quarter Sessions was 23 consisting of mostly the same names (CRO: QS order book, 1836-1843); see Howell, *Patriarchs and Parasites*, p.141, on the remarkable growth in the number of magistrates in the eighteenth century; Williams, *Rebecca Riots*, p.37, comments that 'despite the lengthy list for each shire...only a few were ... active, and the countryside suffered from a dearth of magistrates'; Cawdor box 245: Lord Emlyn's Diary for 1851 lists the following:

1 Jan: attended QS at H'west

12 July: 'Petty Sessions – Friendly Society case' and in the margin: 'Board of Guardians' (B of G)

30 Aug: Special Sessions (Saturday)

20 Sept: B of G: District Road Board (Sat)

6-7 Sept: B of G and adjourned Special Sessions (Sat and Sun)

4 Oct: B of G (Sat)

16 Oct: 'with Lord C to Carmarthen Quarter Sessions'

18 Oct: B of G – Petty Sessions

25 Oct: Petty Sessions (Sat)

1 Nov: B of G (Sat)

8 Nov: 'Petty Sessions all day'

22 Nov: Petty Sessions(Sat)

6 Dec: Petty Sessions at Llandilo

13 Dec: B of G

In February and from mid-March until mid-May he was in London.

See Cragoe, *Anglican Aristocracy*, pp.100-03, for a survey of some of Lord Dynevor's paternalistic duties in one year, 1859.

²³¹ PP, 1888, LXXXII, *Return of Names and Professions of Justices of the Peace for the Counties of England and Wales*.

²³² *Ibid*.

²³³ D. Eastwood, *Governing Rural England: Tradition and Transformation in Local Government, 1780-1840* (OUP, 1994), p.50.

²³⁴ Pembrokeshire Record Office, PQ/2/1: Quarter Sessions minute book, 1793-1804. In the October Sessions 1795 John Campbell is one of three magistrates on the bench. And in July 1796, as Lord Cawdor he is again one of three on the bench. This seems to indicate that the magistrates of the county were not very active, even in this period of disturbances.

²³⁵ CRO, QS Order Books 1794-1813.

²³⁶ Beckett, *Aristocracy*, referring to the seventeenth century (though still applicable in the nineteenth century) states that: 'Local government was a public service undertaken by men of property for the good of the whole community.' p.400.

²³⁷ C. Chalklin, *English Counties and Public Building 1650-1830* (London, 1998), p.34; Griffiths, *Power, Politics and County Government in Wales*, p.61, comments on the lack of attendance at the QS by the Anglesey elite.

²³⁸ In the 1850s, Lord Emlyn records his attendances at the Llandeilo petty sessions, and the *Carmarthen Journal* also records his presence. No original petty sessions records survive until the late nineteenth century.

²³⁹ CRO, QS Order Book, 1892-1915.

²⁴⁰ *CJ*, 1 Sept 1843, reports a case of incendiarism: 2 mows of hay belonging to Lord Dynevor at King's lodge. Two weeks later (15 Sept. 1843) William Davies, a respectable farmer, along with his son, is apprehended on suspicion of setting fire to Dynevor's mows of hay. However, upon his release he is carried shoulder high through the streets of Llandeilo, at midnight. And the informer was attacked, mostly by *women*, and had to escape - to the town lock-up.

²⁴¹ *CJ*, 21 July 1843.

²⁴² Williams, *Rebecca Riots*, states that cost was the main cause of complaint for setting up police forces in south-west Wales, p.58.

²⁴³ County Police Act (2&3 Vict.c.93). By 1853 only 22 counties from a total of 52 had adopted the Act. The County and Borough Police Act, 1856 (19&20 Vict.c.69) made the establishment of police forces compulsory.

²⁴⁴ *CJ*, 21 July 1843. It is worth quoting the whole of Cawdor's answer since it throws yet more light on his attitude to the Rebecca Riots as well as the establishment of the police force: 'He was of the opinion that if they did not exert themselves to put down these disturbances, that so far from saving expense thereby, the country would get into a far worse condition, and that outrage would succeed outrage until society would be altogether broken up. If he could hear of any possible plan for putting an end to these disturbances without resorting to this measure, no man would be more ready to catch it than himself (Hear, hear). He spoke from authority when he said that the course recommended had been found in other counties highly useful when existing police was insufficient. They wanted some nucleus and some head, for he believed that the great portions of the county were not in a disaffected state, and that the farmers would assist the police (Hear, hear). He believed that many farmers were convinced, that if these outrages proceeded, the expense to them would be more—would be far more grievous, in the event of indictments, than some of the grievances, *which he was not prepared to deny might exist* [my italics]. It was, however, a great satisfaction to him to be able to state, that on the same day that they were met to endeavour to put an end to these disturbances, the Government, at the earnest request of the Magistrates, had set down a Commission to enquire into the causes of the disturbances; and he did hope that every man who had a grievance would not scruple to lay it before that Commission. But the mere appointment of such a Commission was not to supersede the duty of the Magistrates—it might produce a good result—he hoped it would; but it was still their duty to do what was necessary for the peace and safety of the county. ...he hoped the time might arrive when they might be able to dispense with the Rural Police; but the most probable way to ensure that, was to organise it speedily and powerfully, or they would proceed from bad to worse, till crime became prevalent, and the police could not be done without.'

²⁴⁵ Williams, *The Rebecca Riots*, p.60.

²⁴⁶ Cawdor 2/43/350: John Williams to R. B. Williams, 30 Sept 1829; Richard Spurrell to R. B. Williams, 4 Oct. 1829.

²⁴⁷ CRO, QS Order Book, 1836-43.

²⁴⁸ *CJ*, Report of Carmarthenshire Quarter Sessions, 9 Jan. 1852.

²⁴⁹ The bridge was rebuilt with the aid of several Exchequer Loans: CRO, QS Order Book 1843-1849: Loans were applied for from the Exchequer Loans Commission in July 1845 (£1,500), Oct. 1845 (£2,000) and Oct. 1846 (£6,000) as well as the initial loan.

²⁵⁰ In 1854 yet another argument, this time over the collapse of the same Cilsane bridge, after the storms of August 1854 and who was to blame, ensued at Carmarthen Quarter Sessions. Lord Emlyn, who had become the chairman of the bridge committee established to oversee the extensive damage caused to numerous bridges in the county by a storm in July of that year, defended R. K. Penson, County Bridge Surveyor, against J. W. Phillips in a dispute which continued in the *Carmarthen Journal*, via the letters page, 24 Nov. 1854.

²⁵¹ The Quarter Sessions Order Book does not refer to David Pugh's resignation or to the argument which led up to it. The *Carmarthen Journal*, however, gives a very detailed account. Pugh was replaced by Lord Dynevor.

²⁵² Griffith, *Power, Politics and County Government in Wales*, p.310

²⁵³ *CJ*, 2 Nov. 1888: Emlyn Habitation of the Primrose League, meeting at Carmarthen.

²⁵⁴ Williams, *The Rebecca Riots*, p.39.

²⁵⁵ Cawdor box 131: Beynon to Cawdor, 3 June 1804: the day after a theft at Golden Grove he summons Hughes of Tregib to convict a former Golden Grove employee of stealing pineapples from the garden. 'I am very glad the thief has been discovered; and the prompt measures taken on the occasion will deter others from committing similar offences.'

²⁵⁶ D. J. V. Jones, *Crime in nineteenth-century Wales* (Cardiff: UWP, 1992), pp.18-19; V. A. C. Gatrell, 'Crime, authority and the policeman-state', in F. M. L. Thompson, *The Cambridge Social History of England, 1750-1850*, Vol. 3, *Social Agencies and Institutions*, p. 244.

²⁵⁷ PP, 1843, XLIV, *Abstract of Returns from clerks of the Petty Sessions in England [including Wales] of Fees Convictions and Costs, 1840-1842*; PP, 1844, XXXVIII, *Abstract of Returns from Clerks of Petty Sessions in England [including Wales] of Fees, Convictions and Costs 1841-1842*. To put these figures into context, over the same period Llanelli had 129 convictions and Trelech a'r Betws 2; It is interesting to note such low conviction figures at a time of great social unrest in south west Wales, though many petty sessions cases would have been dismissed with a warning, as has been remarked upon by D. Jones, *Crime in nineteenth-century Wales*, pp.22-23.

²⁵⁸ For instance, they frequently attended the first day of the quarter sessions, when county administration was undertaken, but absented themselves on the second day court when criminal cases were tried. (*CJ*, various years).

²⁵⁹ Cawdor box 245: Diaries of John Campbell 1795-1821: Campbell's diaries refer on several occasions to his brother's lack of spirits and depressed state.

²⁶⁰ Cawdor box 245: Lord Emlyn's Diary 1852, entries for the 10-13 Nov.

²⁶¹ CRO, Quarter Sessions Order Book 1843-63, pp.280 and 300.

²⁶² As late as 1880 in the Commons Lord Emlyn raised the reluctance of Cardiganshire to pay their share for the enlargement of the Asylum in Carmarthenshire. This was referred to the Home Secretary who decided how much each of the three counties was to pay. Hansard Third Series, Vol. CCLXX, col. 1479, 1880; PP, 1873, LVI, *Return of amount of Debt chargeable on each County and Borough in England and Wales*: Carmarthenshire borrowed £18,735 in the years 1863-71 towards building the Asylum. In 1873, the county still owed £16,116. The *Return* does not specify what the loans Pembrokeshire and Cardiganshire were used for but both counties took out large sums, though smaller than Carmarthenshire, from 1863.

²⁶³ Cawdor box 137: Cawdor to Richard Kyrke-Penson, 14 July 1857.

²⁶⁴ PP, 1870, XXXIV, *The twenty-fourth Annual Report of the Commissioners in Lunacy*.

²⁶⁵ PP, 1880, XXIV, *The thirty-fourth Annual Report of the Commissioners in Lunacy*, which states that there was no mechanical restraint recorded and that only one case seclusion since 1876. A. Shepherd and D. Wright, 'Madness, Suicide and the Victorian Asylum: Attempted Self-Murder in the age of Non-Restraint', *Medical History*, Vol. 46, (2002) state that by the mid-century mechanically restraining patients 'was considered at odds with the prevailing, if vague ideology of treating the insane in a humane manner, commonly known as "moral treatment".' However, PP, 1870, LVII, *Reports of the Commissioners in Lunacy on Cases of Injury in Hanwell and Carmarthen Asylums*, investigated the case of one Rees Price, who died from injuries received in the workhouse at the hands of an attendant who was subsequently dismissed.

²⁶⁶ P. Bartlett, 'The Asylum and the Poor Law', and B. Forsythe, J. Melling and R. Adair, 'Politics of Lunacy: Central State Regulation and the Devon Pauper Lunatic Asylum, 1845-1914': both in J. Melling and B. Forsythe (eds.), *Insanity, Institutions and Society 1800-1914* (London: Routledge, 1999); Melling and Forsythe, *The Politics of Madness: The state, insanity and society in England, 1845-1914* (London: Routledge, 2006), p.18, state with regard to the Devon County Asylum that: 'The circumstances surrounding the establishment of the asylum are strong evidence of the paternalistic framework with which the Courtenays and other Devon Grandees viewed the project.'

²⁶⁷ Melling and Forsythe, *The Politics of Madness*, p.26.

²⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, p.18.

²⁶⁹ CRO, SDH/2: Minutes of the Committee of Visitors, 15 Dec. 1892; letter of Lord Emlyn from Nairn, 17 Oct. 1892.

²⁷⁰ CRO, SDH/2: *ibid.*, letter of Lord Emlyn, from Golden Grove, 28 Oct. 1892.

²⁷¹ For an excellent and detailed account of the conditions at the Joint Counties Lunatic Asylum see R. Davies, *Secret Sins*, esp. ch. 2.

²⁷² CRO: SDH/2: Report of the Committee of Visitors, 1892.

²⁷³ Williams, *The Rebecca Riots*, p.136, states that the pauperism was aggravated by the depression at this time and 'parliament approached this problem with a doctrinaire rigidity which has seldom been equaled.'

²⁷⁴ M. A. Crowther, *The Workhouse System 1834-1929: the history of an English Social Institution* (London, 1981), p.17.

²⁷⁵ N. C. Edsall, *The anti-Poor Law Movement 1834-44* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1971), pp.128-32 concerning the widespread opposition to the New Poor Law in Wales, even amongst Boards of Guardians; Crowther, *The Workhouse System*, p.80, also states that 'As late as the 1920s some Welsh guardians were giving outdoor relief as far as possible and neglecting the institutions. '; O. Macdonagh, *Early Victorian Government, 1830-1870* (London, 1977), p.115.

²⁷⁶ E. J. R. Morgan, 'The Administration of the Poor Laws in Pembrokeshire 1780-1870' (Ph.D. Wales Swansea, 2004), p.109; Ann Digby, *Pauper Palaces* (London, 1978).

²⁷⁷ CRO, Llandilo Union Indoor relief books, 1839-44 and Outdoor relief books, 1837-40.

²⁷⁸ PP, 1857-58, XXVIII, *Tenth Annual Report of the Poor Law Boards*, Appendix B; N. C. Edsall, *The anti-Poor Law Movement*, p.129.

²⁷⁹ Pembrokeshire Record Office, SPU/PE/1/1: Pembroke Board of Guardians minute book, 1839-41.

²⁸⁰ CRO; BG 28, 36, and 43: Llandilofawr Union Board of Guardians, minute books, 1836-42 and 1870-80; Cawdor box 245: Diaries Lord Emlyn, 1851-59.

²⁸¹ *CJ*, Second Annual Conference of the Poor Law Guardians held at Swansea, 24 April 1874.

²⁸² CRO, Llandeilo R.D.C: Llandilo Rural Sanitary Authority minute books, 1872-91 and 1892-98.

²⁸³ A classic text regarding the reform of local government is J. S. Mill, *Representative Government*, (London, 1861, Everyman edition, 1976). Mill pp.349-50, refers to the quarter sessions 'as the most aristocratic in principle which now remains in England; far more so than the House of Lords, for it grants public money and disposes of important public interests, not in conjunction with a popular assembly, but alone'.

²⁸⁴ For example in 1836 a 'Bill to establish Council and auditors in every County in England and Wales, for the better management of County Rates' (PP, 1836, 508); 'Bill to establish Councils for the better management of County Rates in England and Wales' (PP, 1837, 155). Both were introduced but both failed, the latter being defeated 177 votes to 84 in the Commons.

²⁸⁵ J. Redlich and F. W. Hirst, *The History of Local Government in England*, with introduction and epilogue by B. Keith-Lucas (ed.), originally pub. 1903, (Macmillan, 1958), p.155.

²⁸⁶ Beckett, *Aristocracy*, p.393; F. M. L. Thompson, *English Landed Society*, p.288.

²⁸⁷ *CJ*, 27 April 1888.

²⁸⁸ *CJ*, 2 Nov. 1888.

²⁸⁹ The vicar of Talley, the Revd D. Rees, addressed the meeting in Welsh, which must have been irritating for Cawdor's agent.

²⁹⁰ *CJ*, 9 Nov. 1888, Report of the proceedings of the Carmarthenshire Farmers' Club: 'The party fighting which all stated they wanted to avoid was very apparent at this meeting. D Prosser, of Tygwyn stated that the Liberals were determined to get a good majority in; ... they were going to pay their Chairman; that was the first plum they were going to pick. T. Evans of Treventy, stated the same with regards to the Conservatives and 'that they had all their machinery ready, and would fight the contests on strict party lines.'

²⁹¹ *Ibid*.

²⁹² PP, 1835, XIV, *Select Committee of the House of Lords on Charges of County Rates in England and Wales*.

²⁹³ CRO, Quarter Sessions papers for 1850.

²⁹⁴ Griffith, *Power, Politics and County Government in Wales*, pp.208-09

²⁹⁵ J. P. D. Dunbabin, 'British Local Government Reform: The Nineteenth Century and after', *The English Historical Review*, Vol. 92, No. 365, (Oct. 1977), p.783.

²⁹⁶ Prior to the county council elections the editor of the *Carmarthen Journal* also commented upon the rates question. If the farmers elect the men who are ‘canvassing, agitating, spouting, and pamphleteering for the plums, let the farmers be certain of two things. They will have to pay for these plums, and the screamers for these plums will probably increase the number of plums, at, of course, the expense of the ratepayers. Plums are good but to pay for other people’s plums is not good.’ Nor did the editor forget to point the customary accusing finger at the chapel preachers: ‘The farmers and labourers find it hard enough to meet the demands made upon their pockets by the chapel and the preacher; the ratepayers of the county cannot afford to allow their affairs to fall into the hands of men so proverbially incompetent in public business as are the Welsh preachers.’ (*CJ*, editorial, 28 Dec. 1888).

²⁹⁷ Hanham, *Elections and Party Management*, p.3.

²⁹⁸ D. Leslie Baker-Jones, ‘Local Government, 1815-1974’, in D. W. Howell, *Pembrokeshire County History*, Vol IV, *Modern Pembrokeshire*, p. 276.

²⁹⁹ Griffiths, *Power Politics and County Government in Wales*, p.253.

³⁰⁰ Father of Dudley Williams-Drummond, Cawdor’s Agent.

³⁰¹ CRO, Carmarthenshire County Council (CCC) Minute Book, 27 Feb. 1889.

³⁰² CRO, CCC Minute Book, 1890-99.

³⁰³ CRO, CCC Minute Book, April 1891. When the chief of Police proposed to appoint his son as a police constable, without the sanction of the committee, Emlyn agreed that such an action was wrong, expressing a strong opinion that County Council should rescind the appointment if the chief of police refused to do so himself. The Chief of Police backed down and did not appoint his son.

³⁰⁴ CRO, CCC Minute Books, 1890-1904.

³⁰⁵ J. P. D. Dunbabin, ‘Expectations of the New County Councils, and their Realization’, *The Historical Journal*, Vol.8, No. 3 (1965), p.375.

³⁰⁶ Between 1885-1895 the government was under the helm of the Marquis of Salisbury for seven years.



Elliott & Fry

Frederick Archibald Vaughan (Campbell), third Earl Cawdor
1847-1911

6. The Cawdors and British Politics

We have seen that the Cawdors wielded great influence at both county and parochial level. This influence was spread over a large area of Carmarthenshire, though they were noticeably weak in the hundred of Derllys, to the west of Carmarthen town, where they held very little land. In Pembrokeshire they were particularly influential in the parishes to the south of Milford Haven.¹ In the previous chapter the Cawdors' leading role in the community of south-west Wales was examined. In this chapter we intend to examine the Cawdors' contribution to both south-west Wales and to Wales as a whole as members of both Houses of Parliament and as supporters of the *status quo* in Wales in the face of challenges from nationalist campaigns in the late nineteenth century. However it will first be necessary to examine how they became established as the political leaders of south-west Wales.

John Campbell had relished a peerage since the early 1790s, and all his work with the militia at this time must have given him hope of success. However, in 1796 he gained a peerage for his support of Pitt, when he joined the government side as a follower of the Earl of Portland. In fact it may be a measure of Campbell's ambitions towards a peerage that his support for the anti-Catholic Pitt was opportunistically taken in order to receive the baronetcy before the pro-Catholic Campbell returned to the opposition. While he may have been disappointed that further advances did not come his way after his dominant role in defeating the French in Pembrokeshire,² his ambition remained larger than mere political office. In the early nineteenth century Baron Cawdor's time in London demonstrates that his ambitions lay elsewhere. He soon became intimate with the Whig coterie surrounding that extravagant and very unpopular man George, Prince of Wales, later Prince Regent and then George IV, who believed himself to be the leader of the Whigs³, and 'the fountain of office, honour and emoluments'.⁴ Cawdor was probably introduced to this circle by his father-in-law, the Whig grandee, the fifth Earl of Carlisle. Cawdor was invited by the Prince to select all-male dinners at Carlton House, which were notorious for their extravagance.⁵ He was also a member, along with Carlisle and the Prince, of the leading Whig club, Brooks's. Even so, Cawdor never received any further advancement at the behest of the Prince. Perhaps his majesty remembered that John Campbell had been rewarded with a barony for supporting Pitt, a support which he quickly rescinded once the peerage had been attained.

Since Lord Cawdor's ambitions lay with advancing in the peerage, he needed to look for parliamentary support amongst his family and political friends to ensure his interests in the Commons were protected. In order to do this he needed to build interests within the region, though particularly in Carmarthenshire, where before 1804 he had shown very little political ambition. After that date Lord Cawdor found himself, as the proprietor of Golden Grove, the possessor of abundant patronage with which to establish an interest and thereby ensure support at elections.⁶ Interest building was a continual process and involved the landowner at all times: from supporting major works which would benefit the area, such as road and canal building, to doling out tiny sums of money to the poor; from supporting local balls and horse racing to administering the county at the Quarter Sessions, all were used to to exercise influence and establish friends. We have seen that Lord Cawdor, upon becoming master of Golden Grove quickly involved himself in such activities and, as suddenly the largest landowner in the county, he became the major distributor of patronage with the aim of buttressing political influence. However, although Lord Cawdor's 'possessions gave him great political influence, [it] was never dictatorial',⁷ but was, rather, collaborative, Cawdor deferring to his more politically experienced fellow Whigs. Such collaboration was indicated in 1807, when he wrote to J. G. Phillips of Cwmgwili regarding the nomination for Carmarthen borough election. Writing from Castle Howard, his wife's family home, Cawdor stated that he

knew it was Admiral Campbell's wish to offer himself...[if] he should receive the approbation of the Party as the Blue Candidate, but I was positive he would take no step whatever until I could make known to him the sentiments of the principal Gentlemen which I could only ascertain in the County where I hope to be the 7th of October it shall be my endeavour to obtain a meeting of the gentlemen attached to the Blue Interest and for consideration of what may be the Plan and Measures most eligible to adopt for our advancement of that Interest.

He continued by appealing to the greater knowledge and political experience of Phillips, asking the latter to 'favour me with your sentiments and advice which from your experience I consider highly important'.⁸

Although overnight the Cawdors had a great amount of patronage to distribute, they were nevertheless relative strangers to Carmarthenshire,⁹ being merely owners of lead-mining concerns in the north-east of the shire before 1804.¹⁰ At that date Carmarthenshire was dominated by the Red or Tory House of Dynevor, with Lord Dynevor accepted as the natural leader of the county. His position was long

established, and he had, additionally, a long and distinguished Welsh pedigree.¹¹ At the same time Carmarthen borough was a stronghold of the Blues or Whigs, under the influence of the Phillips family of Cwmgwili. In 1796, antagonism between the two families was demonstrated when Dynevor nominated Mogens Dorrien Mogens¹² to contest the borough election, and such 'continual intervention by Dynevor in Corporation affairs was...becoming increasingly irksome to J. G. Phillips'.¹³ Cawdor's timely arrival to Carmarthen Borough politics allowed for a stronger Whig front to Dynevor's challenges, though Phillips deferentially stepped down as leader of the Blue party in favour of Cawdor.

Apart from their 'stranger' status within Carmarthenshire, other reasons combined to ensure that the Cawdors entered the county political arena cautiously. Most prohibitively, Lord Cawdor, we have seen, was very short of money in the early part of the century and this had 'repercussions upon his political interest'.¹⁴ From 1804 the Cawdors could easily have been fighting potentially expensive elections in three counties: in their ancestral county of Nairn, Scotland, in Pembrokeshire, as well as in Carmarthenshire. Three contested elections would have been financially exhausting even for an unencumbered estate, but in Lord Cawdor's financially weak position such electioneering would have been disastrous. However, fortunately for the estate, Cawdor seems to have been essentially uninterested in politics.¹⁵ So, unlike the Owens of Orielton, their political rivals in Pembrokeshire, who became bankrupt in their attempts to hold on to their political power, the Cawdors were very shrewd in the way they gradually became involved in politics in both south-west Wales counties.¹⁶ However, it was almost a prerequisite for a large landowner to become engaged with the political arena: as a paternalist to ensure legislation was not detrimental to the region and, as a proprietor, to ensure that any proposed local legislation was not deemed detrimental to the estate. This was especially the case in the first three decades of the century, when party politics had not fully evolved, and hence local adherence to a party line less crucial than it was to become.¹⁷ As we have seen, the Cawdors gave their support to improvements of the county infrastructure, and did so in parliament by supporting local acts that gave legal sanction to such improvements. Thus, in the early part of the century, local acts were created to allow for the enclosure of common lands and for their concomitant road improvements, as well as for the building of railways and harbours. Thus in 1811 'the Act for altering amending and repairing the road from Golden Grove ...to the limekilns' would obviously be of

great benefit to the estate,¹⁸ as would the Act of 1812 for enclosing the lands of several parishes around Llanfihangel Aberbythych, which states that the lord of the manor (Lord Cawdor), as owner of the soil of the common, as well as principal owners in the parishes (again Lord Cawdor) would benefit greatly from the enclosure.¹⁹ Two other Acts need mentioning by way of example: the 1824 Act for repairing and widening the road from Carmarthen to Newcastle Emlyn, which listed George Campbell, Frederick John Vaughan Campbell (then seven years old) and Thomas Beynon amongst the trustees; and the 1832 Act for improving the roads within the Three Commotts District.²⁰ Both Acts would have materially improved the transporting of farm produce and lime in particular and, though benefiting the Cawdor estate, would also have greatly benefited every one else in the locality.

The least expensive way for Lord Cawdor to establish his interest was to become involved in Carmarthen Borough politics. H.M. Davies has stated that: 'The county town of Carmarthen in the early 1790s was a Whig bastion in Tory Wales'²¹ and this had not changed by the early nineteenth century. However, even for Whigs, fighting elections in Carmarthen borough was not an easy option, since it was a volatile borough and believed in its 'independence'.²² Even so, Cawdor, though a stranger to the town, was of the Whig party, and would have considered it a safer and cheaper place to obtain a seat in parliament than the hostile county seat. In 1806, when borough MP Sir William Paxton, the politically ambitious and significantly wealthy nabob of Middleton Hall, took the Chiltern Hundreds in order to contest the Carmarthen County seat, he made way for Lord Cawdor's ill-fated brother, Admiral George Campbell, who was returned unopposed.²³ If John Campbell had no real political ambition, then his brother had even less. He complained to Lord Cawdor on several occasions and 'objected to being in Parliament considering it highly disadvantageous to one of my Profession'. He realized that he was only keeping a Commons seat warm until Cawdor's sons came of age.²⁴ Perhaps not surprisingly, George Campbell never spoke in the House of Commons. And his lack of commitment to politics in Carmarthen borough²⁵ was partly instrumental in establishing the rift which developed between the populist landowner, John Jones of Ystrad, Carmarthen, and Lord Cawdor. In regard to George Campbell's canvass in 1812 Jones commented: 'I have expressed surprise because your Brother did not take more pain to conciliate his Constituents, and I was induced to make this remark both here and in Pembrokeshire from the complaints universally made of a want of those

attentions which the Burgesses of this Borough [Carmarthen] have experienced for a number of years, from their representatives, and which as Independent men they claim a right to demand.’²⁶ As Matthew Cragoe has demonstrated, in the first decades of the nineteenth century the personal canvass of all who were expected to vote for a candidate was of vital importance,²⁷ and here Jones points out the misgivings of those who had been neglected by Campbell. To this criticism Lord Cawdor replied that

I know not what may have been reported to you, respecting the feeling created in my mind by being frequently told that you had in different Companies often adverted to the inattention of my Brother...to his Constituents, who certainly are composed of Men as highly respectable and truly Independent as any in the Kingdom, but I am confident you could not for a moment believe that consistent with the friendship which has so long subsisted between us, I could suppose any conversation of yours upon that subject could have preceded from premeditated unkindness to my Brother or me. I confess I seriously regretted such observations coming from you as they must considerably tend to increase the dissatisfaction of his Electors.²⁸

Cawdor’s response to Jones’s comments gives an indication of the sensitive nature of the canvass—that meticulous care had to be taken to ensure all friends were approached. Jones’s disloyalty was not approved of, especially as he had assured Cawdor that no such thing would occur, stating in December 1811 that: ‘Offers have been made to me ...to stand for this Borough as an Independent Candidate, which would insure the Red Interest. To these offers I have paid no attention as I considered the friendship with which your Lordship has honoured me, a Tye which I would not wish breaking to forward my own interest.’ He went on to reassure Cawdor that, ‘however advantageous they [the offers] may be to me as a professional man, the rejection of them will not abate my attachment to your Lordship and the party, with which I have always acted’.²⁹ Such reassurances notwithstanding, six months later Jones had abandoned the Blues and their leader, Lord Cawdor, in the name of ‘independence’ and had transferred his interest to the Red party, and in the process became a political foe of the Cawdors.³⁰

At the same time as George Campbell became Carmarthen Borough MP, Lord Cawdor made moves to gain control of the town council. In October 1807 he was enrolled as a burgess of Carmarthen.³¹ By the following May Cawdor had been elected unanimously as a Common Councilman, and on the 3 October 1808 he was elected Mayor of Carmarthen by a majority vote of the common councillors.³² Cawdor attended Borough Council meetings on a regular basis and conscientiously signed the minute book as mayor. In return for his mayoralty he gave land to the

Borough to enable them to develop the town's quay. This would, of course, also have benefited the estate, since the quay was used to load ships with Cawdor lead ore. A covenant to the gift stipulated that Cawdor's tenants within the borough were to be excluded from quay duties. Such actions on Cawdor's behalf made for complaisant, contented tenants, who were, of course, useful at elections.

That the Campbells had never really become the foremost political family in Pembrokeshire was partly due to the all-powerful influence of the Owens of Orielton, while the boroughs of Pembroke and Haverfordwest were controlled by the Philippses of Picton Castle and to a lesser extent the Barlows of Lawrenny.³³ Although John Campbell (1695-1777), grandfather of the first Lord Cawdor, had been the county member for twenty years from 1727, the family had subsequently failed to return a member of parliament for Pembrokeshire. It was not until 1812 that the Cawdors next nominated a candidate for the county when John Frederick, just of age, was put forward to contest an election, rather optimistically, against the popular and dominant John Owen of Orielton. This election had very little to do with political issues, and became a power struggle between the Cawdors and the Owens.³⁴ Lord Cawdor seems to have thrown money at this election in 'order to bring greater expense on Sir John'³⁵ whose financial position was precarious. Cawdor spent £12,500 contesting the election but failed to secure the seat. Owen, as an indication of his popularity, was returned for both the county and for Pembroke borough. Barnham, Cawdor's political agent, attempted to disqualify Owen voters in order to establish a Campbell victory but confessed to Cawdor: 'Altho' a great number may have been fabricated for the purpose [of voting] on their side yet...our inferiority [of voting numbers] arises less from that cause than I had supposed. There is a prodigious defalcation on our side; chiefly in Dungleddy, Lord Milford's tenants having almost generally failed [to vote for Campbell],'³⁶ seemingly, Milford had not been sufficiently active with his tenants on Campbell's behalf. After his 1812 Pembrokeshire defeat, Campbell was quickly nominated for Carmarthen Borough in the stead of his uncle, Admiral George Campbell, who took the Chiltern Hundreds. John Frederick was returned unopposed and remained the Carmarthen Borough MP until his elevation to the peerage in 1821 on the death of his father. Six years later, on 5 October 1827, he was created Viscount Emlyn of Emlyn County Carmarthen and Earl Cawdor of Castlemartin.

In Pembrokeshire, after the 1812 election, Sir John Owen and Lord Cawdor came to an agreement, most likely to save both parties the expense of future contested

elections, whereby Owen agreed not to contest the next borough election and Cawdor agreed not to contest the County election. Regarding the Owen-Campbell agreement, a writer to the *Carmarthen Journal* commented that:

A monstrous coalition is said to have been affected, by which the County of Pembroke is to be secured in perpetuity to Sir John Owen, and the present able and worthy Member for the Borough of that name is to be turned out at the next General Election to make room for Mr George Campbell. So far as concerns the treatment of their friends, the Coalitionists affect to imitate the Roman Triumvirs—they reciprocally sacrifice them to the interests or animosities of each other, and establish a detestable union between themselves, upon the projected ruin of the liberty and independence of their country.³⁷

Owen kept the county seat unopposed until 1841 when his still straitened financial position prevented him from standing again as county MP. He gave up his seat in favour of Lord Emlyn, who was by then standing as a Conservative, and was returned unopposed.³⁸

Since late eighteenth-century Pembrokeshire was thus practically closed to any political ambitions the Cawdors may have entertained, and since they had, as yet, little influence in the Dynevor-dominated Carmarthenshire, the Campbell family looked to Cardiganshire to obtain a seat. Unfortunately for them, that county was also dominated, more or less, by a single family, in this case by the Vaughans of Trawscoed. Nevertheless, in 1768 John Hugh Pryse of Gogerddan decided not to stand for Cardigan Boroughs and offered the seat to his relative, Pryse Campbell, father of John Campbell, later first Baron Cawdor.³⁹ Unfortunately, Pryse Campbell died in 1768 in the same year. At the ensuing by-election, at which the Campbells had no nominee, Thomas Johnes of Hafod was returned. He held the seat until his resignation in 1780 when he nominated John Campbell as his replacement. Campbell was returned unopposed and kept the seat until June 1796, when, as we have seen, he was elevated to the peerage.

In the eighteenth and early decades of the nineteenth centuries the Campbells were Whigs. Their allegiance was to change in 1837 when the first earl Cawdor crossed the political divide to the Conservative Party. His reasons for doing, were to do with the shift in politics by the monarch, William IV, who at the end of 1834, dismissed the reforming Whig government, and asked Peel to form, what was, in effect, the first Conservative administration. As many as a hundred enlisted under the new regime over the next two years.⁴⁰ However, after his move to the Tory party Cawdor did not immediately nominate a candidate for the election of that year, since his son, John

Frederick Vaughan, would not reach his majority until the following year.⁴¹ Instead the Cawdor interest was vested in their new political friends, the Dynevors and their nominee George Rice Trevor, the son of Baron Dynevor a move, likely to curry favour with the Tory interest in the future. However [Dowager] Countess Cawdor, daughter of the Whig grandee the fifth Earl of Carlisle, was dismayed at her son's volte-face. She wrote to her friend Lady Mary Hamlyn-Williams, a fellow Whig: 'No one can lament more than I do, the line that Cawdor has taken. I am, as I always have been, a stout Whig, but the ties of Relationship and my strong affection for him repress the expression of my feelings.'⁴² The Cawdors' involvement in the election, as we saw earlier, became an acrimonious affair since they were accused of using excessive coercion⁴³ to induce their tenants to change their long held support for the Whigs and vote for the Tory, Rice Trevor. Even so, Dowager Countess Cawdor was clear of her position when asked to betray Lord Cawdor's new political position: 'I regret I cannot do what you suggest. I believe in my first note to you I mentioned that I could not act contrary to C's wishes, and those are that his Tenants should vote for Trevor alone, and in my opinion an attempt to create dissensions between Landlord and Tenants is both unwise and improper.'⁴⁴

Only with the unopposed return of Lord Emlyn as Conservative MP for Pembrokeshire in 1841, and afterwards with the first Earl becoming, as we have seen, Lord Lieutenant for Carmarthenshire in 1852, can it be said that the family became fully established as the most politically powerful in south-west Wales. Emlyn would continue as County member down to the end of 1860, his main contribution being the introduction of South Wales Highways Bills. However other than that he rarely spoke in the Commons, and 'was to cut no figure in the lords' when he ascended to the upper house in 1861 on the death of his father.⁴⁵

It was around the mid-century that a profound shift has been identified in the character of British politics as a move towards organised national parties began to establish itself, replacing the earlier politics of local interests.⁴⁶ This shift towards national parties has been explored for Carmarthenshire by Matthew Cragoe in *An Anglican Aristocracy*. One of the changes identified, from after the 1868 election onwards, was that from the personal canvass of every voter to the formal public meeting where the party-line was imparted to an audience of mainly converts. Public meetings became particularly well established in the 1880s. The Conservative Registration Society, which merely registered the tenants of those landlords who had

promised their interest to the conservative cause, gave way to Conservative Associations, which began to be established in the late 1860s. By 1874 half of the English counties had such associations.⁴⁷ A Conservative Association had been established in Carmarthen in 1869 under the chairmanship of Lord Cawdor who also donated the largest subscription, of £50, towards its funds. The professed aim of this association was to ‘attend to the Register of voters within this county’ and at its inaugural meeting Cawdor proposed that it be established ‘with a view to restoring the preponderance of the Conservative interest’ in Carmarthenshire.⁴⁸ This was, of course, a Conservative response to the 1868 election, which threatened the landowners’ hegemony.

The Cawdors were also active in other areas of the county; thus Lord Emlyn spoke at the first annual banquet of the Llanelly Conservative Association in February 1883, where he defended the House of Lords from those who wished to abolish it. The Lords he averred, prevented ‘panic and sudden and violent changes of opinion’, whilst at the same time ‘it represented the steady and progressive feeling of the country’.⁴⁹ Such gradualism sat well with Conservative Party policy. Later in the same year Emlyn accepted the Presidency of the Newcastle Emlyn and Teifyside Conservative Association, and at its inaugural meeting he spoke of the need—perhaps with a knowledge of the imminent electoral reforms—to ‘bring in the help of working men into such associations’.⁵⁰

In the 1880s the Habitations of the Primrose League began to establish themselves in Carmarthenshire and Pembrokeshire. They were less formal bodies than the Conservative Associations, and though they had close ties with the landlord class who used it to their advantage, they allowed for a wider membership at a time the franchise was being expanded.⁵¹ The mass meetings of the League were a mixture of music, picnics and even magic lantern shows, as well as politics, and were often organised by gentry women, an involvement in national party politics otherwise denied to them, (although the *Carmarthen Journal* commented on the number of women attending the Conservative Association meeting at Newcastle Emlyn referred to above). The meetings⁵² of the League became an effective platform for Conservative party members to expound Tory policies and attack their opponents. However, since most of those attending were party followers, the League’s meetings were more like rallying cries to the converted. Lord Emlyn used the Habitations effectively, speaking regularly at various meetings in the late 1880s. Since he had lost his Carmarthenshire

seat in the 1885 election (a constituency he had represented since 1874), and would not ascend to the Lords until 1898 upon his father's death, it was a way of ensuring that both the Cawdor voice, and the Conservative voice (which were mainly identical) were not lost in the Liberal rampage that was then proceeding in Wales. For instance, in 1888 Emlyn used League meetings to deliver the Conservative government's stance on the Local Government Bill, then making its way through Parliament. He spoke at two other Primrose meetings in November of that year and at each outlined the Conservative's policy on the Local Government Bill.⁵³

Although no great parliamentarians emerged from the family, they gave their patronage to their political friends and manipulated events to suit their political views. In 1838, a year after he had done so himself,⁵⁴ Lord Cawdor was instrumental in persuading Sir James Graham to join the Tory party, with a promise of a seat in Parliament, as member for Pembroke Boroughs. Graham had lost his Cumberland seat at the election of 1837. A year later Cawdor saw a chance to substantially increase his interest in Pembrokeshire with the waning of Sir John Owen's political power which seemed inevitable given his astronomical debts. At the beginning of 1838 Cawdor wrote to Graham that 'the thing that appeared most amiss to me was your exclusion from Parliament, [and] it occurred to me that Sir John Owen's son was not very fond of his duties in the House of Commons and that Sir John might do the State good service by substituting you for him'. Cawdor raised the idea with Owen at a Board of Guardians meeting (an interesting example of a national political issue being resolved locally) and it was settled that Graham should be put forward as the MP for Pembroke Boroughs.⁵⁵ Hugh Owen Owen resigned his seat in January 1838, and Graham became MP from the 20 February.⁵⁶ Thus for three years 'Pembroke was represented by a politician of national stature'.⁵⁷ Roland Thorne states that Graham's period as Pembroke MP saw him helping Peel to bring down Melbourne's ministry 'in a fierce attack on former colleagues'.⁵⁸

In 1841, Lord Emlyn gave his first public speech at what the *Carmarthen Journal* referred to as a 'Grand Conservative Demonstration' in Tenby, in support of Graham, in the hope he would stand for Pembrokeshire at the forthcoming election—though as we have seen, it was Emlyn who eventually stood, and won. Emlyn stated rather banally: 'I enlist myself under the banners of the Conservative Party'. Interestingly, he referred to his mother the Dowager Countess Cawdor, and as though to dampen any rumours to the contrary stated: 'that she is a most excellent Conservative, and has

brought up her children in the right path'. As noted above, the Dowager was dismayed at Emlyn's move to the Tory party, since, rather than being a 'most excellent Conservative', she was bought up as part of the Whig dynasty headed by her late father, the fifth Earl of Carlisle.

Until Archibald, the third Earl Cawdor, became First Lord of the Admiralty in 1905, none of the Campbell family attained high government office. John Campbell, 1695-1777, grandfather of the first Baron, was made one of the junior lords of the admiralty and in 1761 his son, Pryse, was made a junior Lord of the Treasury. However, for most of the nineteenth century the family were either very reluctant or deemed by their party not to be the right material for ministerial posts. Even so, they did attend to their parliamentary duties, as would be expected, though, in common with other Welsh members, until the last quarter of the century they spoke only rarely in either House. John Frederick Vaughan, the second Earl Cawdor, thus spoke only once in the Lords in the years 1831-1860.⁵⁹ However, our attention will now turn to the role that they did play in national politics at Westminster. In particular, their attitude to issues which concerned Wales will be examined, notably, the disestablishment and disendowment of the established church and the 'land question', and subjects which evolved around these major issues, such as education and, as a precursor to disestablishment, the temperance movement. The Cawdors' initial foray in the parliamentary arena however, took place earlier with the central role played by John Frederick, First Earl, in the abolition of the Welsh Judicature or Court of Great Sessions.

John Frederick Campbell's only real incursion into parliamentary politics was in his leading role in the Commons regarding the controversy over the abolition of the Welsh Judicature or Great Sessions, which he believed should be absorbed into the English Assize circuits. Margaret Escott has recently stated that Campbell's father, Baron Cawdor, 'detested the courts, which...had served the interests of his opponents during the *Quo warranto* proceedings in Carmarthen'.⁶⁰ Could Cawdor, a stranger to the County, have been ignominiously treated by the *Welsh* Court, hence raising his ire? From 1817, John Frederick became the chief protagonist in the abolition cause after the death of George Ponsonby, the chairman of the Select Committee to enquire into the Administration of Justice in Wales.⁶¹ Following his demise the Select Committee went into abeyance and changes in government meant that it took three years for a revamped Committee to present its findings. Over those three years Campbell raised the

subject four times in the Commons, in attempts to re-establish the Committee with himself as chairman. In 1819 he spoke of the 'inexpediency of having a separate judicature where the whole kingdom was governed by the same laws'. Though he seems to have 'made a capital speech' showing 'as great a power of clear conception as most men in the House and a happier flow of early and elegant expression than almost anyone',⁶² his four resolutions in favour of abolishing the Great Sessions were summarily dismissed by the Tory Home Secretary, Lord Castlereagh, as being too sweeping. Campbell, on the advice of his friend James Scarlett,⁶³ withdrew them, re-presenting them a year later (after some judicial editing by the said Scarlett?).⁶⁴ The first of his resolutions throws light on Campbell's view of Wales, namely, that the Welsh Judicature was established when a line could be drawn between England and Wales but that now 'the boundaries of England and Wales served for no purpose than that of a geographical distinction' there was no case for a separate Welsh court. His other resolutions catalogue criticisms of the Court held by many others, even by some of the supporters of the court: that the Great Sessions was of limited availability, since it only sat for two sessions of six-days twice a year. Outside these twelve days no business was undertaken by the court, and users either had to wait for the next sessions or they had to travel to an English assize court (Hereford Assizes was frequently used, not least by Lord Cawdor); that Welsh Great Sessions judges were allowed to practise as barristers in other courts, which might create a conflict of interest; and, finally, that the Welsh judges were chosen via the Treasury rather than through the Lord Chancellor's Office, as was the case with English assize judges. This easily led to abuse since the Treasury looked to the House of Commons to fill a vacancy and 'if a seat could be secured or a vote gained by it so much the better. They were not very nice in their selection, as the salary was so small, and the situation so undignified that few lawyers of respectability could bear to lose so much of interest and character as the acceptance of this situation might suppose.' All this did for Wales was to create disrespect for its judges and thereby the people of Wales 'had a system of judicature which seemed, as it were, but a mockery of their rights'.⁶⁵ After a short debate Campbell's proposal, that a select committee be appointed, was approved with Campbell as chairman. The select committee reported in 1821, and was part of an overall review of the judicial system in England and Wales, which resulted in The Royal Commission on the Practice and Proceedings of the Superior Courts of Common Law, which finally reported in 1829. The Commission incorporated the

findings of the earlier select committee and recommended the abolition of the Welsh Court.

Campbell's open hostility towards the Welsh Judicature created enemies as well as friends, and opinion in the Welsh counties was mostly hostile to his proposals. Lord Dynevor stated that he had great doubts about setting the Welsh Judicature on the same footing as the English circuit, 'considering the habits of Welsh witnesses, and the great difficulties that occur in our trials with respect to the examination of witnesses, and of the language with respect to the jury, whether it would have all those good effects, which at first sight one should be led to suppose it would have'. Dynevor went on to express other doubts about the expediency of using different judges for each session, as in England: 'I know opinions have gone abroad very much of late ...that a change of judges would be desirable; whether that has arisen from personal motives, or not, it is not for me to say; I am convinced myself it would not be advantageous.'⁶⁶ Dynevor may be referring here to Campbell's hostile pursuit of the Sessions, and the 'biased' courts that had defeated the Cawdor *Quo Warrantos*. An anonymous letter written to Campbell, by then the first Earl Cawdor, at the end of the debate over the Welsh Court states another possible motive: 'Is his Lordship influenced by pure Motives?' asked the writer; answering negatively, he continued: 'There is too much party and Publick good is sacrificed.'⁶⁷ Party politics may indeed have been at the root of the opposition combined with personal animosity towards Cawdor. George Thomas, Carmarthen Borough councillor, wrote to Earl Cawdor in the early summer of 1830 that:

Mr Jones [John Jones of Ystrad, Carmarthenshire Tory member for Pembroke Boroughs, and as we have seen at this time a political antagonist of the Cawdors] takes much credit to himself for obtaining the withdrawing of the Consolidation Clause [that is the amalgamation of the Great Sessions into the English circuits] as a Condition for giving up his opposition. This I cannot believe after his many vexatious and abortive efforts. Mr Mirehouse⁶⁸ has published a letter lauding Jones "our own John Jones" (as he calls him) for obtaining by his exertions that boon for the adjoining Counties. One would infer from this production that the Consolidation Clause and not the principle was the ground of the party-opposition.⁶⁹

Jones had argued for retaining the court, though accepting that reform, particularly in the way judges were recruited, was necessary. To this effect he had introduced two bills⁷⁰ into the Commons in 1818 and 1822-24 to reform and to strengthen the court. Jones had stated to the Royal Commission on the Practice and Proceedings of the Superior Courts of Common Law that very few people were actually opposed to the

Great Sessions, and that Cawdor, as the chairman of the 1821 Select Committee, had not only declared his sentiments decidedly adverse to the jurisdiction, but had placed friendly names on the witness list, two being ‘employed professionally by him [Cawdor] or his family, and one of whom was a gentleman of very little practice [R. B. Williams and probably Thomas Lewis, Cawdor’s Llandeilo solicitor]’.⁷¹ Jones’s opposition resulted in attempts to unseat him from the Commons by the Cawdor interest. At the 1815 election for Pembroke Boroughs, he was replaced by Cawdor’s nominee John Hensleigh Allen of Cresselly. And Jones was then defeated by a majority of 12 in a contested election for Carmarthen Borough by George Campbell, Lord Cawdor’s brother.⁷² However, Jones was re-elected to Carmarthen Borough in 1821, when John Frederick succeeded to the Lords on the death of his father.

In 1828, just a few months before the Royal Commission’s report was published, Cawdor’s hostility towards the Great Sessions was amplified when he published *Letter to Baron Lyndhurst*, the Lord Chancellor, which has been described as ‘a vitriolic attack on the court [which] was extremely influential in swaying opinion against the court, especially in south Wales’.⁷³ Cawdor claimed that his aim was ‘to improve the condition of the principality of Wales’.⁷⁴ The letter re-iterates the arguments given by Cawdor when in the Commons. In particular he attacks the system of recruiting judges to the Sessions, who were ‘selected rather for parliamentary services than for their legal acquirements, and that their appointment is supposed to rest more with the First Lord of the Treasury than the Chancellor’. This, Cawdor wrote, ‘was the worst judicial arrangement ever devised’ and merely meant that the Court was a ‘despised jurisdiction’ with a ‘suspicion of partiality and conflicting practice’.⁷⁵ The first *Report* of the Royal Commission has numerous witnesses in support of Cawdor’s proposals and of his *Letter*. The Commissioners sent thirty petitions to noblemen and gentry in Wales. Twenty-four agreed that the Welsh courts should be abolished, whilst only four wanted it retained.⁷⁶ In the *Cambrian Quarterly Magazine*, the writer ‘T’ agreed that the Court needed improvement, particularly in the way the judges were appointed, since they ‘are political appointments, and those chosen to fill them are men taken out of certainly not the first rank in point of talent, [and here] a heavy grievance must exist.’⁷⁷ After the Royal Commission’s *Report* had been published in favour of abolition, several meetings of magistrates in the Welsh counties were held to voice their approval or otherwise. In south Wales only the Glamorgan magistrates, as a body, voted for

abolition. At a meeting in Montgomery a Great Sessions judge with forty years' experience, one William Owen, also defended Cawdor's position stating that the *Letter* was 'a most admirable production', and that Cawdor's opponents such as the editors of the *Cambrian Quarterly* were wrong. The editors replied that they were compelled to differ from Mr Owen, since they believed Cawdor's work to be on 'the side of what is considered a fallacy'.⁷⁸ The south-west Wales counties and boroughs were all hostile to Cawdor's proposal. In Pembrokeshire, at a county meeting, 'notwithstanding Lord Cawdor's influence and exertions against it, the petition against the alteration [that is to incorporate the Welsh Judicature into the English circuits] was carried by an immense majority'.⁷⁹ Whilst in Haverfordwest magistrates voted unanimously against the abolition. Both in Cardiganshire, in the 'largest meeting ever held there', and in Carmarthenshire, magistrates also voted against Cawdor's proposals by large majorities. This notwithstanding, Cawdor could quip in the Lords that petitions presented by Lord Dynevor supporting the court were 'not numerously signed' whilst Cawdor presented a pro-abolition petition from Carmarthen containing 2,263 signatures.

It is difficult, due to such dubious evidence as petitions,⁸⁰ to assess the real sentiments of the mass of the Welsh population towards the Welsh court.⁸¹ Certainly, the court 'was an affront to those seeking uniformity in legal administration',⁸² and it is probable that Cawdor was merely responding to the general call for reform of the judicial system as a whole, which was proceeding at the time.⁸³ However, his views on local courts were made clear in 1843 in a letter to Robert Clive wherein he stated: 'I have a leaning in favour of the law as it is administered at Westminster and a fear of local jurisdictions which would incline me to put as little possible into their hands.'⁸⁴

The Act to abolish the Welsh Judicature was given Royal Assent on the 23 July 1830. As a postscript, Lord Cawdor's London solicitor, Thomas Farrer, aware of the delicate local situation—one anonymous writer claimed that Cawdor's life would not be safe if the Great Sessions were abolished⁸⁵—and the enemies he had created by his stance, was very cautious about a court case Cawdor was to commence just three months before the Court was abolished. Cawdor was thinking of using the Hereford Assizes for a case, rather than the soon-to-be created new circuits, but Farrer wrote: 'We must consider it may create remark if Earl Cawdor the chief promoter of the abolition, removes a case of his own the very first moment the change he wishes is

effected. It may be thrown in his teeth as an admission of the inadequacy of his own remedy.'⁸⁶

Many of the nationalist movements dealing with Welsh subjects debated in the Houses of Parliament in the later decades of the century were discussed when the Cawdors had no seat in the Commons and when the second Earl seems to have had very little desire to sit in the Lords. Hence, their attitudes towards such subjects as disestablishment or the land question have to be gleaned from their utterances outside the debating chambers of Westminster. As stated above, many of the smaller grievances of opponents of the established church had an underlying greater cause: the disestablishment and disendowment of the Anglican Church. Disestablishment of the church in Wales had been raised as far back as the 1830s: 'SR' had published a diatribe against the Anglican Church in Wales in 1834.⁸⁷ However, generally, 'Disestablishment in Wales was smouldering ash, hardly noticed till Queen Victoria was a mature widow, but then blown into flames by Welsh eloquence.'⁸⁸ The 1868 election was dominated by the 'Irish Question', which, in turn, led to the disestablishment of the church in Ireland in 1869. It was only a matter of time before Welsh radicals raised the matter of disestablishment for Wales since, as G. I. T. Machin has written, 'The questions of Irish disestablishment and disendowment (and of land and education reform) were strikingly appropriate to the particular demands of Wales.'⁸⁹ Before the 1860s the demand for disestablishment was mostly based on the unscriptural nature of any established religion, but from the late 1860s onwards, disestablishment of the church was sought on the cultural ground that the church was alien.⁹⁰ We have seen that from the 1840s onwards some landowners in south-west Wales, especially Lord Cawdor, had greatly assisted the church, by restoring churches, building parsonages and providing for schools under the National Society's banner. Such material assistance from the landowners certainly helped to revive the established church, so much so that by the 1880s it had become the biggest single denomination in Wales and was continually improving its position as the century progressed. However, collectively, the nonconformist denominations still formed the majority, and the increasingly nationalistic Welsh critics of the established church pointed out that no church could be a national church unless a majority of the people accepted it as such. P. H. M. Bell has pointed out that enemies are of prime importance to any nationalist movement.⁹¹ And in a minority church whose moral

outlook coincided with that of a dominant group of alien, English-speaking, and hated landowners, Welsh nationalists saw an enemy with accoutrements.⁹²

The first major parliamentary debate on Welsh disestablishment took place in March 1886,⁹³ in a parliament that excluded Lord Emlyn. Lewis Llewellyn Dillwyn, Liberal MP for Swansea, introduced a motion to disestablish the church, stating that the Anglican Church ‘was not the National Church in Wales in any shape or form; and if the Welsh people had their way it would be swept away without delay’.⁹⁴ Dillwyn’s motion was defeated by a mere twelve votes, though this motion and others which followed ‘drew the attention of the House of Commons to the central arguments on behalf of Welsh disestablishment and its intimate relationship to the nationhood of Wales’.⁹⁵ However, unfortunately for the Welsh liberals, the Gladstone government was, shortly after this, split by the maelstrom that was Irish Home Rule. So, although Welsh disestablishment was placed second on Gladstone’s Newcastle Programme of 1891, and although disestablishment bills were introduced in 1894 and 1895, a Conservative election win in 1895 ushered in nearly twenty years of Tory rule which put an end to any real attempts to attain disestablishment.⁹⁶

After Lord Emlyn had lost his Carmarthenshire seat in 1885, the Conservative party attempted to find him a seat elsewhere, and in 1892 he stood for the South Manchester constituency. The ultra-Tory *Western Mail* commented that it was a discredit to the people of Wales that a man with such a public reputation as Emlyn should be lost to them. However the radical *Liverpool Mercury* commented, in an article written by their ‘Welsh correspondent’, that ‘so hopeless is the Tory and anti-national cause in Carmarthen that Lord Emlyn...has decided to seek his political future in Manchester’.⁹⁷ The 1892 election saw only two Conservative MPs returned from Wales, so in that respect the writer of the article was correct. Now, however, for understandable reasons Emlyn, who was certainly an asset to the Conservative Party in Wales—he was often referred to as the Conservative for south Wales—though an increasingly isolated one, looked to find an easier seat than attempting to re-gain Carmarthen. He lost the South Manchester contest (though he halved the Liberal majority) by a margin of 181 votes, to the Gladstonian Liberal, Sir H. Roose.⁹⁸

Six years later, in February 1898, Emlyn, then chairman of the Great Western Railway (GWR), was again put forward—as a Unionist candidate—this time for the north Wiltshire constituency of Cricklade. The Conservative reasoning for choosing Emlyn as a candidate for this seat is not hard to discover, since the town is just north

of Swindon, the home of the GWR. The Conservative party believed that the 'readiness of the management [of the GWR] to investigate legitimate grievances'⁹⁹ amongst the workforce and Emlyn's undoubted popularity as chairman of the company would help swing the vote to the Unionists. Nevertheless, whether from puckishness or in earnest, the Liberal opposition raised the rumour, echoing former election accusations of a similar sort, that Emlyn was 'exercising some kind of coercion in regard to voters in that district who happen to be in the employment'¹⁰⁰ of the GWR. And although Emlyn was at pains to state that he hoped all employees of the company would 'exercise his suffrages in a spirit of absolute independence',¹⁰¹ the *Swindon Advertiser* stated that Emlyn was being ridiculous in stating that there is 'no coercion in his candidature in a constituency where a great majority of voters are employees'¹⁰² of the Company. As with South Manchester, Emlyn again failed to win, losing by 469 votes to the Liberal Sir Edmund Fitzmaurice.¹⁰³ On Emlyn's part the election campaign was interrupted, in the second week of February, when he was called to Stackpole Court on hearing that his father had suffered a paralysing stroke;¹⁰⁴ Emlyn nevertheless continued the election campaign but the second Earl only survived until 28 March, whereupon Archibald found himself raised to the peerage as the third Earl Cawdor.

Deprived of access to the Commons, Emlyn's defence of the church was conducted at Primrose League meetings, Conservative Associations, Church Diocesan and Church Defence Institution meetings. For instance, in 1894, at a special meeting in Swansea of the St David's Diocesan Conference, Emlyn stated that the Disestablishment Bill, then being debated in the Commons, was 'unjust in itself and detrimental to the best interests of the Principality', though he added that, 'as a fighting politician, he hailed this Bill with delight'.¹⁰⁵ In the Lords the Bill was discussed by the Bishops, who realised that if the Anglican Church in Wales was disestablished it would effectively mean disestablishment for the church in England. However, the Bishops also realised their methods of opposition were limited to action 'consistent with their spiritual position'. *The Times* suggested that, 'The Church Defence Institution is less subject to restriction in its methods of combat. It is about to issue a manifesto, and will prepare to conduct an agitation of a more political type than the Bishops think it proper to undertake.'¹⁰⁶

Lord Emlyn, as an indication of his full commitment to the church, was elected to the Committee of the Church Defence Institution in 1884.¹⁰⁷ As its name suggests,

this pressure group fought a rearguard action in defence of the church, combating the nonconformist demands for disestablishment. The second Earl Cawdor was also a member and attended a mass meeting at the Albert Hall in May 1892.¹⁰⁸ He also put his name to a *Manifesto against the Welsh Suspensory Bill* which was published by the anti-Liberation Society in 1893. For a time the Suspensory Bill disturbed even more the increasingly rough sea of the establishment, since, if enacted, it would have effectively prevented the further appointment of Bishops to Welsh Sees: as such, it was seen as a prelude to the disestablishment and disendowment of the Anglican Church in Wales.¹⁰⁹ In March of 1893, Lord Emlyn also attacked the Suspensory Bill, at an anti-Suspensory Bill meeting in London. The meeting was mainly a gathering of the establishment, and Emlyn stated that he would have preferred to have spoken to fewer 'prelates and peers' and more ordinary people since he wanted to refute the popular idea, 'altogether unfounded', that the church was a special appendage to the aristocracy.¹¹⁰ Emlyn's preaching to the converted provides an indication of the paucity of support amongst the 'ordinary people' for the fate of the established church in Wales, though more ordinary people may have attended had the meeting been held within the Principality.¹¹¹ The Suspensory Bill was eventually withdrawn, but not before it was given a majority of upward of fifty on its first reading in the Commons.

The disestablishment debate in Ireland was seen by nationalists in that country as a step towards, firstly reform of land tenure and then to national independence. In Wales few would have called for the latter, but there were demands to follow the Irish model with regards to the system of land tenure. The 'land problem' and with it a 'desire on the part of Welsh rural communities for separate legislation', to deal with it in Wales,¹¹² intensified in the 1880s. In 1883 Pan Jones established the Land Nationalisation League later renamed Cymdeithas y Ddaear i'r Bobl. Initially well-supported, the League had failed by 1886. In that year later Thomas Gee, in opposition to Jones's demands for land nationalisation, had established at Rhyl the short-lived Welsh Land League, with its three main demands, following the Irish model, of fixity of tenure, security of tenure and fair rents, though Gee concentrated on the battles connected with the payment of tithes.¹¹³ In February 1884 Lord Emlyn had spoken of the radicals' desires for land reform, and in particular the idea of fixity of tenure. For Emlyn, though he fully agreed with compensation to tenants farmers for un-exhausted improvements¹¹⁴ undertaken by the tenant, fixity of tenure was nothing more than a bribe to farmers 'and that of a most immoral nature,' since it allowed the

lazy farmer to profit as much as the thrifty farmer. Reducing this demand to a cipher, Emlyn proclaimed that: 'It was nothing more than a sop for the farmers' vote.'¹¹⁵

Two years after the Land League had been formed the first major commons debate on Welsh land tenure took place. Then, on 16 March 1892 Tom Ellis introduced a second reading of the Tenure of Land (Wales) Bill,¹¹⁶ and during the debate Gladstone promised a royal commission to enquire into the land question in Wales, which was established in March 1893. Again Emlyn had no parliamentary voice in the debate. However, both Lord Cawdor and Lord Emlyn were on the eleven-strong Executive Committee of the Land-owners' Association of South Wales and Monmouthshire. This association had been established in the spring of 1893 following the example of a similar organisation based in north Wales (established to combat the Welsh Land League), to 'present the case for the principles which underlie the existing relation between Landlord and Tenant'¹¹⁷ before the Welsh Land Commission which was just beginning its investigations. The Earl of Dunraven was the chairman and J. E. Vincent, author of *The Land Question in South Wales*, was its secretary. It initially saw itself as a temporary body, but by 1895 resolved to establish itself permanently, perhaps in view of the continued sitting of the Land Commission. The Association stated that 'unless the landed interest...looks to its own interests, its fate will be that of the landed interest (including in the expression, Landowners and tenants) in Ireland. That is to say, Landowners will suffer by being impoverished, and tenants will suffer by reason of the fact that Land-owners will have no inducement to expend any money whatsoever on their Estates.'¹¹⁸ It was partly thanks to the defence of the landlords' position by the north and south Wales Associations that the expected widespread condemnation of the landlord system, from the Land Commission's *Report*, never occurred.¹¹⁹ Even more so, the larger estates, including that of the Cawdors, were largely exonerated from the evils the nonconformist press, in particular, had levelled against them.

If the Cawdors were, predictably, wholly opposed to disestablishment and to interference in the right of voluntary contract between landowner and tenant, then they, or rather Archibald, Lord Emlyn in particular, is shown in a much more enthusiastic light when the thorny problem of education was brought into the public arena. At the beginning of July 1879 Emlyn raised the matter of the deficiency of Welsh intermediate education in a debate in the House of Commons introduced by Hussey Vivian, Liberal MP for Glamorgan. The latter's resolution asked for a limited

enquiry into intermediate education for Wales, but what Emlyn proposed was ‘a full, searching inquiry, conducted by Commission or otherwise, into the position of Wales as regarded higher education; and he should not wish either that any limit should be placed on the extent of the inquiry’.¹²⁰ Emlyn went on to state that in Wales:

Its language at once placed it on a different footing, and made it as distinct from England as Scotland and Ireland.¹²¹ That being so, the arguments that gave Scotland and Ireland grants from the public purse ought to obtain similar advantages for Wales. As for the other objection, he would remark that the higher education of the English Universities was mainly a matter of pounds, shillings, and pence, and that those who could afford to do so would always go to them. That, however, was not possible for all, and it was on behalf of the less wealthy class that he was pleading that day.¹²²

In education, at least, Emlyn sounded, as one radical stated, like a ‘good liberal’.¹²³

In August 1880, The committee appointed to inquire into the condition of Intermediate and Higher Education in Wales, known as Lord Aberdare’s Committee,¹²⁴ was appointed, with Emlyn one of its members. Their *Report* was published in 1881 and from then until he lost his Commons seat in 1885, Emlyn raised the subject of intermediate and higher education in Wales on several occasions in the Commons. Welsh members on both sides of the house felt that the recommendations of the Aberdare Committee were being ignored by the government. In March 1884 Emlyn spoke, along with several Liberals, in defence of Aberystwyth College. He believed that Aberystwyth College was ‘being allowed to drop’ from government plans for Welsh colleges, simply because they had decided that one college in the north and one in the south would be sufficient. He stated that Aberystwyth College was ‘the pioneer of education in Wales’, but it was being ‘left to die a natural death’ since the government was planning to cut its £4,000 per year grant. He also raised the subject of St David’s College, Lampeter, which, he believed, the government was also completely ignoring. A. J. Mundella, President of the Board of Education, argued that the college was not referred to in the debate since the government perceived it to be a denominational college. In reply Emlyn stated that, ‘its door had been opened as widely as possible to Non-conformists, and no religious tests or observances were required’.¹²⁵ In the same debate he also criticised the government for putting aside the ‘whole idea of intermediate education’ in Wales.¹²⁶

Emlyn’s elitist views, and his, perhaps, more specific definition of intermediate education, which he probably preferred, was aired when he gave a prize day speech at Carmarthen Grammar School in August 1888. He stated that ‘education could never

be put in a thoroughly satisfactory position unless the grammar schools were placed on a sound and proper footing. To build up an education system and ignore the foundation stone—the grammar school—was to start at the wrong end and build without a foundation.’¹²⁷ Though he was playing to his audience’s snobbery, the grammar schools were far more elitist than the intermediate education referred to in the Commons, at least by Liberals, who desired such education for all. However despite this, Emlyn played a central role in establishing the Welsh Intermediate Education Act which was placed on the statute book by a Conservative government in 1889. Under the terms of the Act a system of secondary schools was established in Wales, long before such schools had been established in England. G. Roderick has commented: ‘The debt which all classes of Welsh society, but especially the working classes, owed to intermediate schools was incalculable. They were a major force in providing opportunities for social mobility which hitherto had been enjoyed only by an elite minority.’¹²⁸ The Act also enabled the establishment of a Joint Education Committee and to this end a series of conferences were held. Emlyn was one of the Carmarthenshire delegates at conferences—held from 1890-1892—though he attended as a nominee of the Privy Council rather than the new county council. His main contribution was to support St David’s College, Lampeter’s right to be included, in a central education board, since it was intended the latter was not merely to have jurisdiction over intermediate education. Nonconformist opposition refused to accept this, arguing St. David’s was a theological college, and as such should be excluded.

The Sale of Intoxicating Liquors on Sundays (Wales) Act, of 1881, has often been seen as a precursor to Welsh disestablishment, since it was the first Act since Tudor times that was specific to Wales. Half a century before that Act, the Temperance Movement had ‘struck deep roots in Wales’ and had established a society in Carmarthen in 1836.¹²⁹ The Movement was always strongly influenced by chapel ministers, so much so that by 1850 ‘teetotalism had been absorbed into the moralistic system of Nonconformity’.¹³⁰ After mid-century the movement became, firstly, increasingly political, and then, nationalistic. Thus the movement was associated with Welsh radicals within the Liberal party. At Westminster the movement: ‘increasingly became an instrument of a strong nationalistic strain in Welsh political and social life and was no longer championed for primarily physiological and moral reasons’.¹³¹ Only from 1873 after the Bishop of St. Asaph called for such societies did the

Anglican Church establish its own temperance societies in Wales. St David's Diocese founded a temperance society, but only in 1883, two years after the passing of the Sale of Intoxicating Liquors on Sundays (Wales) Act. The irony of the established church's support for the Act has been pointed out: as an Act that was specific to Wales disestablishment in Wales was not far behind.¹³² As part of their paternalistic duty to the lower classes the Cawdor family would have given support to the temperance movement, at least that established by the Church. However, they do not appear to have given any public declarations regarding the movement, either earlier in the century or after the Bishop's call in 1873. In June 1882 Lord Emlyn allowed a 'monster temperance excursion' to Golden Grove park by the Carmarthen Branches of the Blue Ribbon Army and Church of England Temperance societies and the *Carmarthen Journal* estimated that there were about 3,000 people present.¹³³ Nevertheless, such local support extended by Lord Emlyn came despite his opposition to the 1881 Welsh Closing Act.

The Sale of Intoxicating Liquors on Sundays (Wales) Bill was introduced into the Commons for the second time in May 1881 by John Roberts, the Liberal MP for Flint district. Gladstone gave it his full support. Lord Emlyn, whose ill-health meant he was unable to attend the Commons debate, registered his opposition to the bill: he was the only Welsh MP to do so. It could be that he opposed the bill since it offered no 'local option' as to whether public houses closed or not.¹³⁴ The idea of a *voluntary* limitation to selling alcohol would have appealed to Emlyn since the voluntary contract between landowner and dependent was one of the tenets of the paternalist's philosophy. A few months before the bill was debated he had voted in favour of a resolution regarding intoxicating liquor which asked that the restraining or renewal of liquor licenses 'should be place in the hands of persons most deeply interested and affected—namely the [enfranchised?] inhabitants themselves'.¹³⁵

As a result of his opposition to the bill, Emlyn received a delegation mid-way through May 1881 of anti-closure campaigners from Cardiff, Swansea, Merthyr and the Rhondda, who wanted exemption from the bill for the larger towns.¹³⁶ Emlyn agreed to what the *Western Mail* termed their 'reasonable'¹³⁷ request and said he would do all he could to advance the exemption clause. However, in the Commons debate of 15 June he opposed the amendment to exempt large towns, stating thus: 'if the measure was to pass, let the large towns feel the weight of it'.¹³⁸ He viewed the many petitions, which were mainly in support of the bill, and particularly the one

from Cardiff wanting exemption from the bill, with suspicion since they were signed 'off-hand'. Such petitions were 'becoming a great nuisance', as they were full of false signatures.¹³⁹

In 1889 Emlyn sat on the Royal Commission to inquire into Operation of the Sunday Closing (Wales) Act, which was chaired by Lord Balfour.¹⁴⁰ The membership of the Commission 'was held to be a public scandal' since it was composed of four Tories, a Liberal but no nonconformists. C. A. Conybeare, the Radical MP for Merthyr, stated that the 'insidious' proposal of a Commission was a 'deliberate blow at the temperance party of this country—a deliberate attempt to undo' the Act.¹⁴¹ Consequently, until the Commission's *Report* was published 'there was real feeling of another *Brad y Llyfrau Gleision*'.¹⁴² However, contrary to the fears of the pro-temperance campaigners, the Commission found in favour of the Sunday Closing Act, and only recommended a few minor adjustments, mainly regarding the definition of travellers.¹⁴³ Despite the hopes of the Temperance Movement, the evils of alcohol continued to plague society. In 1908, Archibald, then Lord Cawdor, opposed a Liberal Licensing Bill that was intended to reduce the number of public houses as a way of lessening the consumption of alcohol. Cawdor stated that though he concurred with the government that the consumption of alcohol was a great problem, the proposal to reduce the number of public houses would merely increase the numbers 'drinking spirits in their own homes'. He also believed that an increase in the number of clubs for drinking would be a result of closing public houses. Cawdor voted against the bill which was rejected in the Lords.¹⁴⁴

During the 1880s and 1890s the family was also to concern itself with another issue and, in this instance, one that related to Great Britain as a whole, namely, that of allotments. The provision of allotments was seen by many, including paternalistic landlords, as a way of keeping the labourer away from the evils of the public house.¹⁴⁵ The Cawdors had established approximately twenty allotments on the Great and Black Mountains, principally in Llandybie and Llanfihangel Aberbythych parishes, Carmarthenshire, after the enclosure act of those parishes in 1820.¹⁴⁶ However, it was only in the last twenty years of the nineteenth century that the allotment or smallholding movement became a radical issue, rather than merely one for the paternalist landowner, when Birmingham MP Joseph Chamberlain launched his 'Unauthorised Programme' in 1884. A central tenet of this programme was to give the rural working class access to land via smallholdings, which were to be provided by

local authorities. After this the smallholding became, for radicals, 'the antidote to the flight from the land and to agricultural depression'.¹⁴⁷ In 1886 Jesse Collings introduced a private members bill,¹⁴⁸ which though later withdrawn, gave an indication of things to come. His bill proposed to establish new powers on local authorities.¹⁴⁹ *The Times* commented on Collings' bill thus: 'only where allotments cannot be obtained at a reasonable rent by voluntary arrangement between the landowners and the labourers that recourse is to be had to the local authority'.¹⁵⁰ But without reform of those local authorities little could have been done to enforce its measures.

Six years later, in 1892, an Allotments Bill became law. It gave the new county councils the power to acquire land to rent or sell as smallholdings if there was a perceived need. However, it was largely ignored since it involved an element of purchase on behalf of the labourers, who, even if they could afford it, did not seem disposed to encumber themselves with property.¹⁵¹ Emlyn, as was noted above, sat on the Smallholdings Committee of the Carmarthenshire County Council, on its establishment in 1892, though he only sat on it in its first year: he may have given up when he realised that the compulsory nature of the Act was going to be no threat to Cawdor property. However, in 1896 Williams-Drummond and Cawdor's Newcastle Emlyn solicitor, Mr George, attended an enquiry made by the County Council into four applications for allotments in Cenarth parish, three from Cawdor land, made by the Parish Council under the 1894 Local Government Act. The County Council rejected all the applications since three of the applicants were not labouring men under the terms of the Act and the fourth application would have seriously affected the working of a farm. The latter property was defended by the Cawdor agent, though it did not belong to the estate.¹⁵² Williams-Drummond was, not surprisingly, pleased with the decision, 'even more so since the Committee all hold very advanced [that is radical] views and are presided over by Billy Brigstocke, [thus] their decision more than justifies our opposition',¹⁵³ to which Emlyn replied that he thought it 'rather useful I think to have obtained such a decision',¹⁵⁴ since it established a precedent for any future cases.

The next bill regarding allotments was not brought into the Commons until 1907, under a Liberal Government. There was a similar but separate Small Landholders Bill for Scotland at the same time being debated in the Lords, where the third Earl Cawdor opposed the bill on the grounds that it would destroy the land tenure system in

Scotland where the ‘tenants and landlords are bound together by ties of generations. The tenancies in many cases are as old, if not older, than the owner’s claim to his property.’ In Cawdor’s description, the Scottish land system resembled that of the Welsh—peasant holdings on Cawdor’s estates with virtually hereditary tenure.¹⁵⁵ He believed that the farm labourer could advance ‘step by step’ firstly to become smallholder and then upwards until he became a large farmer, and ‘all is done by the knowledge that the landlord has of the tenantry and the labourers amongst whom he dwells’.¹⁵⁶ Such gradualist views of the improvement in the condition of those at the bottom of the economic pyramid, rising by dint of hard work, were typically those of an ardent Conservative, and underlay the politico-economic philosophy of the Cawdors. In the same debate Cawdor also referred to the English Bill concerning Smallholdings, then making its way through the Commons. The bill was, he stated, one in which the ‘Government have determined to recognise local authorities, and to give them extended powers as to small holdings’, that is, the compulsory purchasing of land if a need was perceived for allotments.¹⁵⁷ However, despite his criticisms of the Scottish Bill he recommended that his fellow peers should accept it as long as they did not perceive any taint of ‘an Irish system’ within it.

From his 1885 election defeat, until he became third Earl Cawdor in 1898, Archibald, as we have seen, had no presence at Westminster. However, in March 1905, as Lord Cawdor, he became, somewhat unexpectedly, the First Lord of the Admiralty, and as such became a Privy Councillor at the same time.¹⁵⁸ He quickly established himself as a very able minister. Cawdor introduced the ‘Cawdor Programme’, a plan to build up the navy as response to the growth of the German navy by building four dreadnought battleships a year.¹⁵⁹ John Charmley has stated that this programme was ‘fully in accord with the old Country Party preference for basing British power on the navy’¹⁶⁰ rather than looking to the army as the modern means of fighting a war. However, the Cawdor Programme was abandoned before it was really established when the Conservative government fell in December 1905. The Liberal government, although it initially accepted Cawdor’s programme, soon abandoned such a militaristic policy in favour of attempts to reduce the European arms build-up.¹⁶¹ Cawdor continued as the opposition spokesman for navy matters in the Lords, and frequently demonstrated his knowledge and grasp of Naval issues both in the House and in the provinces. For example, in July 1909, in Leeds, he expressed his fears of the Liberal government’s anti-war defence policy thus: ‘If the people and

the Government of this country did not put their shoulder to the wheel, if they did not begin to build ships at once, there would be a time within the next two or three years when they would be holding the country, not by their right arm, but at the forbearance of a foreign country [Germany].'¹⁶²

Once Cawdor entered high office, his undoubted talents could not be ignored and he played, as it happened, a final role in national politics when he became involved in the constitutional crisis in the years 1907-1910, where he found himself, for a short time, sparring with David Lloyd-George. Lord Cawdor played a central role in discussions with the Liberals regarding reforms to the House of Lords. He was one of the Unionists who sat on the Constitutional Conference which was established in June 1910 but which ended in failure, in November the same year. Minutes of the Conference were never kept and its proceedings never made public. However, Cawdor gave a speech to the Glasgow Primrose League in November 1908 relating to the conference and stated that: 'The House of Lords was the only bulwark and buttress between the free, undoubted and deliberate opinion of the people and that imperious Minister [i.e. Lloyd George].'¹⁶³ Lloyd George was one of the key members on the government side attending the Conference meetings and it was his Finance Bill which had initially triggered the crisis.¹⁶⁴ Cawdor's knowledge of the issues, and the trust placed in him, led him to advise the King at the beginning of October 1909 regarding the Finance Bill and all that had evolved from it. His memorandum stated the Unionist position, noting that the second chamber was 'needed to secure for electors the opportunity of expressing their wishes as to important legislative proposals before they become law'. This referred to the Unionists' proposal, which was initially supported by the Liberals, that on important constitutional matters referenda of the electorate should be undertaken, rather than leave such matters merely to (biased) government legislation. However, the conference delegates became irretrievably split on the referenda clause, particularly over what exactly constituted important constitutional matters. The Unionists, Birrell, Lansdowne, and Balfour, supported referenda; the Liberals, Lloyd-George, Asquith and Crewe, together with the Unionist Austin Chamberlain, opposed, while tellingly 'Cawdor was silent',¹⁶⁵ since he had pessimistically ended his statement to the King with: 'This crisis however is one which cannot be evaded—the only question is how best it may be met.'¹⁶⁶ Supporting Cawdor's defeatism, the conference has recently been viewed as an 'essentially futile exercise, tediously prolonged and more or less

doomed to failure'.¹⁶⁷ This was the third Earl's last role in national government affairs.¹⁶⁸ Never in good health, he died in 1911 aged 64.

Archibald's son, Hugh Frederick Vaughan Campbell, contested the Pembrokeshire seat in 1898 as a Unionist but failed to get elected. He was deputy-lieutenant for Carmarthenshire and Nairn and succeeded his father as the fourth earl in 1911, but died in 1914 having been an invalid for a number of years.¹⁶⁹

In conclusion, it is clear that due to other politically powerful families having strangleholds on county politics in Pembrokeshire, Carmarthenshire and Cardiganshire, and to a certain extent in borough politics, together with a poor financial situation, the Lords Cawdor only slowly established themselves as the major political force in Pembrokeshire and Carmarthenshire. When they were in the Commons they supported the locality of south-west Wales as long as their own interests were not violated. Thus early in the century John Campbell, Baron Cawdor, had promoted local legislation in the Commons, especially relating to inclosing of commons and the improvement of roads. However, if they felt they had been aggrieved, they could show a determination for retribution: witness, John Frederick's only real involvement in Parliament when his sole ambition seems to have been the removal of what he thought was an anachronism that had previously hurt the family's political ambitions, the Welsh Court of Judicature. It was a pursuit that created widespread opposition in Wales.

It was not until the middle of the nineteenth century that the Cawdors reached an unrivalled position of power in both counties, as Lord Lieutenant of one and MP of the other. However John Frederick Vaughan as both Lord Emlyn and as second Earl Cawdor did not make his mark in either House, rarely speaking. His son, Archibald, did, however, play an increasingly active role in politics—though with a break of twenty years from Parliament—which culminated in his becoming First Lord of the Admiralty in 1905. The third Earl, though an ardent Conservative, was praised by many for his fairness, especially in the cause of Welsh education. As First Lord of the Admiralty, though of a short-lived tenure, he showed a keen intellect.

Having reviewed the Cawdors' contribution to public political life it is now time to examine how these leaders of society in south-west Wales enjoyed social and private pursuits.

¹ The parishes of Stackpole Elidor, St Petrox, Bosherton, St Twynnels, Warren, Castlemartin, Burton, Wiston and Walton were those where the vast majority of the rent was received.

² As we have seen, he was also passed over for the Lord Lieutenancy of Carmarthenshire in 1804.

³ B. Wilson, *Decency and Disorder: The age of cant, 1789-1837* (London, 2007): In 1812 George became a Tory after a life supporting the Whigs. The radical Leigh Hunt wrote, paraphrased by Wilson, that George was: 'an unfaithful husband, an energetic adulterer and the companion of rakes who habitually made the marital laws a mockery'. (p.159); *The Times*, 15 July 1830, obituary: 'There never was an individual less regretted by his fellow-creatures than this deceased king. What eye has wept for him? What heart has heaved one throb of un-mercenary sorrow? ... If he ever had a friend—a devoted friend in any rank of life—we protest that the name of him or her never reached us.'

⁴ C. Hibbert, *George IV: Prince of Wales, 1762-1811* (London, 1972), p.221.

⁵ *Hampshire Telegraph and Portsmouth Gazette*, 28 Mar. 1803, *Hampshire Telegraph and Sussex Chronicle*, 10 Oct. 1803 and the *Morning Chronicle*, 4 June 1804: Baron and Lady Cawdor also enjoyed yachting trips with the Prince and his friends. The dinners at Carlton House sometimes went on until the early hours. As the Prince consumed bottle after bottle of wine, one guest stated he 'never heard worse reasoning in better language, that the Prince would sometimes put two or three tolerable sentences together, but could not maintain that tone and fell into mere balderdash'. (Lord Genbervie, quoting William Fawkenor, cited in Hibbert, *George IV*, p.184, fn.).

⁶ M. Cragoe, 'The Golden Grove Interest in Carmarthen Borough Politics, 1804-1821' (M.A. Wales, Swansea, 1986), for a detailed examination of the build-up of the Cawdor interest in the early decades of the nineteenth century; D. W. Howell, *Patriarchs and Parasites: the gentry of south-west Wales in the Eighteenth Century*: Prof. Howell (p.127) comments that 'Landowners carefully bestowed their patronage and favours on "friends" throughout every layer of the enfranchised community with the result that men were bound by close vertical ties of a reciprocal kind into one interest.'

⁷ R. D. Rees, 'Parliamentary Representation in South Wales 1790-1830' (Ph.D. Reading University, 1962), p.332.

⁸ CRO, Cwmgwili 574: Cawdor to J. G. Phillips, 28 Sept. 1806.

⁹ K. D. M. Snell, *Parish and Belonging: Community, Identity, and Welfare in England and Wales, 1700-1950* (CUP, 2006), Ch.2, for the 'culture of local xenophobia'; Cawdor 2/135: An election quip published by John Jones of Ystrad in 1812 appeals to the electors of Carmarthen Borough thus: 'Never let Carmarthen become a family borough. Never let it be represented by a Stranger.'

¹⁰ H. J. Hanham, *Elections and Party Management: Politics in the time of Disraeli and Gladstone*, (London, 1959), pp.4-6, concerning the types of people acceptable to become county members.

¹¹ CRO, Francis Jones Collection: pedigree of the Lords Dynevor; CRO, Dynevor, Addnl. 111, pedigree of the Rice family of Newton House, 1595; CRO, Cawdor: Golden Grove Books.

¹² Magens Dorrien Magens, of the Dorrien Magens family, bankers, of Hammerwood Park, Sussex. Magens Dorrien Magens was married to Lord Dynevor's sister Lady Henrietta Rhys, in December 1788.

¹³ R. A. Wager, 'Welsh Politics and Parliamentary Reform, 1780-1815' (Ph.D. Wales, Aberystwyth, 1972), pp.138-39.

¹⁴ Cragoe, 'The Golden Grove Interest', p.31.

¹⁵ R. G. Thorne, 'The Pembrokeshire Elections of 1807 and 1812', *The Pembrokeshire Historian*, No. 6, (1979), p.9.

¹⁶ Apart from Campbell's caution and lack of political ambition he would also have had the Carmarthenshire 'Y Lecsiwn Fawr' freshly in mind, where Sir William Paxton spent £15,000 but failed to win the Carmarthenshire seat in 1802.

¹⁷ M. Cragoe, 'The Great Reform Act and the Modernisation of British Politics: The impact of Conservative Associations, 1835-1841', *Journal of British Studies*, Vol. 47, No. 3, (July, 2008), p.582.

¹⁸ Geo III, cap.12, 1811.

¹⁹ Geo III, cap. 165, 1812.

²⁰ Geo. IV, cap. lxxxiv, 1824 and Wm. IV, cap. ii, 1832.

²¹ H. M. Davies, 'Loyalism in Wales, 1792-1793', *WHR*, Vol. 20, No. 4, (Dec. 2001), p.689; M. Cragoe, 'The Golden Grove Interest', p.5: borough politics: 'reflected in miniature the wider diversions of the County'.

²² Unlike Haverfordwest which was under the influence of Lord Kensington, Carmarthen borough was never controlled by a single family. In M. Cragoe's words the borough 'formed an independent, self-sufficient island of government within the larger county'. ('The Golden Grove Interest' p.75).

²³ Sir George Campbell, Admiral of the White and an unwilling MP for Carmarthen Borough 1806-7, 1807-12, and 1812-13. George married his cousin Eustacia Campbell, daughter of John Campbell (later John Hooke Campbell) of Bangeston. He was by all accounts a very active and able seaman. But he took little interest in politics which he found financially draining and personally inimitable. In January 1806, Thomas Beynon, the estate agent, wrote to Lord Cawdor about George: 'the extract of Captain Halstead's letter respecting Mr George Campbell... [that he was] A youth of greater promise I have seldom seen... there is no doubt but he will make an excellent Sea Officer, and prove a distinguished ornament to his Country, and a comfort to his friends'. By this time he had already been in the Navy for thirty-three years since he joined when he was twelve years old. He was decorated with the KCB for his involvement at Waterloo and in 1820 received the G.C.B. However such praise was not earned without personal sacrifice and he had several bouts of ill-health which were most probably of a mental nature. In March 1817 John Campbell wrote that he: 'spoke to George about the cause of his low spirits' (Cawdor box 244/9: John Campbell's diary 1815-17) and Beynon, a year before his letter praising George, remarks: 'I sincerely regret that Admiral Campbell has been under the necessity of leaving his Command in consequence of ill health, tho' it must be said the Service he has gone through is enough to break any constitution.' This seems to place Campbell's poor health on the stress of battle. He took the Chiltern Hundreds in 1813, perhaps as a result of a letter he wrote to his brother Jack (John

Campbell, Lord Cawdor). The letter is a response to one John had written which George could not reply to immediately because of the 'unreasonable request' made. In George's letter Jack is accused of requiring 'one sacrifice after another without considering the consequence to my welfare and Interest'. George had been proposed to stand again for Carmarthen Borough but he had always objected to being an MP 'considering it highly disadvantageous to one of my Profession'. In 1821 George took his own life. This tragedy was reported as follows: 'About 10 minutes before seven, Admiral Sir George Campbell, G.C.B. Admiral of the White and Commander in Chief at the port of Portsmouth, was found dead in his dressing room by his valet, who had left him only a few minutes previous. He was lying on the floor, with a pistol by his side. This melancholy event has astonished every body.' (*Gentleman's Magazine*, January 1821). Lord Cawdor comments in his diary: 'a letter from Campbell to Caroline [i.e. from son to mother] announcing my dear Brother George's death one of the severest afflictions I ever experienced as I love no man on Earth so well as him after my own Sons we returned to a melancholy home Mat Campbell called ...to announce his kind intention of going to Portsmouth...to support and assist Eustacia'. (Cawdor box 244: John Campbell's diary 1820-21, entry for 25 Jan. 1821).

²⁴ Cawdor box 132: Admiral George Campbell to 'Jack', that is John Campbell, Lord Cawdor, 28 Oct. 1813.

²⁵ Rees, 'Parliamentary Representation in South Wales, 1790-1830', p.331.

²⁶ Ibid.

²⁷ Cragoe, 'The Golden Grove Interest'.

²⁸ Cawdor box 132: Cawdor to Jones, 2 Jan. 1812.

²⁹ Ibid., John Jones to Lord Cawdor, 31 Dec. 1811.

³⁰ Ibid., Jones to Lord Kensington, 9 June 1812: 'in seeking an object which I deem very essential to my prospects in life, I am actuated by no sentiments personally hostile to Lord Cawdor, but that I shall always feel for his Lordship that respect and attachment which his friendly conduct towards me, since he has been proprietor of Golden Grove demands.' This statement of Jones' continued personal friendship to Cawdor was written after his defection to the Red party. He may have stayed loyal to his word, but that did not apply to Cawdor's son John Frederick Campbell, to whom Jones was hostile when Campbell was pushing for the abolition of the Great Sessions; for Jones's character and political ambitions, see Cragoe, 'The Golden Grove Interest', pp. 90-93; see CRO, Cwmgwili 585, for a similar comment about the lack of effort on behalf of a Blue candidate when Cawdor writes to J. G. Phillips on 4 May 1807: 'The Poll commenced this Morn with every appearance of a determined opposition by all that I am able to collect from different quarters. Sir Wm Paxton from too great confidence has not been so active as his best friends advised him to be there that are attached to the Blue Interest, should therefore be double exertion endeavour to prevent Ld Robert Seymour benefiting by that mistake.'

³¹ C RO, MUS 150: Burgess roll for Carmarthen, 1782-1842.

³² C RO, MUS 154: Minute book of Carmarthen Borough, 1764-1838.

³³ R. Thorne, 'The Political Scene, 1660-1815', in B. Howells (ed.), *Pembrokeshire County History* Vol. III, *Early Modern Pembrokeshire, 1536-1815*, Ch. xi, p.333; A. J. James and J. E. Thomas, *Wales*

at *Westminster: A History of the Parliamentary Representation of Wales 1800-1979* (Llandysul: Gomer Press, 1981).

³⁴ Wager, 'Welsh Politics and Parliamentary Reform, 1780-1815', p.148.

³⁵ Cawdor box 133: John Barnham to Cawdor, 4 Nov. 1812.

³⁶ Ibid.

³⁷ *CJ*, 30 Aug. 1816, signed an Independent Elector.

³⁸ James and Thomas, *Wales at Westminster*; Cawdor box 137: A note written in October 1839 concerning Owen's affairs puts his debt at £440,000 with a mortgage debt of £350,000.

³⁹ P. D. G. Thomas, *Politics in Eighteenth-century Wales* (Cardiff: UWP, 1998), p.209.

⁴⁰ M. Cragoe, 'The Great Reform Act and the Modernisation of British Politics: The impact of Conservative Associations, 1835-1841', p.584.

⁴¹ Lord Emlyn came of age in June 1838, and by January the following year the *Carmarthen Journal* was advising him to stand as the Carmarthen Borough candidate, rather than for the County where there were already two Tory members. It stated that 'his election for the borough, which is within his grasp, would virtually add two votes to the great cause of Monarchy and the Constitution, in the House of Commons'. Not only that, Emlyn's standing would be 'emancipating the borough from the thralldom of Whig-Radicalism'. As it turned out there was no election until 1841 when Emlyn became the MP for Pembrokeshire, leaving Carmarthen Borough for nearly twenty-years under the 'thralldom' of the Liberal David Morris. (Editorial, 25 Jan. 1839).

⁴² Cawdor 2/285: Countess Cawdor to Lady Mary Hamlyn Williams, 8 July 1837.

⁴³ Hansard, third series, vol. XLIII, cols. 670-83, 12 June 1837. R. B. Williams had sent letters to the tenants and sub-agents demanding that they vote for Trevor or face the consequences. A certain amount of pressure was acceptable in early nineteenth-century canvassing—the tenants were, at a fundamental level, merely vassals of their (medieval) landlords.

⁴⁴ Cawdor 2/285: Countess Cawdor to Lady Mary Hamlyn Williams, 26 July 1837.

⁴⁵ Thorne, 'Pembrokeshire in National Politics', pp.238-39.

⁴⁶ A. Hawkins, *British Party Politics, 1852-1886* (Basingstoke, 1998), esp. ch. 1.

⁴⁷ Hanham, *Elections and Party Management*, p.20; M. Cragoe, *An Anglican Aristocracy: The Moral Economy of the Landed Estate in Carmarthenshire 1832-1895*, ch. 5.

⁴⁸ Cawdor Box 235: Conservative Association Carmarthen List of gentlemen subscribing and objectives, 17 Mar. 1869.

⁴⁹ *CJ*, 2 Feb. 1883.

⁵⁰ Ibid., 13 Oct. 1883, and 1 Feb. 1884.

⁵¹ J. H. Robb, 'The Primrose League 1883-1906', in *Studies in History, Economics and Public Law*, No., 492 (AMS Press: New York, 1968), p.50: Technically the Primrose League was non-partisan 'though it was destined to defend the policies of the Conservative Party on all occasions with a blind regularity'.

⁵² Ibid., p.59. By 1890 there were 129 Habitations in Wales; M. Pugh, *The Tories and the People, 1880-1935* (Oxford, 1985), gives a good account of the association between the Primrose League and

the Conservative Party. Appendix XVIII lists eleven habitations in Carmarthenshire and six in Pembrokeshire.

⁵³ *CJ*, 16 and 30 Nov. 1888. W. H. Smith and A. J. Balfour wrote to the *Carmarthen Journal* thanking the Primrose League for its support of the Conservative line on Home Rule for Ireland. At a Llandoverly Conservative meeting the district agent of the Primrose League, Captain Parry-Jones referred 'to the enormous influence the ladies would bring to bear on the electorate'. A list of the members of the League was printed by *The Journal*, in which the ladies outnumber the men (16 Nov. 1888). The Llandilo Habitation had as its honorary secretary, a Miss E. M. Saunders. (*CJ*, 18 May 1888). Emlyn also spoke at the first annual meeting of the Llanybydder Habitation in September 1888. He listed the principles of the League as being to uphold Christianity, to uphold the law, and to maintain the constitution. Of these he believed the first was the most important. He then went on to criticise the idea of a land court in Ireland. (*CJ*, 28 Sept. 1888).

⁵⁴ *Welshman*, 16 June 1841, referred to Lord Cawdor as a renegade for doing so.

⁵⁵ BL, Add. 79725, ff.120-123: Cawdor to Sir James Graham, 20 Jan. 1838.

⁵⁶ James and Thomas, *Wales at Westminster*, p.51.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, p238; Sir James Graham, 1792-1861, was Home Secretary 1841-1846, and First Lord of the Admiralty 1852-1855. As Home Secretary his Factories Bill of 1843, which provided for the education of children working in factories to be undertaken by church of England clergy, caused a stir amongst nonconformists in both England and Wales. For a summary of Graham's search for a seat after his Cumberland defeat see N. Gash, *Politics in the age of Peel* (London, 1953), pp.224-27, though this does not point out Cawdor's role.

⁵⁸ Thorne, 'Pembrokeshire in National Politics.' p.237.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, p.238.

⁶⁰ M. Escott, 'How Wales lost its judicature', *THSC*, 2006, p.137; *Quo warranto* (by what authority) 'a writ which lies against any Person or Corporation, that usurps any Franchise or Liberty against the King, without good Title' (J. Jacob, *A New Law Dictionary* (Eighth edition, London, 1762)). Thus it was issued against all those who voted without being eligible by the opposition party. If the writ was proved, the defaulting vote (and it was up to the voter to prove he was eligible) would then be removed from the poll book. M.Craoge, 'The Golden Grove Interest', pp. 80-81, gives examples of the working of the *Quo warranto* and of Cawdor losing votes..

⁶¹ *DNB*, George Ponsonby, 1755-1817, was, at the time of his death, the Lord Chancellor of Ireland. He was attributed with a bias against the Welsh Judicature, by supporters of the Court.

⁶² BL, Add. 52444, f.125, Diary of Sir James Mackintosh, cited in Escott, 'How Wales lost its judicature' p.140.

⁶³ *DNB*, James Scarlett, first Baron Abinger, 1769-1844, was a lord chief baron of the exchequer. He was born on 13 Dec. 1769 in Jamaica, where his family held considerable property, and had long been resident. He was the second son of Robert Scarlett of Duckett's Spring in the parish of St. James, Jamaica, by his wife Elizabeth, widow of a Mr. Wright, and daughter of Colonel Philip Anglin of Paradise Estate in the same island.

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- ⁶⁴ Hansard, vol. XL, col. 666, 24 May 1819.
- ⁶⁵ Hansard, new series, vol. 1, col. 745-50, 1 June 1820.
- ⁶⁶ PP, 1817, V, *SC on Laws relating to Administration of Justice in Wales*: Minutes of Evidence, p.108.
- ⁶⁷ Cawdor box 140: Anon to Cawdor, n.d. but cover dated 12 April 1830.
- ⁶⁸ This is the son of John Mirehouse, formerly agent to the Campbell properties.
- ⁶⁹ Cawdor box 140: George Thomas to Cawdor, 10 July 1830.
- ⁷⁰ Bill to alter and correct the Practice of the Several Courts of Great Session in Wales... 1818, and Bill to enlarge and extend the Power of the Judges of the Several Courts of Great Sessions... 1824.
- ⁷¹ PP, 1829, IX, *RC on the Practice and Proceedings of the Superior Courts of Common Law*, First Report, evidence of John Jones, Blaenos, p.391.
- ⁷² See Cragoe, 'The Golden Grove Interest', ch. 4, for this election.
- ⁷³ G. Parry, *A guide to the Records of Great Sessions in Wales* (NLW, 1995), Introduction, p.xxiv; *DNB*, Lord Lyndhurst was, John Singleton Copley, 1772-1863, Lord Chancellor, son of John Singleton Copley the elder, and of his wife, Mary Farnum Clarke, and was born in Boston, U.S.
- ⁷⁴ John Frederick, Lord Cawdor, *Letter to the Right Honourable John, Baron Lyndhurst, Lord High Chancellor of England on the Administration of Justice in Wales* (Edinburgh, 1828), p.6.
- ⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, p.15.
- ⁷⁶ *North Wales Chronicle*, 23 April 1829. Amongst the four opposing were Lord Dynevor, John Jones, and D. S. Davies, the chairman of the Cardiganshire Quarter Sessions. Charles Morgan, the Clerk of the Peace for Carmarthenshire returned a no change answer. Amongst pro-abolitionists were the Lords Lieutenants of Glamorganshire, Flintshire and Pembrokeshire, the latter being J. H. Allen, and R. B. Williams, and Thomas Lewis, respectively Cawdors agent and Llandeilo solicitor.
- ⁷⁷ *Cambrian Quarterly Magazine*, Vol. I, No. 3, (July, 1829), p.250: Letter Welsh Judicature by 'T'.
- ⁷⁸ *Cambrian Quarterly Magazine*, Vol. II, No. 7, (July, 1830), p.378.
- ⁷⁹ *Cambrian*, 4 Dec. 1829.
- ⁸⁰ Lord Emlyn raised the untrustworthiness of petitions in 1880 in the debates over the Welsh Sunday Closing Act.
- ⁸¹ Parry, *A guide to the Records of Great Sessions in Wales*, p. xxii: 'It is particularly difficult to hack a clear path through this thicket of conflicting and contradictory testimony submitted by the court's supporters and detractors.'
- ⁸² D. J. V. Jones, *Crime in Nineteenth-Century Wales* (UWP: Cardiff 1992), p.15.
- ⁸³ The King's speech at the opening of Parliament 1830 called for the reform of the English law.
- ⁸⁴ Cawdor box 137: Cawdor to Robert Clive, 22 Dec. 1843.
- ⁸⁵ Cawdor box 140: Anonymous letter undated but cover dated 12 April 1830, to Lord Cawdor: The full text reads:
'What do you think of Lord Cawdor's measure? Why that it will be the curse of the Principality. Will not the expense be increased? Yes – doubled

How will a Poor Man be able to defend himself against his richer neighbour? He will have no chance the expense will be so increased, and the distance so great, that he'l [sic] not be able to defend himself, he must suffer the oppression. Justice will be at an end.

If each County does not continue to have its Assizes how will persons accused of a crime make a defence – they cannot they must suffer and innocent Human Blood will be sacrificed.

But will such Tyranny pass unnoticed? No they [sic] just vengeance of Heaven will follow the oppressor.

Is it not an attack upon the Libertys [sic] of the County. Yes the greatest that can possibly be made, the depriving it of its representation in Parliament is not to be compared.

Will not his Lordship immortalise himself? Yes but with infamy. The Emlyn arms of Wales, will be associated with the Nine Diamonds of Scotland.

Will his Lordship's life be safe if he deprives the county of its assizes? I fear not so exasperated [sic] appears every class of Society that some snare will be laid for him. Men of the past families in this County talk of sending him a challenge[sic] if the assizes are removed – and as they come forward in defence of Publick rights he cannot refuse.

Is his Lordship influenced by pure Motives. There is too much party and Publick good is sacrificed.

The removal of the sessions 'will be the greatest curse, your Lordship cannot be aware of the great evil or I am persuaded [you] would not support it – why should the whole of Counties be injured for the accommodation of judges – who are well paid for their trouble and should attend each county, that justice may be administered the poor as well the rich.

An old and faithful Friend'.

⁸⁶ Cawdor 2/42/274: T. Farrer to Cawdor, 24 April 1830.

⁸⁷ K. O. Morgan, *Wales in British Politics*, pp. 28-36; For instance the artist Hugh Hughes was a strident critic of the Anglican Church though he was happy to paint the Revd Thomas Beynon on three occasions.

⁸⁸ O. Chadwick, *The Victorian Church*, p.4.

⁸⁹ G. I. T. Machin, *Politics and the Churches in Great Britain 1832-1868* (OUP, 1977), p.374; I. G. Jones, *Explorations and Explanations: Essays in the Social History of Victorian Wales* (Llandysul: Gomer, 1981), p.190, following Henry Richard, makes the same point.

⁹⁰ David W. Howell, 'A "Less Obtrusive and Exacting" Nationality: Welsh Ethnic Mobilisation in Rural Communities, 1850-1920', in David W. Howell, G. von Pistohlkors and E. Weigandt (eds.), *Roots of Ethnic Mobilisation* (New York, 1992); see M. Cragoe, *Culture, Politics, and National Identity in Wales* (OUP, 2004) for the establishment of Welsh nationalist demands 20 years before historians have hitherto recognised a nationalism as opposed to a Welsh patriotism; P. M. H. Bell, *Disestablishment in Ireland and Wales* (SPCK, 1969), p.228: as Welsh nationalism emerged from the mid-nineteenth century onwards 'it did so in circumstances which identified it almost inevitably with non-conformity'.

⁹¹ Bell, *Disestablishment in Ireland and Wales*, p.229.

⁹² Cragoe, *An Anglican Aristocracy*, p.26, comments that the division between nonconformist, Welsh-speaking, Liberal tenants and Anglican, English-speaking landlords is often a too simplistic a model.

⁹³ D. Cannadine has stated that: 'Once the alien landlords had been dethroned as local MPs; and once the nationalists and nonconformists had won control of the new county councils, the removal of the alien church, and the transfer of its endowments to the local authorities, became the next radical, nationalist objective.' (*The Decline and Fall of the British Aristocracy*, p.491).

⁹⁴ Hansard, third series, vol. CCCIII, col. 305, 9 Mar. 1886: in the same debate Asquith stated that 'The Church of England in Wales is the Church of a comparatively small minority of the people. It is as a Church, ... associated in the minds of the bulk of the Welsh people with injurious and, indeed I may say, with humiliating memories.(Hear, hear.) It is to them, and has long been, although it calls itself and is in law a national institution, a symbol not of national unity, but of national discord.(Hear, hear.)'

⁹⁵ K. O. Morgan, *Rebirth of a Nation: Wales 1880-1980* (Clarendon: Oxford; University of Wales, 1981), p.41.

⁹⁶ J. Davies, *History of Wales*, pp.463-64: Morgan, *Rebirth of a Nation*, p.42.

⁹⁷ *WM*, 13 July 1891; *Liverpool Mercury*, 13 Jan. 1892.

⁹⁸ *Manchester Times*, 8 July 1892.

⁹⁹ *The Times*, 2 Feb. 1898.

¹⁰⁰ *North Wiltshire Herald*, 27 Jan. 1898.

¹⁰¹ *The Times*, 2 Feb. 1898.

¹⁰² *Swindon Advertiser*, 29 Jan. 1898.

¹⁰³ *Pall Mall Gazette*, 25 Feb. 1898.

¹⁰⁴ Cawdor box 144: Williams-Drummond to Emlyn, 16 Feb. 1898. On the 23 Mar. 1898 the agent could write that Cawdor's health had not improved 'but one must feel thankful that at any rate he does not go back'.

¹⁰⁵ *WM*, 13 July 1894: St David's Diocesan Conference—special meeting at Swansea.

¹⁰⁶ *The Times*, 28 April 1894; For the activities of the Church Defence Institution in Wales: B. M. Lodwick, 'Church Defence in Wales to 1920: the reaction to Disestablishment', (Ph.D. Wales, Swansea, 1987).

¹⁰⁷ Lodwick, 'Church Defence in Wales to 1920: the reaction to Disestablishment.'; In 1880 as a further indication of his support for the church Emlyn was made one of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, a post he kept until his death in 1911. G. F. A. Best notes that in the 1880s the Commissioners were 'doing an extraordinary amount of the church's business', much to do with church property. Emlyn sat on two committees, the first in 1883 regarding London public-houses owned by the church, the second committee, a year later, examining church properties used as brothels in London. (G. F. A. Best, *Temporal Pillars: Queen Anne's Bounty the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, and the Church of England* (CUP, 1964), pp.483 and 485 and 499).

¹⁰⁸ *The Times*, 16 May 1892.

¹⁰⁹ The Manifesto was published in *The Established Church in Wales being a short Account of its Origin its Development, and it's Maturity* by J. H. Slater. (n.d. but 1893). This was one of many

publications circulated under the banner of the anti-Liberation Society's Church Defence Historical Leaflet Campaign. The pro-disestablishment party—the Liberation Society—also published quantities of propaganda in support of its views, including Henry Richard and J. Carver Williams, *Disestablishment* (London, 1885) and Revd J. Matthews, *Thirteen Lectures on Welsh Disestablishment and Disendowment* (Swansea, 1895).

¹¹⁰ *WM*, 30 Mar. 1893.

¹¹¹ On the 26 April 1893, Carmarthenshire County Council, as would be expected, voted to send a petition to Parliament in favour of the bill. Emlyn was not present. (CRO, CCC minutes).

¹¹² D. W. Howell, forthcoming article on the Land Question.

¹¹³ Morgan, *Rebirth of a Nation*, pp.38-9; P. Jones-Evans, 'Evans Pan Jones—Land Reformer', *WHR*, vol.4, No. 2, (Dec., 1968), pp. 143-160; Gee's efforts to establish a Welsh Land League and a successor called the 'Welsh Land, Commercial and Labour League', had become more or less indistinguishable from the North Wales Liberal Federation by 1887. (Jones-Evans, *ibid*, p. 154.)

¹¹⁴ RCLMW, Qu., 28,685: T. Mousley stated that very few permanent improvements were undertaken by the tenant since Cawdor had insisted that 'I cannot approve of my tenants going to any great outlay in permanently improving my property, unless they get some consideration for it.'

¹¹⁵ *CJ*, 1 Feb. 1884: At the same meeting Emlyn remarks that Chamberlain wanted manhood suffrage but 'He would make no distinction between the man who had been thrifty and had risen in the world and the indebt or drunken or dishonest man.' Emlyn's paternalistic morality was obviously very much alive at this time.

¹¹⁶ The bill was attacked on behalf of the landowners by C. Morgan-Richardson, *Does Wales Require a Land Bill: A reply to the argument used by T. E. Ellis M. P. in support of the Proposed Land Tenure (Wales) Act* (Cardiff, 1893).

¹¹⁷ CRO, Derwydd CA44: Circular letter to landowners in south Wales from the Land-owners' association of South Wales and Monmouthshire, Jan. 1895. The Association's address was 8 Prince's Street, Westminster. Lord Cawdor was resident at 7 Prince's Street.

¹¹⁸ *Ibid*.

¹¹⁹ A change of government, to Conservative, in July 1895 also helped dampen any adverse criticism that may have arisen.

¹²⁰ Hansard, third series, vol. CCXLVII, cols. 1155-56, I July 1879.

¹²¹ This is a very different view of Wales compared with the first Earl's reduction of the country when arguing for the abolition of the Great Sessions.

¹²² Hansard, *op.cit.*, col. 1156.

¹²³ *Liverpool Mercury*, report on Anglesey Liberal Association, 4 Feb. 1885.

¹²⁴ PP, 1881, XXXIII, *RC on Intermediate and Higher Education in Wales*. Stuart Rendel, M P, later Lord Rendel stated that: 'Never was there an inquiry more thorough and exhaustive.' (Hansard, third series, vol. CCLXXXV, col. 1590, 1884).

¹²⁵ Hansard, *Ibid.*, cols., 1612-1614.

¹²⁶ *Ibid*.

¹²⁷ *CJ*, 10 Aug. 1888.

¹²⁸ G. Roderick, 'Social class, Curriculum and the Concept of Relevance in Secondary Education: Industrial Glamorgan, 1889-1914', *WHR*, Vol. 19, No. 2, (Dec. 1998), p.318. Similarly, the Welsh Intermediate Education Act was 'a major landmark in Welsh national education [as it] ushered in the education revolution of 1902'. (K. O. Morgan, *Wales in British Politics, 1868-1922* (UWP: Cardiff, 1991), p.104).

¹²⁹ Davies, *A History of Wales*, p.374: CRO, MUS. 326: Register of members and rules of Carmarthen Temperance Society, 1836. For the early establishment of temperance societies in Pembrokeshire see David W. Howell, 'Leisure and Recreation, 1815-1974', in idem., (ed), *Pembrokeshire County History*, Vol., IV, *Modern Pembrokeshire, 1815-1974*, pp. 438-39.

¹³⁰ Davies, *A History of Wales*, p.374.

¹³¹ W. R. Lambert, *Drink and Sobriety in Victorian Wales, c1820-c1895* (Cardiff: UWP, 1983), p.203.

¹³² G. Williams, W. Jacob, N. Yates and F. Knight, *The Welsh Church from Reformation to Disestablishment, 1603-1920* (Cardiff: UWP, 2007), pp. 379-80.

¹³³ Three years before the 1881 Act there were established in various parts of Carmarthenshire, Coffee Taverns and Social Clubs. In Feb. 1878 Emlyn and Earl Cawdor apologised of not being able to attend a meeting of the organisers. (*CJ*, 15 Feb. 1878).

¹³⁴ The *Western Mail*, 16 June 1881, in regarding the Bill, thought it a 'vindictive desire to punish a certain industry [the Brewing Industry] because those engaged in it are opposed to the government'. The editor went on to state that he thought the Act completely unnecessary since the evidence indicated that drunkenness was less on Sunday nights than other nights of the week. One of the *Western Mail's* proprietors was J M. Maclean, Conservative MP for Oldham. It was Maclean who, in 1889, campaigned through the pages of the paper to get the Royal Commission established. This is an example of the power of the press, here in a wholly Welsh context, influencing politicians, a phenomenon commented upon by D. Cannadine, *The Decline and Fall*, pp.327-28. This must have been a rare occasion – the Tory *Western Mail* supporting the rights of the Welsh working class to tipple!

¹³⁵ Hansard, third series, vol. CCLI, 1880, col. 526, 5 Mar. 1880.

¹³⁶ *WM*, 21 May 1881.

¹³⁷ *Ibid.*

¹³⁸ Hansard, third series, vol. CCLXII, 1881, col. 624, 15 June 1881.

¹³⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁴⁰ PP, 1890, XL, *RC to inquire into Operation of the Sunday Closing (Wales) Act 1881*.

¹⁴¹ *WM*, 5 June 1889.

¹⁴² Lambert, *Drink and Sobriety*, p.228.

¹⁴³ PP, 1890, XL, *RC to inquire into the Operation of Sunday Closing (Wales) Act, 1881*, pp. xl-xliii.

¹⁴⁴ Hansard, fourth series, vol. CXCVII, cols. 908-19, 27 Nov. 1908.

¹⁴⁵ In the mid-nineteenth century J. C. Morton stated that an allotment 'attaches a man to the locality in which he lives—it gives him employment for those hours both of his children and himself which would

otherwise be wasted—it adds to the comfort of his home—and it is generally a subject of common interest to himself, his neighbour and his superiors. All these things tend to make him both contented and respectable.’ (J. C. Morton, ‘The Allotment System’, in *JRASE* Vol. 20, 1859 p.92). On the development of the allotment movement see also J. Burchardt, ‘Land, Labour, and Politics: Parliament and Allotment Provision, 1830-1870’, in J. R. Wordie, *Agriculture and Politics in England, 1815-1939* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 2000), pp. 98-127; and J. Burchardt, *The Allotment Movement in England, 1793-1873*, (The Royal Historical Society: The Boydell Press, 2002).

¹⁴⁶ Cawdor 2/138: Estate rental 1823: The number of allotments had risen to sixty-three by 1899 (Cawdor box 268: Estate rentals 1883 and 1899). In Pembrokeshire, Mousley stated to the Land Commission that the Stackpole estate had no allotments on it, but there was ‘cow land’, that is, a few acres of land for labourers to graze cows. (*RCLMW*, Vol. ii, 1894, Qu, 28,676, Mousley’s evidence).

¹⁴⁷ J. R. Fisher, ‘Agrarian Politics’, in Collins (ed.), *The Agrarian History of England and Wales*, p.322.

¹⁴⁸ Allotments and smallholdings Bill, 1886.

¹⁴⁹ *The Times*, 26 Feb. 1886.

¹⁵⁰ *The Times*, 26 July 1887.

¹⁵¹ G. E. Mingay, ‘The Farmer’, in Collins (ed.), *The Agrarian History of England and Wales*, pp.780-81.

¹⁵² CRO, Carmarthenshire County Council minutes, 22 July, 1896, pp. 586-587; Cawdor box 158: Williams-Drummond to Emlyn, 3 July 1896. Williams-Drummond explained to Emlyn that ‘these cases I opposed on behalf of the tenants as well as one other who applied for a portion of a small farm at Cenarth which would have suffered considerably were any of it allotted’. He then stated that he ‘took care to explain that his Lordship would welcome any genuine desire for allotments but felt bound to support his tenants against any unreasonable interference with their takings’.

¹⁵³ Cawdor box 158: Williams-Drummond to Emlyn, 15 July 1896.

¹⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, Emlyn to Williams-Drummond, 18 July 1896.

¹⁵⁵ D. W. Howell, *Land and People in nineteenth-century Wales*, ch. 5, and *idem.* ‘The Agricultural Labourer in Nineteenth-Century Wales’, *WHR*, vol. 6, no. 2, 1972; Cragoe, *An Anglican Aristocracy*, p.33.

¹⁵⁶ Hansard, fourth series, vol. CLXXX, col. 1022, 13 Aug. 1907.

¹⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, col., 1023.

¹⁵⁸ 7 April 1905: Lady Knightley of Fawsley stated in her journal that ‘Mr Long at Finance...told...that he was offered the admiralty, but refused it because he thought Lord Cawdor the better man and accepted Ireland, sorely against the grain because he thought it was his duty. That’s a real man.’ Peter Gordon (ed) *Politics and Society: The Journals of Lady Knightley of Fawsley 1885-1913*, ed. (Northampton Record Society, vol.xl. 1999) p.381.

¹⁵⁹ The first dreadnought which was called *Dreadnought* was launched in Oct. 1905.

¹⁶⁰ J. Charmley, *Splendid Isolation? Britain and the balance of power, 1874-1914* (London, 1999), pp.348-49.

¹⁶¹ A. J. Marder, *From the Dreadnought to Scapa Flow : the Royal Navy in the Fisher era, 1904-1919*, Vol.1, *The road to war, 1904-1914* (OUP, 1961), p.126.

¹⁶² *The Times*, 3 July 1909.

¹⁶³ *The Times*, 14 Nov. 1908.

¹⁶⁴ For a detailed discussion of the Constitutional Conference see: C. C. Weston, 'The Liberal Leadership and the Lords' Veto, 1907-1910', in C. Jones and D. L. Jones, *Peers, Politics and Power: The House of Lords, 1603-1911* (London, 1986) pp.489-518; E. J. Feuchtwanger, *Democracy and Empire: Britain 1850-1914* (London, 1985), pp. 294-97.

¹⁶⁵ Weston, 'The Liberal Leadership and the Lords' Veto, 1907-1910', p.506.

¹⁶⁶ BL, Add. 49709 f.73: Cawdor Memorandum to the King, 2 Oct. 1909.

¹⁶⁷ J. Grigg, *Lloyd George: People's Champion*, cited in R. J. Q. Adams, *Balfour: The Last Grandee* (London, 2007), p.244.

¹⁶⁸ One of the last statements he put his name to was the anti-Women Suffrage League which was established to combat the Suffrage Bill then in the Commons. (*The Times*, 21 July 1910).

¹⁶⁹ *The Times*, Obituary Lord Cawdor, 9 Jan. 1914; according to his great-granddaughter Liza Campbell, *Title Deeds: A Work of Friction*, (London, 2006), p.2, the fourth Earl died of the effects of syphilis, contracted whilst in Japan.



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7. The Cawdors: their private and social lives

At the heart of aristocratic activity was the pursuit of leisure, amusement and diversion. This chapter will consider the Cawdors in pursuit of their leisurely activities by examining their houses, parks and gardens and the associated activities of hunting and shooting. Country life was complemented by a period—the season—of each year in the Metropolis, where the opera, the play and shopping were undertaken in between visits to other aristocrats and others of equal social standing and parliamentary duties.¹ To enjoy such activities to the full, in both Wales and London, an education, to the best standards of the day, was undertaken which was frequently finished, at least in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, by the Grand Tour. Here a family heir could indulge in the fashion for art collecting, which often resulted in burdening the family with (even further) debt. However, the fashion of art collecting, though it continued, was left to relatively few aristocrats as others looked for excitement in other leisurely activities such as horseracing, which found a new stimulus with the coming of the railways, and yachting, a wealthy man's hobby which was stimulated by the steam engine. The Cawdors' engagement in these activities will now be discussed.

The driving force behind so much of the landowners' activities was the desire for 'consequence' and the recognition from others, both within and without their group, of their superior status in society. The country house was a symbol of that status, and at the same time gave the owner 'a sense of identity, of achievement and of permanence'.² As an indication of the Campbells' increasing consequence in society, they rebuilt the mansion at Stackpole, which they had inherited in 1689, in the 1730s.³ D. W. Howell states that the Pembrokeshire houses of Slebech Hall, Ffynone, Picton Castle, Colby House, Landshipping and Orielson were also either being rebuilt or receiving extensive alterations during the eighteenth century, their owners 'driven by motives of ostentatious display and an infectious desire to outdo their neighbours'.⁴ At Stackpole Court, the rebuilding doubled the size of the old house, and the finished product has been referred to as 'essay in pure Palladianism, [which was] all the more unexpected in so remote an area'.⁵ In 1802, Walter Davies succinctly recorded in his Journal: 'Went to Stackpole Court. This place is exquisitely beautiful. The house is built of well-squared limestone.'⁶ The extensive alterations of the eighteenth century made Stackpole Court the biggest house in south-west Wales,

with one hundred and fifty rooms.⁷ Moreover, as was so often the case among landed families who re-built, the expense of building and garden work remained with the family as debt for decades and it was probably one of the reasons for the re-organisation of Baron Cawdor's finances at the end of the eighteenth century. However, building work did not stop and the mansion underwent a series of alterations and additions in the nineteenth century. Thus in the 1830s work was undertaken on the mansion under the direction of the architect Jeffrey Wyattville, the designer of the recently completed Golden Grove, and his assistant Henry Ashton.⁸ The surviving plans⁹ indicate the extent of the new additions, which seem to have been partly undertaken in order to modernise the mansion. Thus, a large conservatory was attached to the east side of the house.¹⁰ Further modernisation was undertaken in *c.*1865 when a gasworks was introduced to the estate at Stackpole, most likely for lighting the servants' areas of the house rather than for family rooms since gas lighting was 'dirty and malodorous' until the invention of the incandescent gas mantle in the 1880s.¹¹

There is nothing to indicate that central heating was installed at Stackpole, and on Christmas Day 1878, Sarah Campbell, Countess Cawdor, wrote in her diary that the weather was extremely cold, 'impossible to keep warm—it must have been a day of great suffering to the poor—for even in this warm well built House with good fires every part of it the searing wind could not be kept out',¹² which seems to indicate that, at this point, the house was heated only by open fires. Earlier in the same year part if not all of Stackpole was re-decorated, necessitating the complete absence of the family. It was reported to Sarah Campbell that the mansion was in a terrible mess, 'full of workmen pulling all the WCs to pieces and overhauling all the drains "making big holes in the walls and taking up floors and pipes"! The House keeper and House Carpenter in despair at the amount of work that must be done before our return.'¹³ A year later, in 1879, a lift was installed at Stackpole.¹⁴ This necessitated the blasting of a twenty-foot-deep hole through solid rock within the house, work which took several weeks, and must have ruined much of the decorating work of the previous year. At one point Lord Cawdor had cold-feet over continuing the blasting, fearful for the safety of his grand mansion, and asked Mousley to stop the work. The agent replied: 'I feel anything but Comfortable in continuing to act in opposition to Your Lordship's instructions respecting the well sinking operation at the Court. If the work is to be done, it seems a pity to stop the men. They are about 15 or 16 feet deep. We watch

carefully their proceedings, and cannot detect any mischief from the explosions.’¹⁵ The work was continued without any further quibbles from the owner: which episode in itself throws light on the huge authority exercised in estate matters by Mousley. Two years later, in 1881, dry rot was discovered in some of the floor joists above the library and billiard room. The decision was made to replace these upper floors with iron joists and concrete.¹⁶ Again the re-decorating which had to be undertaken after this work was a costly, major undertaking, all of which was supervised by the architect Charles E. Sayer.¹⁷ As would be expected, the family were again absent while it was being carried out.

Reflecting the cultural and scholarly interests of the various members of the Cawdor family, one of the major libraries of Wales was housed at Stackpole Court. At the 1963 household auction, nearly eleven thousand volumes were listed. Obviously this auction did not include favourite volumes kept by the family. In the 1890s and probably earlier the library was used as a lending library by local gentry and selected tenants. The Mousley family were also regular borrowers.¹⁸

As with their houses so with their gardens and parks, ‘which were almost equal in importance to the house itself’,¹⁹ the eighteenth-century gentry of south-west Wales landscaped their grounds in the current picturesque fashion. The park would have been the first indication to visitors and the local community that there was a mansion nearby. As such the layout of the ‘surrounding park demanded just as much attention as the house, since it emphasised the owner’s power and prestige’.²⁰ At Slebech, for instance, the then owner John Symmons spent so much money landscaping in the ten years from 1773 that he had to sell the house in order to pay his debts. In this desire to beautify the landscape John Campbell, later Baron Cawdor, was no different to other gentry, except perhaps, in the scale of his ambitions. In his desire to create an idyllic ‘natural’ landscape, the old village of Stackpole was removed in 1782.²¹ Nine years later, however, in 1791, it was proposed to ‘introduce system in the Plantations and Garden’ since the ‘present plantations [are] now overrun by Deer and Cattle’, which seems to indicate a period of neglect at Stackpole. At the same time, it was proposed to enclose the whole of the park and garden,²² and perhaps most spectacularly, create the lakes, variously described as the lily lakes or fishponds in the valley at the back of mansion. John Mirehouse was involved with much of the early work on the lakes but the main work, including the design for the eight-arch bridge—really a disguised dam—was undertaken by the canal engineer James Cockshutt, used, as we have seen,

by Campbell to survey the route of the proposed Spitty-Nantyrmwyn canal. Cockshutt had problems with the dam, which kept leaking, and as a consequence, flooding of the eighty-three-acre site was not completed until the 1840s.²³

The very fact that the owner could create something of such acreage that was fundamentally unproductive would have impressed all who visited the estate.²⁴ And although the Stackpole mansion was demolished in 1963 (allegedly in a fit of pique²⁵), the parkland survives and has been listed as a grade 1 site by CADW.²⁶ Its grandeur, if not its power, seems not to have faded over time,²⁷ Cockshutt's bridge and lakes recently being described as an 'eyecatcher to compare with many of the best parks in England'.²⁸ As rehearsed at the outset, the displays of conspicuous consumption, in enlarging the house and in creating the park and lake, not only gave enjoyment to the family and their friends, but would have also impressed the local gentry, indicating the importance of the family that could create on such a massive scale. In a society that was imbued with an overwhelming deference to landed wealth, the conspicuous show at Stackpole would have dazzled most people by the sheer *power* on display.²⁹

As stated above, Golden Grove mansion, overlooking the Vale of Tywi on the southern side of the river, about four miles from Llandeilo, was designed by Jeffrey Wyattville, and was begun in 1826. The old Golden Grove house was originally a sixteenth-century manor house that had been altered and enlarged on occasion. It had burnt down in 1729 but was only re-built in 1755-57 as a 'plain seven-bay house with dormers'.³⁰ It had seven principal bedrooms and seven rooms with eleven beds for servants.³¹ This arrangement was left more or less intact by Baron Cawdor on becoming the new owner in 1804. Nevertheless he gave a clear indication of his intentions as to improvements, notwithstanding the poor state of the Cawdor finances, by engaging the Swansea architect, William Jernegan, to modernise the house, build a new stable block and home farm. Thomas Beynon, ever ready to complain amount money, commented: 'The new buildings and improvements at Golden Grove were no doubt much wanted, and indeed absolutely necessary; but the misfortune was that the allowances towards carrying them on were greatly under calculated...I think the original Estimate was £1,800 and about £1,400 of this sum has already gone out of my pocket only—So much for estimates.'³² A few years later, in c.1813, the York architect, J. P. Pritchett, was engaged by Cawdor to build a substantial house near to

Llandeilo bridge for the estate's principal agent, R. B. Williams.³³ It was named Moreb after the agent's family farm near Pen-bre.

The mid-eighteenth century Golden Grove mansion house did not have a library, merely a study, with three bookcases, perhaps indicating that John Vaughan was not a great reader. However, by 1822 several hundred books are listed at the house, kept in Lord and Lady Cawdor's rooms. The titles reflect the Cawdors' interests, though some of the volumes may have been inherited with the house in 1804: a mixture of history, travel, legal, agricultural, religious works and novels.³⁴ However, none of the books listed was in Welsh or related to Welsh matters.³⁵

Upon John Frederick the second Baron's ascendancy as first Earl Cawdor in 1827, the old Golden Grove was probably deemed too modest, even though only a secondary seat.³⁶ Additionally, the situation of the old house had been criticised by several travellers as being far from ideal. These 'picturesque' writers would have preferred a house which sat elegantly within the landscape, which the old house did not do since it was too low down in the valley. In mid-1826, Jeffrey Wyattville was commissioned to draw up plans for a new, larger house which was to be built higher up, on a bluff on the southern side of the Tywi valley. Work commenced either later that year or at the beginning of 1827. The laying of the foundation stone, in August 1827, by the ten-year-old Frederick John Vaughan Campbell, the future second earl, was a cause for rejoicing, the family, like their landed counterparts, missing no opportunity to engage the wider community in celebrating its achievements, thereby underpinning deference to their leadership. In Carmarthen a bonfire was lit on Castle Green, church-bells were pealed at St Peter's church and a military band played, whilst free ale was distributed amongst the town's people.³⁷

The stable block, the final part of the building work, was completed in 1834. Wyattville's whole edifice was 'Elizabethan, with crowstepped gables, [with] perhaps a nod to Scotland',³⁸ the building as a whole being 'remarkable for the quality and consistency of its Tudor Baronial detailing externally and internally'.³⁹ Technologically, the house had various advanced features, for instance it was fitted with flushing water closets, including some for servants' use, which used rain-water gathered from the roof and run into cisterns. Again, the builders used reinforced girders to support floors.⁴⁰ Local Llangyndeyrn limestone was used to build the house, a stone hitherto rarely used for building purposes since it was too hard to cut accurately, until early nineteenth century advances in stone cutting.⁴¹ Its bluish-grey

appearance looks harsh in the landscape and seems to add ‘foreignness’ to the house. Within a few years of its being built ivy was allowed to grow over large parts of the front façade, perhaps in an attempt to soften its features.⁴²

The house was built with the main rooms facing north, but also giving excellent views both eastwards and westwards through bay windows along the Tywi valley, enabling the family to admire the rich farming land, which they mainly owned. However, the floor plan shows a relatively small house, with only four reception rooms, an indication of the encroachment into aristocratic society of a desire for privacy.⁴³ The family area is completely segregated from—again showing a desire for privacy—but dwarfed by the children’s, the servants’ and stables’ areas, while, at Stackpole Court, the servants were only *separated* from the family living areas. This complete segregation of various parts of the household was part of a theory which was developing from the 1830s onwards that servants should be invisible and children only infrequently part of family life. Architecturally Wyattville was in the vanguard of such ideas, as his design for Golden Grove and many of his other works testify.⁴⁴ The idea of having such segregated areas for the ‘working’ parts of a house was a reflection of a new sense of seriousness emerging in society generally—under the influence of the evangelical movement—a reaction to the excesses of the late Georgian period: as Marc Baer puts it in another context, ‘late Georgian festiveness was replaced by Victorian solemnity’.⁴⁵ In architecture the newer ideas had a champion in William Burns, whose first attempt at separate family and servant rooms was built in 1820.⁴⁶ Burns’s ideas were taken a step further by Wyattville. Hence Golden Grove house, finished c.1834, had the hallmarks of an advanced early nineteenth-century design.⁴⁷ It has a business-like air about it; a place ‘free from awkwardness, inconvenience, and inappropriateness’,⁴⁸ where the biggest estate in south-west Wales could be well managed. M. Girouard refers to the 1820s and 1830s as a ‘far more sybaritic period for country house owners’⁴⁹ than the following decades. However, at Golden Grove the earnest, organised Victorian country house makes an early appearance in Carmarthenshire.⁵⁰ As such the house also sits well with Kerr’s mid-Victorian belief that a house should be free from excessive adornment which was ‘invariably vulgar and at best barbaric’.⁵¹ Thus, Golden Grove has been described as remarkable ‘for the clarity of its planning which gives clear expression to the elaboration of the domestic economy, with highly specialised service accommodation and a clearly delineated hierarchy of function’.⁵²

At both Stackpole Court and Golden Grove various exotic plants were raised in the hot houses, which at the Pembrokeshire property had been the practice as early as the 1730s.⁵³ In 1804 Beynon reported to Cawdor of a 'new species of theft', stating that at Golden Grove the 'hot house has been robbed ...of three Pine-apples'. The agent thought of offering a ten-guinea reward, indicating how serious he believed the matter to be, but he and the house steward, Mr Haines, decided to keep quiet but post labourers to watch the Pinery 'as the theft would probably be repeated', which it was a few nights later. The perpetrator, a former labourer at Golden Grove, was imprisoned in Carmarthen gaol. Beynon viewed this atrocity with alarm, which was, in his opinion, to be regarded in a 'much more serious light than stealing the game'.⁵⁴ The pineapples grown at Golden Grove, and particularly Stackpole Court, were frequently sent to London when the family were there, to be used as gifts as well as being served at dinner-parties. In 1821 a 'magnificent pine, weighting upwards of 10lbs [was] placed upon the King's table in Westminster Hall'.⁵⁵ It was produced by Lord Cawdor who had sent it to the Horticultural Society, which resolved to decorate the king's table at the banquet with it. Since pineapples could touch the very pinnacle of aristocratic society in this way, perhaps Beynon's reaction was understandable. Certainly, the fruit was nurtured with great care: 'aristocratic pineapples enjoyed central heating long before human beings'.⁵⁶

In the mid 1850s the gardens at Golden Grove were extensively redesigned by the head gardener, John Hill, and an arboretum of various exotic trees planted. At the same time a third approach to the mansion, lined with beech trees, from Llanfihangel Aberbythych was created.⁵⁷ Hill was sent to the Great Exhibition of 1851 to gather ideas. He was then responsible for laying out the arboretum and undertaking extensive alterations to the garden. In creating gardens and parklands the family was, of course, making a statement to the locality and to any visitors to Golden Grove about their social position as leaders of the community. However, the land surrounding both their houses also emphasised a desire for privacy. This was probably less so at Stackpole, built in the heyday of country-house visiting, but as we have seen, even here, by the 1790s, the parkland had been enclosed, keeping game in but excluding unwanted visitors who would have been monitored at the lodge and perhaps refused entry.⁵⁸ At Golden Grove the garden surrounding the house was completely walled, and this, coupled with the relative smallness of the house,

conveyed a message of intimacy and privacy. It was a 'landscape of polite exclusion' where the mass of the population were not welcome.⁵⁹

The households at Golden Grove and Stackpole Court only functioned because 'troops of servants',⁶⁰ both in the house and those working in the park, demesne, and home farm, were employed. Again, as F. M. L. Thompson has pointed out, the numbers of servants was also a way their master 'impressed the world with the grandeur of his style of living',⁶¹ indeed, the large numbers were not strictly necessary for the household to function efficiently. From the mid-nineteenth century, and possibly much earlier, the family had between 22 and 26 household servants at its disposal, whether in London, Stackpole or Golden Grove. Even so, upon becoming the master at Golden Grove, Lord Cawdor was intent upon reducing the number of servants employed there; they had been rather over-indulged by their previous master John Vaughan, a lax state of affairs Cawdor entrusted Beynon, the agent, to rectify.⁶² Not relishing this sensitive charge, fearing that there will be 'a [sic] Evil war in the kitchen Servants' Hall',⁶³ the dutiful agent nevertheless reduced the household servants by a third to eight; in 1822 there were just seven.⁶⁴ An even more brutal dismissal of servants would occur later in the century at one of the Cawdor mansions. After the first Earl's death in 1860, the new master, following a discussion with his wife and mother, 'made a clean sweep of all the servants and settled to shut up this place [Stackpole] for the winter'. Cawdor explained that this was done to save money, since it was 'very easy to increase the number of servants—but why should we begin with a Steward at £100 a year, Valet £55 etc...and the Madre confesses that she had allowed extravagances'.⁶⁵ Clearly the servant could be easily discarded when deemed to be too costly.

In addition to the household servants, but essential to the functioning of the establishment as a whole were the specialist and general workers on the home farm, parks and demesne lands. These provided most of the produce which was consumed at the houses by family, guests and servants. The Golden Grove home farm in 1814 covered some 342 acres in extent and employed twenty-four men, women and children.⁶⁶ As well as farm workers, five others were employed to keep the house and home farm in a good state of repair, three women were employed in Golden Grove Park, six men, two women and one male apprentice were employed on the lower farm, and six men and women were employed in the garden, as well as two woodsmen. Various others, numbering thirteen, were also employed as estate workers

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Stackpole home farm and new

at this time.⁶⁷ With regard to Stackpole Court, in 1879 some fourteen men and women—though only one of the latter is definitely identified—were employed on the home farm, seven men on the demesne, and twelve male gardeners. In addition there were seventeen men described as ‘estate workers’, who would have been general maintenance workers.⁶⁸ Thus a total of forty-nine people, excluding the household servants, were being employed to ensure the mansion was functioning to the exacting standards expected by its owners.

Upkeep of the demesne and garden was a costly item of estate expenditure. The Stackpole demesne was 1,000 acres in extent at the beginning of the nineteenth century⁶⁹ and the estate accounts bear witness to how much money was consumed in keeping it working. For instance in the forty years 1865-1904 the demesne cost £44,133 or £1,103 per annum. In the same period the garden consumed £34,285 or £857 per annum. At Golden Grove in the nine years 1865-1873 demesne and farm⁷⁰ expenditure totalled £11,307 at an average of £1,256 per annum. Whilst in the eight years 1865-1872 a total of £5,859 at an average of £732 per annum was spent on the garden.⁷¹

Some of those employed by the estate remained for decades, especially those working at the home farms or in the parks. This is an indication that working for the Cawdors was not irksome; on the contrary, it was doubtless regarded as an honour. Sarah Campbell, Countess Cawdor, comments occasionally on the lengthy employment of servants at Stackpole Court: one of the gardeners worked there for forty-six years.⁷² At Golden Grove, John Hill, the head gardener, began work in 1834, and remained forty-nine years, Thomas Lockyer,⁷³ the head gamekeeper, was forty-four years with the family and John Brockie, the head bailiff at Golden Grove farm, worked thirty-years in that position.⁷⁴ However, if the more senior estate workers often remained for lengthy periods, the same cannot be said of the household servants. From the mid-century, when some servants’ records survive, there was a considerable turnover of domestics. In the years 1851-1860, of the twenty-two full time servants employed, only five remained for the whole decade, one of whom was the London housemaid, the others being the cook, the stillroom and second stillroom maids, and the first coachman.⁷⁵ Of the upper servants the butler, the valet and the lady’s maid were changed three times, and the housekeeper once. This seems to suggest a period of discontent amongst the servants at Stackpole. However, it may simply be a reflection of a change in the attitude of the servant class. A writer in 1862

could comment that: 'The old aristocratic feeling which made the dependent proud of the trust in his master, and identified him with the honour of the house he served, is well nigh extinct. Service is becoming a mere contract for wages; the moral dignity is departing; and contract for contract, that which leaves a man the largest amount of freedom and the largest profits becomes the most attractive.'⁷⁶

Many of the servants, as well as many of those managing the home farm, park and gardens, were not Welsh. Some were Scottish, their employment by the Cawdors displaying a bias that was popular in the nineteenth century: that Scottish servants were superior to either Welsh or English servants. At Stackpole Court a paucity of Welsh speaking servants would have caused little concern since the area had long been English-speaking. In 1871 only two Welsh servants, both from Llanfihangel Aberbythych parish, were employed at the Court. However, this had increased to eight Welsh servants by 1901, a third of the total number, and all eight stated they were bi-lingual.⁷⁷ At Golden Grove Welsh speakers would have been more in need: to communicate effectively with tradesmen calling at the house, to give instructions to agricultural labourers and servants, and even to warn off poachers. However, neither John Hill, the head gardener, who was born in the English-speaking Pembrokeshire parish of Minwear, Lockyer, the head gamekeeper, who was from Devon, nor Brockie, the home farm bailiff, who was a Scot, would have spoken Welsh—though it is hard to imagine that living in a Welsh-speaking community they would not have been able to pick up at least a rudimentary working knowledge of the language.

Most of the household servants travelled with the family. In April 1851 when the Cawdors were in London, the staff at Stackpole Court numbered only six and at Golden Grove only four. In addition, in their South Audley Street home in the capital, servants numbered only two when the family was not resident.⁷⁸ The movement around the country, and the mixture of servants from Wales, Scotland and England (as well as a French governess), would have added an almost metropolitan element to the lives of the household servants, most of whom would not have otherwise ventured far from their home parish.

Although there is not much evidence, some of the servants, at least the more skilled, seem to have been valued by the estate. When Mr Haines, the house steward at Golden Grove, fell ill, he was attended to by a Dr Turton⁷⁹ from Swansea at the expense of the estate. Turton recommended an operation, and again the estate paid for a surgeon to perform it. However, Beynon's motives were not totally altruistic in

attempting to bring Haines back to health. He wrote to Cawdor: 'I thought it highly requisite to ascertain the nature of the Malady and the probability of his recovery as the season is advancing and the farm and garden require to be attended, without loss of time.'⁸⁰ Unfortunately, it seems Haines suffered a stroke post-operation, and never recovered sufficiently to work again. Beynon found alternative arrangements to ensure his work would be continued, though he said it would 'be very difficult indeed to procure a person that is qualified to occupy his place, for a knowledge of the Welsh language is indispensable'.⁸¹

It is evident that estate employees' families were often favoured by the Cawdors to become workers for the estate themselves. This ensured a stronger link of loyalty between estate-workers and the estate. It also, yet again, displays the paternalistic estate owner at work. However, any employee looked upon as inadequate, whether related to another estate worker or not, was quickly replaced by someone more in step with the estate ethos, which could be achieved by referring to the family motto: 'Be Mindful'. Joesph, the son of the aforementioned Thomas Lockyer, worked on the estate as a clerk, under Mousley. He was asked to leave in 1877, Mousley commenting to Cawdor that Lockyer 'is as provoking as ever about the area of Office work. And has just admitted that he has done nothing towards reducing it last month.' His place was taken by 'young Brockie', the son of the Golden Grove home farm bailiff.

Absenteeism was a major criticism of landowners throughout the nineteenth century and before, since a non-resident landowner, according to these critics, invariably led to the abuse of tenants by the agents.⁸² It could be argued that such abuse occurred on the Cawdor estate in 1837, when R. B. Williams, we have seen, used excessive coercion in insisting that tenants change their political allegiance. However, the Welsh Land Commission found very little evidence in Wales of complete absenteeism, and observed that partial absenteeism—the landlord spending a few weeks a year on the estate—does 'not appear to us a matter of any serious complaint'.⁸³ The Cawdors fit the latter category. They visited their two Welsh seats and London in a fairly regular rotation. By the beginning of the nineteenth century, a pattern of residence had already been established. John Campbell's diaries, and Lady Cawdor's account books provide us with an itinerary of their travels which they undertook, sometimes separately but mainly together. For instance, in 1804-05 Caroline, Lady Cawdor, spent Christmas at Porchester with Cawdor who was there

with his regiment, the Carmarthenshire Militia. She was in London during January and February, in March, at Portsea again with Cawdor, and in April-July back in the capital. Then for three weeks in August she was at Golden Grove, her first time as the mistress of the house, before she moved on to Stackpole Court where she stayed until October when she went back to the capital, residing there until November before moving to Bristol for the remainder of the year.⁸⁴ As would be expected from a fashionable and very wealthy Georgian couple, Bath was regularly visited rather than Bristol, which had too much trade to be entirely genteel. In this early part of the nineteenth century, the ancestral home of Nairn was visited much less frequently, Baron Cawdor preferring to stay with his in-laws at Castle Howard. This may have been due to the extreme remoteness of the Scottish home, which would perhaps have been deemed too distant for Caroline to visit. However, Castle Howard was also a centre for Whig supporters and it was therefore an excellent place for Baron Cawdor to promote his ambitions for further advancement up the peerage ladder. Additionally, both the fourth and the fifth Earls of Carlisle were, like Campbell, great art collectors, and Castle Howard would have been an establishment full of great artistic pleasures to enlighten the young Baron.⁸⁵ Visits to Nairn stopped altogether from 1810, when the whole of the Scottish Cawdor estate and the tenements belonging to it in the borough of Nairn were let from Whitsun in that year.⁸⁶ Such a move indicates a great commitment to the south-west Walian properties. Of the three estates, the Scottish one was by far the most remote, and would have been far more difficult to attract the politically important, a situation which remained so until the arrival of the railway, after which hunting parties were held at Nairn every August.

With minor variations this itinerary was continued year-on-year for much of the nineteenth century, though with the coming of railways more variety was easily achieved, as overnight trips to the capital could be undertaken, perhaps to vote in the Commons (in 1870 it took about seven hours to reach the capital from Carmarthen). Thus, in 1865 the Cawdors were at Stackpole Court during January and February, then from March to July in South Audley Street, for the London season and to enable them to attend parliament or be near the centre of power. In August they were at Nairn, for the grouse shooting, before heading to Golden Grove for two weeks in October. The end of the same month found them back in London, where they stayed until they came to Stackpole in December, for Christmas and the new-year.⁸⁷ They may have spent a few weeks more at Nairn if the shooting was particularly good, or a

week or two more at Golden Grove. But they invariably spent at least two or three months from the beginning of December at Stackpole Court. It must be remembered however, that the shortness of visits to Golden Grove do not indicate a lack of interest in that estate, rather that it was, by the middle of the century, if not before, the seat of the heir of the Cawdor family, Lord Emlyn, whilst Stackpole Court was the family's main residence.⁸⁸

Attractions in south-west Wales, for a family which was well-educated, well-travelled and had a circle of friends of similar upbringing, were very limited. The men of the family, particularly the head of the family, spent some of the time sorting out any estate problems which the agent could not handle, though as we have shown, most of the estate business was undertaken by the agents. The Cawdors, as with conscientious landowners in general, also made visits to their home farms and the farms of other gentlemen in the county, examining new agricultural machinery, or a new or better crop.⁸⁹ Visits would also be made by other gentlemen to Stackpole home farm, and probably to some of the more progressive Stackpole tenants, such as John Mirehouse's Brownslade. An instance of attraction at Stackpole in May 1813, was recorded when an 'Oxen of enormous size' which had been bred by Baron Cawdor was slaughtered. It weighed 264 pounds, its heart alone weighing twelve pounds. And whilst still alive the oxen 'attracted a great concourse of people' to Stackpole in wonderment that such a creature could have been created.⁹⁰ And from 1816, if not before, Stackpole had become the centre in south-west Wales for auctions of 'Pure New Leicester Sheep',⁹¹ a south-west Wales equivalent of the sheep auctions carried out annually at Woburn Abbey.

As we have seen, the Cawdors' public duties also took up some of their time but were never really onerous. Their attendance at the Great Sessions or Assizes, at the County Quarter Sessions and their summary jurisdiction as active magistrates at petty sessions would have filled but a few days in the year as would other administrative business such as attendance at Board of Guardians and later at board school meetings. Their meetings at agricultural and farmers' clubs were only quarterly, so again would not have greatly impinged on the Cawdors' time. It must also be remembered that their attendance at various courts and farmers' clubs were not merely administrative activities: they were also social events.

Much of the rest of their time in south-west Wales was spent pursuing gentlemanly leisure activities, which in the nineteenth century included hunting, shooting and

fishing.⁹² Much has been said regarding what many in the nineteenth century believed to be the national sport of the *English*, fox-hunting. G. F. Underhill stated at the end of the century that fox hunting was the very backbone of the national (rural) economy.⁹³ In the eighteenth century fox hunting had been a more or less private sport of the county elite: the Cawdors had a private pack of hounds at Stackpole by the end of the eighteenth century and, as would be expected, enjoyed the hunt. Raymond Carr has stated that fox hunting ‘was a main channel by which the values that supported the hegemony of the landed families gained acceptance’,⁹⁴ and it may have been looked upon as a cohesive force in rural areas. However, this has to be qualified since who but the richest could afford the staff, the kennels, the horses or the time to chase the fox?⁹⁵ Farmers in south-west Wales were for the most part ‘working’ farmers. Fox hunting also showed a great disregard for the well-being of tenant farmers in that it resulted in the destruction of farm hedges, gates and crops. It was a totally non-productive use of land; at Stackpole there are instances in the 1820s of land being taken from farms in order to establish coverts to encourage foxes to breed,⁹⁶ and neither did the dead fox serve a use—unlike the quarry from shooting, which was distributed amongst friends, tenants and tradesmen as an act of patronage. Thus fox hunting served to indicate to those who needed the land to make a livelihood, that the landowner was seemingly free of such strictures, though, of course, he *was* dependant in that he relied upon a good rental to allow him to enjoy an indulgent lifestyle, which included fox hunting. Additionally D. C. Itzkowitz points out that while tenant farmers were welcomed at the hunt, because they could easily stop it by refusing permission for the hunt to ride over their land, they were rarely members of the hunt club and were never invited to the hunt balls.⁹⁷ The latter was an exclusive event, patronised by the county elite.⁹⁸ However, the increased popularity of fox hunting and the arrival of the County subscription pack⁹⁹ meant that hunting underwent a fundamental change: anyone who could pay the required fee was allowed to hunt.

The Pembrokeshire and Carmarthenshire Hunts were established by 1820 and though the Cawdors subscribed to both county hunts¹⁰⁰ neither Lord Cawdor nor his son J. F. Campbell became Master of the Fox Hounds (MFH). In fact, no Cawdor became MFH throughout the century. This is perhaps surprising given their political ambitions towards hegemony in the county, since the position had large powers of patronage.¹⁰¹ So it can be fairly stated that although, as in common with most country

gentlemen, the Cawdors fox-hunted, the sport never obsessed them.¹⁰² Perhaps tellingly, no kennels were constructed at the new Golden Grove.¹⁰³

As if to emphasise the Cawdors' relatively luke warm support of fox hunting, at a South Pembrokeshire Hunt Dinner in 1882, Alister Campbell,¹⁰⁴ the second son of Lord Cawdor and vice chairman of the hunt, stated that although Earl Cawdor was a keen preserver of foxes he did not hunt himself. Campbell also stated that at Stackpole about 1,000 pheasants per annum were preserved.¹⁰⁵ This suggests that the second earl, at least, was happier shooting rather than fox hunting. Additionally, in the late 1880s and early 1890s, the Master of the South Pembrokeshire Fox-hounds, F. Lort Phillips of Lawrenny, was involved in a dispute with the second Earl over the lack of foxes in the Stackpole coverts. Phillips complained that the hounds had spent five hours hunting without success, after being told by Tom Mousley that foxes were to be had. Lort-Phillips stated to Cawdor: 'I must deny that any Cubs were in the many Coverts I drew, altho' your keeper like others, will probably say there were.'¹⁰⁶ Cawdor's tart response to this complaint was to withdraw his £100-subscription¹⁰⁷ to the Pembrokeshire Hunt, which led to the resignation of Lort Phillips as its Master. The South Pembrokeshire Hunt went into decline from this point and by the beginning of the twentieth century there were doubts about its future.¹⁰⁸ The Carmarthenshire Hunt was also in trouble at the end of the nineteenth century. A Londoner, Mr Gibson, became the master, and 'nothing appears to be known of him beyond that he has been rather wild...I do not think ...it is worth keeping up the Hunt under such conditions and it does not cater for more than a small portion of the County and a small rung of enthusiasts like Francis and Co.'¹⁰⁹ When Cawdor was asked to subscribe to the Carmarthenshire Hunt he wrote to John Francis that he believed the proposal that all subscribers should be part owners of the hounds to be not a 'very satisfactory or practical arrangement and I am afraid it is not one in which I could take part'.¹¹⁰ That a Londoner could become the MFH in Carmarthenshire is indicative of the general trend in fox hunting at the end of the century which witnessed the formerly elitist hunt becoming a sport for all who could afford a horse, many of whom did not pay a subscription at all, and some did not even live in the county.¹¹¹

If the Cawdors were relatively cool towards fox hunting the same could not be said about shooting game. Important perhaps, was the fact that shooting remained firmly in the control of the landowner,¹¹² he alone choosing who and who could not pursue

game over his land. Mousley noted in 1894 that game on the Stackpole estate 'is preserved, of course, to a very considerable extent, and only on that estate'.¹¹³ Thus game was shot at Stackpole on a regular basis, though the quantity shot was very small when compared to the grand shooting parties held at places like Woburn, where thousands of birds could be slaughtered in a single day's battue shooting. Partridges, woodcock, snipe and hares are recorded in the Stackpole game books,¹¹⁴ but the most sought after game was, not surprisingly, pheasant. The largest number of pheasants killed in one season was 3,871 in 1933, but it was only after 1880 that numbers rose to over 1,000 in a season, on a regular basis (in 1874, 1,074 pheasants were killed, but the rest of that decade had figures under 1,000). Figures began to rise at the end of the 1850s with 263 recorded in 1857 and 419 in the following year. These sorts of figure were maintained and then increased towards the 1,000 mark in the next few years. Additionally about 5,000 hares were shot in the decade beginning in 1863 but thereafter hare numbers declined as they became increasingly scarce.

Mousley claimed that game shot on the Stackpole estate was never sold, but was given away, 'chiefly to [Cawdor's] tenants and tradespeople and neighbours and friends. He never sells a head.'¹¹⁵ (Gifts to tenants, of course, was a way of drawing the sting out of any game grievance that may have been festering). However, contrary to Mousley's claim, in the forty years from 1865 small quantities of game were sold, at an average of £30 per annum, though up to 1889 the average receipts from game was only £9 per annum. After that date the average rises to £72, which seems to indicate a change in Stackpole estate policy concerning the selling of game.¹¹⁶

In contrast to Stackpole Court, the game killed at Golden Grove was very small in number and it can be assumed game preservation was not particularly important which bears witness to Mousley's testimony to the Land Commission cited above that only on the Stackpole estate was game preserved to a serious degree. Emlyn records in 1851 that in the garden coverts at Golden Grove 95 birds were killed on one day whilst only 68 were killed the following day in the Park coverts.¹¹⁷ Similarly, the game books for the end of the nineteenth century also show relatively small numbers being killed. Thus the number of pheasants shot at Golden Grove in the period 1890-1909 was 9,995, or about 520 per season, the large majority being shot from the garden coverts. However, unlike the game shot at Stackpole that shot at Golden Grove was mostly sold to game-dealers, with small quantities supplying the house. At other times game, particularly rabbits, were given to tenants and in 'cases of

sickness'.¹¹⁸ Most of the game shot at the end of the nineteenth century was killed by the keeper, Edward Bellamy, either alone, in the company of two or three male members of the Campbell family or with small shooting parties of guests invited from the local gentry. Dynevor Castle, just two or three miles from Golden Grove, held larger shooting parties and invited guests from further field but often ignored local, gentry much to the chagrin of the *Carmarthen Journal*.¹¹⁹

As with many other estates, the Cawdor estates in south-west Wales leased lands to tenants whose principal interest was access to game. Sporting tenants, as they were called, often disturbed the fine balance that existed between the contented and the discontented tenant farmer, since they were very frequently ignorant of the ways of the country. Williams-Drummond wrote at the end of the century: 'I have finished with Colonel Hall as I find he wanted a place to farm rabbits on! which would never do for us and in fact this is what one would expect from all sporting tenants so I think of finding a better class agricultural tenant for the place.'¹²⁰ The plague of rabbits had been the bane of many Cawdor tenants for much of the century and the second earl had allowed tenants to shoot them from 1871, ten years before the Ground Game Act gave them official sanction to do so.¹²¹ The last thing the estate needed was a tenant *wanting* to breed rabbits.

With regard to sporting tenants G. F. Underhill stated: 'The farmers complain that they reap no benefit from the shooting tenants, and not even the courtesy which, in the case of landowners, assumes the practical shape of a present of game.'¹²² Further, the Land Commission of the 1890s stated that 'sporting tenants, being generally strangers, do not get on as well with the tenant farmer as the landlord himself'.¹²³ At a time when the tenant voted for the landlord's nominee this was not a real problem, but with the secret ballot and the enlarged franchise of the mid-1880s a discontented tenant could result in the loss of a vote. However landlords, including the Cawdors, continued to lease property to sporting tenants since they increased the estate income for very little return. The Cawdor farming tenants were merely informed that a gentleman had been given shooting rights over their farms. Nevertheless, the Cawdor agents were extra cautious to whom they gave permission to shoot. Mousley wrote: 'I told him [the sporting tenant] that...Your Lordship could not give any of it [the shooting rights] ...without behaving unhandsomely to some of the resident gentlemen of that neighbourhood.'¹²⁴ Thus, the agent gave preference to local residents with regard to sporting rights to the detriment of the sporting tenant. Also, if a grievance

was aired by the tenants regarding a sporting tenant the right to shoot was frequently withdrawn. Seeking permission to write to Mr Colby to inform him that he could not have Gelligatti estate for shooting, Mousley states his reason to be that the ‘Tenant [of Gelligatti] does not like his sending a lot of People there to shoot—and he [the tenant] cannot shoot himself’.¹²⁵ Occasionally the tenants themselves refused to allow sporting tenants over their land. A Mr Paynter had received a notice from several Cawdor tenants not to shoot over their farms since Mr J. Owen [of Orierton?] ‘is very desirous of preserving the game upon their farms and had placed a Man in a cottage in Kingston for the purpose of preventing persons shooting’. The agent continued that it was rumoured that ‘Paynter sported on Kingston in a very unfair way by taking two boys [guns and dogs]’ with him to pursue game.¹²⁶ On another occasion the right to shoot was withdrawn by Cawdor with no reason given. Mousley referred to letters he had received from tenants requesting that the sporting tenant, a Captain Chamberlain, be allowed to sport over their farms. However, other tenants had complained about Chamberlain to Mousley ‘in consequence of his having threatened to prosecute a Brother of one of them for Poaching’, which may have been the reason Cawdor refused permission.¹²⁷ Many of the men applying for sporting rights were officers in the army, and they may have been looked upon favourably since shooting would have been a way such men could improve their accuracy, and would therefore have been a benefit to the army and consequently the nation. Nonetheless, the surviving evidence is that sporting tenants were vetted and if found wanting, whatever their social standing, were refused the right to shoot. Very often the ‘refusal [was] mostly an indication of the lack of consequence of the person refused’,¹²⁸ and this was the case when a solicitor from Swansea applied to Williams-Drummond to sport over Llandybie farms for £10 per annum. The agent, without giving reasons, wrote to Emlyn that he did not think it would be ‘desirable to have these Swansea people shooting over the property’, to which Emlyn agreed but stated that nonetheless they ‘must keep up the shooting rights’.¹²⁹

The Cawdors also pursued that other gentlemanly sport—horse racing. The gentry, including the Campbells, had long patronised horse racing. Haverfordwest, where horse racing had been established in 1726, became the main centre of the sport in south-west Wales,¹³⁰ though by the beginning of the nineteenth century a race course had also been established at Stackpole Court itself. At the latter, rustic sports, such as sack races, were also played, thus enabling the lower classes to feel included in the

elitist event of the race meeting, since, as with fox-hunting, participation in horse racing was only open to the richest members of society.¹³¹ As with many of their country pursuits, the gentry used race meetings in order to be seen as leaders of the locality, and they were also a way they could exercise their patronage.¹³² In this respect the race steward, effectively the race leader, was an important figure, awarding prizes to the winners and organising other aspects of the meeting. In 1811, Lord Cawdor's son, John Frederick Campbell, who was just a few weeks from his majority, and John Allen of Cresselly, a political ally of the Cawdors, both acted as stewards for the year at the Haverfordwest races.¹³³ While in August 1839 Lord Emlyn, who had come of age in the previous year, was one of the stewards, again, at Haverfordwest races.¹³⁴ As we have seen, both Campbell and Allen were to become involved in the 1812 election and Emlyn had just transferred his allegiance to the Tory party, and was becoming active in county politics.

In Carmarthenshire, steeplechases, held at the remote Pantycendy, near Abernant, had been established by the second decade of the nineteenth century,¹³⁵ and were patronised by Lord Cawdor, these races never attained the kudos of those at Haverfordwest. As if to emphasise this, and as an indication of the lower social status afforded the Pantycendy races, in 1823 John Davies, a Cawdor tenant, as the landlord of the Boar's Head Inn, Carmarthen, was the Clerk of the Course.¹³⁶ By 1830 a flat-racing course had been established by at Abergwili, just outside Carmarthen. They were patronised by the king in 1835 when he established a £50 plate for one of the races.¹³⁷ The second Earl Cawdor, also patronised these races, and established the Golden Grove stakes there by the early 1860s. These stakes were for horses whose owners were either farmers or tradesmen from Carmarthenshire, Cardiganshire or Pembrokeshire.¹³⁸

It was the railway which enabled those who could afford to, to compete more easily at the major race courses such as Newmarket or Ascot, allowing as it did race-horse owners to transport their horses to the race arriving fresh and ready to run, rather than having them arrive on the hoof. Even so, until well after the railway arrived in south-west Wales there is no evidence that the Cawdors raced horses other than at Haverfordwest or Carmarthen, though Lord Emlyn did attend Ascot on several occasions in the 1850s, when he often stayed at Windsor Castle as a guest of Queen Victoria. But by the end of the 1870s the second Earl Cawdor began to spend more on the purchase of horses. In this period of relative agricultural prosperity—the

depression did not deeply affect the Cawdor estate until the mid 1880s—more money was available to spend on such luxury items as horses, though not all those purchased, as we have seen, were racehorses. As an owner the second Earl was never in the big league, having a stud of about eight to ten horses.¹³⁹ He bought horses from Ireland, one of the foremost places to purchase them, and trusted his Stackpole home farm bailiff, Percival, to choose them. Cawdor owned eight horses in 1887, and the most costly was ‘Dewdrop’ at £200. None of the Cawdor horses won major prizes; in fact his total winnings amounted to a mere £118. 10s. 0d. in 1887. The total purchase price of all eight horses came to £745.¹⁴⁰ However, these horses may have been kept in south-west Wales, since two years prior to this, Earl Cawdor decided to sell his horses stabled at Newmarket.

In the late 1870s Cawdor was employing Matthew Dawson, one of the more successful trainers based at Newmarket. Dawson was ‘one of the first to command a public stable with owners of his own choice rather than being a servant’,¹⁴¹ and he also trained the best jockey of the period, Fred Archer, who occasionally raced Cawdor horses. However, despite using this cream of the Newmarket racing fraternity Cawdor won neither a classic nor any other big race. Dawson stabled six Cawdor horses in 1879, and between October and December of that year his bill came to £341. 13s. 1d.¹⁴² On top of this Cawdor paid jockeys 2 guineas per race, plus £10 per annum subscription to the exclusive Jockey Club.¹⁴³ So approximately £1,200 per annum was being spent at this period on horse racing.

By the mid-1880s Cawdor was employing another trainer at Newmarket, a certain Mr Bedford who had been recommended to the Earl by Matthew Dawson. Near the end of 1885 Bedford wrote: ‘I think you are right to make up your mind to give up for the time being, as nothing can be done satisfactorily, without capital to work with.’¹⁴⁴ It may have been as a response to the agricultural depression that Cawdor sold his horses at this time, or it may have been his lack of success. Bedford continued that one Cawdor horse, ‘General’, was to be sold to some Germans for £1,000, remarking that ‘I would not give a monkeys for him myself so you are well out of him.’ Another horse, Bedford believed, should not be sold for less than £400 though Bedford himself would want £1,000.¹⁴⁵

In their involvement with horse racing the Cawdors were in danger of drifting into murky waters, since the sport was notorious for its cheating and corruption.¹⁴⁶ At the beginning of 1884 it was stated in the *Graphic* that the ‘in-and-out running of Lord

Ellesmere's horses, trained by him was deemed to be more than a suspicious character'.¹⁴⁷ In the same year, Bedford wrote that nothing would induce him to take on the stud of Lord Ellesmere, one of the biggest horse race owners at this time, 'knowing it to be disagreeable to you [Lord Cawdor]....I quite agree with you that Lord Ellesmere ought to resign all connection with the Turf after what has happened.'¹⁴⁸ Ellesmere was the second Earl's nephew, and in 1882 he had obtained help from Cawdor in his then 'Goodwood difficulty', which involved a race inquiry by the stewards.¹⁴⁹ Perhaps the further trouble Ellesmere found himself in two years later, was too close to cheating for the seemingly upright Cawdor to continue his assistance.

In the latter half of the nineteenth century yachting became more important to the family as a leisure pursuit as it did with many other aristocrats. Yachting, as with owning race horses, was a form of conspicuous consumption undertaken only by the very wealthiest in society. Such was their popularity that by the last quarter of the nineteenth century these pursuits had taken the place of art collecting as part of fashionable aristocratic life. It was indicative of a shift in aristocratic circles, from the 1880s, as the conspicuous spending of the elite was raised to new heights, in this the beginning of their Indian high summer. In December 1881, the steam yacht *Ceres* was hired for four months from its owner the Duke of St Albans. The second Earl Cawdor, his daughter Evelyn, and his brother Alister Campbell, sailed to the Mediterranean from Milford Haven.¹⁵⁰ Four years later, in 1886, Cawdor, his brother, and Lord Emlyn sailed to Norway on the steam yacht *The Ceylon*, whilst three years later, using the same vessel, Cawdor sailed through the Suez canal to Colombo.¹⁵¹ In 1899, Archibald, then the third Earl, made a return visit to Norway.¹⁵² These cruises were aboard chartered yachts, but the family also undertook trips on board their own vessels. For the late nineteenth-century aristocrat 'the most opulent new indulgence was the ownership of a seagoing yacht';¹⁵³ in 1890, the second earl had built a luxury steam yacht of 182 tons, *The Maid of Honour*, designed by Dixon Kemp, and at the same time he was elected a member of the Royal Yacht Squadron. In the following year, even though it was not finished the second Earl, his brother and a certain A. Calthorpe sailed to Belgium in her. However, the expense of purchasing the *Maid of Honour* caused some consternation to the Stackpole agent Tom Mousley, who was relieved when it was sold in 1893, since it was 'getting rid of one anxiety'.¹⁵⁴ The agent's anxiety was more than likely related to the difficult year the agricultural estate

was having at Stackpole. However, it seems that the decision to sell the yacht was made in February 1892 and had less to do with the financial worries hinted at by Mousley than the fact that Earl Cawdor was considering leaving Britain for an extended period.¹⁵⁵ Such a drastic move, which may have been to do with the agricultural depression, was not unique.¹⁵⁶ In July 1893 Dixon Kemp was selling the yacht to Francis Barrett for £7,000.¹⁵⁷

By the end of the century, Archibald, then third Earl Cawdor, was again travelling by yacht. In June 1899 he and several members of the family, as well as Christopher Turnor¹⁵⁸ of Stoke Rochford, sailed in the 543-ton yacht, *Torfrida*, to the Mediterranean. A year later Cawdor had bought, in part exchange for the *Gazelle* which he owned, the 111-ton *Peregrine*. He, like his forebears, also became a member of the Royal Yacht Squadron, 1901-1910.

When not on estate or county business, or hunting, shooting horseracing and yachting, the Cawdors spent time entertaining fellow gentry and visitors to Stackpole Court.¹⁵⁹ In the later eighteenth century John Vaughan of Golden Grove was a frequent visitor to his friend's house.¹⁶⁰ The splendour of Stackpole Court and the higher ambitions of its owners also attracted various visitors who otherwise would probably not have ventured to visit south-west Wales, thereby promoting the area to the politically powerful. In 1827, the Duchess of Clarence was feted when she arrived at Milford Haven, and was escorted by the newly-created Earl Cawdor and the Castlemartin yeomanry to the mansion amongst a throng of thousands. And twenty years later Queen Victoria was the guest of the second Earl.¹⁶¹ For much of the time the evenings at Stackpole were frequently occupied dining with a few intimate friends and relatives, such as Jos Adams of Holyland, and rounding the evening off with chess, casino, whist or billiards. The after-dinner entertainment was also frequently taken with games of charades.¹⁶²

When resident at Stackpole Court or Golden Grove, life for the women of the Cawdor family was much more mundane, and conventionally revolved around the family, and then local events and charity work. Gentry women were, at least in the Victorian period, secluded and dependant and were 'not to be seen outside the protection of the domestic sphere' with the exceptions of the garden, balls, musical festivals and churches.¹⁶³ They would have joined their spouses visiting other gentry and nearby family;¹⁶⁴ however, they rarely ventured around the county, let alone further a-field, unaccompanied. At the beginning of the nineteenth century, Caroline

supervised the location of labourers' cottages at Stackpole, but only in the company of the Baron, although, as referred to in a previous chapter, she was included in discussions regarding the finances of the estate, along with Charles Greville. (This contrasts with Sarah Campbell's exclusion from the negotiations to sell the family's London home in the late 1870s.) Caroline was also a patroness of the Carmarthen theatre in Little Water Street. She showed an active interest in this theatre and occasionally attended a performance, for instance she went to see *The Merchant of Venice* in March 1814.¹⁶⁵ The Cawdors also patronised the theatre at Tenby and gave £200 towards its rebuilding in c.1809.¹⁶⁶

In the late 1870s Sarah Campbell, a woman in her sixties, and in poor health, spent a lot of her time relatively isolated at Stackpole Court. When she did get out it was either to go to church or visit her daughter at nearby Brownslade. On 11 February 1878 she went there to help her daughter since the children, all six of them, were ill with whooping cough. And two weeks later she refers to: 'My poor Children I am very much afraid there is sorrow in store for them', when granddaughter, Alice's, baby fell ill and 'now he moans unceasingly and refuses food'.¹⁶⁷

The Cawdor women also involved themselves in charity works: both Caroline and Sarah, and no doubt other female family members, visited the poor, infirm or retired estate tenants and doled out gifts of varying usefulness. Thus in May 1878 Sarah Campbell visited 'Rebecca Hall and found her very ill and miserable poor thing, a lone widow, who has always prided herself on the neatness of her Cottage and Garden, and now finds herself quite unable to keep either in order—and her only means of living is her Cow and her pig—which are a great trouble to her now—and she can get no one to help her. I gave her 5s and offered to pay a girl to help her.'¹⁶⁸

One of the ways the rulers of a county could ensure awareness of their influence and power, and at the same time cement the goodwill of the local population to their hegemony, was by staging grand celebrations for the heirs of their estates.¹⁶⁹ As the largest landowner in the two counties the Cawdor family celebrated in grand style, celebrations which were carefully reported in the influential local press.¹⁷⁰ In 1811, in 1838 and particularly in 1868 there were a series of celebrations to mark the coming-of-age of the Cawdor heir. Rustic games, dancing and dinners were held, not only for the tenants, but for all in the vicinity of Golden Grove and Stackpole Court and many places in between. The 1811 coming-of-age celebrations included a ball at

Carmarthen Town Hall as well as the opening of Stackpole Court and other Cawdor properties to the public.¹⁷¹ In 1868 at Llandeilo, church bells were pealed, ‘accompanied by a perfect cannonade,’ which was maintained from ‘sunrise to sunset’. At mid-day a brass band marched to the bridge while in the afternoon, despite the rain, rustic sports were performed by farmers, tradesmen and their families. At four-thirty commenced a dinner for around seventy gentlemen at the Cawdor Arms, in Llandeilo, with David Pugh, MP, presiding. Of the numerous speakers at the dinner, significantly one was a churchman the other a chapel minister. In the evening fireworks were let off, and the houses of the town were illuminated with the Cawdor family motto ‘Be mindful’. Another great display was seen at Golden Grove, where as well as the music and games, Countess Cawdor herself distributed cakes to the tenants gathered at the mansion, and food and blankets were handed out to the poor of the parish. Such celebrations were conducted in ‘every town and village’ in the two counties. The *Carmarthen Journal*, commenting upon the number of bonfires and with a fine sense of hyperbole, compared the Tywi valley at night to the blast furnaces of the Black Country. They concluded their extensive report by stating that: ‘As the joy-fires waned all dispersed to their quiet homes, having spent a day which will never be forgotten by them’, which of course was exactly what the Cawdors would have wanted. They involved all members of society in the celebrations, from gentry to paupers, and all would have been impressed with the show of grandeur, and realised just how powerful and generous were the Cawdor family. Interestingly, Emlyn himself was on holiday in the Holyland at this time.¹⁷²

In contrast to the 1868 coming-of-age celebrations, the 1891 rite of passage for Emlyn’s son Hugh, was of a different colour. Mousley wrote to Cawdor: ‘it is difficult to advise. This large and scattered property makes it so.’ However, this was no problem in 1868, so perhaps Mousley had sensed a change in the degree of deference people were prepared to give towards their landlords—after all this was the period of land reform agitation. The agent continued that it ‘does not look well to be feasting “the well to do” farmers, and leaving the poor humble Cottagers—with their families, out in the cold. Neither is the Bonfire Custom altogether Satisfactory—some would be very likely to exclaim—There’s a blaze! Is that all they can do? Where are the Barrels of Ale, the Roast Beef and Mutton? I fear there is a general falling off of that good old Custom on such occasions.’¹⁷³ Mousley the diplomat is at pains to emphasise that the family were no less thought of in 1891 than they were in 1868.

However, the agent seems to be trying too hard for his master's sake, since he has read the altered political landscape correctly: County Councils, greatly increased franchise and no Cawdor at Westminster. Referring to the eager tenants at Golden Grove, Mousley stated to his master that they 'must take care not to create jealousies by doing in one place what we don't do at other places'.¹⁷⁴ Thus at Ystradffin or Newcastle Emlyn, the estate was perhaps less inclined to hold celebrations, but the tenants would feel aggrieved if left out. Here again is the cautious Mousley treading a safe line intent on keeping tenants happy in their newly-gained politically powerful position. In 1882, the *Welshman* stated that social deference was declining,¹⁷⁵ and it seems to a large extent Mousley was realising this in 1891. The celebrations of that year were kept within the Golden Grove grounds, tenants being transported from Newcastle Emlyn, Carmarthen, Llandysul and Llandovery. Interestingly, though Hugh's birthday took place in June the celebrations did not take place until mid-September.¹⁷⁶

As a symbol of the tenants' earlier deference to the Cawdor family nothing could be more potent than Emlyn's arrival at Stackpole with his new bride, in November 1843. The *Carmarthen Journal* described the event:

The Stackpole Tenantry and a great number of respectable persons assembled to receive his Lordship at Pembroke, where, in spite all opposition, a procession being first formed, the horses were untraced, and the carriage drawn through the town by the party amidst cheers that made the very Wrekin resound, a merry peal at the same time ringing from "the bells of St Mary's tower". His Lordship looked exceedingly well, and so did his blooming partner, whose radiant smiles and beaming blushes bespoke the gratification the scene excited.' This performance was repeated when the couple went to Pembroke, their carriage being man-drawn by the tenantry. In addition bonfires were lit and the 'working people of the town regaled with cwrw da.'¹⁷⁷

At the end of life the Cawdors were laid to rest in privately-conducted funerals, unlike many aristocratic funerals and perhaps the Victorian trend for grand public events.¹⁷⁸ When the second Earl died in 1860, a private funeral at Stackpole took place to which 'nobody [was] invited', by which the new earl meant no-one of consequence, since 'a great many neighbours attended' and Stackpole labourers were the pall-bearers.¹⁷⁹

As well as the country house the mark of the aristocracy was a house in Town, that is London. Their main residence in the capital was at 74 South Audley Street, just off Grosvenor Square, and part of the Grosvenor estate. When the house was built in the 1730s the house commanded the 'longest frontage and highest ground rent of any

hereabouts'. In 1740 it was dignified the 'Great Messuage or Tenement called the Centre House'.¹⁸⁰ By the 1830s a Mr Feetham, coal merchant and building speculator, had leased the house and in 1832 he sub-let it to the first Earl. Ten years later Cawdor bought the lease from Feetham, and became a tenant of the Grosvenors. It was during the Cawdors' tenure that a number of alterations and expansions were undertaken, probably under the direction of Sir Jeffrey Wyatville,¹⁸¹ the architect, we have seen of the new Golden Grove, and of alterations to Stackpole Court. The second earl began negotiations to sell the lease in 1878,¹⁸² which was accomplished four years later in a sale to Mr (later Sir) William Cuthbert Quilter.¹⁸³ Over the next ten years the second Earl domiciled at the houses of various friends and family when in the capital, until he took 7 Prince's Gardens, near to Hanover Square, in 1891.¹⁸⁴

For all its various pursuits, life in the country was placid indeed when compared to Society in the metropolis. From the first Baron Cawdor's diaries we get a glimpse of a fairly conventional late Georgian aristocrat whose main reason for being in London was the season which included attendance at parliament, but which was mainly a constant round of visiting other aristocrats, dining, going to the theatre and opera, and shopping.¹⁸⁵ It was a daily set routine 'often guided by a strict set of rules', as John Campbell's diaries bear testimony.¹⁸⁶ Both Baron and Lady Cawdor were patrons of the London opera.¹⁸⁷ Caroline paid a yearly sum to the opera of between £25-31.¹⁸⁸ London theatre, like most other aspects of life in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, was graded according to social position. Aristocrats mainly attended the Little Theatre and the King's Theatre (also called the English Opera House), both in Haymarket, and the Lyceum and Tottenham Street theatre if they wanted serious drama or opera.¹⁸⁹ At this period the less aristocratic theatres were notorious for their rowdiness, though all theatres could see bouts of riotous behaviour. From his diaries it is evident that such plebeian theatres as Covent Garden and Drury Lane were patronised by the Cawdors.¹⁹⁰ The pit audience revelled in the goings on in the boxes which were the preserve of aristocrats. And the latter often went to the opera and to plays to be seen as much as to be enlightened by the performance. Campbell refers to three people being killed at the Haymarket theatre in 1794.¹⁹¹

To finish his education John Campbell, as of course did numerous other sons of the aristocracy, spent five years from 1783 in Italy, on the Grand Tour, no doubt increasing the family debts at the same time.¹⁹² Campbell's time in Italy could also have encouraged his pro-Catholic sympathies.¹⁹³ Whilst there, he came under the

influence of John Strange, the resident British minister in Venice. This led him to purchase the early sixteenth-century portrait of the Doge Loredan by Bellini¹⁹⁴ and to become acquainted with the neo-classical sculptor Antonio Canova. Campbell became firstly a patron and then a friend of Canova.¹⁹⁵ It became an unusually close friendship, and Campbell became one of the foremost promoters of Canova's work in Britain, commissioning several of his works.¹⁹⁶ As an indication of their intimacy they were drawn together in about 1790, standing between the sculptor's statue Eros and Psyche by the Scottish artist Gavin Hamilton.¹⁹⁷ At the beginning of the nineteenth century Canova was invited to London (not by Cawdor however) to give his opinion of the Elgin marbles, of which he later wrote to Cawdor: 'The objects of antiquity that Lord Elgin brought back from Greece ...I will not go into details about them since *I am talking to an expert connoisseur* and I know you will have appreciated seeing them as much as I have.'¹⁹⁸ Such comments may have been those of an artist being effusive with his praise, but some of his best work was done for Cawdor, including Hebe,¹⁹⁹ the Three Graces and the above mentioned Eros and Psyche.²⁰⁰

Campbell was also, together with his father-in-law the fifth Earl of Carlisle, a patron of the neo-classical painter, Henry Tresham, who accompanied Campbell to Italy at the latter's expense. Campbell frequently supplied materials to Tresham and other gifts for him and the artist often dined at the Campbell's house in London.²⁰¹ Additionally the Earl of Carlisle gave an annuity to the painter in his old age, when he was too frail to paint. Campbell, again as did other aristocrats, commissioned portraits of various family members by such renowned artists as Sir Joshua Reynolds,²⁰² Sir William Beechey²⁰³ and Sir Thomas Lawrence.²⁰⁴ Such portraits were symbolic of their status as leaders of society.

As an indication of the seriousness of his collecting activities Cawdor established a small museum²⁰⁵ at his Oxford Street residence in the late 1790s. However, the financial restraints which he found himself under meant that he had to sell the contents of the museum in June 1800. Cawdor moved from a house at the 'upper end' of Oxford Street, selling the contents by auction. He raised £5, 756. 1s. 6d., less expenses, from this sale.²⁰⁶ The museum was part of the same house. Amongst the items for sale at the latter were various Italian statues, the Lante marble vase,²⁰⁷ as well as other Etruscan vases, and Italian and Dutch pictures by such artists as Tintoretto, Durer and Cuyp. £3,302. 12s. 6d. was raised at this auction.²⁰⁸ The

removal of the Lante vase from Rome by Campbell raised concerns similar to the bigger concerns raised by the removal of what became known as the Elgin marbles in 1803. The vase was purchased in 1788, and Thomas Jenkins, Campbell's art dealer in Italy, spent two years negotiating with the Reverenda Camera Apostolica before being allowed a licence to export the vase to London.²⁰⁹ Even so, the removal of the vase 'caused great jealousy among the superintendents of the Vatican Museum then forming under the auspices of the reigning Pontiff, the late Pius VI who, ...in his resentment ...threatened several persons concerned in the removal of the vase with the gallies'.²¹⁰

At the end of September 1816 Baron Campbell and Caroline undertook a short European tour—essentially it was a tour of various artistic venues—travelling through Belgium, Switzerland and Italy. Interestingly, it is Caroline's version of the journey that furnishes the fullest account, with its descriptions and criticisms of works of art she and Cawdor saw. For instance, whilst at Antwerp they visited the cathedral which had been plundered by the French and had only one altar piece remaining—by Rubens. In the same city they went to see the collection of one Mr Sayers 'where we found several good paintings, the best Caravaggio I ever saw some boys by Morillo ...and in a room up stairs I think one of the finest pictures in the world, the death of Abel by Guido, the colouring of it is perfect and the drawing appeared to me to be as good, it consists of only two figures, but I never saw any picture, any where, which I so much coveted'.²¹¹

By the end of the nineteenth century, however, many of the art works owned by the Cawdors' had been sold. A list of 'special pictures at Stackpole' compiled for insurance purposes contains mainly the family portraits created at the beginning of the nineteenth century under the patronage of Baron Cawdor,²¹² but no European masterpieces are included in the list.²¹³ We can only speculate that paintings had been sold off on occasion to raise much-needed immediate cash.

At the beginning of the nineteenth century Baron Cawdor, along with Lord Dynevor, were members of the Society of Ancient Britons, which met regularly in London. By 1816 they were both vice-presidents of this Society.²¹⁴ And two years later Cawdor, together with Dynevor and Sir Watkin Williams Wynne, were patrons of the revival of the eisteddfod, which it was hoped would help 'preserve the remains of the ancient British Literature'.²¹⁵ Involvement in these activities had thus much to do with a renewed concern to preserve Welsh Literature which was spearheaded by

the likes of Iolo Morganwg and to a lesser extent Thomas Beynon. However, his patronising these activities does not imply that Cawdor was thereby lending his support to spoken Welsh. Beynon was most likely to have been a big influence upon Cawdor with regard to his patronage of these endeavours, since the agent, as mentioned, was a leading influence in the movement for the establishment of the Carmarthen Eisteddfod of 1819.²¹⁶

The Cawdors were also keen supporters of music and musical performance. At the end of 1841, we saw at the outset of this chapter, the first Earl Cawdor became the director of an elitist musical club which went by the name of the Ancient Concerts, originally founded in 1766.²¹⁷ The music played had to be at least twenty-five years old, and was 'directed by a board of gentlemen, most of them peers',²¹⁸ amongst whom were the Duke of Wellington, Prince Albert and the Queen. It was stated that Cawdor had a thorough knowledge of the works of the old masters, and possessed a most valuable music library. He directed the sixth concert of ancient music at South Audley Street in May of the 1842 season.²¹⁹ Five years later, in June 1847, he gave a grand dinner at South Audley Street as director of the Ancient Concerts. However, at a meeting in the following year Cawdor, the Duke of Wellington and Prince Albert decided to discontinue this exclusive musical club. Even so, musical performance continued to play an important part in the lives of the family. In 1848 the Earl and Countess Cawdor, the dowager Countess, and Lord Emlyn attended a concert at Buckingham Palace, as they did on several occasions. And musical performances were occasionally undertaken at Stackpole Court, as in June 1849, when the Court hosted a performance of mainly vocal music by Beethoven, Mozart, Rossini and Handel as well as by some lesser known composers such as Leonardi Vinci and Kent. The three singers at this concert were a Miss Birch, Charles Lockey (or Lockney) and Henry Phillips. All three were renowned vocalists, especially Birch, probably Charlotte Ann, who had an international career as a soprano and was a regular performer at the Paris opera.²²⁰ To have enticed them to the remote Stackpole Court in this pre-railway age would have enormously impressed the culturally-minded gentry in the area. Such concerts, as well as giving a rare entertainment to those in the audience not rich enough to be part of the London season, would also have created a social cohesion between the greater gentry and the lesser. It would also, of course, afford yet another opportunity for the local gentry to offer their services to the Cawdors or to promote a son's or relative's name to the master of Stackpole.²²¹

One of the consequences of living such a conspicuously rich lifestyle could be increasing debt, a state of affairs noticeably worsened by the spendthrift ways of the heir to a great estate. At the beginning of 1893, Archibald, Lord Emlyn, outlined his personal debts to his father. He borrowed to buy his London house, 22 Ennismore Gardens, and he re-mortgaged 'at various times' his other London house which had not sold. Money raised from the re-mortgaging had paid various bills, including £3,400 to buy his qualification on the GWR Board of Directors. He needed another £5,500 to pay off overdrafts and bills, and £6,000 to complete the exchange of houses with Lord Normanton. His three eldest sons were costing about £1,000 per annum each to educate at Eton. After losing £1,000 gambling on horses 'long ago' he, (announcing with an air of self-satisfaction), had stopped betting completely. He stated wistfully to his father: 'I ought never to have had a permanent London house—I always hoped to be able to sell it, but could not.'²²²

Such cultural activities as enjoyed by the Cawdors could only really have been appreciated by well-educated men and women. The latter had less chances of a good overall education, though as noted above from Caroline's comments regarding art, she was a perceptive woman brought up at Castle Howard, a household which was fed on the connoisseurship of art. However, as with much else regarding the Cawdor women, little is extant relating to their education. Of the men, for most of the nineteenth century they went to Eton, followed by Christ Church, Oxford. The first Baron, John Campbell had attended the Whig Clare College, Cambridge, as had his father and grandfather, together with a private tutor, one Doctor Robertson.²²³ Christ Church had undergone a renaissance in the late eighteenth century, and was deemed to be one of the best Oxford colleges which may have been the reason for the Campbells moving from Cambridge.²²⁴ Also, by the early nineteenth century, the Oxford colleges had a reputation of being 'a forcing ground for aristocratic social values', and Christ Church in particular was noted for its extravagant life style, which tended to keep away all but the most wealthy in society.²²⁵ Such exclusivity was a noted part of the Cawdors, leisure pursuits. The first Earl, John Frederick Campbell, attended Eton before matriculating to Oxford, in October 1808, at the age of eighteen, where he gained a second in Classics. In 1841 he was bestowed with the honorary degree of Doctor of Civil Law, a degree which had also been bestowed on John Campbell, Baron Cawdor, in 1810. John Frederick Campbell Vaughan, the second Earl, was also educated at Eton, matriculating to Christ Church, Oxford in 1835 where he gained a

BA in 1838 and an MA in 1840. Archibald, eldest son of the second Earl, followed the same path of education as his father. The curriculum at Christ Church was based on Roman history and Greek literature and provided students with the ‘values needed to strengthen character, knowledge and wisdom. Above all, it taught a system of ethics and politics based on Roman ideals of prudence, justice, temperance and fortitude. The function of this “liberal education” was to turn out skilled managers to rule the new British empire.’²²⁶ However, the other side of college life was also enjoyed. Archibald was member of the Christ Church Society or Loders’ Club, a notorious dining/drinking club in the mid 1860s.²²⁷

The education received by the Cawdors, combined of course with the requisite income and time, enabled them to fully pursue their leisure activities. Their lifestyle of conspicuous consumption underlined their superior standing and consequence, setting them apart not only from their tenants but from the rest of the gentry in the area. Their wealth and separateness were emphasised even more by their life in the capital, denied to all but a few of the families of south-west Wales, at least until the arrival of the railway. In south-west Wales that monument to exclusivity, Stackpole Court, also positioned the family firmly above the rest of the local gentry, many of whom lived in nothing but glorified farmhouses. Most of the Cawdor family’s private activities were elitist and exclusive. From shooting to the opera, from the hunt ball to yachting and horseracing, they set themselves apart from the rest of society, while nevertheless making a gesture to the principle of *inclusiveness* in their joining the lesser gentry at the fox hunt or the farmers’ club.²²⁸

¹ F. M. L. Thompson, *English Landed Society in the Nineteenth Century*, p, 107.

² G. E. Mingay, *English Landed Society in the eighteenth century* (London, 1963), p.205.

³ Cawdor Box 128: Letters of John Campbell (d.1777) to his son Pryse have many references to the building works going on at this time.

⁴ D. W. Howell, ‘Society, 1660-1793’, in B. Howells (ed.) *Pembrokeshire County History*, vol. III, *Early Modern Pembrokeshire, 1536-1815*, pp.260-61.

⁵ T. Lloyd, J. Orbach and R. Scourfield, *The Buildings of Wales: Pembrokeshire* (Yale University Press, 2006), p.461: Although the architect is unknown, T. Lloyd points out that the design has close similarities to Stourhead, which was designed by Colen Campbell, who was a relative of John Campbell.

⁶ D. Ceri-Jones, *The Rural Economy and Society in Wales between 1790-1815 with special reference to the manuscripts of Walter Davies*, Vol. ii. app. 1 'A Journal through parts of South Wales, 1802', NLW 1730B (University of Wales/Board of Celtic Studies Research Project 2000-2001).

⁷ T. Lloyd, *The Lost Houses of Wales: A Survey of Country Houses in Wales demolished since c.1900* (London, 1986), p.71.

⁸ Lloyd, Orbach and Scourfield, *The Buildings of Wales: Pembrokeshire*, p.462 Wyattville was one of the leading architects of the Gothic school. Some of his major works included restorations and extensions of Windsor Castle, Longleat, Wollaton Hall and Chatsworth. (Thompson, *English Landed Society*, p.91). His 'major, but extremely plain alterations' (Lloyd, *Buildings of Wales: Pembrokeshire*, p. 462) at Stackpole may have been due to his lack of skill at neo-classical architecture.

⁹ Cawdor boxes 236 and 236A.

¹⁰ This became a place of reflection for the aging Sarah Campbell, and she always referred to it as hers and it seems to have been infrequently used by family and servants alike: 'I got down to my conservatory today—had not been there for a fortnight and was just in time to save 10 Canaries from starvation—through neglect and stupidity.' (Cawdor box 245: Sarah Campbell's diary, 1878, entry for 26 Jan.).

¹¹ M. Girouard, *The Victorian Country House* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971), p.17.

¹² Cawdor box 245: Sarah Campbell's Diary 1878.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 30 Sept. 1878.

¹⁴ Girouard, *The Victorian Country House*, p.17, states that lifts were not in general installed for passengers until the beginning of the twentieth century so this was probably a lift to help servants move dinners from the kitchen to the dining room. Unfortunately no plans survive of the lift's whereabouts within the mansion.

¹⁵ Cawdor box 142: Mousley to Cawdor, 26 Aug. 1879.

¹⁶ Cawdor box 157: Mousley to Cawdor, 18 Aug. 1881: Mousley wrote that he feared for the safety of the library books and that 'there may be very great risk of serious injury to the books from the water which drips from the concrete, and the damp atmosphere of the autumn – the windows being obliged to be open so much'. He decided at this point to remove all the library books, but later decided to have the books boarded up. No damage seems to have occurred.

¹⁷ Cawdor box 186: Mousley's account for the restoration work at Stackpole came to £2,569. Much of the building work was carried out by J. Rogers of Tenby, who was used extensively by the second Earl. The painting and decorating was undertaken by John Rowe of Pembroke, and his bill came to £651. It is notable that Cawdor entrusted the work to local builders and decorators, and thereby he was helping the local economy.

¹⁸ Cawdor box 253: Receipt book for Stackpole Library 1890-1900. The receipts record the person borrowing the volume and the name and author of the book. It would make a good basis for a study of what was being read by the local gentry in that period.

¹⁹ Mingay, *English Landed Society*, p.210.

²⁰ J. V. Beckett, *The English Aristocracy, 1660-1914*, p.333.

²¹ CADW, *Carmarthenshire, Ceredigion and Pembrokeshire: Register of Landscapes, Parks and Gardens of Special Historic Interest in Wales*, Part 1, *Parks and Gardens* (Cardiff: CADW, 2002), p.311: Lloyd, Orbach and Scourfield, *The Buildings of Wales: Pembrokeshire*, makes no reference to the removal of Stackpole Village, and similarly there is no reference in John Campbell's letters, 1733-c.1777. (Cawdor box 128.)

²² Cawdor box 235: Anon but probably by Greville 'The plan to introduce System in The Plantations and Garden at Stackpole' 1791: the detailed notes indicate fencing and hedges to be planted.

²³ Lloyd, Orbach and Scourfield, *The Buildings of Wales: Pembrokeshire*, pp.77 and 463; Cawdor box 228: Cockshutt to Campbell, 15 Nov. 1795.

²⁴ A. Bermingham, *Landscape and Ideology* (University of California Press, 1986), p.13, states that 'The landscape garden's aesthetic effect depended on a completely non-functional, non-productive use of land.' It has been pointed out that this isn't entirely correct since very often deer were introduced into the park and provided venison, not only for the family but for gifts to friends, large tenants and agents, thereby oiling the potentially sticky wheels of deference. The same can be said for plantations in the park which encouraged pheasants and, through the occasional harvesting of timber in the park, estate income could be enhanced in times of money shortages.

²⁵ L. Campbell, *Title Deeds: A work of Friction* (London, 2006), p.53 states that her father destroyed Stackpole Court 'in a fit of caprice' when he failed to obtain a grant to strip the house of its Victorian alterations.

²⁶ CADW, *Carmarthenshire, Ceredigion and Pembrokeshire: Register of Landscapes, Parks and Gardens of Special Historic Interest in Wales*, p.iii. The park is one of only five sites in the whole of the three counties, the others being Plas Dinefwr (Carmarthenshire), Hafod (Ceredigion) and Fynnone and Haverfordwest Priors (Pembrokeshire).

²⁷ E. Whittle, *The Historic Gardens of Wales* (CADW, 1992), p.44, states that 'Despite the demolition of the house some of the magic remains, and the view of the lake and bridge from the terrace is still a very beautiful one.'

²⁸ Lloyd Orbach and Scourfield, *The Buildings of Wales: Pembrokeshire*, p.77.

²⁹ Beckett, *The Aristocracy in England, 1660 -1914*: p.336: 'The park was in fact, coming to reflect the wealth, influence and self confidence of the families involved, as well as being a place aristocrats could retreat from the world.'

³⁰ Lloyd, Orbach and Scourfield, *The Buildings of Wales: Pembrokeshire*, p.200; F. Jones, 'The Vaughans of Golden Grove.', (*TRCS*, 1963-1966).

³¹ Cawdor 2/148: An inventory of household furniture at Golden Grove, 10 May 1804.

³² Cawdor box 131: Beynon to Cawdor, 7 Jan. 1808.

³³ Lloyd, Orbach and Scourfield, *Carmarthenshire and Ceredigion*, p. 251.

³⁴ Cawdor 2/148: Inventory 1822. Interestingly, there is no Shakespeare amongst the volumes.

³⁵ The new Golden Grove is described as having a 'book room' rather than a library. (Cawdor 2/87: Plans of Golden Grove by Jeffrey Wyattville): P. Jenkins, *The Making of a ruling class: The Glamorgan Gentry, 1640-1790*, notes that even in the libraries of the eighteenth-century Welsh speaking Glamorgan gentry there was a 'remarkable absence of Welsh material'. p.231.

³⁶ F. M. L. Thompson, *English Landed Society*, states that ‘Steps in the peerage,...were a not uncommon spur to building in keeping with the dignity...expected of a higher rank.’ p.89.

³⁷ *CJ*, 17 Aug. 1827.

³⁸ Lloyd, Orbach and Scourfield, *Pembrokeshire*, p.199; *Listed Buildings Carmarthenshire*, refers to the house as ‘an exceptionally complete early C19 mansion, and a notable example of the work of Sir Jeffrey Wyattville.’

³⁹ *Listed Buildings Carmarthenshire*.

⁴⁰ Cawdor 2/85: plan 39; *Listed Buildings Carmarthenshire*.

⁴¹ Lloyd, Orbach and Scourfield, *Pembrokeshire* p.7.

⁴² Cawdor Maps 161: two photographs of the house: one taken in c.1850s, probably from a daguerreotype, which may have been taken by Lord Emlyn, shows the grounds around the house unadorned with trees, and the other shows ivy growing over the house façade. c.1870: Note illustration between pp.275-76, a highly romanticised watercolour of Golden Grove by Wyattville.

⁴³ Girouard, *The Victorian Country House*, p.10, ‘to a Victorian gentleman his house was (or ought to be) a temple not of taste but of domestic virtues, its privacy only accessible to his family and friends’.

⁴⁴ J. Franklin, ‘Troops of Servants: Labour and Planning in the Country House’, *Victorian Studies*, Vol. xix, No.2. (Dec. 1975), p.211.

⁴⁵ M. Baer, *Theatre and Disorder in late Georgian London* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1992), p.14.

⁴⁶ Girouard, *The Victorian Country House*, p.23: This quickly evolved in the early Victorian years, and became one of complete separation, of the sexes, of adults and children, of guests and of servants, the latter of whom ideally never intruded upon the family or guests. (Ibid., p.20). One of Burns’s other creations was Stoke Rochford, Lincolnshire, for the Turnor family, who later married into the Cawdor family. This was completed around 1840. (J. Franklin, *The Gentleman’s Country House and its Plan, 1835-1914* (London, 1981), pp.152-54.

⁴⁷ Some of the last items to be installed were the water closets, in 1832. (Cawdor 2/88, Plans of Golden Grove by Jeffrey Wyattville). For the fully developed ideas of separation, called by Girouard ‘apartheid’, see R. Kerr, *The Gentleman’s House* (London, 1864), pp.74-75, ‘however small the establishment,...the Servants’ Department shall be separated from the Main House, so that what passes on either side of the boundary shall be both invisible and inaudible on the other’.

⁴⁸ Kerr, *The Gentleman’s House*, p.77.

⁴⁹ Girouard, *The Victorian Country House*, p.22.

⁵⁰ Idem., p.22, continues that the organised Victorian house ‘introduced a new concern for the moral and social welfare of the country house community, especially servants and children.’ These aspects are clearly apparent at Golden Grove House.

⁵¹ Kerr, op. cit., p.99.

⁵² *Listed Buildings Carmarthenshire*.

⁵³ Cawdor box 128: John Campbell (1695-1777) to Pryse Campbell, letters 1733-45.

⁵⁴ Cawdor box 131: Beynon to Cawdor, 2 June 1804.

⁵⁵ *Bristol Mercury*, 28 July 1821.

⁵⁶ L. Davidoff, 'The Family in Britain', in F. M. L. Thompson (ed), *The Cambridge Social History of Britain*, vol., 2, *People and their Environment* (CUP, 1990), p.83; Whittle, p.69, *The Historic Gardens of Wales*, states that in the 1870s the pineapples of Cyfarthfa Castle were the most famous in Wales – one a day was cut there, with 100 being produced for each Christmas Day.

⁵⁷ Arboreta were a favourite creation of the Victorians, and they often planted exotic trees – in this respect Golden Grove is conventional: Cawdor box 244: Lord Emlyn's Diaries from 1854 refers to creating the new approach.

⁵⁸ T. Williamson, *Polite Landscapes* (Stroud, Sutton, 1998), p.102.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, p.107.

⁶⁰ Franklin, 'Troops of Servants: Labour and Planning in the Country House.'

⁶¹ Thompson, *English Landed Society*, p.187. Prof. Thompson also states that: 'Servants of course were by definition deferential, and provided a constant reminder that their master was a person of consequence.'

⁶² Cawdor box 131: Beynon to Cawdor, 25 Feb. 1804.

⁶³ *Ibid.*

⁶⁴ Cawdor 2/41/198: A list of labourers etc at Golden Grove including servants receiving board wages and other incidental outgoings per week to commence, Jan. 1822, by A. Sutherland.

⁶⁵ Cawdor box 137: Cawdor to Countess Cawdor, 15 and 21 Nov. 1860. Very often when expensive servants moved on replacements were started at a lower wage, see P. Horn, *The Rise and Fall of the Victorian Servant* (Stroud, Sutton, 1990, first published by Macmillan, 1975), p.138

⁶⁶ Cawdor 2/119: 4 waggoners/ploughmen at 16d per day; 9 labourers at 14d per day; 5 boys at 8d per day; 1 boy at 7d per day; 3 boys at 6d per day; and 6 women at 6d per day. At harvest time the men were employed to mow the hay by the acre at 2s 6d per acre and 6d in lieu of beer for every acre mown by them. The Corn was generally mown by the day when the men were allowed 18d and 6d in lieu of Beer. The Women's wages in Harvest time was 8d. By comparison, the home farm at Dynevor Castle was 1,000 acres in extent and in 1851 the farmer there was employing 26 labourers. (*Census, 1851*).

⁶⁷ Cawdor 2/41/198: A list of labourers etc at Golden Grove including servants receiving board wages and other incidental outgoings per week to commence Jan. 1822, by A. Sutherland.

⁶⁸ Cawdor box 150: 'Stackpole cottagers to have presents of Tea from Lady Cawdor', Sept. 1879

⁶⁹ Cawdor box 235: Stackpole Demesne in 1801. Over half the acreage was taken up with a warren (370 acres) and a deer park (160 acres).

⁷⁰ The farm and demesne expenditures appear to be combined for all but two of the eight years.

⁷¹ Cawdor 269: Note appended to the estate accounts, 1908, by Williams-Drummond, that from 1873 for thirty-five years the garden, demesne and home farm expenditure were taken directly from Lord Emlyn's private local bank account.

⁷² Cawdor box 245: Sarah Campbell, Countess Cawdor's diary, 1878: entry for 9 May.

⁷³ Thomas Lockyer's father, Joseph, was the head keeper at Dynevor Park in 1851.

⁷⁴ Cawdor box 155: volume marked 'Sundries' in Emlyn's hand. Thomas Lockyer was born in Dorset, though his wife and his three children were all from Carmarthenshire. Lockyer's daughter was a

schoolteacher at Llanfihangel Aberbythych in 1881. He died on 14 Feb. 1891. (*Census Returns, 1881* and CRO, CPR/20/9 Llanfihangel Aberbythych, Burial register, 1813-1904).

⁷⁵ Cawdor box 239: Servant's wages book, 1851-1856.

⁷⁶ 'Modern Domestic Service', *Edinburgh Review*, LII, (1862), p.415. (The evils of capitalism penetrate the inner sanctum of the aristocrat!).

⁷⁷ *Census Returns, 1871-91*.

⁷⁸ *Census Returns, 1851*.

⁷⁹ Beynon knew Truton 'to be a man of Science, and of very considerable professional skill'. (Cawdor box 131: Beynon to Cawdor, 10 Mar. 1805).

⁸⁰ Cawdor box 131: Beynon to Cawdor, 10 Mar. 1805: Turton recommended three or four bottles of port per day to aid Haines's recovery: Beynon purchased a dozen. Cawdor Box 131, Beynon to Cawdor 27 Mar. 1805.

⁸¹ Cawdor box 131: Beynon to Cawdor, 17 Jan. 1807.

⁸² For a fictionalised account of such abuse in Ireland, where non-resident landlords were most prevalent, see M. Edgeworth, *The Absentee* (1812, OUP World's Classics edition, 1988).

⁸³ *RCLWM, Report*, p.261.

⁸⁴ Cawdor box 241: Caroline, Lady Cawdor's domestic account book, c.1792-1812.

⁸⁵ J. Black, *Italy and the Grand Tour* (Yale, 2003), p.187. The fourth Earl had purchased works by Canaletto whilst on the Grand Tour in 1738.

⁸⁶ *Caledonian Mercury*, 8 Feb. 1810 and *Aberdeen Journal*, 17 April 1811.

⁸⁷ The evidence for their whereabouts was taken from letters addressed to Earl Cawdor from Mousley.

⁸⁸ This was not always certain – after the first Earls death in 1860, his heir John Frederick Vaughan contemplated, at least in the short term of, living at Golden Grove. He wrote to Lady Emlyn 'I have notion that we might be happier for a little while at Golden Grove and carry out improvements to Demesne and Estate and not reopen this House [Stackpole] for some time.' He offered both Stackpole and Golden Grove to his mother but she refused. (Cawdor box 137: Emmy to Mlle [on holiday in Nice], 9 Nov. 1860).

⁸⁹ Cawdor box 244: John Campbell's diaries 13 Mar. 1816: 'went to Orierton to see the Threshing Machine'. By 19 October, after seeing one other machine, Campbell wrote that he went to 'see the Threshing machine [on the Stackpole Home Farm] work for the first time'. In June 1817 Campbell wrote 'walked with Caroline to the Garden [at Stackpole] a fine crop of Grapes and Pines'.

⁹⁰ *CJ*, 14 May 1814. Four years earlier, as encouragement to improving farmers in Morayshire, Cawdor sent them 'An enormous [slaughtered] Hog' which had been bred at Stackpole. It weighed 1,017 Ib. according to the *Aberdeen Journal*, 14 Nov. 1810.

⁹¹ *CJ*, 8 Sept. 1820, reporting on the fourth annual auction. The pure breed would have been highly prized by improvers in the early nineteenth century, though by the mid-century it was realised that Leicester cross breeds were a much more robust animal. (C. S. Orwin and E. H. Whetham, *History of British Agriculture, 1846-1914* (London, 1964), p.17).

⁹² Apart from these activities, in the mid-1850s, Lord Emlyn (the future second earl), spent much time whilst at Golden Grove taking deguerrotypes. He recorded his efforts in his diaries. He was not very

successful developing the image though he succeeded on occasion: 14 Jun 1854: 'Dagging Morning – best negatives. Ldy E spoilt – 1st good ones I have ever done'. (Cawdor box 245, Lord Emlyn's diaries 1853-55).

⁹³ G. F. Underhill, 'Fox Hunting and Agriculture', *Nineteenth Century*, May 1898, p.745.

⁹⁴ R. Carr, *English Fox Hunting: A History* (London, 1976), p.50.

⁹⁵ R. J. Moore-Colyer, 'Gentlemen, Horses and the Turf in Nineteenth Century Wales', *WHR*, No. 1, June 1992, p.61, states: 'for all the much vaunted talk of unanimity of interests between farmers and foxhunters, hunting was the preserve of the economically privileged'; D. C. Itzkowitz, *Peculiar Privilege: a social history of English Foxhunting, 1753-1885* (Hassocks: Harvester Press, 1977), p.177.

⁹⁶ Cawdor 2/254: Rental of the Stackpole, Walton and Wiston estates furnished by Mr Cooper, Michaelmas 1822 to Michaelmas 1823. There are three entries in this rental where land is taken from tenants to establish coverts, in one instance 12 acres from a farm leaving 23 acres.

⁹⁷ Itzkowitz, *Peculiar Privilege*, pp. 103-04; Thompson, *English Landed Society*, p.144, states that 'the fox did more for the unity and strength of the landed interest than rent rolls'. *CJ*, 22 Nov. 1816 includes a notice signed by fifteen tenant farmers from Myddfai parish forbidding anyone to course, hunt, hawk or fowl upon their lands.

⁹⁸ A mid-century 'Letter from a middle-class man', to the *Carmarthen Journal*, 26 Jan. 1854, complained of the exclusivity of the Carmarthen Race Ball thus: 'The week for Carmarthen is again approaching [that is race week] ...I have no doubt that *the town*, and the people of the town, have contributed a fair proportion to the subscriptions and towards the expenses to be incurred. How long will the people of the town, the tradesmen and others, allow themselves to be shut out from one of the amusements of the week... I mean the *Race Balls*? How long are the race balls to be considered as a kind of reserved seats for the county families, and those whom they are kind enough to suffer to be present?' (Writer's emphases). This would also have been true of the balls that entertained the assize judges' twice-yearly visits to the county towns.

⁹⁹ E. V. Bovill, *The England of Nimrod and Surtees, 1815-1854* (OUP, 1959), p.61, 'With the introduction of subscription packs the relationship between master and his field underwent a fundamental change. You hunted a private pack by permission, if not by invitation, of the master.'

¹⁰⁰ The Carmarthenshire Hunt had its first meeting on 7 Nov. 1820 and both Lord Cawdor and J. F. Campbell, his son, subscribed 10 Guineas, matching the sums paid by their political foes, Lord Dynevor and his son, George Rice.

¹⁰¹ Lord Willoughby de Broke put the MFH second only to the Lord Lieutenancy in the county hierarchy, though his self-importance as MFH exaggerated the position's power somewhat. (R. G. Verney, 19th Baron Willoughby de Broke, *The Passing Years* (London, 1924), pp.57-58).

¹⁰² John Campbell (1695-1777), was totally opposed to fox-hunting, stating to his grandson, the future first Baron Cawdor, that he 'heartily wish Wales had been as well clear'd of Foxes, as of Wolves.' (Cawdor box 128, 30 April 1776.)

¹⁰³ *CJ*, 17 Oct. 1828, reported that the Emlyn Hounds had been out four times in the 1828 season and killed 'six old foxes'.

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- ¹⁰⁴ Alister Campbell's 32-year-old wife was killed whilst fox hunting. (*CJ*, 4 Feb. 1887).
- ¹⁰⁵ *CJ*, 24 Feb. 1882.
- ¹⁰⁶ Cawdor box 157: Lort-Phillips to Cawdor, n.d. but c.28 Sept. 1888.
- ¹⁰⁷ Cawdor box 153: South Pembrokeshire Hounds subscription list for 1886-87 gives Cawdor paying £50 subscription, along with Seymour Allen of Cresselly and Lort Phillips. These were the highest subscribers.
- ¹⁰⁸ D. W. Howell, 'Leisure and Recreation', in D. W. Howell (ed), *Pembrokeshire County History* Vol., IV, *Modern Pembrokeshire, 1815-1974*, p.420.
- ¹⁰⁹ Cawdor box 144: Williams-Drummond to Cawdor, 30 July 1898.
- ¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*, Cawdor to John Francis, 29 July 1898.
- ¹¹¹ Underhill refers to such 'flying visitors who never subscribe to any hunt. These men may be described as peripatetic fox-poachers.' (G. F. Underhill, 'Fox Hunting and Agriculture', p.749); *The Times*, 29 Nov. 1913: Letter from a non-hunting farmer: 'The rank and file of the modern field care nothing for the rules or custom of the sport. He is a stranger in the land; we acknowledge him to be a gentleman, but his ways are not in harmony with the non-hunting farmers.'
- ¹¹² Thompson, *English Landed Society*, p.144.
- ¹¹³ *RCLWM, Minutes of Evidence*, vol. iii, 24 April 1894, Qu 44,683, a note to the Commission by Mousley concerning game on the Cawdor estates p.468.
- ¹¹⁴ The Stackpole Court game books were examined by C. Matheson, 'Further game-book records from Welsh Estates', *NLWJ*, Vol. xi, No.3, (1960). These game books were never deposited with the Cawdor Archive at Carmarthen Record Office. Their current whereabouts is unknown.
- ¹¹⁵ *RCLWM, Minutes of Evidence*, vol. III, 24 April 1894, Qu 44,683, note to the Commission by Mousley concerning game on the Cawdor estates.
- ¹¹⁶ Cawdor box 265: Pembrokeshire estate accounts 1865-1904.
- ¹¹⁷ Cawdor box 244: Lord Emlyn's diary, entries for early Dec. 1851.
- ¹¹⁸ Cawdor unlisted, Game books for Golden Grove 1890-1909: A typical entry at the end of the 1897 season, reads: 'sold to game dealers 2,099; supplied to house 321 [what type of game is not specified]. Given to Tenants and in cases of sickness 229 Rabbits.'
- ¹¹⁹ The nearby Dynevor Park was the main hunting preserve in this area of the Tywi valley. At the end of July 1846, the 'annual Battue' took place there, though 'not with the usual eclat attendant on these occasions, the company were rather few, but select; the slaughter among the fawns was rather formidable, considering the few in number of guns.' (*CJ*, 31 July 1846); Mr Hurly the head keeper and organiser of battue shooting parties at that park was criticised by the *Carmarthen Journal*, because he did 'not keep up the old custom with the same spirit as his predecessor (Mr Lockyer) did', since he excluded local people from the invitations to shoot 'It would not be amiss were he also to get a few of his Llandilo friends to meet those he invites from a distance.' (*Ibid*); CRO, Dynevor box 274/1: Late nineteenth-century Dynevor Game Books name five to eight six shooters, including Lord Emlyn other members of the Campbell family, as well as Lord Dynevor and other Lordships and Earls. They often only shot for rabbits—for instance on 15 September 1897 eight shooters, including Emlyn and Dudley Williams-Drummond, killed 508 rabbits and only one wild duck.

¹²⁰ Cawdor box 144: Williams-Drummond to Cawdor, 8 Dec. 1898. Both at Stackpole and Golden Grove rabbits had, for decades, been a plague. At one point the Stackpole estate hired a man to kill rabbits, and he was bagging at one point about 700 per week. So for someone to suggest establishing a rabbit farm would have immediately suggested the man was ignorant.

¹²¹ D. W. Howell, *Land and People in nineteenth-century Wales*, pp.77-79.

¹²² Underhill, 'Fox Hunting and Agriculture', p.753.

¹²³ *RCLWM, Report*, p.517 The Commissioners continue, regarding sporting tenants: 'Often they appear to behave with insufficient consideration for the feelings of the tenant of the land, and we fear that in some cases they exercise their rights in a careless and arbitrary manner. The misunderstandings that arise may be due to ignorance of the Welsh language on the part of the sporting tenants and in other cases may be attributed to ignorance of the conditions of the country life and farming operations.'

¹²⁴ Cawdor box 142: Mousley to Cawdor, 18 Sept. 1875.

¹²⁵ *Ibid.*, Mousley to Cawdor, 6 Sept. 1873. In 1871 the tenant of Gelligati had written 'I shall feel most happy to see Mr Colby shooting over Gelligati as usual...but as it is now the game is left entirely to night poachers.' (Cawdor 2/130: Samuel Owens to Cawdor, 14 Mar. 1871).

¹²⁶ Cawdor box 132: Cooper to Cawdor, 25 Mar. 1819.

¹²⁷ Cawdor box 141: Mousley to Cawdor, n.d. c.1863. It is not known whether Cawdor re-considered his decision.

¹²⁸ Munsche, *Gentleman and Poachers: The English Game Laws, 1671-1831*, p.48.

¹²⁹ Cawdor box 158: Williams-Drummond to Emlyn and reply, 16 and 17 Sept. 1896.

¹³⁰ D. W. Howell, *Patriarchs and Parasites: The Gentry of south-west Wales in the Eighteenth century*, pp.187-88; P. Jenkins, *The making of a ruling class: The Glamorgan gentry, 1640-1790* (Cambridge: CUP, 1983), states that the Haverfordwest races had been established under the patronage of the Tory, Sir John Philipps, p.267.

¹³¹ *CJ*, 12 Aug. 1814.

¹³² Moore-Colyer, 'Gentlemen, Horses and the Turf in Nineteenth Century Wales', p.60.

¹³³ *CJ*, 17 Aug. 1811.

¹³⁴ M. Huggins, *Flat Racing and British Society* (London, 2000), p.41.

¹³⁵ In August 1840 the first Pendine races were held, beginning a long history of races on the beach there, with an attendance of over 1,500. (*CJ*, 28 Aug. 1840).

¹³⁶ *CJ*, 14 Mar. 1823. The Carmarthen races were held at the beginning of May, over two days. Lord Cawdor would have been in London at this time of the year.

¹³⁷ *Bristol Mercury*, 6 June 1835.

¹³⁸ *WM*, 1 Jan. 1870.

¹³⁹ By way of comparison, in 1883, the owner who won the most prize-money in Britain was one M. Lefevre, who received £20,586 in twenty-eight races. In the same year the Duke of Westminster won £8,305 and Lord Ellesmere £5,249, (*Liverpool Mercury*, 25 Dec. 1883).

¹⁴⁰ Cawdor box 156: Note concerning horses, 1887.

¹⁴¹ National Horseracing Museum: www.horseracinghistory.co.uk, accessed July 2008.

¹⁴² Cawdor box 187: Bills and receipts from Dawson, various jockeys and others relating to horse racing, 1879-1882

¹⁴³ W. Vamplew, 'Reduced Horse Power: The Jockey Club and the Regulation of British Horse racing', *Entertainment Law*, Vol. 2, No. 3, (Autumn, 2003), p. 95, states that the Club had around 100 members at the end of the nineteenth century.

¹⁴⁴ Cawdor box 187: C. J. Bedford to Cawdor, 9 Nov. 1885.

¹⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, C. J. Bedford to Cawdor, 27 Nov. 1885.

¹⁴⁶ Anon, 'The Turf', *Quarterly Review*, Vol. xlix (1833), comparing foxhunting with horse racing states the former 'does not usually bring any man into *bad company*: the modern turf is fast becoming a very manor of the *worst*.'; *WM*, 24 June 1870: rather typically pointing the finger of blame on the infiltration of 'trade' into the noble sport, commented that much had been written 'respecting the... decay of horse-racing [due to] the fact the facilities afforded by the turf for gambling having changed what was the pastime of gentlemen into a trade, and a disreputable one withal'. On 16 June 1873 the same newspaper stated 'the baneful results of the present system of horse racing are eating into the life blood of the nation'.

¹⁴⁷ *Graphic*, 5 Jan. 1884. In the same article in the *Graphic* the writer also refers to the decline in the quality of thoroughbred horses. However, in the late 1860s the United Counties' Hunters Association was established in south-west Wales to improve the quality of locally-bred horses. The second Earl became the president of this association in 1885, a position he held until his death.

¹⁴⁸ Cawdor box 156: C. J. Bedford to Cawdor, 1 Jan. 1884.

¹⁴⁹ Cawdor box 151: Ellesmere to Cawdor, 1-2 Aug. 1882

¹⁵⁰ They sailed from Milford Haven and stopped at Lisbon, Seville, Cadiz, Gibraltar, Tangier, and Malta, Cairo, Beirut, Luxor and Athens and then to London. At Gibraltar they attempted to join the local (fox) hunt but poor weather conditions prevented them from landing. (Cawdor Box 253, Account of a cruise on the *Ceres*). Other holidays than yachting ones were undertaken, again to re-establish a family member's health. In 1876 Sarah Campbell, in poor health, was taken on a four-month-long holiday in Cannes, where she and the second Earl rented the Villa d'estrad. Two years later she was promised a yachting holiday to the West Indies, again because of her frail health though she did not relish the long sea voyage. (Cawdor Box 245, Sarah Campbell's Diary, entry for 19 Oct. 1878).

¹⁵¹ Cannadine, *The Decline and Fall*, p.372, states yachting to Egypt was a favourite destination for those who could afford it.

¹⁵² Cawdor box 141: letters addressed to Cawdor at those places, from Mousley.

¹⁵³ Cannadine, *The Decline and Fall*, p.373

¹⁵⁴ Cawdor box 158: Thomas Mousley to Cawdor, 15 July 1893.

¹⁵⁵ Cawdor box 156: Cawdor to Emlyn, 10 Feb. 1892: Emlyn was given power of attorney to sell the vessel.

¹⁵⁶ P. Horn, *High Society: The English Social Elite, 1880-1914* (Stroud, 1992), p.6

¹⁵⁷ Cawdor box 156: Dixon Kemp to Cawdor, 14 July 1893

¹⁵⁸ DNB, Christopher Hatton Turnor, 1873-1940, agricultural and social reformer. He was the author of *Land Problems and National Welfare* (1911); *Our Food Supply* (1916); *The Land and Empire* (1917); *The Land and its Problems* (1921).

¹⁵⁹ Cawdor box 273: Meat account book 1858-93, indicates that throughout this period meat was served to 30-50 people (including servants) *everyday*.

¹⁶⁰ Cawdor box 244: John Campbell's diaries refer in several places to Vaughan, when at Golden Grove, being quite alone.

¹⁶¹ *Morning Chronicle*, 26 July 1827; *Daily News*, 6 Sept. 1847.

¹⁶² Cawdor box 244: John Campbell's diaries 1796-99; Cawdor 2/285.

¹⁶³ L. Davidoff, 'The family in Britain', in F. M. L. Thompson (ed.), *Cambridge Social History of Britain*, Vol. 2, p.84.

¹⁶⁴ For instance, from the late 1860s Countess Cawdor was a frequent visitor to nearby Brownslade, at that time leased to a branch of the Lambton family of Durham, one of whom married Victoria Campbell, daughter of the second Earl.

¹⁶⁵ The building was a Cawdor property, leased to Nathaniel Awbery at the beginning of the nineteenth century.

¹⁶⁶ Personal Communication: Tenby Museum curator.

¹⁶⁷ Cawdor box 245: Sarah Campbell's Diary, 1878. The entry for Jan. 24 reads: I lay awake last night thinking of him ['little William' who is very ill] and of all the troubles of my 2 daughters at this moment. Alice with all her 6 children ill and her eldest seriously so—and worrying herself on account of keeping Kitty out of her house—and of poor Muriel equally full of trouble of a very different nature—may God comfort them and strengthen them in all their sorrows.'

¹⁶⁸ Cawdor box 245: Diary of Sarah Campbell, entry for 9 May 1878. On 3 April she visited some Castlemartin farmers' wives, when she gave a Mrs Morris a photograph of herself [Sarah].

¹⁶⁹ Thompson, *English Landed Society*, p.77: 'the greatest birthday of all was the eldest son's twenty-first'.

¹⁷⁰ For the influence of the press in establishing a middle class, and of relevance to the present study, see J. Light ' "Of inestimable value to the Town and District": A Study of the Urban middle classes in South Wales with particular reference to Pontypool, Bridgend and Penarth, c.1850-1890 (Ph.D. Wales, Swansea, 2003): 'The newspaper was able to provide textual confirmation of activity in many areas of social life. This helped both to legitimise claims to positions of authority and power...and to keep up appearances socially.' (p.102).

¹⁷¹ *CJ*, 5 Oct. 1811.

¹⁷² In 1868, in addition to the coming-of-age extravaganza, which for sheer spectacle was probably never surpassed in Carmarthenshire, there was also Lord Emlyn's marriage, which was also celebrated in great pomp, throughout the two counties.

¹⁷³ Cawdor box 158: Mousley to Cawdor, 14 May 1891.

¹⁷⁴ *Ibid*.

¹⁷⁵ *Welshman*, 10 Mar. 1882, ‘That the fear of high station has diminished it is true, but that fear was not born of deference, but of fear, of an accurate perception of the power formerly appertaining to privilege.’

¹⁷⁶ *WM*, 17 Sept. 1891.

¹⁷⁷ *CJ*, 18 Nov. 1843.

¹⁷⁸ For a good survey of the Victorians’ attitude to death see, J. S. Curl, *The Victorian Celebration of Death* (Stroud, Sutton, 2004).

¹⁷⁹ Cawdor box 137: Emlyn to Sarah Mary, Lady Cawdor, 7 and 13 Nov. 1860. Baron Cawdor died in Great Pulteney Street, Bath, and was buried in Bath Abbey; the first and second Earls both died at Stackpole Court, and the third Earl died in a nursing home in Kingston.

¹⁸⁰ F. H. W. Sheppard (ed.), *Survey of London*, vol.xl. *The Grosvenor Estate in Mayfair*, pt. ii, *The buildings*, (London, 1980), pp.309-11.

¹⁸¹ *Ibid.*

¹⁸² Cawdor box 245: Sarah Campbell’s diary Dec. 28 1878: Lord Downes had offered Emlyn £20,000 for the London house and Sarah states: ‘E is determined to close with the offer. I am very sorry to part with so charming a Home. There is scarcely a House in London with such a look out at the back—over Gardens into Hyde Park—& 4 large rooms on 1st floor Capital staircase & 2 Halls—Excellent Office too & all this is parted with & all the trouble of moving undertaken in the hope of saving a few hundreds—& poor Muriel will be turned out...It is very hard on her—I am much vexed about it—to me individually it matters very little as I cannot live in London.’ This sale did not take place.

¹⁸³ Cawdor 2/42/465: Inventory of fixtures and fittings of 74 South Audley Street purchased from Mr Feetham Esq. by Lord Cawdor, 10 Jan. 1842; Cawdor box 151: bundle of correspondence 1879-1882 re-the selling of the house which was bought by Sir William Cuthbert Quilter, MP., and later director of the National Telephone Company. (Sheppard, *Survey of London*, p.311).

¹⁸⁴ Details of Cawdor’s various residences in London are taken from the addresses given in his private bank account books. (Cawdor box 239). The dowager Countesses had their own London residences. In 1828, Caroline dowager Countess leased for twelve years 16 Berkley Square and then, 33 Lower Grosvenor Street for five years, after which she lived in a house in Twickenham, where she died in 1848. And the second dowager Countess rented 3 Tilney Street, around the corner from the family’s London home, which was sold in 1890.

¹⁸⁵ Cawdor box 244: Diaries of John Campbell 1792-1821.

¹⁸⁶ B. Wilson, *Decency and Disorder: the age of cant, 1789-1837* (London, 2007), p.176.

¹⁸⁷ They saw *Don Giovanni* three times, and *Figaro* within a few weeks of each other. On those occasions they used either Thomas Coutt’s or the Queen’s box.

¹⁸⁸ Cawdor box 241: Caroline, Lady Cawdor’s private account book, c.1792-1812. Whether this payment was for box payments or a subscription of the opera company it is not stated, except that the payments are to Lady Carlisle (Caroline’s mother) or to Lady Sutherland.

¹⁸⁹ M. Baer, *Theatre and Disorder in late Georgian London* (Clarendon: Oxford, 1992), pp.49 and 51, states that: ‘The period 1790-1810 was a transitional era for the theatre’ in that there was a ‘shift from didactic function of the theatre towards entertainment.’ At the end of this period Cawdor’s father-in-

law, Frederick Howard, fifth Earl of Carlisle, published *Thoughts on the present condition of the Stage* (1809).

¹⁹⁰ Cawdor box 244: Diary of John Campbell 1817-18. He refers to seeing a 'Rob Roy a bad farce' and a dance 'Puss in Boots – very bad damn'. However he also saw 'Miss O'Neil who acted very finely' in *Romeo and Juliet*. Wilson, *Decency and Disorder: The age of cant, 1789-1837*, pp. 196-213, describes in detail the rowdiness of the late Georgian theatre and, as visitors to the more plebeian theatres, the Cawdors must have been witnesses to such rowdiness. On their 1816 tour of Europe the Cawdors attended theatres occasionally if they could get a seat. Thus in Darnstadt they saw, in German, Kaiser Hadrian by Weigt. (Cawdor box 244: Caroline's Journal of a Journey through Europe, 1816).

¹⁹¹ The actual number killed was 20. They were crushed when attempting to see King George III who was visiting the theatre. In 1805 a riot occurred at the Haymarket when the tailors of London protested against the showing of a play called 'The Tailors' (<http://www.theatrehistory.com>). Baron and Lady Cawdor would have, as patrons of this theatre, been aware of such calamities.

¹⁹² Jenkins, *The making of a ruling class*, states that the Grand Tour in the eighteenth century cost around £700-800 per year, p.228.

¹⁹³ *Ibid.*, comments upon the anti-Grand Tour views of some of the Glamorgan gentry who believed foreign (bad) habits could be picked up whilst on the continent, p.228

¹⁹⁴ A. Wilton and I. Bignamini (eds.), *Grand Tour: The lure of Italy in the Eighteenth Century* (Tate Gallery Publishing, 1996), p.18. Bellini's portrait now hangs in the National Portrait Gallery, London.

¹⁹⁵ Antonio Canova, (1757-1822) 'was the dominating personality towering over the sculpture of European Neoclassicism.' U. Geese, 'Neoclassical Sculpture', in R. Toman, *Neoclassicism and Romanticism: Architecture, Sculpture, Painting and Drawing* (Ullmann and Konemann, 2007), p. 264.

¹⁹⁶ Personal Communication: Dr Vicky Coltman, Senior lecturer in Art History, University of Edinburgh; Cawdor box 129: Canova wrote to a certain Menga that, 'My heart is still full of the good time the colonel gave me, bless him, and I shall never forget, come what may. If it is true that friendship and gratitude can raise a man's spirits, when I take my chisel in hand to work for the colonel [John Campbell] I shall work better than I ever work for anyone else.' (12 June 1787). Translation from the Venetian Italian by Mr Robert Rayner who holds the copyright. Mr Rayner has also pointed out that early on in the correspondence, which covered the years 1787-1821, Canova used the familiar form when writing to Campbell, which was almost unheard of between patron and artist.

¹⁹⁷ J. Steegman, *A survey of Portraits in Welsh Houses*, vol. ii, *Houses in South Wales* (Cardiff, National Museum of Wales, 1962), p.205. The drawing is now hanging in Cawdor Castle, Nairn, Scotland.

¹⁹⁸ Cawdor box 129: Canova to Cawdor, 7 Sept. 1815; my emphasis.

¹⁹⁹ There is an account of the delivery of Hebe to Stackpole Court in Campbell's diary. The statue spent several days on Milford Haven, bobbing about on a small boat in a sea too rough for it to be landed. Once at Stackpole, Campbell reported that Hebe had been successfully placed on its locally made plinth whilst only breaking the tip of a finger! (Cawdor box 244: John Campbell's diary, 1797).

²⁰⁰ Two versions of *Cupid and Psyche* were created: one is now in The Louvre and the other is in the Hermitage Museum.

²⁰¹ Cawdor box 244/8: John Campbell's diaries 1794-96.

²⁰² Reynolds painted John Campbell, Baron Cawdor in 1778. Reynolds was an artist who attempted to bring out the character and social position of the subject. (H. Gombrich, *The Story of Art*, 12th ed. Phaidon, 1972, p.369). In Campbell's case, he had just become master of both the Stackpole estate and the Nairn estate. He stands a supremely confident young man, dressed in fine gentleman's clothes, in a tree-filled landscape, looking directly at the viewer, his right arm out-stretched, his hand pointing into the distance, indicating 'I am the proprietor of all you can see'. His dog looks up into his master's face, in obedience, as do lesser mortals looking on the painting.

²⁰³ William Beechey painted Caroline, Lady Cawdor, in c.1795 and in 1798, and Sir George Campbell, in 1818.

²⁰⁴ Cawdor box 244/9: Cawdor writes in his diary, entry 1 April 1816: 'went with Lord Carlisle ...to see Lawrence's who did not admit us, then to Jackson's where we saw a good picture of Lord Normanby'. Despite Lawrence's reluctance to see Cawdor, he was commissioned to paint the first Earl in 1827, and his wife Lady Elizabeth Thynne, which remained unfinished.

²⁰⁵ Thompson, *English Landed Society*, p.107, for the collecting habits of the aristocracy.

²⁰⁶ Cawdor box 259: Catalogue of superb and elegant household furniture... of the Rt. Hon. Lord Cawdor, 9 and 10 June 1800. The house had sixteen family rooms (including dressing rooms) and thirty-four rooms in total. The family rooms were filled with mahogany furniture, French 'capital chimney glass', brilliant cut chandeliers in every principal room and Wilton Carpets. In the state bed chamber was a 'magnificent French state bed, six feet four inches wide'. It was sold for £80.

²⁰⁷ The Lante vase was purchased for 'several hundred guineas' by the Duke of Bedford and placed in his new greenhouse at Woburn Abbey. (*Caledonian Mercury*, 20 Oct. 1800). It is six feet tall and six feet in circumference and is still at the Abbey.

²⁰⁸ Cawdor box 259: Catalogue of a most noble, capital and valuable collection of Antique Marble statues, etc, 1800.

²⁰⁹ Black, *Italy and the Grand Tour*, p.196. Thomas Jenkins (1722-1798) was born in Rome and became one of the leading art dealers in the city acting on behalf of many British aristocrats on the Tour. He made his fortune as a banker but lost most of his wealth when the French occupied Rome in 1798. He left Rome for London but died in the same year. (Wilton and Bignaminin, *Grand Tour*, p.209).

²¹⁰ *Caledonian Mercury*, 20 Oct. 1810, However all Thomas Jenkins has to say on the removal of the vase was that he 'had been so fortunate as to succeed in Getting the Pope's permission for sending your vase out of Rome'. (Cawdor Box 129, Jenkins to Campbell, 7 Oct. 1789).

²¹¹ Cawdor box 244: Lady Caroline's account of a journey through Europe, September-October 1816

²¹² Cawdor box 148: Special Pictures at Stackpole and Proposed Sums for Insurance, 1908. Only Wild Boar Hunt, by Snyders, and Fowls, by Cuyp, were not portraits of either the family or close friends. The total sum was £5,000.

²¹³ Any masterpieces remaining may, of course, have been displayed at either Cawdor Castle or, Golden Grove, but this would have been rather odd since the main residence was Stackpole. The paintings may also, of course been hung at their London residence. In Cawdor box 234 there is a note

of a list of paintings loaned to the British Museum for an exhibition in 1879. Unfortunately, the actual list is no longer extant!

²¹⁴ *Morning Chronicle*, 7 Mar. 1806 and 22 Feb. 1817.

²¹⁵ *CJ*, 2 Oct. 1818.

²¹⁶ P. Lord, *Hugh Hughes: Arlunydd Gwlad 1790-1863* (Llandysul: Gomer, 1995), tud. 97.

²¹⁷ F. M. Palmer, *Domenico Dragonetti in England (1794-1846): The Career of a Double Bass Virtuoso* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997), p.123. The author states that 'The Ancient Classics became identified with a social class, the nobility, far more explicitly than did any other musical organisation in the eighteenth century except the opera.'

²¹⁸ *Ibid.*

²¹⁹ *CJ*, 13 May 1842.

²²⁰ *Musical Times*: Charlotte Ann Birch 1815-1901; Charles Lockey 1820-1902; Henry Phillips, 1801-1876; Birch and Lockey were the two leading singers in the first performance of Mendelssohn's *Elijah* in 1847. A programme of music from 23 Dec. 1880, at Stackpole Court, had selections from *Christ and his Soldiers*, a sacred oratorio by a John Farmer, (1835-1901).

²²¹ Cawdor box 245: John Campbell's diary 1794: 'Memorandums: Mr Allen ...very desirous That Thomas Allen ... should be made Lieutenant: Mr J. Williams recommended for a living in Wales by Mr Emily: Lady Milford desires a Living for a friend of hers'.

²²² Cawdor box 156: Emlyn to Cawdor, 5 Jan. 1893. He also states that he was receiving about £1,000 per annum from two directorships, the GWR and Crompton's and Company. The latter, which from the late 1870s, became a major force in the electrical industry. Crompton and Co not only produced virtually every electrical device of the time including instruments, domestic appliances and lamps but, was the first major British manufacturer of generators, and his power station at Kensington Court, which began supply in 1887, provided the first practical house to house electrical supply scheme. (www.theiet.org/about/libarc/archives/biographies/crompton.cfn). Although shares were a comfortable way to increase income, they sometimes fell foul of the capricious nature of the market. The second Earl gave security to a speculative venture, the Burma Ruby Mine, which failed, leaving the third earl with a debt of £2,542 6s. 2d. and £700 arrears, in 1906. (Cawdor box 147: Farrer & Co to Cawdor, 15 and 19 Feb. 1906).

²²³ Cawdor box 128: letters from John Campbell (d.1777) to John Campbell (grandson), 1776-77.

²²⁴ L. Stone, Review of *Education at Christ Church, Oxford, 1660-1800*, by E. G. W. Bill, *Christ Church Papers*, No.2 (OUP: Clarendon Press, 1988), p.592.

²²⁵ L. Stone, *The University in Society*, vol.1 (Princeton University Press and Oxford University Press, 1975), pp.62-63.

²²⁶ Stone, Review *Education at Christ Church*, p.592.

²²⁷ Cawdor unlisted photograph album. I would like to thank Christ Church archivist, Judith Curthoys, for providing me with information on Lodgers Club membership. In the photograph, only Archibald, the future fifth earl Rosebury, and Josceline Amherst the fifth son of the second earl Amherst are aristocrats. Most of the others are from the upper gentry class gentry, such as Arthur Vickris Pryor, who became a partner in Truman and Hanbury Brewers.

²²⁸ Carmarthen Football Club asked Emlyn to be its President in 1896. Williams-Drummond made enquires about the Club and wrote to Emlyn, 'I learn that the Club is a second class affair and not supported by the better class Carmarthen people and it appears to me to be rather [a] cheek of them asking you to act as President!' On this advice Emlyn declined the offer. (Cawdor Box 158: Williams-Drummond to Emlyn and reply, 9 and 17 Sept. 1896).



South Elevation of Golden Grove, as drawn by its architect

Golden Grove , south elevation, as drawn by its architect Wyattville, c.1828

8. Conclusion

Nineteenth-century society was imbued with paternalism,¹ which, as the century advanced was increasingly at odds with the forces of *laissez-faire* economics and representative local government bodies. The other side of this all-pervasive paternalism was a degree of deference, a state of mind which it is difficult to imagine in the early twenty-first century. It is from this perspective of paternalism and the associated deference that judgements regarding the Cawdor estate should be taken. From their paternalistically-fuelled largesse the proud Cawdors expected all those lower down the class chain to offer them large quantities of obsequious respect. And for the most part, those looking upwards to Stackpole Court and Golden Grove accepted that this was the natural order of life.

Since the basis of the Cawdors' paternalistic world lay in their ownership of extensive property we will begin by commenting upon the estate's position in its community. Firstly, it is apparent that the Cawdor estates in south-west Wales were to a huge degree under the de facto control of the agent, especially from the mid-century onwards. Thomas Beynon was never a full-time agent for the estate, since his first calling was as a very active clergyman. However, both R. B. Williams and T. T. Mousley were full-time agents and both devoted themselves entirely to the estate and its family. In return they were given a large degree of autonomy by the semi-absent family in all affairs relating to the estate. Williams's agency was remarkably free of controversy, though he was culpable regarding the charges of coercion at the 1837 election. Thomas Turnor Mousley,² in his thirty-year-long agency, had a large measure of freedom in the management of the estate, and it is testimony to both his loyalty and to the trustworthiness invested in him by the Cawdors that there were few major controversies involving the estates during his tenure. He arrived in south-west Wales, as a thirty-seven-year-old, with a wealth of experience in estate management and he very quickly established himself as an authoritative figure. He was enormously influential in the affairs of the estate and in the wider community. On estate matters he was given an extraordinarily free hand, from raising or lowering rents to recruiting new tenants, without having to consult the owner, though he was always careful to ensure his decision was conveyed his master thereby leaving the latter with the impression that it was his decision. In the wider community, Mousley was instrumental in establishing a Chamber of Agriculture in Carmarthen and addressed

local farmers' clubs on a variety of issues. Later in the century he attempted to establish a servants' registry, even though Lord Emlyn was dubious regarding its efficacy. As a committed, conservative member of the Anglican Church Mousley was violently opposed to the idea of School boards, a position that may have conflicted with Lord Emlyn's more liberal approach. In this stance, Mousley nevertheless had the full support of the second Earl. As an active supporter of the church, Mousley's anti-nonconformist views only occasionally surface, as in his attitude to the 'horrid baptists' of Newcastle Emlyn. Finally, Mousley had a strong measure of independence regarding estate politics which led the estate into its major conflict with radicals. It was he who evicted tenants for political reasons after the 1868 election. However, as with Williams's earlier coercion episode, Mousley's explanations for the evictions were accepted without argument by Cawdor, or none that is extant. By contrast, Cawdor's anger over a beaten-up poacher nearly shook loose the foundations of the relationship between agent and master.

While taking due cognisance of the cases of political coercion and eviction, and raising, too, the distinct *possibility* that there was more ill-treatment of tenants by gamekeepers than the evidence reveals, the Cawdor estate was, on the whole, not harsh to its tenants. In fact there is plenty of evidence to suggest the opposite: the all-pervading paternalism ensured that both landowners and agents displayed care towards their tenants, even if it meant a good deal of forelock pulling on the part of the latter. From a pragmatic standpoint, a good relationship with their tenants was more likely to produce positive results on rent audit days. And after all, the Cawdors, along with all other landlords, were dependent upon their tenants' ability to pay rent in order to finance their lifestyle. Thus the estate was lenient regarding rent arrears which the agents frequently ignored for a year or more before beginning to badger the tenants.

The estate was realistic when it came to selecting tenants. Ideally they would have preferred a tenantry of Established Church members, but appreciated that, particularly in the *late* nineteenth century and especially so in Carmarthenshire, such could never be the case, though Mousley was not averse to 'converting' any tenants he thought likely candidates. Even taking into account the agent's loyalty to the estate, it is likely therefore that Mousley was stating the truth to the 1890s Land Commission in his claiming that religion (and its companion, politics) were not taken into consideration when recruiting tenants.

With regard to the agricultural depression of the late nineteenth century, the Cawdors did not respond quickly enough to the fact that their tenants were struggling. This may have had something to do with Mousley who did not accept that the worsening conditions of the late 1870s were beginning to affect the tenants. His position may be seen as one of misjudgement rather than maliciousness, though his desire for a full rent-roll probably had something to do with his reluctance to suggest to Cawdor that abatements were in order. When, in 1885, Cawdor proposed abatements, they were generous—the amount surprising the likes of Lord Dynevor—the second Earl Cawdor stating paternalistically that the landowners ‘must do what is right’³ with regard to their tenants. Albeit, the twenty-percent initially granted in late 1885 was quickly reduced, Cawdor in doing this deferring to Mousley.

The accusations levelled against Welsh landlords in the Land Question had little justification in so far as the Cawdor estate was concerned. Rents were not racked up, highest bidders for property were not tolerated, and tenants had what amounted to security of tenure, and though eviction was an option, it was rarely used against tenants. However, in reality the paternalism of the estate meant holdings were kept within a family wherever possible: even when a failing or slovenly tenant was evicted the agent attempted to keep the farm within the same family. Only in instances of timber theft were the offending tenants dealt with harshly, particularly by the agent Thomas Beynon. The Agricultural Holdings Act of 1883 was not invoked by tenants of the estate since the custom of the estate was to give compensation for unexhausted improvements. However, such compensation was relatively rare since the Cawdors undertook most rebuilding and repair work themselves. Covenants in Cawdor farm agreements were never strictly adhered to, and were there to protect the estate from shoddy farming rather than constituting restrictions on tenants’ initiative as was averred by Adfyfyr. The oral agreements brought in by Mousley implied a great degree of trust by the estate towards the tenant farmer. The statement of the radical Chairman of Carmarthenshire County Council—himself considered for appointment as a Land Commissioner—that the one estate which did not need a land court was the Cawdor estate has to be accepted as a seal of approval with regard to the treatment of tenants by the Cawdors and their agents. Perhaps because he was a Carmarthenshire witness, however, he missed the genuine grievance felt by large Stackpole tenants in the early 1890s, amounting indeed on the part of some to a desire for a land court.

If fundamentally the estate respected its tenants, in one or two areas it was not so bounteous. Most notably, evidence regarding the physical condition of the tenants' accommodation suggests that the estate was never really on top of building and repair work. Many of its tenants lived in sub-standard accommodation, a situation that continued for most of the century. The Campbells' remote Ystradffin estate, with very poor land and tumble-down farm buildings, was neglected as a farming property: it only served the masters of Stackpole Court for its income from lead mining. Yet at the same time, the prime farming area surrounding Stackpole Court, where some of the best farms in south-west Wales lay, was improved and rebuilt. This is an indication that the Campbells were reluctant to spend money unless they had a clear return for their input. During the nineteenth century, it is clear that the Cawdor estates in both counties struggled to keep abreast of the repairs and re-building works needed. Mousley was instructed by his master—a glimpse of where the real power ultimately lay—never to breach a limit of £8,000 per annum for building work on both estates, a sum he never exceeded.

Again, the estate never fully addressed the condition of agricultural labourers' accommodation. It was not until the 1860s that the Cawdors responded, a response that was partly a reaction to the drift of the labourers from the land in search of better prospects. Lord Cawdor's book of labourers' accommodation was published several years after other major landowners' efforts in that respect, and over twenty years since the Royal Agricultural Society of England had been publishing articles upon the subject. In fact there is little evidence that there was any sort of programme to build cottages prior to Mousley's agency, and the conscientious agent always looked to the cost factor regarding the number of cottages to be built each year. He refers to *one* model cottage being built in 1870. Nor did the family show sympathy towards the emerging trend from the 1870s for farm labourers' wages to rise in response to a dwindling labour market and to trade union pressure.

The first Baron Cawdor, along with his agent, John Cooper, was among the foremost agricultural improvers in south-west Wales, and on becoming master of Golden Grove he became an active promoter of extractive industries and of the infrastructure of the region. The development of the Golden Grove mineral estate and support for the industrial development of south-east Carmarthenshire by John Campbell, the first Baron Cawdor, and his son, the first Earl, was impressive. Though these activities were stimulated by the need for money, they had the effect of developing and

expanding the local economy. Baron Cawdor, as did many other landowners throughout England and Wales, actively pursued the extraction of minerals on his estate and encouraged the industrial development of the south-east corner of Carmarthenshire. He also sank large amounts of money into attempts to develop the Pen-bre area. As with extractive and other industries, so with the infrastructure of the county the efforts of the first Baron are praiseworthy. He attempted to improve communications, both locally and with the main coach road from London to Ireland. Both Baron Cawdor and the first Earl battled with central government over the plan to abandon the south Wales route to Ireland, which would have been a disaster not only as far as the Cawdor estate was concerned but for both the agricultural and industrial development of south-west Wales. Cawdor's involvement with the Three Commotts Trust improved the road system, as did his post-Rebecca plan of a County Roads Board.

With the coming of the railways the Cawdors are again to be seen in a positive light. They actively encouraged the arrival of railways, and became subscribers to schemes and shareholders of companies, like the South Wales Railway, connecting south-west Wales with England, thereby encouraging trade with Wales' bigger neighbour. And at the end of the nineteenth century Archibald's work as a young GWR chairman seems to have turned that company from stagnant giant into a once again dynamic business. The Cawdors' involvement with the infrastructure and industrial development of Carmarthenshire in particular has been largely underplayed by historians: they are referred to only in passing in a recent history of the industry of the Llanelli area, yet they were a major influence in these areas. So, too, did they continue as active agricultural improvers from mid-century, not least in their encouragement of livestock breeding. Indeed, their role as livestock breeders would carry over into the twentieth century: witness, for instance, Earl Cawdor as a prominent exhibitor of shorthorn cattle at the Royal Welsh show in the 1930s.⁴ The Cawdors' involvement—as of other aristocrats—with promoting good farming techniques certainly exposes the claim of Lloyd George in December 1913 (at a meeting at Pwllheli) that landlords 'were no more essential to the business of farming than a gold chain is to a watch',⁵ was to say the least, an exaggeration.

The Cawdors were not notably sympathetic towards the Welsh language. Although the first Baron became a chairman of the Society of Ancient Britons this was based in London and as such was a society for aristocrats, and by nature antiquarian. He was

also a patron of the Eisteddfod movement of the second decade of the nineteenth century, probably under the gaze of his pro-Welsh-language agent, Thomas Beynon. Baron Cawdor's sympathy towards the Welsh-language is in stark contrast with that of the second Earl Cawdor, who displays anti-Welsh sentiments in his lack of support for both Lampeter and Llandovery Colleges. And the non-Welsh-speaking agent, Mousley, opened the estate up to the radicals' criticism that a non-Welsh agent could not communicate effectively with the tenants. However, the Carmarthenshire estate employed under-agents who were local men and most likely to have been Welsh speakers.

The Cawdors' involvement in local government, whether as magistrates at Quarter and petty sessions, Poor Law Guardians, members of the Local Board of Health, and of the Llandebie, Llanfihangel Aberbythych, Llanddarog and Llanarthney United District School Board, was undertaken as part of their Christian paternalistic duties towards those less fortunate than themselves. This was an important aspect of their duties as paternalists to rule, guide and help the lower orders.⁶ However, on occasion they used the Quarter Sessions as a way of establishing legal sanction to, and financial aid for, a project, such as the Llandeilo bridge. Arguments concerning this bridge and the unfinished Llangathen bridge led to the resignation of the permanent chairman of the Sessions, and shows the Cawdors in a more arrogant light: as a family they wanted and got their own way. Yes, in a paternalistic society they were a force for the good, but they were eager for the large rewards expected from their largesse. Baron Campbell's desire for an enhancement to his peerage, especially after his brave actions to repel the French in 1797, and his failure to obtain further reward must have galled him, as would his failure to gain the Lord Lieutenancy in both 1804 in Carmarthenshire and in Pembrokeshire in 1823. However, there was a more prosaic reason for their multifarious involvement in local government: the attempt to keep the local rates down by conducting such organisations as economically as possible. Lower rates kept tenant farmers satisfied.

In parliament, the Cawdors are perhaps at their most disappointing with regard to their duties as the largest and therefore most powerful landowner in south-west Wales. They enjoyed the privileges of being MPs and members of the upper house, but until Archibald became MP in 1874 their contribution to public debate was not large. The first Earl attracted animosity by his stance against a wholly Welsh upper court. The debate around and the abolition of the Great Sessions only tended to

stimulate 'nationalistic' sentiment (though from an early twenty-first century perspective the court cannot help but look cumbersome). The same Earl's South Wales Highways Act was, however, a positive move in establishing peace in the countryside after the Rebecca Riots. The first Earl, was only competent as an MP, though locally he continued to advance the estate and family in order to establish the Cawdors as politically the most powerful family in both Pembrokeshire and Carmarthenshire. Before the end of his life this had been achieved, with himself as Lord Lieutenant of Carmarthenshire and his son MP for Pembrokeshire.

As John Frederick Vaughan Campbell, Lord Emlyn in the Commons, later to become the second Earl in the Lords, rarely spoke in either house, it was only after his son, Archibald, Lord Emlyn, became MP in 1874 that the Cawdors truly found their voice in Parliament. In the Commons he played a leading role in the Welsh education debate. A leading radical, we saw earlier, described him as a 'good liberal'⁷ with regard to his work in support of Welsh education, and his involvement with the Aberdare Committee was widely praised. Archibald excelled where his father failed – in the public arena whether in parliament or at the Carmarthenshire Farmers' Club, or at the Primrose League. With regard to politics, he emerges as the most competent Cawdor. However, he was politically unlucky in that he was kept out of parliament for twenty years by the Liberal tidal-wave in Carmarthenshire. Thus isolated from the central political arena he was left on the political sidelines, until his unexpected appointment as first Lord of the Admiralty near the end of our period of study. It is noticeable, however, that Archibald withdrew from local government concerns as the more democratically-led county council established itself. His failure to become the chairman of the Carmarthenshire County Council may be seen as symbolic—the final rejection of the older paternalistic-led society in favour of a new non-conformist, radical middle-class elite.

The established Church and the aristocracy were intimately linked, in that the latter used the former as a moral bulwark of a hierarchical organic society. After a century of neglect the early nineteenth-century church called for help from its aristocratic partner. Much of this help was of a material kind and the Cawdors, especially the first Earl Cawdor, built several churches in Pembrokeshire and two or three in Carmarthenshire. Critics condemned this church revival as a 'bricks and mortar revival'.⁸ Certainly, this was the main thrust of the Cawdors' assistance to the church, at least until the late nineteenth century. And of course, the church building

undertaken, particularly in Pembrokeshire, was in parishes surrounding the Stackpole Estate, thereby beautifying the landscape around the mansion.

The Disestablishment debate was undertaken without a Cawdor in parliament, though Archibald, as Lord Emlyn, and his father, showed their commitment to the established church when they joined the Church Defence Institution. However, the overwhelming majority, the nonconformists in Wales, ensured that the established church would remain in a minority. The Cawdors' insistence in lending their full weight to help prop up the church left them open, of course, to the criticism of Welsh nonconformists of supporting a church which was seen as an alien institution. If the family were never openly critical of the chapel and allowed nonconformists to build on their land, their largesse was always far meaner with regards to the various chapel denominations than it was to the church. Their relative short-sightedness with regard to the nonconformists meant they were always to be a target for the radical nonconformist press. It is indeed possible to think in terms of the church of England and aristocracy association as a fateful mutuality in the new Wales of the late nineteenth century: the Anglicanism of the aristocracy meant certain political and social rejection by the nonconformist *werin*.

The Cawdors' support of education, which was intimately linked to support for the church, was generous, but they retained a large degree of control over the establishment of schools on land given by their largesse. They had established schools near to both Stackpole Court and Golden Grove, along National Society lines, from the early nineteenth century. However, real controversy only surfaced after the 1870 Education Act and the establishment of school boards. Here there is evidence of a difference of opinion regarding how to defend national schools against the rate-aided, un-denominational, board schools, between the second Earl and his son Archibald, Lord Emlyn. Both the second Earl and Mousley were vehemently anti-school board. However, Archibald, who had been involved in educational matters since at least the 1850s, was pragmatic enough to work within a system he probably found personally anathema. He was a truly active, popularly elected chairman of the Llandebie, Llanfihangel Aberbythych, Llanddarog and Llanarthney United District School Board.

The mansions of Golden Grove and particularly Stackpole Court were symbols of the family's conspicuousness and desire for consequence. Despite their pretence of being part of the community, their leisure activities, amongst which were included

their parks and gardens, shooting, foxhunting (despite its 'cohesiveness'), the hunt and race balls, and assize balls and the gatherings of fellow aristocrats at Stackpole Court all emphasized the Cawdors' exclusiveness. This was further emphasized by their prolonged stays in London, out of the question for most of the gentry of south-west Wales, where they paraded themselves like peacocks, to be seen at the Opera, the theatre and in the fashionable streets. At the same time, we should not overlook their genuine interest in, and patronage of music and art, particularly that of the first Baron. Even in the depths of the agricultural depression when Cawdor believed he would have to tighten his belt, their indulgence was palpable—yachting and horse-racing were regular pastimes of the second Earl.

In conclusion, the Cawdor estate and its family in many ways remained a force for good in south-west Wales throughout the nineteenth century. Each generation of the family as good paternalists recognized that ownership of an extensive property and the legion of privileges that it conferred carried duties as well as rights. If there were occasional flashes of ill-temper and arrogance displayed in their conduct towards the *werin*, these were far outweighed by the benefits the family bestowed on the community of south-west Wales across the century as a whole through their capacity as generous landlords, active magistrates and local governors.

Yet as the century moved into its later decades they were to fall foul of the new thrusting forces of modernity, above all felt in Wales with its triumphant nonconformist radical agenda which swept the landed families away at parliamentary and local elections. For the Cawdors, as for other Welsh gentry and aristocratic families, their pleasure-seeking lives were out of step with the values of a nonconformist, Welsh-speaking, temperance-based peasantry. Not only in their hedonistic, militaristic, Anglicised, metropolitan lifestyles were they out of step with their communities. Their outlook on the world was cocooned in the past; they remained throughout the century die-hard paternalists. In this stance, of course, they were typical of their class throughout Britain, and their failure to recognise and come to terms with the new democratic society emerging across the nineteenth century would be their ultimate undoing. This reluctance on the part of the British aristocracy to move into the modern age, one shorn of deference, was noted by P. A. Graham in his *Rural Exodus*, published in 1892. After observing the county gentleman's slowness 'to accommodate to the spirit of the age' he elaborated thus:

He is as kindly as he is polite. His worst enemies admit that he is good and generous to the poor, and for any really deserving cases of distress his purse is always open. But there is a point on which he is not amenable to reason. He cannot understand that the poor have their ambitions. Often in talking to a great landed proprietor, who on many points seemed benevolence and good-nature personified, I have seen a cloud come over his brow as soon as I hinted any scheme meant to afford the peasants greater facilities for rising in the world. To a certain passage in the Church Catechism about “doing my duty in that state of life into which it has pleased God to call me” he attaches quite too much importance.”⁹

The Cawdors’ outlook throughout—though perhaps less so in so far as Archibald, the third Earl was concerned—remained that of the early nineteenth-century aristocracy. Locked into this feudal mindset, they simply could not bring themselves to acknowledge that the lower orders had rights and ambitions as individuals and should not be wholly dependent upon, and grateful for, the aristocrat’s largesse. The aforementioned Gwilym Evans—who had commended the Cawdor estates as a liberally-run one it will be recalled—criticized the huge power of the landlords as a class over their tenants in Carmarthenshire in an age of democracy and averred that tenants were entitled, *as of right*, to that which they were receiving out of *grace* or *favour*. The second Earl simply buried his head in the sand. In the area of landlord-tenant contractual relations, he thus resisted the progressive notion of tenant right, even after it became statutorily enshrined in 1883; pathologically averse to combination, he refused to meet with his tenants as a group to discuss their request for a rent reduction in the midst of deepening depression; and he spurned any notion of a land court. On a wider front, he was averse to any combination among farm labourers and, with his agent, set his face against board schools.

Yet to end with this negative perception of the second earl’s conservatism is to distort the true picture, for if the family’s traditional hold over, and standing in, the community was noticeably on the wane towards the close of the century, they, like many of their class, remained *personally* popular and respected.¹⁰ The embedded deference of the country-man and country-woman was long in its uprooting and at the close of the nineteenth century it retained some of its vigour. Without doubt, the animosity of the nonconformist preachers and of the lay leaders of the various chapels towards the landed families was not shared by the general mass of the rural peasantry towards their own individual landlords.

¹ D. Roberts, *Paternalism in early Victorian England* (London, 1979), pp.2-8 for a valuable exploration of the concept.

² The Mousley family and their role as an estate agents is worthy of a study in its own right.

³ CRO, Dynevor 155/7, Cawdor to Dynevor [no date], Nov. 1885, cited independently of Cragoe, *An Anglican Aristocracy: The Moral Economy of the Landed Estate in Carmarthenshire, 1832-1895*, p.72.

⁴ D. W. Howell, *Taking Stock: the centenary history of the Royal Welsh Agricultural Society* (Cardiff: UWP, 2003), p.72.

⁵ *The Times*, 23 Dec. 1913.

⁶ Roberts, *Paternalism in early Victorian England*, pp.2-8.

⁷ *Liverpool Mercury*, report on Anglesey Liberal Association, 4 February 1885.

⁸ *The Times*, 29 Feb. 1892: Letter from D. A. Thomas, Liberal MP for Merthyr: 'The progress of the Church in Wales is to a large extent one of bricks and mortar and the so-called revival but a revival of church pews.'

⁹ P. A. Graham, *Rural Exodus* (London, 1892). I owe thanks to David Howell for this reference.

¹⁰ D. Jenkins, *The Agricultural Community in South-West Wales at the turn of the Twentieth Century* (Cardiff: UWP, 1971), p.278.

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