THE WILLIAMS FAMILY AND THE REPRESENTATION OF GREAT MARLOW, 1790–1885

JULIAN HUNT

The Temple Mills, situated at Bisham, on the Berkshire side of the river Thames, were perhaps the largest employers of labour in Great Marlow from the early 18th century until the 1950s. Their owners had considerable purchasing power in the town of Marlow and could rely on the shopkeepers to vote for their candidates in the election of Parliamentary representatives. With the purchase of Temple Mills in 1787 by Thomas Williams, the 'Copper King', a new dynasty of political, economic and social leaders was established which was to control the town for over 100 years. No collection of Williams family papers has yet come to light, so the following notes have been brought together from a wide variety of sources.

The corn mills at Temple had been part of the possessions of Bisham Abbey and were sold by the Crown in 1544 to one Thomas Persse, who in turn sold them on to John Brinckhurst of Great Marlow. The Brinckhursts were one of the most powerful families in Marlow and also held the lease of Marlow Mills. They had a wharf at the end of St Peter's Street and built the almshouses at Oxford Lane in 1610. They remained attached to the Catholic faith and regularly paid fines for non-attendance at church. The Temple Mills are mentioned in the will of John Brinckhurst of Lane End in the Parish of Great Marlow gentleman, dated 21 May 1614:

Item my further will is that when and as often as my mills called Temple Mills with their appurtenances which I give will and bequeath to my said nephew John Brinckhurst immediately after my decease shall be in any decay during the life of my said wife that then it shall and may be lawful to and for my said nephew John Brinckhurst his heirs executors administrators

or assigns to enter into any of my woods or lands being in the possession of my said wife or of her assigns for as it be not in the park nor within the site of the dwelling house there to fell cut and carry away any manner of timber growing upon the premises for the repairing or new building of any of the said mills with their appurtenances or any part thereof without any trouble let or interruption of my said wife or of any other person or persons claiming by from or under her title so as my said nephew²

The Temple Mills were finally sold by John Brinckhurst to Thomas Oakley in 1726, by which time the mills were run by a syndicate who used the considerable water power to beat copper and brass into sheets for pots and pans:

All that messuage or tenement called or known by the name of the Temple Mills situate and being in the Parish of Bisham in the County of Berks And all that meadow or pasture ground osiers avots and islands thereunto belonging together with the fishing and all other advantages thereunto appertaining as the same were late in the tenure or occupation of the widow Webb her assignee or assigns and now are or late were in the tenure or occupation of Samuel Clark John Nicholson John Manning John Smith and Thomas Umfrevill their assignee or assigns And all that and those decayed weir lock and mills in Bisham aforesaid formerly belonging to and part of the estates and possessions of John Brinckhurst Esq deceased and the places where the said lock and mills formerly stood and now stands And also all that and those weir lock and mills lately built and repaired by them the said Samuel Clark John Nicholson John Manning

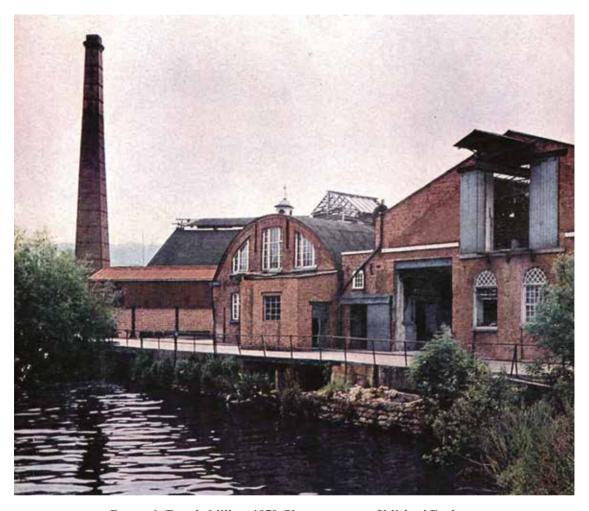


FIGURE 1 Temple Mills, c.1970. Photo courtesy of Michael Eagleton

John Smith and Thomas Umfrevill or near the place where the said weir lock and mills formerly were and stood and all sheds edifices workhouses warehouses storehouses and buildings erected and built and which shall be erected and built or set up on or upon the said premises or any part thereof ³

Daniel Defoe visited Temple Mills on his Tour of England about 1725:

On the river of Thames, just by the side of this town, though on the other bank, are three very remarkable mills, which are called the Temple-Mills, and are called also, the Brass-Mills, and are for making Bisham Abbey Battery Work, as they call it, viz. brass kettles, and pans, etc., of all sorts. They have first a foundry, where, by the help of lapis caliminaris, they convert copper into brass, and then, having cast the brass in large broad plates, they beat them out by force of great hammers, wrought by the water mills, into what shape they think fit for sale. Those mills went on by the strength of a good stock of money in a company or partnership, and with very good success, till at last, they turned it into what they call a Bubble, brought it to Exchange-Alley, set it a stock-jobbing in the days of our South Sea madness, and brought it up to be sold at one hundred pounds per share,

whose intrinsic worth was worth ten pounds, till with the fall of all those things together, it fell to nothing again. Their treasurer, a tradesman in London, failed, having misapplied about thirty thousand pounds of their money ...⁴

Defoe, in referring to the 'treasurer', probably had in mind George Robinson, who was elected M.P. for Marlow in 1731, but before he could take his seat, he was forced to leave the country to avoid his creditors. A later owner of Temple Mills, William Ockenden, was M.P. for Great Marlow 1744–54. Temple Mills were later owned by George Pengree who also had a copper smelting works near Swansea. 5 On the death of George Pengree in 1787, both these concerns were taken over by Thomas Williams of Llanidan, Anglesey, proprietor of the Parys Copper Mine there.

Thomas Williams was born in Anglesev in 1737 and was articled to a local attorney named John Lloyd. In 1761, Williams married Lloyd's daughter Catherine, and rented a large house at Llanidan, overlooking the Menai Straits. His eldest son. Owen Williams was born in Anglesey in 1764. Williams was at that time engaged in a dispute between Sir Nicholas Bayly of Plas Newydd and the executors of William Lewis, who owned equal shares in the Parys Mountain. In 1761, a rich vein of copper was discovered on the mountain but it could not be fully exploited without an agreement between the two owners. Thomas Williams not only arbitrated successfully between the two sides but eventually became the manager of the Parys Mine. In partnership with the Rev Edward Hughes, who had married Mary Lewis, niece and heiress of William Lewis, he secured an Act of Parliament in 1793 to improve the neighbouring port of Amlwch, where the harbour was enlarged and copper smelting works established. Their partnership was secured in 1792 when Thomas Williams's son Owen married Margaret, daughter of the Rev Edward Hughes.

Edward Daniel Clarke described the workings on Paris Mountain in 1791:

It appears like a vast quarry dug in the mountain. It is totally unlike the usual appearance of copper mines, and seems to resemble them only in affording ore. Instead of finding a narrow vein of copper, the traveller is here presented with one vast rock of ore. They separate it from

the quarry with gunpowder, a process attended with some degree of danger to the miners, who frequently receive damage from the fragments that fly about. Whenever they set fire to their train, they shout to their companions, as a signal for them to keep off. The agent of the works placed us in a situation which he thought secure. but after the explosion a great deal of the shattered fragments came tumbling about our ears. It is conveyed either in carts, or by buckets, to the surface, and rises most beautifully rich in its appearance; although, I believe, its value is not estimated by its beauty. After the ore is dug, the first process here is to calcine it in a furnace, by which means the sulphur is expelled, and they can afterwards separate the waste from the pure ore, making thus a great saving in the carriage of it to the different smelting houses.⁶

Thomas Williams invested in copper smelting works in Lancashire and South Wales, and had copper and brass works at Greenfield in Flintshire. He also purchased the Manor of Horton, Buckinghamshire, and the nearby copper mills at Wraysbury. It was, however, the purchase of Temple Mills from the executors of George Pengree which enabled Thomas Williams to embark on a Parliamentary career. Great Marlow had been a 'pocket borough' belonging to William Clayton of Harleyford. In 1786, Clayton had approached Sir Thomas Lee of Hartwell, near Aylesbury, offering 'to sell all his houses in Great Marlow, and that he wished to make the first offer of them to Mr Lee in case he inclined to increase his property and interest there, that they procured so many votes for the Borough as gave Mr Clayton a seat in the House'. Although the Lee family owned the Manor of Little Marlow and Sir Thomas had ambitions for his nephew Lee Antonie to become the M.P.. he declined the offer as 'Marlow was a very venal Borough and had proved ruinous to several.'8 By the time of the General Election of 1790, Thomas Williams had agreed to buy the property originally offered to Lee, and Clayton stood aside to give the new owner a free run in the contest. The political reality of Marlow was summed up by the editor of the Universal British Directory in 1792:

The Borough of Marlow being the joint property of William Clayton Esq and W. Lee Antonie Esq., is one of those many which can boast of

no privilege except that of voting at the will of a superior. It may be proper here to observe, that William Clayton Esq. resigned his seat, at the last election, to Thomas Williams Esq., a partner in the Anglesey copper mines. The majority of the houses and property joining the borough belong to the above gentlemen; no opposition to them can ever be attempted with success.⁹

Thomas Williams employed the architect Samuel Wyatt to rebuild the house next to Temple Mills and made this his principal residence. Williams knew how to secure votes in his new fiefdom. On 30 April 1790, he wrote to Thomas Langley Esq., of Great Marlow:

A call to London puts it out of my power to attend the Bridge meeting tomorrow. I am informed that there is about £150 wanted to finish the work and that is to be raised upon the Bridge Estate if you cannot otherwise get it. Rather than the Estate should be mortgaged or the work should remain unfinished, I desire you and your brother Wardens will accept the

money from me, and if you will favour me with a line or two to let me know the sum necessary, I will immediately pay it into your bankers hands in town. I am desiring the favour of you to make my compliments to the gentlemen at the meeting with the above proposal.

Sir, Your most humble servant, T. Williams¹⁰

When Lee Antonie declined to stand in the General Election of 1796, Williams's son Owen took the other seat. Owen Williams was to represent Great Marlow in Parliament until his death in 1832.

Thomas Williams was certainly an astute and ruthless businessman. Matthew Boulton, writing to James Watt, 6 June 1785, said that Williams 'constantly receives accounts of the price of copper at every market and of the produce of every mine in Europe and hath certainly done more in the copper trade than all the other drones in it.' In a letter to Thomas Wilson, 15 September 1790, James Watt warned him 'to be very cautious in your dealings with W. He is a perfect tyrant and not over tenacious of his word and will screw damned



FIGURE 2 Temple House, Bisham, c.1900

hard when he has got anybody in his vice.' Thomas Williams had no scruples over his involvement in the slave trade. In a petition to Parliament in 1788 he stated that he and his co-partners were engaged in:

the Manufacture of Brass Battery, and other Copper, Brass and Mixed Metal Goods, for the African Trade at Hollowell in the county of Flint, Penclawdd in the county of Glamorgan, and Temple Mills in the county of Berks ... that the petitioner and his Co-partners have laid out a Capital of £70,000 and upwards to establish themselves in the aforesaid manufactories, which are entirely for the African market ... and that the petitioner has lately been informed that a Bill is now depending in the House, for the purpose of regulating, for a limited time, the shipping and carrying slaves in British vessels from the coast of Africa, which ... will greatly hurt, if not entirely ruin, the British trade to Africa in the manufactories aforesaid, whereby the petitioner and his partners would lose the greatst part of the aforesaid capital.

In his will dated 27 March 1801, Thomas Williams left the bulk of his extensive property to his son Owen Williams. He left a legacy of £20,000 to his younger son John Williams and £30,000 each to his daughters Mary Williams, Jane wife of William Wheatley and Emma the wife of Thomas Knox. He was able to offer his unmarried daughter Mary two possible places of residence:

And considering my daughter Mary deserving my further attention in case she shall be single and resident with me at the time of my decease I give her the further sum of two thousand pounds to enable her to furnish a place for herself and it is my wish that my son Owen would accommodate her either with Marlow Place or Horton House as she may prefer for that purpose while she remains single

In fact, Mary Williams chose neither of these houses. She never married and was living at Baker Street, Portman Square, when she died in 1829.¹² She was buried at Bisham. Thomas Williams left his Berkshire and Buckingham business property to his partner Pascoe Grenfell, in trust for his sons:

I give and devise unto the said Pasco Grenfell his executors and administrators my Copper Mills at Temple and the houses and premises occupied therewith on the manufacturing account And also my Copper Mills and lands thereto belonging at Wraysbury for the term of ten years from my decease in trust for the use and behoof of my sons Owen and John¹³

Thomas Williams died at Bath 30 November 1802 and was buried in the small parish church of Llanidan, which was adjacent to his house in Anglesey. He was succeeded in his business enterprises, and in the representation of Great Marlow, by his son Owen Williams. The position of Temple Mills in the Williams copper empire was described by the editor of the General View of the Agriculture of Berkshire in 1810:

The ore is brought from (Anglesey) to be smelted at Swansea, and being formed into cakes and ingots, from three quarters to a hundredweight, is carried by the Severn trows to Brimscomb Port, on the Thames and Severn Canal, and then by flat-bottomed Thames barges along its course to the Mills. In time of war, the copper is manufactured chiefly into bolts and sheathings for ships, for the use of government. In peace, various kinds of sheet are formed for different domestic purposes, and for foreign trade. About fifty men and boys are employed in this establishment, which consists of a hammer mill, a bolt mill, and a flat-rolling mill, wholly worked by water. From 600 to 1,000 tons of copper are annually manufactured here. The men are paid by the great, or piece-work.

Owen Williams continued to control the 'pocket borough' of Great Marlow, and rebuilt the Market House to the designs of Samuel Wyatt in 1807. He allowed his business partner Pascoe Grenfell of Taplow House to take the second seat in Parliament. When his son Thomas Peers Williams (1795–1875) came of age, Pascoe Grenfell stood down and T.P. Williams took the other seat. In 1826, an outsider called James Morrison contested the seat of for the Liberals. Owen Williams and his son were returned as usual, but some of those who had voted for Morrison were evicted from their properties. ¹⁴ The partnership between Owen Williams and Pascoe Grenfell was

dissolved in 1829 when the following settlement was made:

Award of J.H. Vivian & R.J. Nevill upon the various matters referred to us relating to the Division and Valuation of the partnership Property of Messrs Williams Grenfell Williams & Grenfell according to the terms of a paper prepared by the Earl of Sefton dated the 15th April last and subsequently modified by Mr Williams

....The interest of Messrs Williams in such partnership Property is equal to one Third and that of Messrs Grenfell to two Thirds of the Whole except in the Materials at Temple Mills

We direct and Award that all and any Interest which Messrs Williams Grenfell Williams & Grenfell may have in Temple Mills be surrendered to Mr Williams sen and that the respective Agents of the Mills at Hollywell and Temple do certify when the stocks of copper at each of such Mills are worked up and delivered And we award and Certify that on the receipt of such Certificate or Certificates Mr Williams shall enter into and become possessed of Temple Mills¹⁵

Some idea of the production of Temple Mills and the variety of its customers are given in a Monthly Entry Book of 1830.

Products: Strong, slight, extra, nails, tacks, rivets

Metals in stock: shruff, brazier, brewing copper, pot metal, brass, solder, wire

Customers:

Hawks 106 Long Acre
John Braithwaite New Road
J & R Warner Jewin Street
Grant Preston Minories
Pontifax Sons & Wood
G. Manwaring Lower Marsh,

Lambeth

W.L. Howard Deal David Mackie Perth

George Harris Harp Alley, Shoe Lane

J. Buckland Barnett
R. & G. Knight Forster Lane,
Cheapside

J. Buhl Old Compton Street
G. & J. Rennie Stamford Street
Cato & Son Holborn Hill
William Plumbe
G. & R. Turner Chafford Mills

L. Burton¹⁶

Owen Williams had clearly had enough of business and was happier playing the role of the country gentleman. He particularly enjoyed living at his house in Anglesey, named Craig-y-don, which was in the parish of Llandegfan and overlooked the Menai Straits. The house had two lodges on the road to Beaumaris and had its own beach and boat house. When Owen Williams died at his London house, 41 Berkeley Square, on 23 February 1832, his coffin was brought to Llandegfan and carried into the church by his own vacht crew. His remains were placed in a newly built family vault in the extended north transept. The inscription reads: 'Here lies what is mortal of Owen Williams, of Craig-y-don, Anglesey, and of Temple House, Berks, for 36 years M.P. for Great Marlow, Bucks. born July 9th 1764, died Feb 23rd 1832.' The remains of his father, his brother and his wife had been moved to the new vault the previous day from the old parish church of Llanidan, which was to be replaced by a new church nearer the village. Owen Williams's vast property in Anglesey, Marlow and London passed to his eldest son Thomas Peers Williams.

Thomas Peers Williams did not take up the copper business and eventually leased Temple Mills to Messrs Weedon, paper makers.¹⁷ He did, however, defend the family interest in the Borough of Great Marlow. After the Reform Act of 1832. Great Marlow continued to have two M.P.s. but the borough now included the parishes of Medmenham, Little Marlow and Bisham. At first T.P. Williams allowed the Liberal, Sir William Robert Clayton of Harleyford, to take the other seat, but in 1841 he brought in another Conservative, Renn Hampden, to contest the second seat. When Clayton won by one vote, Williams engaged in a costly election petition, accusing Clayton of bribery. During the 20-day hearing at Westminster, it was revealed that Clayton had given his butcher free meat and a beerhouse keeper free beer in the months before the election. On the other hand, it transpired that Williams's butler, who had voted as the tenant of a cottage at Bisham, in fact lived with him at Temple House,



FIGURE 3 Craig-y-don, Anglesey, c.1890

when not at Berkeley Square or Craig-y-don.¹⁸ The petition was successful and Clayton was unseated, but *The Times* estimated Williams and Clayton's joint costs at £1,800.¹⁹ Renn Hampden did not stand again and in 1847, the second seat was taken by T.P. Williams's cousin Brownlow Knox. T.P. Williams and Brownlow Knox held the two seats until the second Reform Act of 1868.²⁰

In 1835, Thomas Peers Williams married Emily, voungest daughter of the late Anthony Bacon of Elcott, Berks. The couple had two sons and six daughters, the eldest son being Owen Lewis Cope Williams, born in London in 1836, who was a career soldier. Their daughter Edith, born in 1842, married Heneage Earl of Aylesford. T.P. Williams maintained his family connections with Anglesey, where he was Lieutenant Colonel of the Royal Anglesey Light Infantry. He spent at least part of each year at Craig-y-don.²¹ When the second Reform Act reduced the Borough of Great Marlow to one seat in 1868, T.P. Williams declined to stand and his place was taken by the local brewer, Thomas Owen Wethered. Despite the intervention of the Liberal, Captain E.H. Verney, Wethered was returned, and at the General Election of 1874 he was unopposed.

When Thomas Peers Williams died in London, 7 September 1875, he was buried not in the family vault at Llandegfan, but at the parish church of Bisham. His eldest son, Owen Lewis Cope Williams was a Colonel in the Royal Horse Guards. He had married Fanny Florence, daughter of St George Caulfied, by whom he had two sons. She died in 1876 and in 1882, Owen Williams married Nina Mary Adelaide, daughter of Sir Tollemache Sinclair. Owen Williams had become a favourite of the Prince of Wales and he and his brother in law, the Earl of Aylesford, accompanied the Prince on a tour of India in 1875-6. Whilst they were in India, Williams's sister, the Countess of Aylesford, had a widely-publicised affair with the Marquess of Blandford, heir to the Duke of Marlborough. When he returned from India, the Earl of Aylesford petitioned for divorce, but was forced to withdraw when it was feared that three letters from the Prince to the Countess of Aylesford would be made public.²² The affair between Blandford and the Countess continued and a son, known as Guy Bertrand, was born in Paris in 1881. When the Earl of Aylesford died in 1885, there was further scandal when the Countess tried to have her illegitimate son made Earl of Aylesford. Edith Countess

of Aylesford died in Paris in 1897 but was buried in the Williams family vault at Bisham.

The vault at Bisham was part of a project to add a north aisle to Bisham Church, started by Owen Lewis Cope Williams in 1877:

Church Improvement

Among the improvements in this neighbourhood to which we alluded in a recent article was that of an additional aisle to Bisham Church. This work will be taken in hand almost at once and will be vigorously pushed forward to completion. It is intended to add a new aisle to the north side of the church, which will be in strict keeping with the style of architecture of the main structure. The cost is estimated at somewhere about £1.500, the whole of which sum Colonel Williams has with great generosity offered to provide. The cost of the other portion of the work requisite to bring the whole building into harmony with the new wing, amounting probably to £200 to £300, will we understand be contributed by G.H. Vansittart Esq., of Bisham Abbev²³

At the General Election of 1880, Owen Williams stood for the single seat of Great Marlow, but he was opposed by a Liberal, Mr J.O. Griffiths. This was the first contested election in Marlow since the Secret Ballot Act had come into force Williams won the seat by 504 votes to 354, but there followed serious rioting in the town of Marlow. The Conservative headquarters at the Crown Inn were attacked and all the widows of Wethered's Brewery facing the High Street, and those of his house on West Street, were broken. The General Election of 1885 was fought on new boundaries. Marlow was absorbed into the new constituency of the Wycombe Division of Buckinghamshire. Owen Williams did not contest this seat and did not seek a seat elsewhere. Thus ended nearly 100 years in which the Williams family used their influence and spending power to choose the Parliamentary representatives of Marlow.

In October 1886, Temple House was seriously damaged by fire:

Great Fire at Temple House

On Friday last a most serious and destructive fire broke out at Temple House, the residence of General Owen Williams, who was formerly M.P. for the now extinct borough of Great Marlow. The left wing of the mansion is about 100 years old, but the right wing has been built within the last ten years at an expense of over £10,000, the latest addition and alteration having been carried out a few years ago by Mr Y J Lovell, builder, of Great Marlow, who erected a portion of this wing.²⁴

The huge expense of restoring Temple House after the fire may have prompted Owen Williams to sell his property in Anglesey. The Craig-y-don Estate was advertised in the Morning Post, 5 July 1889

The whole of the Craigydon Estate in the County of Anglesey. There are in all 107 lots of farms and building plots varying from one to 200 acres each in extent, and the first lot will comprise Craigydon Demesne. This universally admired marine residence is charmingly situated on the banks of the Menai Straits ... in a picturesque park, finely studded with well-grown plantations and fine old timber trees. It commands unrivalled views of the Snowdonian range of mountains, the Menai Straits and the renowned suspension bridge, and stands in perhaps the most lovely spot in North Wales. The residence is not large, but snug in appearance and is most comfortable within, and contains the following accommodation, viz: front hall, dining, drawing and morning rooms, serving room, butler's pantry, two kitchens, larders, pantries, still room, servants' hall, gun room, two larders (one game), boot room, bakery, dairy, housekeeper's room, 14 large and small bedrooms, five maids' rooms, four attics and bedrooms, and four w.c.s. From its windows are obtained views of panoramic splendour. The aspect is southerly. the climate is most genial and invigorating and the house is thoroughly protected from the north and east winds

Another expense was Owen Williams's major involvement in horse racing. His horses were trained at Newmarket and he was a prominent member of the Jockey Club. His brother, Thomas Anthony Hwfa Williams, established the Sandown Racecourse, where the Hwfa Williams Handicap is still run.²⁵

Both of Owen Williams's sons followed him

into the Royal Horse Guards. The eldest son, Capt. Owen Gwynydd Williams, was killed in a minor skirmish in Matabeleland on 23 October 1893. The vounger son, Ifah Henry Williams, was involved in the same engagement but survived. When Owen Williams died at Temple House, 2 October 1904, his widow, Nina, moved to the Williams's London house at 24 Hill Street. Her son Ifah Williams was in debt and not inclined to maintain the family interest at Marlow. The estate in the town of Marlow, comprising over 100 houses and business premises in the main streets of the town. were put up for auction in April and July 1905.²⁶ Temple House and Temple Mills were advertised for sale by private treaty.²⁷ There were no takers for Temple House, so it was let to tenants. Ifah Williams died in London in 1913 and a further attempt was made to sell Temple House. The furniture was sold in 1922. ²⁸ Owen Williams's widow, Nina, died at 24 Hill Street in 1924. His brother Hwfa Williams died at Coombe Springs, Kingston Hill, Surrey, in 1926. Temple House, Bisham, was demolished about 1932. The site of Temple House formed part of the Medmenham and Wittington estates, sold by the executors of the late Hudson Ewbanke Viscount Devonport in 1936.²⁹

Notes

- 1. L & P Henry VIII xix (2), 340 (60) p. 197
- 2. Will of John Brinkhurst of Lane End parish of Great Marlow gent proved 16 June 1614
- 3. Berks Record Office D/EX/652/1
- 4. Daniel Defoe, A Tour Through England and Wales, 1724-6
- 5. Will of George Pengree the elder of Temple Berks Esq., 28 March 1784, proved P.C.C., 9 January 1787.
- 6. Clarke, Edward Daniel, A Tour through the

- South of England, Wales and Part of Ireland, made during the Summer of 1791, 1793, pp. 293–298
- 7. Harris, J.R., *The Copper King, a Biography of Thomas Williams of Llanidan*, 1964, p. 140
- 8. C.B.S. D-LE/D/3/50
- 9. Universal British Directory, 1792, p. 905
- 10. C.B.S. Q/AB/44
- 11. Harris op. cit, p. xvi-xvii
- 12. Will of Mary Williams of Baker Street Portman Square spinster proved P.C.C. 28 January 1830
- Will of Thomas Williams of Temple House Co. Berks Esq. proved P.C.C. 23 December 1802
- 14. An elegy on the Widow Grey who died at Great Marlow ... having been served with an ejectment, 1828 C.B.S.
- 15. Award 24 June 1829 University of Wales, Bangor 13068
- 16. Temple Mills Monthly Entry Book, 1830 University of Wales Bangor 12262
- 17. Lease 1849, Berks Record Office X/197 T 1
- 18. Minutes of Evidence before the Select Committee on the Marlow Election, 1842, p. 60
- 19. The Times, 14 April 1842
- 20. Bucks Herald, 11 September 1875
- 21. Census Returns, Anglesey, 1861, 1871
- 22. Royal Archives VIC/Add Co7/1/113-9
- 23. Bucks Herald, 18 May 1877
- 24. Bucks Free Press. 15 October 1886
- 25. See Mrs Hwfa Williams: It was Such Fun, 1935.
- 26. Bucks Free Press, 17 February 1905; 26 May 1905
- National Monuments Record Sale Catalogue SC 00087
- 28. The Times, 14 July 1922
- National Monuments Record Sale Catalogue SC 00091