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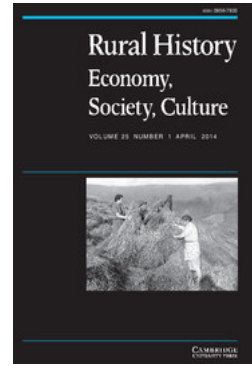
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## The Anatomy of an Eviction Campaign: The General Election of 1868 in Wales and its Aftermath.

MATTHEW CRAGOE

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One of the most striking aspects of recent scholarship concerning electoral politics in the Victorian countryside is the widespread consensus that has developed that landlords did not – as was so commonly averred by Radical politicians at the time – use the threat of eviction as a weapon with which to terrorise farming tenants into voting as they were instructed.<sup>1</sup> In the work of Norman Gash, Richard Olney and Frank O’Gorman, English tenants are represented as being quite happy to follow the lead offered them by their landlords, both from a ‘semi-feudal’ sense of loyalty and from a sense of gratitude for past favours and the hope of further favours to come.<sup>2</sup> Even in Ireland, where a historiography dominated by Pomfret presented a much bleaker picture of landlord-tenant relations, the process of revision has considerably modified the received view.<sup>3</sup> J. H. Whyte has argued that the landowners were far less tyrannical than had been generally thought, and regards as particularly erroneous the idea that landlords had regular recourse to eviction to punish tenants who had voted contrary to their wishes. This policy was not used, he suggests, because it patently did not work.<sup>4</sup> Whyte’s insights, though they have been modified in certain respects,<sup>5</sup> were recently upheld in W. E. Vaughan’s study of landlord and tenant relations in mid-Victorian Ireland.<sup>6</sup> The history of politics in the Irish countryside is thus seen as having approximated that of England, and recent scholarship suggests a similar picture for Lowland Scotland, where, outside the Famine years, patterns of eviction were similar to those in Ireland.<sup>7</sup> In only one country do the landowners still retain intact their reputation for electoral tyranny: Wales.

The case against the Welsh landlords, which forms a standard component in historical accounts of politics in Victorian Wales, rests principally upon two separate sets of

evictions. In 1859, it was alleged that the owners of the two largest estates in Merioneth, Price of Rhiwlas, and Sir Watkin Williams Wynne of Wynnstay, either evicted from their farms or raised the rents of some twenty tenants who had disobeyed their instructions and voted against an apparently Puseyite Tory candidate who was not to the taste of the nonconformist farming population.<sup>8</sup> This case remained extremely localised, however, and much more important was that following the 1868 election, after a campaign dominated by the highly divisive question of Church Disestablishment in Ireland, a policy supported by the nonconformists and opposed by the Anglicans. In the wake of the election, landlords in Carmarthenshire and Cardiganshire were accused of having turned out at least seventy tenants for their Liberal votes. In July 1869, Henry Richard, newly elected MP for Merthyr Tydfil, condemned the landlords' actions in the House of Commons, an action which sparked a full-scale debate on the issue, and several witnesses from Wales gave similar evidence before the contemporaneous Select Committee on Parliamentary and Municipal Elections.<sup>9</sup> The evictions were given further publicity by a series of mass meetings organised by Richard and his supporters in Manchester, Liverpool and London which aimed to raise a fund from which to compensate the evicted tenants for the financial losses they had sustained.<sup>10</sup> The allegations made by Richard have passed almost unexamined into the historiography of Victorian Wales, and the evictions are seen as an essential catalyst for that shift 'from Radicalism to Nationalism' which characterised Welsh politics in the late century.<sup>11</sup> Moreover, the reputation for electoral tyranny vouchsafed the Welsh landlords by Richard is frequently encountered in general texts, where it is taken to symbolise the division that had grown up between Anglican landlords and their Nonconformist tenants.<sup>12</sup>

In this article, an attempt will be made to gauge the true extent of landlord intimidation in the principality through a detailed examination of the evictions following the 1868 election. Whilst the idea that landlords coerced their tenants at election time was regarded as axiomatic by Victorian radicals, they never produced much hard and fast evidence to support their claims. The 1868 election in Wales, however, is remarkable for having produced just such a detailed account. A well-known Welsh journalist, John Griffith, toured the afflicted counties of Carmarthenshire and Cardiganshire in the winter of 1869–70 and drew up a series of reports which were published by a Liberal newspaper, the *Cambria Daily Leader*. His reports gave the names and addresses of both the evicted tenant and the evicting landlord, along with details of each case designed to show that the only cause of the eviction notice having been served was the tenant's Liberal vote at the election. What makes this series of reports so valuable, however, is that a Conservative newspaper, the *Welshman*, reproduced the reports and invited the accused landowners to respond to the charges made against them. The reports and the landowners' replies form a body of contemporary evidence which has not hitherto been examined and presents a unique opportunity to explore both sides of an alleged eviction campaign in considerable detail. Above all, it provides a solid foundation for judging whether the Welsh landlords deserve their harsh historiographical reputation.

In order to set the Welsh material in its proper context, the article begins by examining the whole issue of evictions in England, Scotland, and Ireland in the Victorian period.

In the second section, the article examines the place of the idea of landlord coercion within the electoral rhetoric of Welsh Liberals. The specific charges made against the landlords in 1869 are then analysed in the context both of the reports prepared by Griffith and of the responses made to them by the landowners. The article concludes that, although there were conditions under which Welsh landlords were prepared to evict tenants for 'political' reasons, the pattern of landlord-tenant relations in the principality was generally good, and that an historiographical revision in line with that undertaken for other parts of the United Kingdom is overdue.

### **I. Evictions**

Throughout the nineteenth century, there existed considerable controversy over the alleged eviction of tenants from their holdings. It was almost an article of faith amongst mid-Victorian radicals that the chief purpose of annual tenancies was the leverage it gave the landlord over the tenant at election time.<sup>13</sup> The problem seemed most severe in Ireland and in Scotland, where large scale 'clearances' of tenants became notorious. In England, however, much less is known about the extent to which eviction was used.

Historians have been able to gain an accurate picture of the scale of eviction in Ireland and Scotland from official records held by the police and the sheriff's courts respectively. The most comprehensive analysis of evictions has concentrated upon Ireland. Here, records suggest that something over 100,000 families were served with eviction notices between the 1840s and the 1890s.<sup>14</sup> The peak of eviction activity occurred in the years between 1846 and 1853, when 70,000 notices were issued. In some instances huge clearances were instituted, and the old pattern of small-holdings was replaced by larger units let to graziers.<sup>15</sup> This concentration of evictions in the years of Famine was duplicated in Scotland,<sup>16</sup> and forms part of a broader pattern in which the incidence of evictions followed closely the condition of the economy. Once the economy had picked up again in the mid-1850s, for example, rent arrears diminished, and the number of evictions dropped sharply. With the exception of particularly bad periods such as 1861-4 and 1878-87, it has been suggested that in Ireland, after 1855, evictions amounted to under a quarter of one per cent of all agricultural tenants per annum.<sup>17</sup> Furthermore, throughout the nineteenth century, it is clear that not all notices to quit were enforced: in many cases, the tenants were put under threat of eviction unless they paid their rent, and when they had done so, the notices were withdrawn or the tenants allowed back as 'caretakers' of the farm.<sup>18</sup>

Since this pattern appears to have been as common in Scotland as in Ireland, it seems that the issuing of eviction notices amounted to a form of debt collection strategy. Not all eviction notices came under this head, however, as W. E. Vaughan's examination of the evictions on Earl Fitzwilliam's estates in Wicklow and Wexford between 1845 and 1886, reveals.<sup>19</sup> Although a large number were in arrears with rent, tenants were also given notice for sub-letting land, not being resident, farming badly, poaching, admitting squatters or lodgers, or breaking the terms of their leases in other ways, such as by selling hay off the farm. Some tenants were threatened for less predictable reasons, such as the man noticed for 'beating his wife and drunken rows'. Nevertheless, the detailed

study of the Fitzwilliam estates generally reinforces the picture outlined above of evictions as being threatened primarily on economic grounds, and not always being enforced.

In England, information regarding the use of evictions is much harder to come by. The general consensus seems to be that they were not common. J. V. Beckett stresses that tenants who farmed well and paid their rents regularly were rarely troubled, and only faced eviction for 'misbehaviour'. Even tenants in arrears were generally left undisturbed, since a distraint would ruin the farmer and leave the property on the landowner's hands.<sup>20</sup> Evidence from Lincolnshire suggests that a similar state of affairs pertained there,<sup>21</sup> whilst more detailed studies have demonstrated that the Leveson-Gower's 'seldom or never' evicted tenants.<sup>22</sup> In the most recent account of the famous Holkham estate in Norfolk, no mention is made of eviction at all.<sup>23</sup> Nevertheless, it is clear that estates often sought to rid themselves of troublesome tenants and ruinous farmers, as witness the remark of Lord Durham's agent in 1857 that he intended to 'weed the farmers every year'.<sup>24</sup> In the absence of specific research, it is clearly impossible to compare the situation directly with Ireland. Nevertheless, the consensus that evictions in Ireland were generally issued for rent arrears and bad farming may encourage the belief that the high rate of turnover among tenants on English estates points to a similar situation. Brian Short, for example, discovered that only some 14 per cent of farmers in the Weald of Kent and Sussex listed as farmers in the 1841 census were still farming the same properties twenty years later, a turnover of more than four-fifths in two decades.<sup>25</sup> Land here was poor, standards of husbandry low, farmers under-capitalised, and the economy in turmoil for much of the period covered by the survey, in England as much as in Ireland and Scotland. It might well be that large numbers of tenants were noticed for large arrears of rent at this time, as occurred in Ireland. Even on exceptional estates such as Holkham, however, only about 50 per cent of tenants remained on their farms in this period, and this pattern was not obviously disrupted by the return of better conditions after 1850.<sup>26</sup> Similarly, on the Wilton estate, it appears that in 1875, only about 25 per cent of families had been on their farms for twenty years.<sup>27</sup> It may be, therefore, that more research would reveal a pattern of evictions throughout Britain which was rather more uniform than is at present suggested by the literature.

Such evictions in the course of everyday estate management were one thing, but the landlords also stood accused of turning out tenants for voting wrongly at election time. It was a truth universally acknowledged by nineteenth-century radicals that the majority of landlords forced their tenants to vote for Conservative candidates at election time. Exploiting the precarious nature of the tenure afforded tenants by annual leases and the openness of voting before 1872, the landlords allegedly ensured the return of candidates who would defend the privileged position of the landowning classes in parliament, by threatening with eviction or loss of privileges those who did not follow the estate line. To radicals like Richard Cobden, only secret voting, a reform of the land laws, and the education of an expanded rural electorate could alter the dynamic of rural politics.<sup>28</sup>

Modern historiography, however, has considerably modified this picture. With regard to England, historians have explicitly denied the idea that eviction formed a normal part of an estate's dealings with its tenantry at election time. Finding very little concrete evidence to support the more extreme allegations of the radicals, historians have chosen

to depict landlords as more lenient, and tenants as correspondingly less servile than the unflattering portrayal of their nineteenth-century detractors. Frank O’Gorman has suggested that individual landlords were inhibited from punishing tenants by the weight of opinion against this mode of behaviour amongst the landed classes.<sup>29</sup> From the tenants’ perspective, similarly, other motives than the fear of eviction can be found to explain why they recorded votes in line with their landlord’s wishes. Norman Gash, again speaking of England, presents this congruity as indicative of the ‘semi-feudal’ nature of relationships between landlord and tenant.<sup>30</sup> D. C. Moore’s idea of the ‘deference community’ encapsulates a similar principle, whilst Richard Olney presents a convincing portrait of a rural electorate for whom the decision to vote with their landlords represented a rational ‘political’ act, influenced by the hope of future favours as much as in deference to obligations already incurred, and which in no way compromised their religious freedom within their own, much more localised, sphere of influence.<sup>31</sup> J. R. Fisher has demonstrated that farmers were quite capable of exercising political independence when the occasion demanded.<sup>32</sup> F. M. L. Thompson, likewise, considers it to have been rare, although he suggests it was ‘not uncommon’ in the ‘Celtic fringe’ where religious antipathies sharpened divisions between landlords and tenants.<sup>33</sup> Nevertheless, modern Irish historiography has modified even this view, albeit opinion remains somewhat divided. J. H. Whyte and W. E. Vaughan, for example, consider that evictions for political reasons were very rare.<sup>34</sup> K. T. Hoppen, however, has recently argued that landlords were more coercive than Whyte allowed, and considers that political evictions could have been disguised by the withdrawal of the ‘hanging gale’, the calling in of rent arrears, a form of punishment which could, of itself, easily result in eviction.<sup>35</sup>

Nevertheless, the balance of historical opinion seems to be that, throughout England, Scotland and Ireland, the issuing of eviction notices, though it played an important part in the general process of estate management, was not an electoral tactic widely used by landlords faced with the problem of disobedient tenants. Despite the insistence of contemporary radicals that landlords often proceeded against skilful, solvent tenants, the evidence suggests that those at risk were tenants in arrears or those who broke their letting agreements.

## **II. The evictions of 1869 in Wales**

The foregoing discussion of the role of eviction in estate management, and the consensus that, even in the most notorious areas, it was rarely used in a political context, represents an essential element of background for a full discussion of the events surrounding the 1868 election in Wales. In so far as any research has been undertaken into the use of evictions in everyday estate management in the principality, the findings have been very similar to those outlined above. The pattern of rural relations in the Welsh countryside had much more in common with England than Ireland or Scotland. The estate system and primogeniture were firmly established and the principality did not witness massive clearances even in times of economic depression. David Howell has concluded that tenants, especially those on large estates, ‘did not live in dread of eviction’,<sup>36</sup> a view supported by the work of John Davies on the Bute estate in Glamorganshire, where

eviction notices were enforced only once tenants had got over three years in arrears with their rent or had 'flagrantly' broken their agreements.<sup>37</sup> The situation seems to have been similar in Carmarthenshire, where landowners often allowed very large arrears of rent to build up, and Cardiganshire.<sup>38</sup>

The generally good relationship between landlords and tenants on Welsh estates, and the infrequent use of eviction, render the almost complete breakdown of relations implied by the extensive 'political' evictions of 1869 even more striking. Nevertheless, such accusations were not new in 1869 and, before considering these evictions, it is important to recognise the extent to which they represented only the latest in a long series of accusations that Welsh landlords brought undue pressure to bear upon tenants at election time. A good example was recorded by William Owen Stanley, who contested the Anglesey election of 1837 as a Liberal. The whole contest, he noted in his journal, was marked by 'the threats [,] bribes & intimidation brought to bear against each voter over whom the Tory party could bring them to bear'. One landowner, Sir James Williams, upon finding that his tenants had all promised to vote for Stanley, sent word to his agent that this was not satisfactory, with the consequence that the agent visited all the tenants, after which they duly recorded their votes in favour of Stanley's Conservative opponent, Meyrick, on polling day.<sup>39</sup> Fifteen years later, the *Carnarvon and Denbigh Herald* claimed that little had changed. All the elections in north Wales were marked by excessive coercion: in Carnarvonshire, two-thirds of voters voted against their inclination, whilst some farmers were threatened with instant expulsion even for remaining neutral.<sup>40</sup> Defeat in the same election caused George Hammond Whalley to take out an advertisement recommending that electors in the Montgomeryshire Boroughs establish a Voters' Protection League, and saying that, so excessive had been the intimidation of the landlords, he had become a convert to the idea of vote by ballot.<sup>41</sup>

Welsh elections, therefore, resonated with accusations of landowners bringing illegitimate influence to bear upon their tenantry long before the general election of 1868: indeed, the idea was a standard element in Liberal platform rhetoric throughout the period between the first and second Reform Acts. In 1859, however, the traditionally vague charges were given an unexpectedly sharp focus by events in the county of Merioneth.<sup>42</sup> Here, a Liberal candidate, David Williams, offered a surprise opposition to the High Church Tory, Charles Wynne. Though Wynne, who was backed by the major landowners in the county, emerged triumphant, the margin of victory was small, and the Liberals claimed that the Tories had been obliged to pull out all the stops. Several months later, it emerged that a number of tenants had been turned off the estates of two of Wynne's most influential supporters, Sir Watkin Williams Wynne of Wynnstay, and R. Lloyd Price of Rhiwlas.<sup>43</sup> It was claimed that five tenants of the former and seven of the latter had been evicted, whilst a number of other Wynnstay tenants, who had remained neutral during the contest, had had their rents raised. Although both landowners denied the charges,<sup>44</sup> local opinion was outraged. The names of the evicted tenants were published in the newspapers and a small fund was raised among sympathisers in the neighbouring town of Bala to compensate the evictees.<sup>45</sup> Nor did the memory of the evictions soon die.<sup>46</sup> When Price of Rhiwlas stepped forward to second the nomination of Charles Wynne at the 1865 election, he was unable to speak due to the volume of

abuse from the crowd, who shouted 'screw'. Eventually, he was obliged to retreat in what the reporter described as a 'hurricane of "screws"'.<sup>47</sup>

Thus although historians have found that relations on most estates in Wales were generally good, there existed a powerful and well-articulated tradition which portrayed conditions very differently. In turning to examine the evictions alleged to have occurred in the wake of the 1868 election, it is important to bear in mind that those who produced the reports worked within this rhetorical framework. Indeed, even before the election, Welsh Liberals had discussed the possibility of establishing a fund with which to compensate any tenants who were evicted after the contest.<sup>48</sup> The popular political imagination of the principality was, therefore, fully prepared when reports began to appear in the newspapers in March 1869 intimating that certain tenants had indeed been turned from their farms for their Liberal votes.<sup>49</sup>

The material used in this section comes from a series of reports published in the *Cambria Daily Leader*, which commissioned a radical Welsh journalist, John Griffiths (normally known, and referred to hereafter, by his pen name of 'Gohebydd'), to tour the counties of Carmarthenshire and Cardiganshire and prepare a list of those who had been evicted. The purpose of the list was to assist the committees established by leading Liberals (including Gohebydd himself) in deciding who should receive payments from a projected compensation fund, established with money collected from chapels in Wales specifically for the purpose. Accordingly, during December and January, 1869–70, Gohebydd travelled through West Wales, locating the evicted tenants and discussing their cases with neighbours. For all that the election, and the evictions that followed, highlighted the religious division between nonconformists and Anglicans, Gohebydd's reports focused entirely on the secular issue of eviction. In almost all cases, the evicted tenants were simply reported to have been good farmers who had invested heavily in their properties and were on good terms with their landlords. They had, however, voted for Liberal candidates, and this was the reason for their dismissal. Gohebydd's reports gave not only the names and addresses of the tenants, but also the names of the landlords who had issued the eviction notices. The special interest of Gohebydd's reports, however, lies in the fact that a Conservative newspaper, the *Welshman*, contacted the landowners named by Gohebydd and offered them the opportunity to defend themselves - which they did, again, in entirely secular terms.<sup>50</sup> Together, the two sets of reports, and the correspondence they generated, provide a unique opportunity to examine the anatomy of an eviction campaign.

The 41 reports produced by Gohebydd covered a wide spectrum of landowners and farmers, ranging from those on great estates, such as Nanteos in Cardiganshire, down to those who owned only a few farms, or a few acres. In analysing the landowners' responses, however, only 35 have been used. In three cases, the landlords knew nothing of any eviction having been instituted against the tenant in question and suggested that Gohebydd was simply mistaken.<sup>51</sup> In three others, they gave a flat denial to the charge that the notice to quit had been issued for political reasons, but did not elaborate.<sup>52</sup> In this section, the reasons assigned by the landlords for the remaining 35 cases have been analysed in five categories: all but five, those discussed in group (e), it will be suggested, seem explicable within the normal practice of estate management outlined in section one.



a) *Slovenly farming (twelve cases)*

The first group, the largest in the sample, involves tenants who were allegedly turned off their farms for the poor standards of husbandry they displayed. It was a standard contention of Gohebydd's reports that the evicted were thought 'capital' farmers by their neighbours, but in these cases the landlords denied this. Two examples can be examined to illustrate the problems posed by cases of this sort. The first concerns the Reverend John Davies, a Baptist Minister of Llandyssul and his landlord, Mr John Evans of Cwmgwen, Pencader.<sup>53</sup> The *Cambria Daily Leader* reported that the preacher had held his farm for six years and was given notice to quit, with no compensation for recent improvements, after having worked hard for the Liberal party during the election. Evans countered that Davies was a very poor farmer, that he had given him notice three times in the six years since he had taken the farm (1866, 1868 and 1869) and had only allowed him to continue on his promising to farm more carefully. This, however, despite frequent additional warnings, he had failed to do: he had permitted the out-buildings to decay until they were ruinous and had farmed the land in such a way as to exhaust it. This was so notorious, added Evans, that no-one else in the vicinity would give him a farm, and he had been obliged to move to the town of Llandyssul.<sup>54</sup>

Davies, however, persisted. He wrote to the *Cambria Daily Leader*, denying that he was a bad farmer. In fact, he said, he had been offered two other farms in the same parish (both by Conservative landlords),<sup>55</sup> and two others in the parish of Cilrhedyn, which he had refused as they were too far from his chapel.<sup>56</sup> Two days later, he addressed the editor of the newspaper again, with details of the improvements he had made to the property: he had, he claimed, spent £45 on hay, straw and superphosphates, for which Evans would not compensate him.<sup>57</sup> At this point, Evans himself re-entered the debate. He enclosed a letter written by David Davies of Penbank, a neighbour of the preacher's former farm, who confirmed that the property had fallen into a sad state of disrepair during Davies's tenancy. Evans himself said that he would happily go to arbitration on the subject should Davies wish to do so.<sup>58</sup> Davies took up the challenge. Each party nominated two agents, and the investigation commenced. Ultimately it came down to the evidence of eight witnesses for Evans against just one for Davies. The Reverend Davies's lawyers refused to submit the case for final arbitration by a neutral umpire.<sup>59</sup>

Davies's example illustrates well how complicated such cases could be, and also the way in which, prior to the election, Evans had clearly been using eviction orders as a normal tool of estate management in precisely the way encountered in section one. Another very good example of this concerned Morgan Jones of Cefnugrugos, who accused his landlord, Mr Longcroft of Llanina, of evicting him for his Liberal vote.<sup>60</sup> Longcroft replied that he had been evicted for being a slovenly tenant, but Jones denied this, and pointed out that the estate's agent had remarked that the value of the property had increased by £15 during Jones's tenure, a sum which would be added to the rental.<sup>61</sup> The response to this came from the agent himself. Thomas Davies explained that the whole estate had been revalued in 1865 and that, whilst most of the farmers had re-taken their old properties, a few had refused to meet the new rent. One such was the occupant of Cefnugrugos, who was duly given notice to quit. His place was taken by Morgan Jones, who paid a slightly increased rent, though nothing like the new valuation. He was

repeatedly asked to pay the full rent, but refused to do so, and they only agreed to let him stay for the year 1868–9 after a long discussion and an increase in the rent of £2, which Jones paid. He was asked to take the farm at the full rent for 1869–70, and when he refused, this, combined with the slovenly farming he had displayed during the three years of his tenancy, led to his eviction. Shortly afterwards, the farm was let at the full rent to another tenant, at which point Jones asked to take it back himself, even telling the agent that the new occupant ‘repented his taking it’. This was untrue, and Jones’s request was denied.<sup>62</sup> The increase in the value of the property, therefore, came not from anything that Morgan Jones had done to the land, but from the higher valuation put upon the property before he entered his farm.

In the cases of Reverend John Davies and Morgan Jones, it is impossible to tell which side was telling the truth, or even a larger share of the truth. Both tenants, however, had been given notices to quit on previous occasions but then been allowed to stay, and had been in possession of their farms for very short periods. This was, indeed, a characteristic of the ten men among the group of twelve whose length of tenure can be ascertained. With the exception of the sixty-year old Thomas Morgan, of Ty’nyffordd on the Nanteos estate who had been born on his farm (although it is not clear whether he had farmed it for the whole of his adult life, or inherited it from his parents at a much later date),<sup>63</sup> none had been in possession for longer than fourteen years. Several had had earlier notices to quit, such as David Davies, Penybwhch Verwick, and William Evans, Rhafod.<sup>64</sup>

*b) Arrangement to leave made before election (eight cases)*

One of the most striking features of Gohebydd’s reports was the number of cases in which the landlords claimed that the tenants, far from having been evicted for their votes at the election, had in fact indicated before the contest that they wished to give up their holdings. Several cases related to the estate of J. S Harford of Falcondale, which was revalued in 1867. According to Harford, three farmers, D. Walters of Maestroyddin, T. Davies of Aberdauddwr and D. Davies of Garthlwyd, intimated that they would not want their farms after the forthcoming valuation of the estate, which would inevitably raise rent levels. All three men had freehold properties of their own, in addition to the farms rented on the Falcondale estate. Harford supported his denial that these cases were politically motivated by revealing that of his fourteen tenants, thirteen had voted for Liberal candidates, yet with the exception of these three tenants, all the others were still on the estate, having retaken their farms after the revaluation.<sup>65</sup>

The remaining tenants in this group came from different estates. John Jones, Trefechen, rented some accommodation land near Aberystwyth from Colonel Powell of Nanteos, on which he kept cows which supplied milk to Aberystwyth. He had wanted to give up the land in 1868, but took it for another year after which he intended to give it up, and received notice in pursuance of that arrangement. Caleb Morris of Mountain Farm told his landlord, Morgan Jones, that he was intending to sell up and move to America, upon which Jones re-let the farm. David Jones had arranged some months

before the election with the Trustees of the Monachty Estate that he would leave the farm of Tycoch: in their defence, the Trustees also pointed out that Jones had voted for the Liberal candidate in 1865 without any repercussions. Evan Evans of Pobty gave notice after the woodward on the Pentre estate informed him that part of his farm was to be planted with trees, and was then not allowed to change his mind after having ploughed up the whole farm, in contravention of the letting agreement, presumably in order to take one last crop from it.<sup>66</sup> The last, George Rees, who had been underletting land from another tenant, Mrs Griffiths of Ffynondefras, was turned off when the agent explained to Mrs Griffiths that the estate, belonging to General Wood, did not allow underletting.<sup>67</sup> In all these cases, the tenants appear to have been moving on of their own accord in the normal course of events.

*c) Breaking farm agreements (five cases)*

A third group comprised tenants who had either refused to sign estate agreements or had broken them. Captain Davies of Trawsmawr revealed that he had given notice to David Thomas of Fountain Hall because, among other things, Thomas had refused to get his corn ground at a certain mill, as stipulated in his agreement. Herbert Evans of Highmead evicted Evan Thomas for repeatedly allowing poachers onto his farm, Glantren Fawr, despite frequent reminders that the game was reserved to the landlord in the lease. A notice given for the same reason three years earlier was only withdrawn, said Evans, due to the 'great regard I had for his wife and her family'.<sup>68</sup> Evan Evans, of Parkau on the Maesycrugiau estate, meanwhile, was given notice for 'flagrantly' breaching his letting agreement. He held a large arable farm and had wanted a smaller pastoral farm to go with it. This he had been given, on condition that he did not plough it up, which, however, he proceeded to do. His landlord added, as evidence of the non-political nature of the eviction, that all the tenants on the estate had been free to vote as they wished, and no-one else had been evicted, despite many plumping for the Liberal candidate. The two other tenants both came from the Nanteos estate: David Davies, of Tymawr, had been given notice after taking a farm from another tenant and then refusing to sign the proper agreements, whilst the case of James Jones of Tanycastell, who had signed an agreement to pay £210 for his farm, but would now only pay £200, was still under arbitration. He had not been evicted. Here the eviction notices seem entirely compatible with estate management practices in other parts of the country.

*d) Miscellaneous (five cases)*

A fourth group of five miscellaneous cases also seems to fall within the normal management of landed estates. Captain Davies of Trawsmawr described the *Cambria Daily Leader's* version of the events surrounding the removal of William Thomas from his farm of Blaenpant as 'utterly false'. He had moved him, he said, because he was over sixty and too infirm to carry it on efficiently. He and his wife had been rehoused on a small cottage on the estate, and had accepted an invitation to dine with their landlord on New Year's Day.<sup>69</sup> William Nicholas, though not a voter himself, claimed to have lost Ffynondefras on account of his brother's having been a member of the Liberation

Society and very active at the election. His landlord, Mr Jordan of Pigeonsford, countered that the brother-in-law had been a member of the Liberation Society for years without its having had any effect on Nicholas's tenure, and that Nicholas was allowing his cottage, which was now needed for a labourer on the estate, to fall down.<sup>70</sup> David Lewis, of Factory, meanwhile, lost his property on the expiry of a lease, whilst J. Roderick lost a 'worthless piece of common' which he rented for £1 a year from J. S. Harford of Falcondale so that it could be given to someone from the estate. Finally, there was the case of the Reverend John Owen, an Independent minister of Pencader. He had claimed that he had been evicted by Mr Longcroft of Llanina, and had received no compensation for buildings he had erected worth £80–100. The editor of the *Welshman* took it upon himself to provide the solution in this case. Owen had not been evicted, he said, but had left of his own accord and fled to America after rumours 'affecting his moral character' began to circulate: he was, said the *Welshman*, not turned out by his landlord, but "'evicted" by his flock'. Furthermore, his landlord had granted him £25 compensation, which was all he asked for.<sup>71</sup>

In the foregoing cases, it certainly seems possible that the notices were served for quite normal reasons, and would, if they had not happened to coincide with an election year, have hardly caused any remark. That it was an election year, of course, is the rub: it may be that landlords decided to act against tenants in 1868 whose manifold shortcomings would normally have been overlooked because they had chosen to vote with the Liberal party.<sup>72</sup> They might, in effect, have been guilty of doing what K. T. Hoppen claims was common practice in Ireland, calling in the 'hanging gale' and so disguising a politically-motivated eviction in an economic guise. Nevertheless, it must always be borne in mind in considering the Welsh reports that the movement set afoot to provide financial compensation for tenants who could prove that they had been evicted from their holdings had been well publicised prior to Gohebydd's fact-finding trip to Cardiganshire and Carmarthenshire. Those who were moving anyway, or who had been dismissed for poor farming, may have opportunistically put their names forward in the hope of receiving money. David Davies of Penbank certainly thought this was what his erstwhile neighbour, the Reverend John Davies of Llandyssul (encountered in group a), was hoping for: 'the truth is', he said, 'the preacher wants money'.<sup>73</sup> However, in the five remaining cases, a much stronger argument can be made for their being considered 'political evictions'.

*e) Insolence (five cases)*

The five cases involving what the landlords described as 'insolence' undoubtedly form the most interesting group in the context of whether the evictions should be seen as having been effected in the normal course of estate management or as being politically motivated. In part this stems from the differing calibre of tenants involved. In sharp contrast to those who were dismissed for bad farming, this group of tenants had generally held their farms for long periods. William Griffiths of the Nanteos Arms, for example, had spent fifty years on the estate prior to his eviction for 'impertinent and abusive language to his landlord [Colonel Powell]' at the election.<sup>74</sup> Reverend John Williams,

an active campaigner for the Carmarthenshire Liberal candidate, Sartoris, had held Aberduar for thirty years, when his landlord, Herbert Evans of Highmead, called upon him. Evans contended that the notice was served because 'Mr Williams thought [it] proper to be grossly impertinent, and wanting in that common civility due to the landlord', and added that another nonconformist minister who plumped for the Liberal candidate in the election was not been turned off his property.<sup>75</sup> Nevertheless, it is difficult to imagine what the preacher could have said that so instantly soured a thirty-year relationship. George Bowen Thomas of Caer Emlyn, had been a tenant of the Parke estate for seventy years, before breaking a promise given to his landlord that he would vote for the Conservative candidates. In doing so, complained his landlord, Mr Thomas, the tenant not only cast his votes for the Liberals but 'sneered' at him. Offended, Mr Thomas gave him notice to quit, but later relented, and sent word to his tenant that he could keep the farm. The tenant, however, never contacted him again, and was apparently in negotiation for three other farms. Accordingly, Thomas let it to someone else.<sup>76</sup>

In each of the above cases, the eviction undoubtedly arose directly from the circumstances of the election. In the two remaining examples in this group, both tenants were seen to be taking an active political line towards other tenants on the estate. Mr Longcroft of Llanina explained that he had dismissed William Richards, who had held the farm of Rhydalen for twenty years, for opposing himself to his landlord several times, for impertinence, and for 'endeavouring . . . to make my other tenants dissatisfied'.<sup>77</sup> David Evans of Penwarfawn on the Blaenpant estate was another tenant of twenty years' standing evicted for similar reasons. Mrs Brigstocke, the owner of the estate, canvassed her tenants herself at the election, and the following Sunday the local nonconformist minister read aloud from his pulpit an article condemning her action. After this she received several anonymous, threatening letters, 'some even to the effect of burning her house over her head'.<sup>78</sup> These she traced to the family of David Evans, who were, in addition, 'indefatigable in their attempts to get the tenants who had promised to vote for Mr Vaughan [the Conservative] to break their word and vote for Mr Richards'. Mrs Brigstocke added that Evans remained neutral at the election: two other Blaenpant tenants, one who remained neutral and one who voted for the Liberal candidate, still held their farms.<sup>79</sup>

Once again, both tenants were clearly evicted for reasons directly connected with the election. In common with the three cases noted earlier under this heading, there was no suggestion that either tenant had been unsatisfactory before the General Election: the evictions reflected the differing political opinions of landlord and tenant. Yet it is also true that two of the landowners (Herbert Evans and Mrs Brigstocke) could point to other tenants who had voted Liberal or remained neutral and yet retained their farms. It seems reasonable to conclude, therefore, that it was the active role taken by these tenants, rather than their Liberal opinions *per se*, that led to their dismissal.

### III. Conclusion

Such were the 41 cases which appeared in the press. Read in the context of the discussion of eviction policy throughout England, Scotland and Ireland in section one, many of

the landlords' explanations seem credible, especially since, when the cases were pushed further by the tenant, the weight of evidence appeared to vindicate the owner of the soil. Henry Richard, one of the principal movers of the campaign, later admitted in parliament that the Liberals had failed to produce evidence that would convince a court of law, though he added that he still believed the landowners were morally guilty.<sup>80</sup>

Nevertheless, there were several cases in which there was undeniably a political element: the cases dealing with 'impertinence', for example, hover perilously close to the borders of 'political eviction'. Yet it seems likely that what was objected to in these cases was not tenants holding different opinions to those entertained by their landlords, regrettable though this might be. Many landlords, including J. S. Harford of Falcondale, Herbert Evans of Highmead and Mrs Brigtocke of Blaenpant, could point to tenants who had voted for Liberal candidates still holding farms on their estates. What they appear to have objected to was tenants attempting to incite other tenants to vote against their landlord's wishes, an impression which is confirmed by a number of other sources. On the Carmarthenshire estates of Earl Cawdor, for example, eight tenants received notices to quit after the election, but all had been active on behalf of the Liberal party, and three were accused of using what influence they possessed to coerce other tenants on the estate to vote against their landlord's wishes.<sup>81</sup> In Carnarvonshire, meanwhile, the Reverend John Owen of Ty'nllwyn near Bangor was undoubtedly turned off his farm for his political activities. His landlord, R. G. Duff, upon hearing that Owen had spoken at a Liberal meeting in the vicinity of the estate, at which he had told his fellow tenants to brave the oppression of their landlord and vote Liberal, wrote angrily to his agent: 'I feel very much annoyed at John Owen Tynllwyn's conduct – this is the second time he has made himself conspicuous in advocating what was contrary to my wishes.' He then added: 'there is now an opportunity of getting rid of him as fresh arrangements must be made if Mr Assheton Smith wishes to take the home farm into his own hands.'<sup>82</sup> Owen's eviction, which occurred a year later, was thus clearly linked to his active political role in the election; but the fact that he made himself 'conspicuous' in his opposition was what would seem to have been the decisive factor.<sup>83</sup> Finally, another Calvinistic Methodist preacher, Reverend David Davies of Hafodhir on the Earl of Lisburne's Trawscoed estate, was evicted for similar reasons. The agent of the estate recalled having asked Davies whether, though he could not conscientiously vote for the Conservative candidate, he would at least take a less conspicuous part in the election. This Davies agreed to do, but then continued to campaign actively on behalf of the Liberal candidates.<sup>84</sup> He was turned out for this and for bad farming.

Were the Welsh aristocracy, in their capacity as landowners, worse than their English neighbours? This article has argued that, if the best evidence against them is the famous eviction controversy of 1869, the answer is that they were probably not. Many of the evictions appear quite consistent with what is known about estate management practices throughout the United Kingdom at this time; those involving longer-established tenants, and justified on the grounds of 'impertinence', come closest to being 'political evictions', but serve also to underline the social contract that membership of a great estate involved. In fact, what emerges most strongly from the landlords' own explanations of their conduct is the extent to which they were prepared to tolerate tenants voting as they

wished, but drew the line at their actively campaigning for the other side. In the absence of specific research it is impossible to determine whether English landlords would have responded in a similar fashion. The absence of the religious divide between landlord and tenant in England, however, suggests that such active participation in the campaign by those opposed to the landowner would have been rare. Nevertheless, it seems reasonable to argue that the landowners of Wales have been misrepresented and that a revision of received opinion is due, in line with that accorded the landlords of Scotland and Ireland.

### Notes

1. Henry Ashworth, *Recollections of Richard Cobden* (London, 1879), pp. 147, 171, 282.
2. N. Gash, *Politics in the Age of Peel: A Study in the Technique of Parliamentary Representation, 1830–50* (2nd. edn., Hassocks, 1977), pp. 177–85; R. Olney, *Lincolnshire Politics, 1832–85* (Oxford, 1973), pp. 32–48; F. O’Gorman, ‘Electoral Deference in Unreformed England, 1760–1832’, *Journal of Modern History*, 56 (1984), 391–429.
3. J. E. Pomfret, *The Struggle for Land in Ireland, 1800–1923* (Princeton, 1930).
4. J. H. Whyte, ‘Landlord Influence at Elections in Ireland, 1760–1885’, *English Historical Review*, 80 (1965), 740–60.
5. K. T. Hoppen, *Elections, Politics and Society in Ireland, 1832–85* (Oxford, 1984), p. 147.
6. W. E. Vaughan, *Landlords and Tenants in Mid-Victorian Ireland* (Oxford, 1994).
7. T. M. Devine, *The Transformation of Rural Scotland: Social Change and the Agrarian Economy, 1660–1815* (Edinburgh, 1994), pp. 118–19; *The Great Highland Famine* (Edinburgh, 1988), pp. 178–89. The Highlands, however, did witness clearances.
8. *Yr Amserau*, 27 Ebrill 1859, editorial, ‘Etholwyr Sir Feirionydd’; I. G. Jones, ‘Merioneth Politics at Mid-Century’ in I. G. Jones (ed.), *Explorations and Explanations: Essays in the Social History of Victorian Wales* (Llandyssul, 1981), pp. 83–164, deals fully with this controversy.
9. PP 1868–9, VIII, Select Committee on Parliamentary and Municipal Elections, particularly the evidence of Thomas Hughes and Reverend Michael D. Jones.
10. For this fund see M. Cragoe, ‘John Griffith, Y Gohebydd, and the General Election of 1868 in Wales’, in *Transactions of the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion* (forthcoming).
11. R. T. Jenkins, ‘The Development of Nationalism in Wales’, *Sociological Review*, 27 (1935), 163–82; K. O. Morgan, *Wales in British Politics 1868–1922* (3rd. edn., Cardiff, 1980) pp. 22–7; P. Jenkins, *A History of Modern Wales, 1536–1990* (London, 1992), pp. 321–4.
12. H. J. Hanham, *Elections and Party Management: Politics in the time of Disraeli and Gladstone* (London, 1959), pp. 13–14; K. Robbins, *Nineteenth Century Britain: Integration and Diversity* (Oxford, 1988), p. 110; E. J. Evans, *The Forging of the Modern State: Early Industrial Britain, 1783–1870*, 2nd. ed. (London, 1996), p. 374.
13. H. Pelling, ‘Land Reform and Class Conflict in Victorian Britain’, in *The Structured Crowd: Essays in English Social History* (Brighton, 1981), pp. 100–135; E. Biagini, *Liberty, Retrenchment and Reform* (Cambridge, 1992), pp. 50–60, 186–91. For a Welsh version of this, accusing landowners of giving short leases on chapels to force dissenters to vote as directed: *Baner Ac Amserau Cymru*, 14 Hydref 1868, 3–4, ‘Llythr Y Gohebydd’.
14. This paragraph is based upon B. Solow, *The Land Question and the Irish Economy, 1870–1903* (Cambridge, Mass., 1971), pp. 54–7; W. E. Vaughan, *Landlords and Tenants*, pp. 21–3.
15. D. S. Jones, ‘The Cleavage Between Graziers and Peasants in the Land Struggle, 1890–1910’, in S. Clark and J. S. Donnelly, jr., *Irish Peasants: Violence and Political Unrest, 1780–1914* (Wisconsin, 1983), pp. 392–6.
16. Devine, *The Great Highland Famine*, pp. 179–89.

17. Hoppen, *Elections, Politics and Society*, p. 128.
18. Solow, *The Land Question*, pp. 54–7.
19. Vaughan, *Landlords and Tenants*, pp. 29–30.
20. J. V. Beckett, 'Landownership and Estate Management', in G. Mingay (ed.), *The Agrarian History of England and Wales, Vol. VI, 1750–1850* (Cambridge, 1989), p. 616.
21. T. W. Beastall, *The Agricultural Revolution in Lincolnshire* (Lincoln, 1978), p. 152.
22. J. R. Wordie, *Estate Management in Eighteenth Century England: The Building of the Leveson-Gower Fortune* (London, 1982), p. 184.
23. S. Wade-Martins, *A Great Estate at Work: The Holkham Estate and its Inhabitants in the Nineteenth Century* (Cambridge, 1980).
24. D. Spring, *The English Landed Estate in the Nineteenth Century: Its Administration* (Baltimore, 1963), p. 110.
25. B. Short, 'The Turnover of Tenants on the Ashburnham Estate, 1830–1850', *Sussex Archaeological Collections*, 113 (1975), 164.
26. Wade-Martins, *A Great Estate*, pp. 111–12.
27. F. M. L. Thompson, *English Landed Society in the Nineteenth Century* (London, 1963), p. 202.
28. M. Taylor, *The Decline of British Radicalism 1847–1860* (Oxford, 1995), pp. 53–4.
29. F. O'Gorman, 'Electoral Deference in Unreformed England, 1760–1832', *Journal of Modern History*, 56 (1984), 391–429.
30. Gash, *Politics in the Age of Peel*, pp. 177–85.
31. D. C. Moore, *The Politics of Deference* (Hassocks, 1976); Olney, *Lincolnshire Politics*, pp. 32–48.
32. J. R. Fisher, 'The Limits of Deference', *Journal of British Studies*, 21 (1981), pp. 90–105.
33. Thompson, *English Landed Society*, p. 203; Beckett, 'Landownership', p. 616; Beastall, *The Agricultural Revolution*, p. 152.
34. Whyte, 'Landlord Influence at Irish Elections'; Vaughan, *Landlords and Tenants*, p. 33.
35. Hoppen, *Elections, Politics and Society*, pp. 144–9.
36. D. Howell, *Land and People in Nineteenth Century Wales* (London, 1977), pp. 63–4.
37. J. Davies, *Cardiff and the Marquesses of Bute* (Cardiff, 1981), pp. 158–60.
38. M. Cragoe, *An Anglican Aristocracy: The Moral Economy of the Landed Estate in Carmarthenshire, 1832–1895* (Oxford, 1996), pp. 44–9; R. Colyer, 'Some Aspects of Land Occupation in Nineteenth-Century Cardiganshire', *Transactions of the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion* (1981), 85–6.
39. Chester Record Office, Stanley of Alderley MS, DSA/105/2, 'WO Stanley 1838, 'Journals & Notes' [unfoliated], 'May 1838'.
40. *Carnarvon and Denbigh Herald*, 24th July, 1852, editorial. National Library of Wales/ Chirk Castle MSS/C/96, Longueville & Williams to [unknown], 6th July 1852, confirming this impression.
41. *Carnarvon and Denbigh Herald*, 17th July, 1852, advertisement.
42. Jones, 'Merioneth Politics at Mid-Century', remains the authoritative treatment of this controversy.
43. Reports of pressure being applied to tenants on both estates surfaced during the campaign; *Yr Amserau*, 11 Mai 1859, 'Brwydr Fawr Sir Feirionydd'.
44. *Carnarvon and Denbigh Herald*, 22nd July 1868, Denbighshire and Merioneth nominations.
45. *Baner Cymru*, 27 Gorphenaf 1859, p. 465, 'Yr Erlidigaeth yn Sir Feirionydd'; *Yr Amserau*, 31 Awst and 21 Medi 1859, advertisement: 'Etholiad Sir Feirionydd a Thenantiaid Digartref'; *Baner Ac Amserau Cymru*, 26 Hydref 1859, p. 64. The subscription raised £80.
46. Cragoe, 'John Griffith, "Y Gohebydd"', for more on this.
47. *Carnarvon and Denbigh Herald*, 22nd July 1868, 'Merionethshire Contested Election'. *Baner Ac Amserau Cymru*, 26 Gorphenaf 1865, p. 6, 'Y Bala a'i Helyntion', claims that the 'screw was again being used heavily in the vicinity of Bala'.



48. *Carnarvon and Denbigh Herald*, 20th June 1868, editorial; *Baner Ac Amserau Cymru*, 22 Gorphenaf 1868, pp. 3–5, ‘Llythr Y Gohebydd’.
49. *Baner Ac Amserau Cymru*, 31 Mawrth 1869, p. 7, letter of ‘Tremydd’, ‘Sir Aberteifi: Dydd Dial y Toryaid’.
50. The Welsh-language Liberal newspapers printed Gohebydd’s reports but not the landowners’ responses. *Baner Ac Amserau Cymru*, 22 Rhagfyr 1869, pp. 4–5, ‘Y Merthyron Politicaidd’.
51. The tenants in question were David Davies of Rhosgoch, Llanycrwys (landlord, Mr. Harford of Falcondale); Joshua Thomas, Blaenina (Herbert Evans, Highmead); and David Evans of Penrhywddryce, Cydplwyf (Reverend Thomas Williams).
52. T. Williams, Nantbwllch (Reverend T. Jenkins); S. Jones, Dolgoy (D. Thomas, Llanfair); W. James, Corgan (Major Watkins, Llwynybrain).
53. *Welshman*, 17th December 1869.
54. *Western Mail*, 22nd December 1869.
55. One of these was Mr Jones, Maesyongiau, who was himself accused of having evicted a tenant for political reason after the election – a fact which perhaps suggests that he was innocent of the charge made against him. This was not the only recorded instance: *Cambria Daily Leader*, 16th and 20th December 1869.
56. *Cambria Daily Leader*, 27th December 1869, letter of J. Davies.
57. *Cambria Daily Leader*, 29th December 1869, letter of J. Davies.
58. *Carmarthen Journal*, 14th January 1870.
59. *Carmarthen Journal*, 18th February 1870.
60. *Welshman*, 24th December 1869.
61. *Carmarthen Journal*, 24th December 1869, letter of Charles Longcroft; *Cambria Daily Leader*, 28th December 1869, letter of Morgan Jones.
62. *Cambria Daily Leader*, 5th January 1870, letter of Thomas Davies; Morgan Jones responded 10th January 1870.
63. Welsh farms were often passed on in this way: Cragoe, *An Anglican Aristocracy*, pp. 34–5. Morgan’s case is complicated as he held land from two estates, Nanteos and Gogerddan: *Welshman*, 31st December 1869.
64. The others were: Evan Beynon, Blaencwm (Mr Davies, Bank House); Reverend W. M. Davies, Blaenycod (Mr Green, Carmarthen); J. James, Wernddu (Colonel Powell, Nanteos); D. Jones, Brynchwyth (Colonel Powell, Nanteos); D. Evans, Erwen Fach (Colonel Saunders Davies, Pentre); Reverend D. Davies, Hafodhir (Earl of Lisburne).
65. *Welshman*, 17th December 1869.
66. All four cases are reported in *Welshman*, 31st December 1869.
67. *Welshman*, 24th December 1869.
68. *Welshman*, 17th December 1869.
69. *Welshman*, 17th December 1869.
70. *Welshman*, 31st December 1869.
71. The case of Lewis, Roderick and Owen appeared in *Welshman*, 17th December 1869.
72. As John Bowen, Llwyn Einon Ucha described in a letter respecting the eviction of Evan Beynon of Blaencwm, tenant of Mr Davies, Bank House: ‘the plumper for Sartoris [Liberal candidate in Carmarthenshire] . . . was as a microscope for Mr. Davies to perceive . . . small wrong things done by Mr. E. B. magnified, so he discovered through his new glass that Evan Beynon was a “notoriously slovenly and ruinously bad farmer” . . .’. *Welshman*, 7th January 1870.
73. *Welshman*, 14th January 1870, letter of M. Jones.
74. *Welshman*, 31st December 1869.
75. *Welshman*, 17th December 1869.
76. Bowen Thomas also held land of his own elsewhere, and had been removing fodder from his rented holding to feed cattle thereon, contrary to his leasing agreement: *Welshman*, 24th December 1869, and 4th January 1870, letter of Mr Thomas of Parke.

77. *Welshman*, 24th and 31st December 1869.
78. These were a feature of the election in this area: M. Cragoe, 'Conscience or Coercion? Clerical Influence at the General Election of 1868 in Wales', *Past and Present*, 149 (1995), 163–7.
79. *Welshman*, 14th January 1870.
80. *Hansard*, third series, 12th August 1871.
81. Cragoe, *An Anglican Aristocracy*, pp. 176–7.
82. Gwynedd Record Office, Caernarfon: X/Vaynol/2783, R. G. Duff to John Millington, 7th November 1868.
83. I intend to deal with the Owen case in more detail elsewhere.
84. *Welshman*, 21st December 1869, letter of R. Gardiner.