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NANTEOS : A LANDED ESTATE IN DECLINE 1800-1930

“In squandering wealth was his peculiar art :
Nothing went unrewarded but desert.
Beggar'd by fools, whom still he found too late :
He had his jest, and they had his estate.”

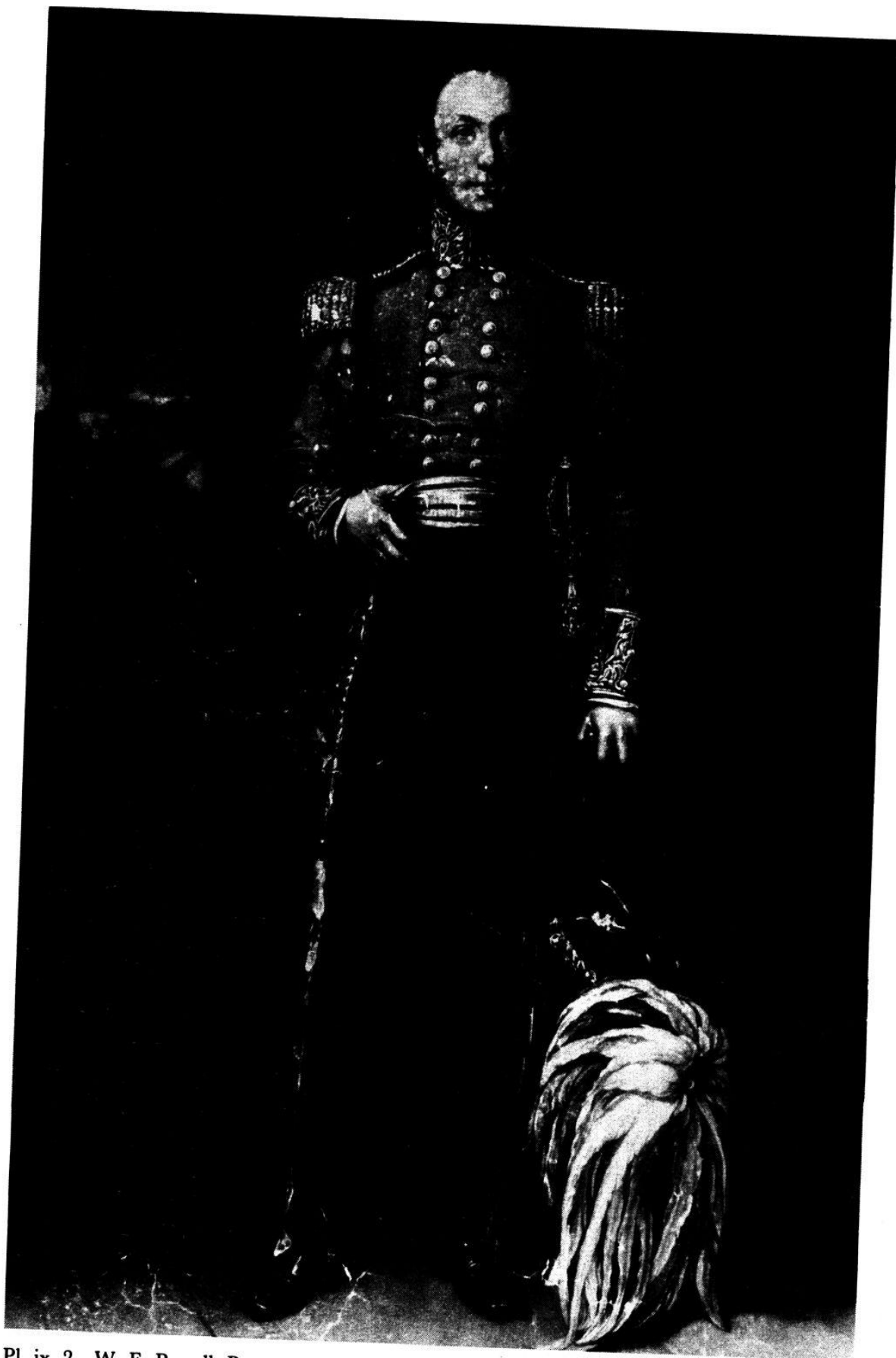
John Milton : *Absolom and Achitophel*.

The origin of the rise to local eminence of the Powell family lay in the successful legal career of Sir Thomas Powell of Llechwedd-dyrus (1631-1704) who became a King's Bench judge and Baron of the Exchequer during the reign of James II. Sir Thomas's son, William, married Avarina, daughter of Cornelius le Brun and his wife Ann, co-heiress of John Jones of Nanteos.¹ Their son Thomas, who served as Member of Parliament both for the Borough and the County, had married Mary, daughter of Sir John Frederick, Lord Mayor of London. Although she brought her husband a substantial dowry, part of which was expended in the construction of the present mansion, Mary was unable to provide Thomas with an heir to the Nanteos estate, and upon his death in 1752 the property devolved upon his only surviving brother, the scholarly Dr. William Powell, LL.D.² Upon his wife Elizabeth, daughter of Athelstan Owen of Rhiwsaeson in Montgomeryshire, the doctor sired a son, Thomas, who was eventually to become involved in the founding of the Welsh Girls' School at Ashford in Middlesex. Thomas died in 1797, leaving his wife Eleanor, his heir William (b.1788), a younger son, Richard, and two daughters, together with relatively modest contract debts of £12,000.

The broad, if infertile, acres to which William Powell was heir, were widely dispersed throughout north Cardiganshire. While the bulk of the property was concentrated in the parish of Llanfihangel-y-Creuddyn between the Ystwyth and Rheidol rivers, with outlying farms in the mountainous country between Devil's Bridge and Pont-erwyd, the family also held land bordering upon Cors Tregaron, together with the old Strata Florida Abbey estate in the uplands of Caron. Apart from six great mountain sheepwalks in the parish of Llanddewi Abergwesyn which represented the most easterly limit of Nanteos's 30,000 acres, and isolated holdings in Llanddewibrefi and Llangybi, the remainder of the estate was in Lampeter Rural parish to the south-east of Cribyn. A series of family settlements had ensured that a life tenant of the estate, while enjoying the right to draw income from, and raise mortgages upon them, was precluded from disposing of the above properties during the first three-quarters of the nineteenth century. On the other hand, inheritances and prudent purchases in the preceding century, had led to the accumulation of a considerable



Pl. ix, 1 Nanteos: a lithography by Stonnard and Dixon, *ca.* 1850. By courtesy of the National Library of Wales.



Pl. ix, 2 W. E. Powell. By courtesy of the National Library of Wales.

amount of unsettled real estate, both agricultural and domestic, which successive life tenants were legally entitled to sell when adverse estate finances created a demand for ready cash.

Under the terms of his will, Thomas Powell had charged his wife and her co-trustees, Sir John Hill and Thomas Morgan, with the maintenance of the estate during William's minority. With a net annual income of £4,000 and fixed yearly outgoings of £2,000, Sir John Hill believed that the simple contract debts of the late life tenant could be readily discharged from income rather than having recourse to borrowing or further mortgaging of the already heavily encumbered estate. This was especially important since demands for the repayment of capital mortgage sums raised during Thomas Powell's life-time were already being made upon the trustees. However, as Sir John blandly observed, in 1798, such demands would have to be "passed over for a while" as no cash was currently available.³

Following the death of her husband, Eleanor Powell had retired to London, mortified perhaps by the prospect of the *ennui* of a long widowhood in west Cardiganshire. Her departure was a mixed blessing so far as the fortunes of the estate were concerned. On the credit side, the vacant mansion could now be let, and after spending considerable sums upon repairs in 1798, the trustees managed to persuade one Samuel Pocock to rent both mansion and demesne for 300 guineas per annum.⁴ On the other hand, Mrs. Powell was rather more concerned with the furnishing of her London house and building up her position in polite society than paying off the estate debts. Her husband had provided her with a jointure of £800 per year in addition to an annual allowance of £600 for the maintenance of her younger son and two daughters. Due largely to Mrs. Powell's personal extravagance this proved to be quite insufficient and throughout 1800 she wrote persistently to her fellow trustees for an increase in her yearly allowance. Mindful of his duties towards the estate, Sir John Hill preached the virtues of economy to the widow, noting, somewhat primly, "We must always keep in mind the circumstances of our Dear Wards, considering that the greater Oeconomists we are during their minorities, the more it will be for their advantage hereafter . . .". Sir John was also adamant in his refusal to sanction the estate's paying £35 for young William to learn swordmanship; in his view a perfectly unnecessary extravagance.⁵ However, in 1800, notwithstanding the very small balance of cash in the estate account after Mrs. Powell's jointure, the children's allowances and general estate repairs had been paid, Sir John Hill and Thomas Morgan agreed to allow her an extra £180 per year to meet the costs of educating Anna-Maria Powell and the two younger children.⁶ For the next ten years, Mrs. Powell appears to have lived alternately in London and Dublin, accumulating the debts which

were to plague her son William when he assumed responsibility for the Nanteos estate in 1809.

The year 1800 witnessed William's embarking upon what was no doubt a miserable sojourn as a boarder at Westminster School, his expenses being defrayed from the estate account.⁷ Of his scholastic attainments we know little, save that he survived the rigours of Westminster to attend Christ Church, Oxford, from which he graduated in 1807 at nineteen years of age. In common with many young men of his age and class without academic or ecclesiastical ambitions, Powell, upon graduating, immediately purchased a commission in a regiment of foot.⁸ While his military duties took him to Ireland and other parts of Britain, William Edward Powell's patrimony was managed by an ever-changing kaleidoscope of bailiffs, sub-agents and agents, orchestrated by a London solicitor, Robert Appleyard of Lincoln's Inn. During the heir's minority, Appleyard, together with the estate trustees, had struggled manfully against the corruption of local agents, and the profligate expenditure of Mrs. Eleanor Powell to maintain sufficient income to discharge the late Thomas Powell's contract debts. Despite their efforts, the new life-tenant was faced with a formidable debt burden of £20,377 when he came of age in 1809.⁹ The possibility of discharging such a debt must have seemed distinctly remote to Powell whose gross estate income of £7,200 was effectively reduced to £3,770 by the time annual allowances had been met. His local agents, who were unreliable and unpopular with the tenants had, in the absence of any responsible resident member of the family, been systematically mulcting the estate.¹⁰ Matters clearly required the close attention of Powell himself. In the spring of 1809, his grandfather, Edward Corbet of Ynysmaengwyn implored him to return from Bath to oversee the collection of his rents, writing that, "the fatal destiny and destructive measures now carried on require most active and instant preventatives."¹¹ Corbet's concern was further expressed in a letter to Johnathon Marsden, lessee of the Cwmystwyth Mine, in which he urged Marsden to persuade Powell to look to his own mining interests and thus to avoid the financial loss consequent upon delegation to unscrupulous agents. "He is", wrote Corbet, "of a kind and indolent, tho' very valuable disposition, chearful [*sic*], pleasant and winning in his manner and his Principles most honorable and replete with Integrity; but subject to every imposition . . ."¹²

With the eternal optimism of youth, Powell chose to ignore the cajolings of his grandfather. Twenty-one years of age, married to a young wife and recently appointed High Sheriff of the County, he did not feel moved to burden his mind with the problems and responsibilities of estate management.¹³ Any suggestion of retrenchment being repugnant to him, he continued to pursue the pleasures of Bath and his

Newmarket stud, leaving the management of Nanteos to Appleyard and his local solicitor, James Hughes of Glanrheidol. When the opportunity arose the young squire visited Cardiganshire where he involved himself in the activities of the local Agricultural Society and, much to the horror of his agent, who was constantly being pressurised by the estate's creditors, expended heavy sums on the improvement of the home farm¹⁴. Robert Appleyard was convinced that the estate was faced with imminent ruin unless Powell was prepared to take matters in hand, particularly with regard to the management of the servants who were taking every opportunity to exploit the absence of the life-tenant. Powell was advised, for example, to keep the key of the "fine wine cellar" about his person and to employ an honest butler capable of resisting the temptation of dispensing good cheer to all and sundry.¹⁵ When he audited the 1811 accounts, Appleyard was mortified to discover that household expenditure amounted to almost £900, much of which involved payments to servants for duties which had not been discharged; "In short my good fellow you are involving yourself in every quarter and *selling your estate* to pay a set of servants and others who seem to be living upon you in all directions".¹⁶

By 1812, William Powell, whose annual income after payments for estate repairs and allowances to annuitants and others now amounted to £2500, was spending in excess of £5000 per year. Robert Appleyard, who appreciated that this profligacy could only result in the ruin which most of the county were predicting, wrote to Powell in Ireland urging him to limit his expenditure to £1200-£1500 annually and thus to leave a surplus for the discharge of accumulated debts. After all, if the scale of the Nanteos household were restricted, and yearly expenditure pared to £1500, ". . . you can still afford a carriage and live handsomely." Powell's bankers, Hopkinson and Sons, from whom he had borrowed £4500 early in 1811, were quite unequivocal; "In order to arrange your matters it will be necessary only for you to fix on living on a certain part of your income and by no means to exceed it and to enable your Trustees to receive the other part to apply to the liquidation of your debts . . ." ¹⁷

In May 1811, William Powell's general debts stood as follows :—

Private creditors	£5500	Sir Robert Vaughan	£6000
Hopkinsons	£4500	Goslings	£1800
Morris of Carmarthen	£1000	H. Hughes	£3000
Bonds at Carmarthen	£2000	Debts to grandfather	£3000
	<hr/>		<hr/>
Aberystwyth Bank	£13000		£13800
	£ 2500		<hr/>
	<hr/>		
	£15500		
	<hr/>		

The unenviable task of arranging for the settlement of these debts fell to Appleyard and Hughes who devised a scheme for the payment of the most pressing demands, those of the private creditors and of Sir Robert Vaughan of Hengwrt, Merionethshire, from whom Powell had purchased the adjoining estate of Lovesgrove for £6000. Sir Robert's purchase money was raised by the sale of unentailed outlying land in the Tregaron area, of farms in Llansantffraed and by further mortgage of the entailed Nanteos estate. The purchase of Lovesgrove having been duly completed, the estate was immediately mortgaged for £4000 which was apportioned among the Aberystwyth creditors.¹⁸ For the time being the other debts remained unpaid and the affairs of the estate remained in *status quo* for the next three years during which Powell was stationed in Ireland with his regiment. By 1813, he seems to have grown dimly aware of the necessity for retrenchment and he yielded to the insistence of his bankers (from whom he had borrowed a further £3000 early in the year) that he dispose of his race horses at Tattersall's¹⁹.

Meanwhile, the dowager Mrs. Powell's debts in London and Dublin had reached such a level as to provoke a prudent withdrawal to Boulogne in 1812. Here she lived with her children at a level substantially above her income. Powell himself believed that his mother was both squandering her allowance and neglecting his sister's education and thus he felt that it might be appropriate that as she was spending her money, "in a way by no means creditable", a proportion of her allowance be withheld and expended upon Anna-Maria Powell's education.²⁰ Sanctimonious letters from William Powell on the subject of economy must have struck a rather hollow note with his mother who was only too aware of her son's own penchant for overspending. Indeed she seems to have taken little note of his remonstrations and continued to present heavy bills to Powell which were eventually discharged from the estate account. Between 1809 and 1821 the estate paid off £5419 of her debts, a sum which had no doubt increased substantially by her death in 1826.²¹

Although exiled to France, the old dowager maintained an active interest in the affairs of the family, especially respecting the marriage of her daughters Ellen and Anna-Maria. When Ellen married Edward Tufton Phelps, a gentleman of large family and small fortune, Mrs. Powell was extremely angry at her daughter's alliance with a man whose estate was valued at only half the total sum of his family's debts. Moreover, she asked her eldest son in 1811, "Is it true that he *plays* (and) belongs to several public hunts and clubs, which even in a man of fortune would be an insurmountable objection." Anna Maria who, in 1817, was still living with her mother in France, formed a liaison with a Mr. Ramsay who followed her across the Channel when she

returned to England several years later. In the early stages the dowager had approved of this relationship, although by 1820, "his fortune is so shrunk that it could never be considered an eligible match". By this time also, Anna Maria's passion for Mr. Ramsay seems to have cooled in the face of the rather dubious charms of Roderick Richardes who lived with his brother in Penglais mansion near Aberystwyth, and with whom the young woman stayed upon returning to Cardiganshire. This resulted in a complete break with her mother who was appalled by the "libertine characters" in Penglais and refused further to communicate with her daughter who had flown "to the house of a Fool, Coward and Blackguard." After a severe beating by the Richardes brothers in 1820 the unfortunate Ramsay withdrew his suit, leaving the way clear for Roderick to lay siege to Anna-Maria. The Powells differed in their attitudes towards a possible match. William, the head of the family, seems to have taken little interest in the matter, while his brother Richard who had himself developed, "a foolish attachment" for Miss Richardes, was very much in favour of his sisters relationship with Richardes. The dowager Mrs. Powell, in trying to persuade William to introduce his sister to some young man of family and fortune urged him not to give Richardes any encouragement before becoming properly informed of his circumstances. As a fickle man of unpleasant personal habits, he seemed hardly a suitable candidate for her daughter's hand; "He lives now much beyond his income, besides he is reckoned extremely weak and his person and manner hideous". "Only consider," she wrote to William, "what Anne's feelings will be when she appears in the world with such a Man."

No doubt to her eternal regret, Anna-Maria agreed to marry the objectionable Richardes who soon showed his true colours by regularly beating and abusing her in the most bestial manner. Even when she was confined with her first child, his cruel and inhuman treatment continued unabated. Moreover, "his dreadful, blackguard low language" was such that servants refused to remain at Penglais. In short, by 1825 Anna-Maria, who had come to Calais with her husband on one of his frequent flights from his creditors, could take no more. The following November, after Richardes had threatened to throw her out of the Calais house, she returned to England with her children and took up residence in Penglais. Here she remained for many years, living on an allowance of £30 per month from her estranged husband who settled in Southampton upon his return from France in 1843. A year later, Richardes had tried to persuade his wife to leave Aberystwyth so that he could let Penglais and the grounds of the mansion. This she refused to do, much to her husband's annoyance. To his solicitor, John Parry of Aberystwyth, he complained, "Nothing good or useful, I am sure can be obtained by her remaining in and about that sink of

iniquity and idleness, Aberystwyth, and the recent frightful and disgraceful act of her eldest son seems to make no impression whatsoever." This son, Alexander Richardes, a persistent poacher who had incurred the wrath of both the Nanteos and Trawscoed estate offices, had a child by his mistress in 1844, following which "disgraceful act" his allowance of £60 per year was withdrawn. In the autumn of 1848 after more than a quarter of a century of marriage, Richardes and his wife were formally separated and the marriage was eventually annulled.

While these various personal dramas were being enacted the Nanteos estate lurched from crisis to crisis. A generation of mismanagement by inept agents, corrupt bailiffs and indifferent tenants holding their farms at unrealistically low rents had produced the inevitable result of dilapidation and decay. Tenancy covenants had been neglected, farm buildings allowed to tumble to ruins, and hedges and walls permitted to fall into disrepair. Shortly before Adam Murray's 1814 valuation, which highlighted the decrepit condition of the estate, Powell was informed that James Hughes had offered one of his friends a bottle of wine for every gate he could find on the property. Moreover, despite the large sums which had been spent upon it, the home farm was now in a condition of dilapidation equal to that of the worst tenanted property on the estate.²² Such a situation merited drastic action, and by deed of March 1817, the year following his election as Member of Parliament for the County, Powell granted power of attorney to John Edwards and James Lyon of Bloomsbury and William Vaughan of Llantrisant to act jointly as his attorneys and to undertake the management of the estate and expedite the payment of outstanding debts. The triumvirate acted immediately by dispensing with the services of Barber, the Nanteos bailiff, who had been systematically embezzling the estate over a long period of time. He had perpetrated, observed John Beynon, Powell's Tregaron agent, ". . . a more thorough system of theft and villainy (as) I have never heard related . . .".²³ Barber was replaced by Adam Armstrong of Tynyrhyd who, in collaboration with Robert Appleyard, successfully persuaded Powell to abandon further expenditure on the home farm. "There are very strong reasons for this", wrote Appleyard in 1820, "namely that he neither understands nor takes the least pleasure in farming; that it is a continual drain on his purse by misapplying the rents which ought to go to other purposes and thirdly that he never knows nor has any correct means of judging what he gains or loses by it."²⁴ This action met with the approval of resident landlords in the county who appreciated the folly of attempting to manage a home farm while living away from the estate. As Colonel Brooks of Neuadd Trefawr was informed by a correspondent, "Powell judged very proper by selling by auction his North Devon cows, horses, sheep etc. to the tune of sixteen hundred pounds and let

out his farm at a guinea per acre . . . to get rid of the expense of keeping a farm and not residing at home . . .".²⁵ Abandonment of the farm was followed by the letting of the mansion and a substantial reduction in the population of the kennels and stables.

Beethoven once observed, with his characteristic lack of charity, that he looked upon his friends as instruments upon which he played as he pleased. In similar vein, W. E. Powell of Nanteos seems to have regarded his agents in much the same way as most men would regard a pair of shoes; to be worn, used and finally rejected. Nanteos agents and bailiffs were regularly subject to salary reductions, summary dismissals and mischievous character assassination on the part of their subordinates. While there is ample evidence in the estate papers to suggest that certain agents and their assistants were less than honest, the combined effects of local intrigue and Powell's own capricious nature meant that the agency of Nanteos offered little in the way of long-term career prospects. Powell who, despite (or because of) his profligacy with money, was popular with his tenants, was frequently the recipient of rumours and innuendos from disgruntled tenants, angered perhaps, at the insistence of the agent that rent arrears be paid, that encroachments be checked and tenancy agreements honoured. Thus, one agent attributed his differences with Powell to local "Malevolence and Rancour", while two dismissed bailiffs considered their misfortune to be due to local intrigue. "I could forgive any trait of your conduct towards me", wrote Adam Armstrong to Powell following his dismissal in 1820, "save that of letting my character be blackened by people with a vested interest in breaking the confidence between us".²⁶

Midway through 1820 Powell decided to dismiss Robert Appleyard as his London lawyer and also to relieve Adam Armstrong of his duties. The year 1820 also witnessed the dissolution of the Edwards/Lyon/Vaughan arrangement and the establishment of a management trust under the aegis of John Edwards of Bloomsbury and William George Cherry of Buckland in Herefordshire whose daughter was eventually to marry Powell's son in 1839. Cherry took his duties very seriously and constantly bombarded Powell with lengthy letters, usually advisory and from time to time censorious. Cherry was kept informed of the affairs of Nanteos by James Hughes, who had tenaciously clung to his position as local solicitor for the estate, and by George Warbrick who replaced the unfortunate Armstrong as bailiff.

By 1823 the financial affairs of the estate had once again reached a critical position. Total income from the Nanteos, Llanbrynmair, and Tregaron estates together with properties in Carmarthen amounted to £8166, of which £2928 was required to pay interest upon the mortgage debt of £58,550.²⁷ A mere £5,238 remained for the payment of jointures and allowances to the dowager Mrs. Powell and her children,

the discharge of bond debts (currently in excess of £6000) and the expenditure of William Powell himself.²⁸ Following a dramatic encounter in November when sheriff's officers levied upon certain effects in Nanteos mansion in the name of a creditor and insisted, (much to the annoyance of the Nanteos tenant) in taking possession of the mansion until some of the creditor's demands had been met, Powell and his trustees decided that the time had come for drastic action.²⁹ Inevitably, this involved the disposal of real estate. While Cherry and Edwards stalled for time by persuading the clamouring creditors in London and elsewhere that their demands would be met from land sales, Powell arranged for the sale of his un-entailed property at Llanbrynmair in Montgomeryshire. The land was eventually purchased for £18,250 by Captain John Conroy, the ambitious Irishman who was ultimately to play such a major role in Court circles. Concerned that Powell might dispose of the sale money in an irresponsible manner, Cherry insisted that the whole proceeds be placed in the hands of the trustees to be appropriated to paying off both the Llanbrynmair mortgage of £6,000 and the bond creditors. Cherry was in a tough mood and warned Powell that without his, "unequivocal promise as a man of Honor and a Gentleman", that this measure would be observed, he would personally institute a Chancery suit and advise the creditors to proceed to law without delay.³⁰ This threat seems to have had the desired effect and the Llanbrynmair sales provided a temporary respite.

Over the next three years, Cherry and Edwards succeeded in raising sufficient loans and new mortgages to discharge the bulk of the arrears of interest on longstanding debts and by 1826 some £8,800 of contract and bond debts remained.³¹ Cherry argued that much of this could be paid if Powell were prepared to part with the Lovesgrove estate which, of course, did not form part of the family settlement. While he agreed that it was a great pity to dispose of real estate, Powell would inevitably be forced to sell some of his un-entailed property if he were to avoid law proceedings from his creditors: "The question, in my mind, does not admit of a moment's hesitation—that is always provided you have any wish to get rid of your troubles (for really I sometimes fancy they act as a kind of stimulus or amusement to you). I once knew an old lady who was never so happy as when under the influence of a blister."³² Although Cherry repeated his argument in July, Lovesgrove remained under Nanteos control until 1843 when it was purchased by John Evans for £7,500.³³

Since 1824, Powell's relationship with Cherry had become increasingly strained, and in the summer of 1826 he accused Cherry, for no apparent reason, of acting dishonestly in his capacity as a trustee. Refusing further communication with Cherry, he authorised one Victor Lozon of Barnstaple and the perennial James Hughes to attend to all

matters between him and his trustees and to, "finally settle all and every outstanding account between me and my trustees, agents and stewards". Having received a particularly hostile letter from Hughes, Cherry denied all accusations against him and invited Powell to have a *gentleman* (implying that such a term could not be applied to James Hughes of Glanrheidol) examine his accounts.³⁴ The departure of Cherry was quickly followed by the resignation of George Warbrick, leaving the management of Nanteos for the next decade in the control of James Hughes, to whom part of the estate was mortgaged for £4,000.³⁵ Throughout the late eighteen twenties and the thirties, Powell was constantly being reminded by his agent of the parlous finances of the estate and of the pressing need to exercise severe retrenchment. Having settled the account of William Roberts, the butcher who had come to him "with tears in his eyes", on 11 June 1833, he counselled Powell, "Therefore, dear Colonel, let me try and entreat you to turn these matters in your thoughts most seriously for it is very evident we are getting backwards and unless some change takes place you will be in the same unfortunate situation you were some years ago . . . In consequence of the difficulty I find in paying folks I have been obliged to stop all improvements on your estate." Some indication of the range and magnitude of estate expenditure at this time is given in Appendix I.

It is important to appreciate that although William Powell had never shown a great deal of enthusiasm for thrift and economy, his heavy expenditure in relation to his income was not entirely due to an excess of hedonism. He was, after all, no longer a plain country squire. As Member for the County, Lord Lieutenant and Custos Rotulorum he was expected to entertain lavishly both at Nanteos (which became his principal residence around 1830) and at his London home. Moreover, maintaining one's position and "interest" in the county necessitated heavy expenditure upon charitable causes, subscriptions to schools, churches, markets and any number of local building projects besides the crippling cost of appearing regularly in the hunting field. The more important a man's position in county society, the more munificent were his charitable acts and the more expansive his style of life expected to be. Thus, having once achieved high social and political position a gentleman was frequently forced to encumber his estate with heavy mortgages in order to live in the style which society expected. Of course, a fine mansion furnished tastefully and expensively did a great deal to enhance his position, a fact which was no doubt in Powell's mind when he decided to refurbish the rather austere eighteenth century edifice at Nanteos. Back in 1831 he had been considering certain alterations to the house, but had been dissuaded from so doing by his agent who wisely advised that the cost of constructing a portico could far ex-

ceed that set out in the estimate submitted by one Richard James. In 1845, however, when Hughes had despairingly abandoned any attempt to balance the estate accounts and no longer tried to restrain his employer's expenditure, Powell invited Edward Heycock, the Shrewsbury architect, to prepare plans both for a portico and a new wing for the mansion. During discussions, Powell agreed to provide rough stone, sand and oak timber from the estate and to undertake the transport of materials from Aberystwyth to Nanteos. These items apart, the final bill for the project, which was completed in 1847, totalled £2,880.

Within a few years of completing the Nanteos alterations, William Edward Powell was dead. After thirty-eight years as a Member of Parliament he expired quietly in 1854 and was laid to rest with his forefathers in the church of Llanbadarn Fawr. Under the terms of his will, dated 3 October 1852, his second wife, Harriet, was to enjoy the income granted her by his marriage settlement together with a further £500 per year which his executors were directed to raise. Moreover he willed that his wife be given the opportunity of selecting for her own use, any horses, carriages, household furniture and chattels from both Nanteos and the London house, any remaining chattels to be regarded as heirlooms. His outstanding debts and other legacies as set out in his will were to be discharged by the sale of unentailed property and the creation of further mortgages, while the Nanteos estate and all other settled lands devolved upon his son William Thomas Rowland Powell as tenant-in-tail.

W. T. R. Powell was born on 3 August 1815 and educated at Winchester. As a nineteen year old ensign in the 37th Regiment he served in Jamaica where he seems to have sown his wild oats with considerable gusto. Like his father, Powell consistently lived beyond his means and despite the remonstrations of his commanding officer, he had, by 1834, accumulated debts of £530 besides having had a number of his bills dishonoured. Colonel Smart, commander of the 37th Regiment, while appreciating the young man's wish to "cut a dash", explained to his father, "The people here, (in Jamaica) amongst whom there are a great many Jews, always make a point of getting hold of any young man they see inclined to extravagance and your son unfortunately got into their clutches."³⁶ His debts having been paid by his father, young Powell retired from the regiment with the rank of Captain and returned to Britain in 1839 when he married Rosa Edwina, daughter of W. G. Cherry, late trustee of the Nanteos estate. Of his activities over the next fifteen years we know little. However, upon the death of his father in 1854 he inherited the estate and was elected Member for the County five years later, a seat which he was to hold until 1865. The fact that an inventory of the Nanteos stables for that year mentions "4 bath chairs for Colonel Powell" suggests that he did

not enjoy the best of health and may explain why he persuaded his cousin, William Edward Phelp, to come to Nanteos and assist with the management of the estate.³⁷

Upon Phelp, who enjoyed a life annuity of £250 for his duties, descended the virtually insuperable problem of maintaining estate income at a level sufficient to meet annuity charges and mortgage interest. By 1865, due largely to increased rentals, income totalled approximately £13,000 per year, from which £6,500 was annually to be deducted for mortgage, annuity and insurance charges. Given that normal estate expenditure was running at between £4,500 and £5,000 annually, little balance remained for the discharging of bond debts (£9,000 in 1866) or expenditure on estate improvements. This meant that virtually every penny of the £10,841 expended upon estate improvement between 1862 and 1867 was raised by creating further debt.^{38,39} The inability of the estate to carry any further mortgages, in conjunction with the growing pressure from creditors precipitated the inevitable land sales and land to the value of £82,617 came under the hammer between 1868 and 1873.⁴⁰

Unlike his popular father, W. T. R. Powell did not enjoy the affection of his tenants. Neither he nor Phelp could speak or understand Welsh, relying almost entirely upon the services of a translator, one Davy Edwards, in their business affairs with the tenants. Both men had little understanding of their tenants and earned a great deal of odium in 1868 when they attempted to pressurize farmers on the estate to cast their vote for the Tory candidate at the notorious election of that year. Although no evictions followed when some farmers insisted upon voting for the Liberal man, E. M. Richards, the relationships between the estate office and the tenantry became permanently soured.⁴¹ It is unlikely, therefore, that W. T. R. Powell's death in May 1878 was the occasion for a great deal of genuine mourning on the part of his tenants.

The thirty-six year old George Ernest John Powell, who had heartily detested his father, succeeded the old Colonel as life-tenant of Nanteos. Perhaps the most cultivated and civilised of the Cardiganshire squires since Thomas Johnes of Hafod, George Powell had graduated from Brasenose and spent much of his time travelling abroad and pursuing his literary and *dilettanti* activities.⁴² Poet, eccentric, scholar and friend of Swinburne and Longfellow, he was not a man for country pursuits. Although he frequently visited Cardiganshire with Swinburne in the 1860's he preferred to carouse in Aberystwyth with his friend rather than listen to mutterings of the old squire at Nanteos who was totally unsympathetic to his son's literary interests. Thus was he wont to refer to Nanteos as, "my beautiful but unhappy home".⁴³ Such a man

was hardly likely to relish the management of a heavily encumbered estate and the current trustees managed to persuade Powell's cousin, Sylvanus Lewis of Bronaeron, to assist with the running of the property.⁴⁴ Four years later, however, nature took her revenge upon the many abuses to which George Powell had subjected his body and he died at the age of forty, having recently married a girl of obscure parentage from Goodwick in Pembrokeshire.⁴⁵

George Powell's will of 5 July 1881 declared that in the event of his having no children the estate was to pass to his father's cousin, William Beauclerk Powell, son of Richard Owen Powell who had died in 1859.⁴⁶ Between them, W. B. Powell, his wife Anna and her brother Sylvanus Lewis managed the estate economically and efficiently, so earning the fullsome praise of the trustee's solicitor, Henry Cobb, who declared his pleasure in collaborating with the trio.⁴⁷ By the late eighteen eighties, the majority of the old annuitants were dead and a series of land sales had permitted the payment of all the bond debts and many of the mortgages, so that by 1887 the estate, although contracted in size, now carried a mortgage debt of only £50,000.⁴⁸ Indeed, matters had improved to such an extent that Powell decided to set about the improvement of the appallingly dilapidated houses and farms on the estate. Accordingly, he successfully applied to the trustees to sell off parts of the settled estate under the terms of the Settled Land Act of 1882 by which life tenants were empowered to dispose of entailed real estate and to use some of the capital released towards this objective.⁴⁹ The results of his improvements may still be seen on many of the farms in the parishes of Llanbadarn and Llanfihangel-y-Creuddyn.

With the coming of age, in 1891, of his son, Edward Athelston Lewis, Powell sought the advice of Frederick Procter of Lincoln's Inn regarding the future organisation of the estate and the most appropriate means of reducing the £50,000 mortgage, interest upon which absorbed £2,000 of income annually. Observing that Edward, "has not the tastes which in the case of so many of his family who have gone before him have caused so much loss and trouble", Procter counselled Powell to join with his son in barring the entail in the family settlement, thus enabling settled lands to be sold and the mortgage debt to be reduced.⁵⁰ Acting accordingly, the Powells secured the appropriate legal authorisation and sales of extensive parts of the settled estate began in 1892, when 1547 acres were auctioned, together with properties in Aberystwyth.⁵¹ Further sales in 1897-8 caused a reduction in the mortgage debt to £30,000 and in the size of the estate to a mere 4336 acres.⁵²

Edward Athelston Lewis Powell, who had retired from the Leicestershire Regiment with the rank of Captain in 1901, now became increasingly involved in the affairs of the estate. The imposition of

Estate Duty in 1894, coupled with the fact that W. B. Powell was sixty-seven years of age in 1901, meant that sooner or later the estate would be called upon to contribute to the Exchequer coffers. To provide for this inevitable burden, a sinking fund was established into which surplus estate income was paid. This, it was hoped, would meet both death and succession duties upon the passing of W. B. Powell, and leave sufficient surplus for the payment of life insurance premiums against estate duty payments upon the death of Edward Powell.⁵³ It soon became clear, however, that with the estate now only yielding a net income of £2,000 annually there would be relatively little surplus with which to feed the sinking fund. Thus, in 1909, it was agreed to effect a major resettlement with the principle object of ensuring the continuation of the estate in the family, and, equally important, of minimising estate duty. Fortunately for all concerned, the resettlement was completed before the 1909 Finance Bill was enacted and the succession of the estate thereby ensured.⁵⁴ Having surrendered his life interest in the estate to his son under the resettlement, William Beauclerk Powell eventually died in 1911, and when his affairs were finally wound up some six years later, death duties amounted to slightly less than £6,000.⁵⁵ Two instalments of the demand were met from the sinking fund, the balance being discharged by the sale of Trefedlin Farm.⁵⁶

Like his brother-in-law, Sir Edward Webley-Parry-Pryse of Gogerddan, Edward Powell, although well into middle age, answered the call to arms when war broke out in 1914.⁵⁷ Rejoining his old regiment, he saw active service in Mesopotamia, while his nineteen year old son William Edward fought in France. Several days before the Armistice a German sniper chose the heir to the Nanteos estate as his target and as William Powell expired in the mud of Flanders so perished his father's fond hope that the name of Powell would continue to be associated with Nanteos. Reviewing the long list of his various nephews and cousins, the disconsolate Edward Powell concluded that a suitable heir was not available. Consequently he secured a series of legal arrangements throughout the nineteen twenties permitting him to dispose of parts of the estate as and when he pleased, arranging, through his will, that his real and personal estate be sold upon his death to discharge remaining mortgages and provide an income for his wife during her lifetime.⁵⁸ His death in 1930 brought about the final extinction of the male line of the Powells of Nanteos.

By way of a postscript, it should be made clear that few general conclusions about the overall condition of the landed estate in nineteenth century Cardiganshire may be drawn from the study of one estate in isolation. Nanteos, whose economic decline resulted largely

from the lack of resolve of one life tenant to extricate the estate from its difficulties, is hardly typical of many of the smaller estates, whose owners, although financially hard-pressed, tended to live within their incomes and to accumulate relatively modest mortgage burdens. Indeed, had economic factors been the sole determinants of the decline of the gentry, many of these estates may well have passed largely intact through the trying years of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. There were, however, other potent forces operating against the political, economic and social powers of the gentry. By the closing decades of the nineteenth century it was becoming clear that the occupation of large tracts of land no longer conferred political power and social prestige, and the newly-discovered political independence of the Nonconformist tenantry, combined with the passing of the Ballot Act in 1872, left few county families in any doubt that their reign as the unquestioned political representatives of the people was drawing to its close. Out of Nonconformity grew local Liberalism, the seeds of which were to yield a harvest of parliamentary members and council seats, and was to break for ever the political hegemony of the gentry. The Local Government Act of 1888 removed the necessity for a property qualification on the part of a candidate for local office, and the routing of the gentry at the County Council elections of the following year and subsequently at the elections to the newly constituted Parish Councils, left a deep psychological scar. As a political institution the gentry was now a spent force. Reeling under the trauma of the inevitability of the breakdown of the old system, its members became increasingly disinterested in politics. Sir Pryse Pryse of Gogerddan spent more of his time overseas ; at Nanteos pursuit of the fox took precedence over political interest, while at Trawscoed, Lord Lisburne, traditional leader of the Tory party did not even consider it worthwhile to subscribe to the party Registration Fund. Rejected politically, embarrassed economically and continually subject to the rancour of Radical writers and politicians who questioned the whole institution of land ownership, increasing numbers of the gentry concluded that the time was ripe to rid themselves of their estates, which, for many of them, had become a burden rather than a pleasure. The spectre of Estate Duty and other forms of taxation were of grave concern, especially as the income tax, succession duty, poor, county, highway, police and education rates fell heavily upon the landed interest, while the growing number of villa dwellers, whose incomes derived from non-landed sources, were virtually immune. Moreover, by the late nineteenth century, there were a growing number of alternative sources of investment, especially in the form of joint-stock companies, which yielded high returns on invested capital. As a

result more and more landed gentlemen decided to avail themselves of the Settled Land Act, by which they were empowered to sell real estate, thereby freeing themselves of encumbrances and releasing cash for investment in commercial and industrial development. Thus was the scene set for the flood of land sales which characterised the early twentieth century.⁵⁹

U.C.W., Aberystwyth

R. J. COLYER

NOTES

¹Cornelius le Brun was born in Cologne of a Huguenot family in 1628. He came to Wales as a young man and his success in the Cardiganshire lead mining industry permitted him to acquire estates in the Tregaron area. Having gained a foothold in local society he became naturalised in 1663 and was elected High Sheriff of the county in 1674. He died in 1704 and was buried, with other members of the Powell family, in the church of Llanbadarn Fawr.

²See, J. S. Mirylees, *The Design and contents of a country mansion, No. 3, Nanteos, Jour. Royal Welsh Ag. Soc.*, 30, 1961, p.p. 35-40. For details of the estate, see, R. J. Colyer, *The size of farms in late eighteenth and early nineteenth century Cardiganshire, Bull. Board of Celtic Studies*, 15, 1976.

³Sir John Hill to Mrs. Powell, August 12th 1797, (NLW Nanteos, Box 32.)

⁴Despite Pocock's complaint about the dilapidated condition of the Nanteos farmbuildings (S. Pocock to Mrs. Powell, October 6th 1799 and May 7th 1800). Before he undertook the tenancy, Pocock insisted upon the renovation of the dry-rot infested floor of the saloon in the mansion (Sir John Hill to Mrs. Powell, September 10th 1798 ; Box 32).

⁵Sir John Hill to Mrs. Powell, 5 November 1798 and 12 June 1800 ; Sir John Hill to Thomas Morgan 31 December 1798 ; (Box 32).

⁶Sir John Hill to Mrs. Powell, 13 September 1800 ; (Box 32).

⁷As at Eton, severe floggings were commonplace at Westminster. Robert Southey had been expelled from the school in 1792, for writing against the severity of the beatings in the school magazine, while Lawrence, who was to become Governor-General of India and went to Westminster in 1811, said bitterly ; "I was flogged once every day of my life at school except one, and there I was flogged twice".

⁸For the not inconsiderable sum of £700 which the Nanteos agent managed to pay from the 1807 rental (J. Hughes to W. E. Powell, 23 December 1807 ; Box 2).

⁹This included £5,377 of his father's debts together with £15,000 which was required for portions for his brother and two sisters.

¹⁰This was especially the case with the local solicitor, Hugh Hughes who had been involved in a series of questionable actions regarding the lead mines on the Nanteos estate. He was eventually declared insane in 1809 [See W. J. Lewis, *Lead Mining in Wales*, Cardiff, 1967, p. 172].

¹¹Edward Corbet to W. E. Powell, 8 May 1809, (Box 1) Cynic, wit and eccentric, Corbet was, "a man of the world, and when he pleased a very polished gentleman." An agricultural improver who studied medicine with a view to benefitting this tenants, he was well disposed towards all denominations, with the notable exception of the Methodists, whom he distrusted. (H. Thomas, *J. Merion. Hist. Rec. Soc.*, 4, 1962.)

¹²Edward Corbet to Johnathon Marsden, 1810 (Box 1)

¹³He married Laura Edwina, daughter of James Phelp of Coston House in Leicestershire. She died in 1820 after bearing a child in 1816.

¹⁴In the spring of 1809 Hughes had been forced to sell large quantities of timber from Devil's Bridge in order to provide £6,000 to satisfy the growing army of creditors. (*J. Hughes to W. E. Powell*, 14 April 1809 ; Box 1).

¹⁵Robert Appleyard to W. E. Powell, 5 December, 1810. (Box 1) The Nanteos butler was noted for his dedication to the bottle. When asked in verse by a London wit why his nose was so red, he replied :

"Nanteos ale both strong and stale,
Keeps my nose from looking pale." (*Welsh Gazette* 1 Feb. 1905)

¹⁶R. Appleyard to W. E. Powell, 12 February, 1811 and 12 August, 1812 ; (Box 1).

¹⁷R. Appleyard to W. E. Powell, 24 June and 18 July 1812 ; Hopkinsons to W. E. Powell, 6 March and 14 April, 1812 (Box 1)

¹⁸R. Appleyard to W. E. Powell, 6 August and 11 November 1811 ; 28 March, 1812 ; J. Beynon to W. E. Powell, 21 April 1811 ; 25 May, 1812. (Box 1).

¹⁹Hopkinsons to W. E. Powell, 27 April and 6 August 1813 (Box 1). Richard Tattersall had founded his Hyde Park Corner sales in 1766 and his premises became the leading exchange for thoroughbreds, hunters and coach-horses and the focus of a visit to London by most sporting country gentlemen. (Longrigg, *op. cit.*, p. 145)

²⁰W. E. Powell to Mrs. Powell, 19 May 1814 ; J. Edwards to W. E. Powell, 26 March 1814 (Box 1).

²¹During her declining years Mrs. Powell was frequently arrested for debt by the French authorities, only avoiding prison by the intercession of friends. She died following a stroke on 7 September, 1826, her death being no doubt hastened by the doctor's insistence upon extracting 3 pounds of blood from the unfortunate woman within several hours of the attack. [Samuel Marshall to W. E. Powell, 16 June 1825; A. M. Powell to W. E. Powell, 6 September 1826 Box (32) Material concerned with Anna-Maria Powell and Roderick Richardes is based upon correspondence in Nanteos Boxes 1 and 32 and N.L.W. (Glanpaith) MSS, 311, 313, 233, 287.

²²J. Edwards to W. E. Powell, 1813. (Box 1)

²³J. Beynon to W. E. Powell, 22 December, 1817 (Box 1).

²⁴R. Appleyard to A. Armstrong, 26 January 1820 (Box 1). The fact that Powell had spent large sums upon his home farm without taking "the least pleasure" in it, suggests that he was merely following the current fashion of pursuing "the spirit of improvement". Expenditure on the home farm comprised 14 per cent of total estate expenditure between 1815 and 1816.

²⁵William Lewis to Col. Brooks, 6 October 1821 [N.L.W. (Lucas) 647].

²⁶A. Armstrong to W. E. Powell, 15 May, 1820 (Box 4). Mutual character assassination by estate employees was not peculiar to Nanteos. For other examples see, R. J. Colyer, *The Hafod Estate under Thomas Johnes and the 4th Duke of Newcastle Welsh History Review*, 8, 1977, p. 257-284.

²⁷The Tregaron, or Strata Florida, estate had come to Nanteos through Anne, daughter of William Powell, LL.D. who married Richard Stedman of Strata Florida and inherited that estate upon his death. She subsequently became second wife of Sir Herbert Lloyd of Peterwell. (d. 1769). When she died, childless, in 1778, the estate reverted to Nanteos [*Arch. Camb. Ser. iii*, 1861, p. 162].

²⁸G. Warbrick to W. E. Powell, 13 November, 1823 (Box. 1). It had been mistakenly rumoured for some years that the mortgagee was in possession of Nanteos and that tenants had been ordered to pay no more rents to Powell's agent. (Pryse Pryse to Edward Loveden, 3 February, 1820 : N.L.W. Gogerddan MSS (unnumbered).

²⁹W. Cherry to W. E. Powell, 13 July, 1824 (Box 1).

³⁰Throughout the previous year, Cherry had repeatedly castigated Powell for devoting too much of his time to "amusement" and too little to his business affairs. He would doubtless have strongly disapproved of Powell's purchase, for £273, of a new post chaise from Stubbs and Hancock of London in the autumn of 1825 (Stubbs and Hancock to W. E. Powell, 9 September, 1825).

³¹W. Cherry to W. E. Powell, 14 May, 1826 (Box 32).

³²W. Cherry to W. E. Powell, 6 July, 1826 (Box 1).

³³Fanny Phelp to W. E. Powell, 10 August 1826 (Box 5).

³⁴James Hughes was to become the first Mayor of Aberystwyth following the reforms effected by the Municipal Corporation Act of 1835 [*Welsh Gazette.*, 24 June 1837].

³⁵J. Hughes to W. E. Powell, 16 July, 1831 (Box 5).

³⁶Colonel Smart to W. E. Powell, n.d., 1834 (Box 1).

³⁷Box 12. Powell had been gazetted Lieutenant Colonel in the Cardiganshire Militia in 1854 following the retirement of his father [*Gentleman's Magazine*, 1854, p. 518].

³⁸This included the fitting out of a new billiard room at Nanteos.

³⁹Powell's asthmatic brother Cornelius, who enjoyed an allowance of £300 per year, was a constant embarrassment. In 1869, for example, he wrote to W. T. R. Powell from the Kenmore Arms Hotel in Killarney where he had been arrested for being unable to pay his bill of £50. It was, however, a reflection upon their late father's popularity in this part of Ireland when the Sheriff had observed that he, "would never let the son of Colonel Powell go to jail as long as it was in his power." The £50 was forwarded immediately. (C. Powell to W. R. Powell, 11 December, 1869 : Box 32).

⁴⁰Henry Cobb to W. E. Phelp, 20 October 1872 (Box 32).

⁴¹See *R.C.L.W.M.*, III, 1894, pp. 687-690.

⁴²His translation of "Icelandic Legends" collected by Jon Arnasson was published in London in 1864 while "Quod Libet" and a volume of poems under the *nom de plume* "Molinir" were printed in Aberystwyth in 1860.

⁴³H. M. Vaughan, *The South Wales Squires*, London, 1937, p. 83.

⁴⁴S. Lewis to C. Hodgson (Nanteos trustee), 21 May 1878 (Box 4).

⁴⁵This was Dinah Harries, who, within a year of Powell's death, was re-married to a Ulysses T. Whildin of Illinois. (*Certificate of Marriage of the State of Illinois*, 19 November, 1883.) This delighted the Trustees' London Solicitor, Henry Cobb, who was able to reduce Dinah's annuity to £250 upon her re-marriage (H. Cobb to Sylvanus Lewis, 8 March, 1886, (Box 4)).

⁴⁶R. O. Powell married Harriet Anna Wynne of Peniarth by whom he had three children, William Beauclerk, Athelstan Owen and Elinor Laura Powell.

⁴⁷Cobb to Sylvanus Lewis, 17 January and 17 July, 1890. (Box 4). How different were matters, he observed, than "in the old Colonel's time."

⁴⁸Memorandum as to the Condition of Title to the Nanteos Estate.

⁴⁹NLW Castle Hill MS. 1039.

⁵⁰Opinion on the disposition of the Nanteos Estate, March 1891, (Box 2).

⁵¹The land realised £13,545, a figure which would have been exceeded had the farm buildings been in a better state of repair. (O. Daniel, Auctioneer to H. J. Cobb, 5 April, 1892). Some indication of the poor condition of the farms and cottages on the estate is provided by the frequency with which the Sanitary Authority invoked the Public Health Act of 1875 and ordered the provision of adequate ventilation in houses owned by Nanteos. (*Sanitary Authority Paper*, 29 September, 1903.) James Hughes, sanitary inspector for the Aberystwyth Rural District Council, often wrote to the estate office concerning the conditions which many tenants were forced to tolerate. In 1902 he noted that Gorsfach was in the same unsatisfactory condition as at his previous visit, while, "the old cottages where Walters lives (has) mud floors in big holes enough to bury a dog in them". (James Hughes to Sylvanus Lewis, 4 May, 1902), (Box 4).

⁵²J. E. James to H. J. Cobb, 14 January, 1897 ; H. J. Cobb to Sylvanus Lewis, 19 December, 1902 (Box 4).

⁵³H. J. Cobb to E. A. L. Powell, 25 July, 1905, (Box 4).

⁵⁴Having decided to resettle early in the year, it was important for the Powells and their legal advisors to ensure that the resettlement was completed before the 1909 Finance Bill was passed by the House of Commons. In the Budget speech it had been proposed to increase both estate duty and stamp duty upon conveyances. In the case of Nanteos, this would have imposed an extra £4,000 in addition to the present liability for estate duty upon the death of W. B. Powell,

⁵⁵R. G. Smith, Davies and Co., Solicitors, Aberystwyth to Mrs. E. A. L. Powell, 16 July, 1917, (Box 2),

⁵⁶The same to E. A. L. Powell, 31 July, 1912, (Box 4), Mrs. E. A. L. Powell, 4 December, 1912. (Box 2), E. A. L. Powell, 2 November, 1914, (Box 4).

⁵⁷See R. J. Coyler, The Pryse Family of Gogerddan and the decline of a great estate, *Welsh History Review*, 9, 1979 pp 407-431.

⁵⁸Will of E. A. L. Powell, 20 May, 1924 (Box 21).

⁵⁹After this paper had been read to the Society, the President, Captain John Hext Lewes, briefly related certain aspects of the history of the estate since 1930. Captain Hext Lewis subsequently forwarded an extended transcript of his remarks to the author and a copy of this has been placed in the Nanteos Collection in the National Library of Wales.

APPENDIX I

DISBURSEMENTS ON THE NANTEOS ESTATE, 1837-9

	1837-8	1838-9
Interest on debts	£984.19.1½	£957.11.3
Stamps	£13.4.6	—
Annuities	£258.0.0	£258.0.0
Houskeeping expenses	£596.0.1½	£397.16.7
Menservants' wages	£104.5.0	£129.5.0
Gamekeeper's wages & keep of dogs	£58.12.6	£85.14.8
Tradesmen for furniture, timber, lime, slates, glass, lead, iron, paints etc.	£843.5.3.	£1118.7.9½
Freightage and carriage of goods	£6.1.5.	£12.7.4
Tolls and harbour dues	£20.5.7	—
Taxes, poor rates, church rates and tithes	£137.4.6½	£125.7.10¾
Fee Farm and Chief Rents	£30.15.4	£32.12.11½
Expenses at Court Leets	£5.17.6	£11.8.8
Witnesses for perambulating boundaries	£1.10.0	5.0
Masons for estate repairs	£192.14.0	£8.16.0½
Carriage of materials to new stables at Nanteos and new inn and buildings at Dyffryn Castell	£377.5.2½	—
Plasterers for work to outoffices and stables at Nanteos and Dyffryn Castell	£93.13.9	£89.19.5
Masons on account for stables at Nanteos and new building at Dyffryn Castell	£137.0.0	£19.11.6½
Allowances to tenants for cutting drains and erecting fences	£96.3.0½	£103.5.1
Wages to carpenters, sawyers, labourers gardeners etc.	£950.10.11¼	£906.17.8
Corn, seeds etc. purchased	£150.7.5.	£35.0.0
Horses, cattle, sheep etc. purchased	£89.0.0	£127.5.7
Malt and hops for the use of the House	£14.17.0	£147.5.9
Auctioneer for selling hay, timber etc.	£3.3.0	£1.1.0
Cash lent Mr. Morgan late tutor at Nanteos	£30.0.0	£55.0.0
Editor of <i>Carmarthen Journal</i> for advertising etc.	£4.19.2½	£1.5.0
Expenses of conveying a poacher to Cardigan	£2.2.0	—
Architects	£15.0.0	£77.9.3
Cash remitted to Colonel Powell	£2959.7.9	£927.6.0
Subscriptions to Churches, Dispensary, Charity etc.	£85.12.4.	£57.16.0
Subscriptions to Regatta races and Cardigan Hunt	£32.1.0	£52.17.0
Subscription to Aberystwyth and Newquay Harbours and Agricultural Society	£160.10.0	£260.10.0
Remitted to and paid for Mr. William Powell	£320.0.0	£380.3.0
Mr. William Powell's debts at Aberystwyth	£207.0.3½	£36.5.10
Remitted to and paid for Mr. Cornelius Powell	£25.0.0	£247.4.6.

Nanteos : A Landed Estate in Decline 1800-1930

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Ale to the labourers when the Queen came of age	£4.16.0	—
Postage of letters etc.	£3.0.11	£1.9.2
Medical Attendance	£189.10.0	—
Debt paid off (North and South Wales Bank)	£600.0.0	£600.0.0
Remitted Mr. Drake on account of Mrs. Bainbridge	—	£338.8.0
Lands and Estates purchased	—	£715.0.0
Rents of the same to the time of purchase	—	£22.8.5 $\frac{3}{4}$
Conveyance of lands purchased	—	£86.15.2
Expense of election at Cardigan in 1837	—	£401.19.8
Surveying and exchanging lands	—	£4.4.0
Forest trees and shrubs	—	£55.7.1
A carriage for Captain Powell	—	£210.0.0
Mr. Cornelius Powell's commission in the Dragoon Guards	—	£390.0.0
Subscription to the Public Lamps at Aberystwyth	—	£100.0.0
Captain and Mr. C. Powell's subscription to Boat Club, Aberystwyth	—	£9.17.6
Agency	£297.14.6	£286.3.3.
Stamps for receipts, stationery & Postage	£15.0.0	£15.0.0
TOTAL	<u>£9901.9.9$\frac{1}{2}$</u>	<u>£10,138.8.5$\frac{3}{4}$</u>