

A 'New Forest' in Breconshire

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Fan Frynych lies west of the main peaks of the Brecon Beacons and the A470 road. Together with the valleys of Craig Cerrig Gleisiad and Cwm Du to its south, it now forms a National Nature Reserve. Many of you will be familiar with the wind-twisted clumps of larch trees which somehow cling to the steep and exposed north and north-west slopes of this mountain. At up to 530m elevation, these must be some of the most exposed plantings in Wales, the resulting gnarled forms being a gift for photographers. I've often wondered how they got there, so was delighted to come across, quite by chance, some clues as to their origin. It seems that they may have been part of a grand – grandiose even – scheme which was probably – and perhaps fortunately – never fully realised.



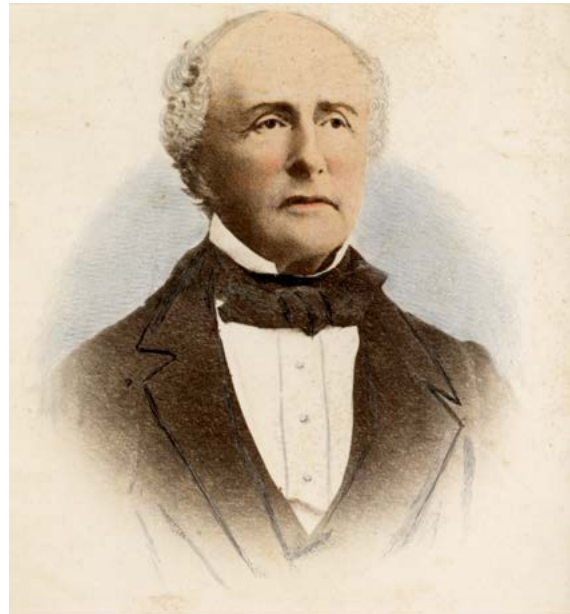
Among the maps in the archives of Penpont is a rather dog-eared printed map from the mid 1800s. The title section is missing but the date can just be made out as 1846. I had ignored this at first sight, thinking it just another copy of John Lloyd's map of the Great Forest, but on unfolding it I realised that while it covers some of the same ground it is in fact a map of the Story-Maskelyne estate in Breconshire. Much the most striking feature of this map is a huge expanse of woodland on the slopes of Fan Frynych, labelled in large capitals 'THE NEW FOREST'. My search to find out more led me to some papers at the Wiltshire and Swindon History Centre. They were kindly able to provide me with copies which helped me to put some flesh on the bones of the story.

The Story-Maskelyne family

The Story-Maskelynes were an interesting family who owned over three thousand acres of Breconshire for most of the nineteenth century. Perhaps their best-known local legacy is the name 'Storey Arms', which is on land which they once owned (although curiously the estate map gives its name as the 'Maskelyne Arms'). Apart from this they have left surprisingly little trace, with only brief mentions in the pages of Theophilus Jones or Brycheiniog.

In 1819, Anthony Mervin Reeve Story (1791-1879) married Margaret Maskelyne (1785-1858). He was a barrister, son of the Revd. William Story of Hinton Martell in Dorset. She was the only child and heiress of an Astronomer Royal, Nevil Maskelyne (1732 – 1811), a brilliant and important scientist whose experiments included measuring the circumference and density of the earth.

The Maskelyne family were minor landowners from Purton in Wiltshire, but the Astronomer Royal was a younger son and not wealthy. However, his brother Edmund had been out in India where he became a close friend of Lord Clive, and returned rich enough to purchase the Basset Down estate near Purton; this passed to Nevil and then in 1811 to Margaret. The family had other important connections: Margaret's aunt, another Margaret Maskeleyne (1734-1817), had joined Edmund out east, where she met and married the fabulously wealthy Robert Clive 'of India'.



*Portrait of
Anthony M. Story-Maskelyne Esq.
F.R.S.
enlarged from the photograph
taken by his friend Perry Williams Esq.
of Purton in 1859*

Before I go any further, let me try to clarify the various names used by this family. After their marriage in 1819, Anthony and Margaret, and their children, used his surname Story. Around 1844, when their eldest son came of age, the family formally added her maiden name Maskelyne. This was probably a condition of the couple's marriage settlement, since most of their property came through her. The two names were written both as 'Story Maskelyne' without a hyphen and as 'Story-Maskelyne' with. In earlier generations Anthony's surname had often been written 'Storey' with an 'e', and later generations sometimes adopted this to become 'Storey-Maskelyne', so both spellings can be correct.

The land

The origins of the Story-Maskelyne estate in Breconshire go back to the enclosure of the Great Forest of Brecknock. The Great Forest was, as most of you will know, the vast hunting grounds of the medieval Lords of Brecon, comprising tens of thousands of acres of mainly moorland and mountain top, subject to its own forest law, and grazed by dozens of farmers whose lands bordered it. By the start of the nineteenth century it had become a royal possession and the monarchy decided to sell it through an act of enclosure to defray some of the costs of the Napoleonic Wars.

There is no space here to tell the sorry saga of the sale in full, but what matters for our purposes is that, in 1819, large parcels of land on the northern and southern fringes of the Great Forest were earmarked for early sale, primarily to defray the spiralling costs of the process of enclosure. The two largest parcels in the north were bought by William Rowland Alder (1797-1847) of Berwick-upon-Tweed. He purchased Glasfynydd in the west where he built Belmont farm, and to the east he bought the western slopes of Fan Frynych and some

of the land below, where he built Forest Lodge farm, as well as Y Gern hill east of Glyn Tarrell, at the southern end of which lies the Storey Arms. In 1822, Alder bought an additional 540 acres at Foel Derw. In total, he purchased over 4,800 acres, for which he paid £9,764, that is £2 per acre (John Lloyd, *The Great Forest of Brecknock*, pp74-81, xxix-xxxiv). The majority of these lands were to come to the Story-Maskelynes.

The land may have been cheap, but there was a lot of it and the costs of enclosing it, building farmsteads and planting windbreaks must have been huge – and the timing was terrible. From around 1790 to 1815, the price of agricultural produce, boosted by the Napoleonic Wars, skyrocketed. This would have encouraged men like Alder to think that they could make a nice profit by improving marginal land. However, after the end of the war prices fell, continued to fall for several years, and only recovered a little over the following decades. Alder was forced to sell up. As John Lloyd, chronicler of the whole sad tale, put it with some glee: the purchasers were ‘very sorry they had ever touched the land’ and ‘the smiles on the faces of these ... gentlemen soon vanished’.

There are two quite different stories as to how this land in Wales came into the possession of a Wiltshire family. Stephen Hughes (in *The Archaeology of an early Railway System*, p256) states that the Maskelynes ‘became the chief creditors’ of Alder. It seems that Alder had taken out a large loan, partly funded by Edward Clive (1754-1839), 1st Earl of Powis and son of Robert and Margaret (née Maskelyne) Clive. Quite how this debt to Edward Clive led to these lands being acquired by his cousins Anthony and Margaret Story (as they then were) is not made clear – it is perhaps possible that they had advanced some share of the loan jointly with their cousin.

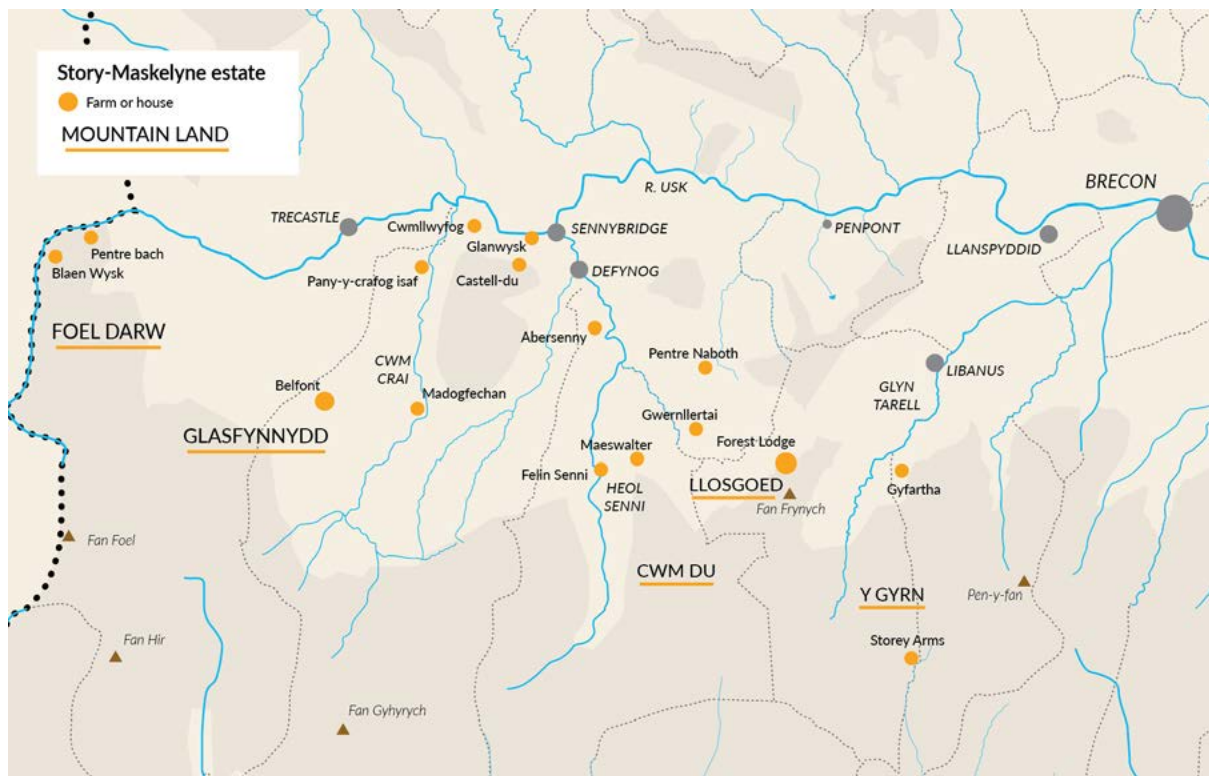
On the other hand, Anthony and Margaret’s great granddaughter, Vanda Morton, in her biography of their son Nevil, states that early in his marriage Anthony, while travelling for his practice as a barrister, met and made friends with William Peel of Taliaris, a ‘fine old Brecknockshire house [*sic*]’ with whom he often stayed. Anthony ‘resolved to buy some property in the area for himself’ and Peel found him ‘a house with some land, called Glanwysk, in nearby spectacular hill country at Sennybridge near Brecon, a sentimental but unprofitable purchase which was to give him a lifelong excuse for revisiting the Welsh hills’ (Morton, *Oxford Rebels*, p.6). Apart from the fact that Taliaris is actually deep in Carmarthenshire, we should note that the purchase of Glanwysk (or Glan-usk) House was quite separate from the purchase of Alder’s lands. The largest portion of the Great Forest, the Crown Allotment) had been purchased by London merchant John Christie, who bought Castell Ddu farm on the edge of Sennybridge and on this, from 1822, started to build Glanwysk as his Breconshire seat, next to the northern terminus of his tramroad. Christie went bankrupt in 1828 and it was his creditor, Joseph Claypon, who sold this property (excepting the land around the terminus) to the Storys.

Neither tale seems entirely convincing, although both probably contain elements of truth. The date of Anthony’s purchase of Glanwysk is variously given as 1830, 1834 and 1839 – 1834 seems the most likely of these, but Anthony’s notes from that August suggest that he had already owned some of his land for a little while, so it may be that the Alder lands were purchased by Anthony around 1830 and the house a few years later. And it is clear that whatever mortgage arrangements there might have been, Anthony paid – overpaid even – for the Alder land. If he initially thought he was getting a bargain, it seems that, at least at times, the Storys too came to be ‘sorry they had ever touched’ it.

In Anthony's 'memoranda relative to my farms, planting etcetera', now preserved at the Swindon History Centre, in a passage addressed to his children, he bemoaned that he had paid too much for his lands by several thousand pounds. He had been 'deceived by the simplicity' of his own valuer, Edward Arden of Bourn, Lincolnshire, who had naively placed trust in the 'scoundrel' Edward Powell (there was a Brecon surveyor of that name) at a time when Anthony, being 'brought to the threshold of the grave' by his sciatica, was too ill to deal with things personally. It appears that he paid £5 per acre for his mountain land, which is two and a half times what Alder had paid for it, so it does appear that he may have overpaid.

As a result, Anthony and his wife were forced to endure 'anxieties', 'privations' and 'sacrifices' to prevent this 'adventure from eventually being a great wreck'. He had embarked on 'a father's continuous struggle for this family', made all the more difficult by the nature of the property, his 'own ignorance', and the 'rascality of the natives'. And all this sacrifice was – he was keen to remind his children – for their good.

Anthony's struggle to avoid a 'great wreck' seems, in practice, to have involved investing even more money to purchase even more land. As well as the Alder lands and Glanwysk, Anthony had acquired, by the 1840s, valley farms at Cwmllywfyog near Sennybridge, Abersenny and Maeswalter in the Senni valley, Pantcraffog-isaf and Madogfechan in the Crai valley, Cyfartha by the Tarrell, Pentry Naboth and Gwernllertai farms near Forest Lodge, and Pentre bach and Blaenwysk farms, now largely under the waters of the Usk Reservoir. He also acquired and rebuilt Senni Mill and in 1837, he purchased the lordship of the Little Forest, another of John Christie's former possessions. In 1876, he is listed as owning 3,658 acres in Breconshire.



The Story-Maskelyne estate in Breconshire

The 'New Forest' plan

Antony's 'memoranda' were started in August 1834. The bulk of the content dates from that year, with additional notes from 1837-8, 1840 and 1843. The most fully detailed of his schemes was his 'New Forest' project on the slopes of Fan Frynych above Forest Lodge. This area he usually referred to as 'The Llosgod'. Peter Powell (*Place Names of Devynock Hundred*, 3.26.1) suggested that the earlier form of this name was 'Losged', deriving from 'golosged' and indicating a place where furze was burnt and where the poor might be allowed to gather the charred stumps for fuel.



Detail from the estate map showing The New Forest (NB - north is at the bottom)

Anthony's notes are not always consistent and it is clear that his plans changed and evolved but, broadly speaking, he aimed to plant the whole north and north-west slope of the Lloggoed between the elevations of about 370m and 540m. The slope was to be planted in strips of about 100 acres running from the top to the bottom of the hill, one strip each year. The strips were to be wire fenced, but to keep costs down the fence was to be re-used, being moved along each year, quickset having been planted along its line to leave a more permanent hedge behind.

Sycamore and larch were to be planted, especially on the edge of each planting block where it faced the wind. Oak standards were also to be planted as well as ash, which could potentially be coppiced. After 10 or 12 years, sheep could be let into the plantation so that it would double as pasture, and their manure, coupled with the leaf fall of the trees, would help to improve the soil.

Anthony made a number of calculations of the profits to be made from his planting. He took advice from Penry Williams III of Penpont, who had earlier made similar projections regarding the planting of larch. European Larch (*Larix decidua*, native from south-eastern France to eastern Poland) was becoming a fashionable forestry tree – those already planted at Penpont by Penry's predecessors had proved that they could grow prodigiously well. They had so impressed Iolo Morgannwg that he coined his own Welsh name for them, 'llostwydd' ('spear tree'). In 1823, Penry III had compared the costs and profits of an Aberdare wood which had been planted with 4,000 4-year old larch per acre, cut after a further 15 years' growth and sold in short cords as pitwood for the collieries, with the profits expected from a similar planting, but based on the price he was getting for Penpont larch left to grow for 17 years and sold as poles. He calculated that the extra growth greatly increased the value but only marginally affected the costs, potentially doubling the profits.

However, Anthony seems to have preferred a slightly different model – rather than clear-felling he proposed thinning half the crop at 15 years and selling this as pitwood, which he felt was a guaranteed market since 'I am assured that the mines will take off any quantity of wood that I can plant, so great is the demand for pit timber and so quickly does it perish.' He made calculations based on 4,000 trees per acre and on 3,000 per acre, and projected a worst-case scenario of only 2,000 trees surviving after 15 years. Even in this last case he believed that he could at least come close to covering the costs of purchase and planting, and would then still be left with some standing timber and somewhat improved land. How realistic these calculations were, it is difficult to assess, but he does at least seem to have taken account of the possibility that his plantations might do less well than Penry Williams' calculations for lower level planting.

Anthony's ideas seem to have become rather more fanciful in relation to plans for a further phase of planting on the plateau above the slopes, the 'table part of the mountain' as he called it – that is essentially the summit of Fan Frynych at between 540m and 629m. Here he hoped that with some drainage and a 'sprinkling' of lime, the land could be planted with turnips which would help to prepare it so that 'belts and clumps of trees might then be raised all over the highest part of the estate, as any trees would grow in land thus prepared.' And boundaries could be made cheaply as there was no shortage of stone for walls. The trees would provide shelter for sheep and their leaf fall would further improve the land, and a small house might be built there 'for a man and a pair of horses'.

Additional plans

While the New Forest was clearly a favoured project, it was not the limit of Anthony's ambition. We have already seen that he purchased several additional valley farms. Although he knew he had overpaid for Alder's land, he does not seem to have taken a lesson from this. In 1838, he paid Mr Maybery £2,100 for Cwmllyfog, which he knew to be a very high price 'but it is material that I should have it'. He was aware that the rent of the farm did not really justify the price, but hoped that the timber on the farm would help recover some of the costs. He could not buy everything he wanted though, for example he tried to buy the pasture land of Llwynyntefin which Canon Williams of Abercamlais refused to sell him.

The main reason for purchasing these valley farms seems to have been that he had come to realise that without low pasture for over-wintering stock and growing fodder the potential of his mountain land was much reduced. It is perhaps ironic that he ended up trying to re-create something like the original system, before the sale of the Great Forest divided the land, under which the mountains were grazed by stock from adjacent valley farms.

Anthony also expressed a desire, largely unrealised, to spend as much as £10,400 on buying additional farms in Glyn Tarrell, so uniting his mountain properties on either side of that valley. On this new land he would build a house, either in the 'castellated' or the 'Elizabethan' style, in a fine situation with views to Brecon and the Beacons, and from which "the summit of the Llosgoed, well planted, would be a fine prospect" (he may have been thinking of a site somewhere near Llwynfedwen farm). He determined to use local stone. At just this time, Penpont was being re-faced in Bath stone and Penry Williams III explained to Anthony that this was because the local stone could not be so easily shaped. Today the use of local stone would generally be seen as a good choice, largely on aesthetic grounds, although Anthony's reason seems to have been more that he felt Bath stone to be soft and unsuited to the local 'moist atmosphere'. Anthony thought that suitable stone could be found at Crickhowell, or from the 'Monmouth cap' (he gave as an example a house newly built by a Mr Thomas by the market place in Brecon, on the way to the Castle).

Anthony had similarly bold ambitions for his western possessions: 'my great object of desire is to make great additions to my estate in that direction' he wrote in 1837, when he hoped to be able to travel from Glanwysk to Glasfynydd entirely 'over his own land'. Here he would 'irrigate all the land from springs under the Van'. In general principle, his intention seems to have been to cut drainage channels in the higher and wetter land and conduct this water to the lower farms where it could be used to turn fields into more profitable watermeadows. In terms of the methods of agricultural 'improvement' popular at the time this would have been sound in theory, but the cost to create, maintain and operate such a system would have been huge and it is difficult to see that the mountain land involved could ever have been sufficiently improved to justify the investment. His optimism knew no bounds at this time however and he even hoped that he would eventually be able to use the drainage channels – or 'canal in the bog' – to 'carry turnips in boats all along round the hills'.

Irrigation formed a part of his plans in the east too. One plan was to conduct the water drained from the mountain to form a large new lake in Cwm Du, the narrow valley south west of Fan Frynach. The dam for this would have doubled as a new route for the turnpike which crossed the valley, and he would buy the farms below in Heol Senni, including Blaen Senni and Gelliau, which he could then irrigate with water from the lake.

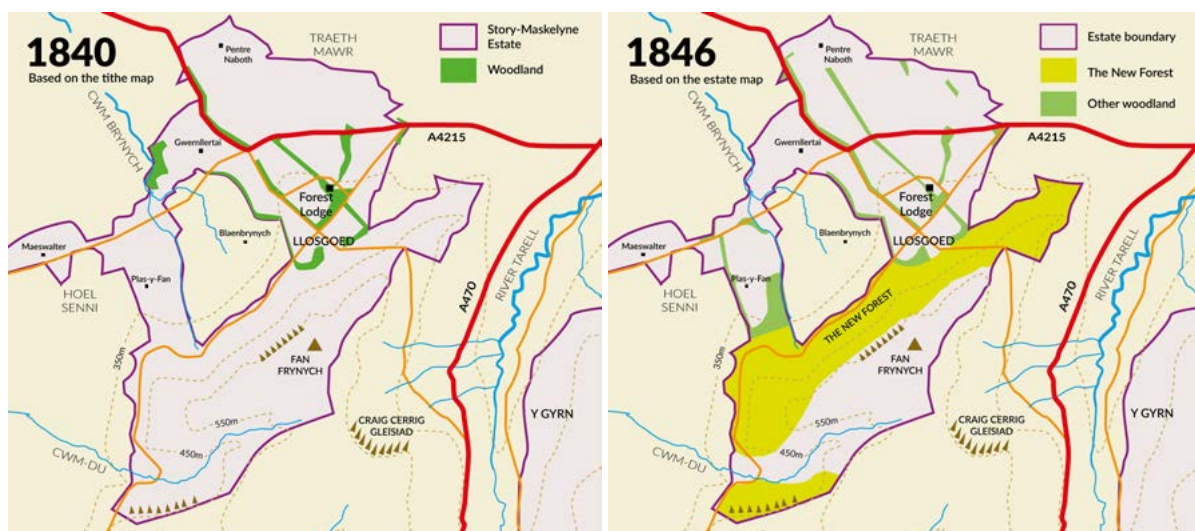
Some time prior to 1834, Anthony had already purchased Senni Mill and had found it necessary to demolish the old mill and build an entirely new one. He constructed this on a much larger scale than was necessary at the time, but he was planning for the future, expressing the desire to purchase more land in Heol Senni to create another lake above the mill, and also to install a water-powered saw mill.

Plans into practice

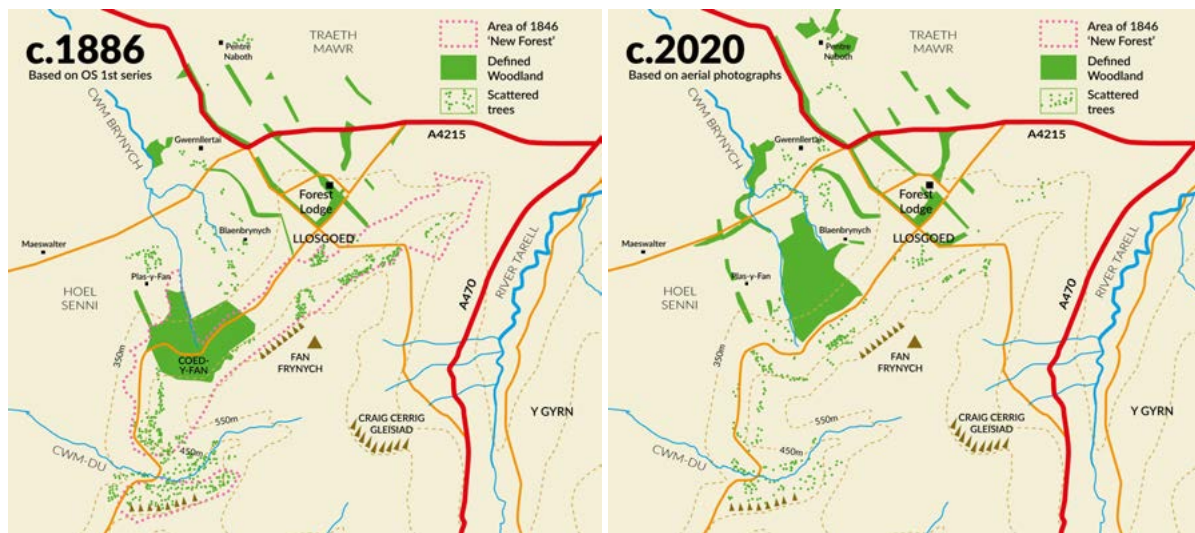
So how far did Anthony actually get with his grand design? In October 1834, after his initial planning, he wrote that he had marked out a part of the Llosgoed hill to be ‘planted immediately’. Whether anything was actually done at this time is not clear, as just a few months later his New Forest plans were put on hold. He later wrote ‘This plan of planting 100 acres annually was somewhat interfered with by my letting the Llosgoed to Smiles [his bailiff] for 7 years, in the autumn of 1835’. He gives no reason for this decision and his writings from 1837-8 are largely concerned with the western portions of his property.

By 1840, Anthony’s mind was back on his New Forest project. In April, he received ‘thirteen lbs of Tyrolean larch seed’ supplied by J G Booth and Co of Hamburg, which Tom Carston (perhaps his gardener at Glanwysk) ‘began sowing in beds in the garden. Some will be treated with bone dust and the difference observed’. In 1843, he noted that these had all failed but he had another quarter cwt of seeds from Hamburg which have yielded well and had 600,000 two-year-old seedlings ready to plant out (enough for 150-200 acres at 3,000-4,000 per acre). So, the project was clearly started, but did the ‘New Forest’ ever actually reach the extent shown on the 1846 map or does that simply show what he intended?

To help determine this we can look at other map evidence. The tithe schedule of 1840 lists three holdings named ‘Llosgoed’, all owned by Anthony. Two, comprising 450 acres of mainly lower elevation lands, were let jointly to William Smiles and John Jones. The remaining parcel of 1,426 acres Anthony held in hand. This included 650 acres of the Gyrn hill, a number of smaller parcels of plantation and pasture and a few pieces of meadow and arable, as well as 545 acres named ‘Rhiwgoch y fan frynach and munith mawr’. This parcel more or less coincides with the area of the New Forest. Unusually, the column where it would be described as ‘pasture’ or ‘plantation’ is left blank. No tree cover is shown on the 1840 map. This would be consistent with what Anthony’s notes suggest – that by 1840 his project was back on track, but no significant actual planting had yet taken place.



The next available detailed map is the First Series of the Ordnance Survey, probably surveyed in 1886. This shows one substantial fenced area of planting called 'Coed-y-fan' to the South West, of the 'New Forest' area and covering less than 20% of that area. Outside this, some scattered patches of mainly coniferous planting are shown. When we compare the 1886 map with a modern aerial image, we can see that Coed-y-fan wood has largely disappeared, although some groups of trees, especially at its upper edge, survive. Coed-y-fan was probably felled in the earlier part of the twentieth century (the large area of forestry just north of the old Coed-y-fan today is a more recent planting). The areas of scattered planting which survive today correspond well with the earlier map, but are smaller, shrunken to perhaps half their earlier size.



For me, the interesting question is, does the situation mapped c.1886 represent the height of Anthony's tree planting, with only Coed-y-fan and some isolated patches actually ever completed? Or was most or all of the 'New Forest' really planted, the bulk of it having either failed to grow or already been felled by 1886?

My initial thought was the latter – so grand was the plan, and so scant its legacy, that it seems unlikely to have ever become a reality. And, as we'll see below, an ambitious but unfinished scheme would seem consistent with Anthony's character. On the other hand, looking at the portions of Coed-y-fan which were not felled, there are some similarities of situation with the surviving patches elsewhere – in both cases they are largely on the higher parts of the slope, perhaps those areas which were too difficult or uneconomic to fell. Anthony had certainly intended to crop part of his planting after as little as 15 years. Did he in fact fell the great majority of it at that time, or at least within 40 years of planting?

With the evidence currently to hand, I don't think we can be sure either way. It may be that we will never know, but I'm hopeful that further study, once access to the site and other records becomes easier, might tell us more. I do think though it is very unlikely that Anthony's even more ambitious scheme for planting on the very summit plateau of Fan Frynach was ever realised.

Character and motivation

Anthony Story was a highly intelligent and energetic man. He had a First from Oxford in classics and mathematics and was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society. His plans in

Breconshire, and in particular the planting of the Llosgoed, were clearly a pet project. “The purchase of land in Breconshire with a house on the river Usk, and the afforestation of his Welsh mountain” wrote his granddaughter “brought him fresh interest” (M Arnold Foster, *Basset Down*, p50). Given that the family’s Wiltshire estates were from his wife’s inheritance it may be that he felt more personal ownership of the Welsh lands and that they offered him the opportunity to make his own mark.

Anthony’s writings suggest an interesting character, alternating between grand schemes and rather morose passages verging on self-pity. This character seems to be confirmed by his granddaughter who, writing about his projects at Basset Down, stated that he did not have the ‘lust of finishing.’ One of his projects there was to construct a series of paths on a nearby hillside, partly using agricultural labourers who would otherwise be unemployed in the winter.’ Some of these paths simply finished in the middle of nowhere as work stopped and a new path was begun elsewhere – “he did not look ahead very clearly to see where it was to end” (*Basset Down*, p.50).

It may be that Anthony brought some of this approach to his Breconshire schemes, as a result of which they were only ever partially realised. And it appears that, around the mid 1840s, Anthony’s interest in his Welsh estates waned. It was around this time that he purchased additional lands in Wiltshire, and after this Glanwysk appears to have been let to tenants, at least for some of the time. In this context, we should note that, in 1873, the family’s 3,658 acres in Breconshire brought income of just £1,014, whereas their 1,766 acres in Wiltshire and Gloucestershire brought in £4,803 – so although their Welsh estate comprised two thirds of the total acreage they owned, even after years of ‘improvement’ it only generated 17% of their income. Anthony may have finally concluded that his efforts and investment were best directed elsewhere.

It has to be said that many of Anthony’s ideas accorded well in general principle with contemporary ideas of agricultural improvement. He was drawing on practices relating to drainage, irrigation, manuring and forestry that he might have read in the latest books. But at this date he still had limited experience of putting those ideas into practice, and no experience at all of conditions in Wales. While he did take some advice locally, this seems, at least initially, to have done little to rein in his more extravagant schemes.

Postscript: the later Story-Maskelynes

This eldest son and heir of Anthony and Margaret, Mervyn Herbert Nevil Story-Maskelyne (1823-1911), was to become an important chemist and mineralogist. He was appointed professor of Chemistry at Oxford, but such was the unsatisfactory state of the sciences in the university at this date that he also had to take the job of Keeper of Minerals at the British Museum. He was also an early photographer, pioneering the use of filters, a Christian socialist, and in later life a Liberal MP.

Based in Oxford, London and later Wiltshire, it is unclear how much interest Nevil (as he was known) had in the family’s Welsh estates, but he did make a significant Welsh connection of his own when, in 1858, he married Thereza Mary Dillwyn-Llewelyn (1834 – 1926), daughter of John Dillwyn-Llewelyn of Penllergare near Swansea. Thereza was a keen astronomer and shared her father’s interest in the young art of photography. She had taken one of the first telescope photographs of the moon (something Nevil had tried but failed to do) in the

observatory her father had built for her. In 1856, John Dillwyn-Llewelyn invited Nevil to Penllergare to help him with the 'dry collodion' photographic process he was trying to perfect. Nevil and Thereza found they had much in common and were married in 1858. John and Nevil would have known each other through the Photographic Society in London, and both had connections with Henry Fox Talbot. Those links are quite sufficient to explain their acquaintance, but it is also interesting to note that the two families shared a Breconshire connection, owning adjacent farms in Heol Senni.

At some point after Anthony's death in 1879, his two unmarried daughters – the eldest Charlotte and the youngest Agnes – went to live at Glanwysk. It seems that they bred ponies. Some additional land was purchased on the other side of the A40 from the house and terraced gardens were created there. Agnes died in 1916, leaving over £20,000. Nevil had died in 1911, but Thereza lived on until 1926. It seems likely that whatever remained of the Welsh estate was sold at this time, if not before.

Some conclusions

There is a lot more work which might be done to fill in the details of the Story-Maskelyne family's involvement in Breconshire, but given how little is currently published on the subject I think it is useful to make this information, however incomplete, available now.

The tale of Anthony's 'improvements' – real and imagined – I hope has been of interest to readers in itself, but I think perhaps it is also of particular relevance in the context of the changes and challenges we face today in terms of agriculture and climate.

Anthony's plans demonstrate the extent to which agriculturalists of the eighteenth and nineteenth century manipulated the landscape, and some of the limits that they pushed against. The legacy of his New Forest scheme is not the productive, profitable and picturesque paradise he hoped for, although the scattered and twisted remnants of it can be picturesque in another way. Whether this extensive planting of non-native trees did much long-term damage I am not sure, but I think we must be grateful that his plans for the flooding of the exquisitely beautiful Cwm Du were not realised.

When there are widespread calls for the planting of billions of trees we may perhaps be able to take some lessons from the tale of the New Forest. That is not a job for historians alone, but the lesson that things do not always work out as those who plan them believe is an obvious one.

Main sources

Story-Maskelyne estate map, printed, 1846 (private collection).

'Notes of improvements to estates in Wales' by A M R Story [1834-43] with additional notes and covering letter, 1918 (Wiltshire and Swindon History Centre, Ref:1390/128/8). This bundle not only contains Anthony's 'memoranda' but also various notes of uncertain authorship, probably dating from the turn of the twentieth century, relating to Glanwysk, some of the estate's staff and tenants, and some local personalities.

Portrait of Anthony M Story-Maskeleyne and inscription on reverse, enlarged from a photograph taken by Penry Williams IV of Penpont in 1859, hand coloured (private collection).

Estate memorandum book for 1820-39 of Penry Williams III of Penpont (private collection).

Welsh tithe maps, tithe schedules, Ordnance Survey base maps and aerial images accessed via <https://places.library.wales>

Mary Arnold-Foster, *Basset Down, an Old Country House*, Country Life, London [c.1950]
(Mary was the granddaughter of Anthony Story-Maskelyne)

Stephen Hughes, *The Brecon Forest Tramroad*, RCAHM, Aberystwyth, 1990

John Lloyd, *The Great Forest of Brecknock*, Bedford Press, London, 1905

Vanda Morton, *Oxford Rebels, the life and friends of Nevil Story Maskelyne*, Alan Sutton, Gloucester, 1987 (Vanda is the great-granddaughter of Anthony Story-Maskelyne)

R F Peter Powell, *The Place Names of Devynock Hundred*, Author, Brecon 1993