LATE GEORGIAN WOODEN-BOTTOMED CHAIRS IN SOUTH WALES

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Joined chairs which follow the styles of the great eighteenth-century designers, but of simple form and made of native woods, occur almost everywhere in Britain. In South Wales they are found in large numbers, and while many are not of specifically regional type, others exhibit particular design features which span the different patterns.

Until at least the middle of the eighteenth century, the seventeenth-century tradition of joined chairmaking prevailed in what was then an almost entirely agricultural community. From then on, the population began to increase steeply;[1] this is usually associated with the coming of the Industrial Revolution, but in fact the increase was spread evenly throughout the counties of Wales until the end of the Napoleonic Wars. It was therefore a growth mainly of the agrarian populace, since the new iron and steel industries were concentrated in the southern counties of Glamorgan and Monmouthshire.

In most English counties, the rising population during this period was served by the developing Windsor and rush-seated chair manufactories,[2] but although South Wales possessed an established rural 'stick' chairmaking tradition, there is no evidence for the existence of Windsor manufacture such as existed in, for example, Bristol and Somerset.

The evidence of numbers of chairs points to the growth of joined chairmaking to fill the needs of agricultural South Wales, forming a distinct regional tradition. It is not entirely clear why this should be so. It seems likely that a rural community with long-established customs would have stuck to its existing chairmaking methods rather than develop new ones. In 1805 Theophilus Jones wrote of Breconshire that '. . . of the strongest predjudices of the inhabitants of this county, is an obstinate dislike of innovation in arts and sciences, at the same time that they frequently discover a violent fondness for it in religion, the first is ingrafted in them almost with their birth . . .'[4]

High grain prices, due to foreign wars, led to prosperity for farmers for most of the late eighteenth century.[5] They appear to have desired a modest degree of English fashion in their homes, consistent with the area, which encompasses the rich coastal districts of Glamorgan, Carmarthenshire, Pembrokeshire, Cardiganshire, and much of Breconshire, all Anglicised from the time of the Norman Conquest. Theophilus Jones, again, writes of English influences in Breconshire; 'the connexions and intercourse however of the two countries are now so numerous and so intimate, and the interests of both are so much blended, that in a short time the distinction of country will be thought of no more, and even at this moment is confined to the secluded native of our wildest mountains . . .'; this in spite of an 'habitual, and almost inveterate aversion (for the English)' which was however 'wearing off fast'.

At the present day, Windsor chairs are also found commonly throughout Wales, but their occurrence probably dates from the second half of the nineteenth century, when artefacts of all kinds were imported to serve the rapidly-growing industrial communities, and the railways made the importation of cheap goods economical. This has been recorded from Bristol and Somerset chairmakers.[6] The occurrence of Windsors of distinctive rural

1. Oak Chippendale armchair, attributed to the Vale of Glamorgan, c. 1770

2. Oak Chippendale side-chair of simple type

Somerset type may be accounted for by the immigration of workers to the valleys, particularly late nineteenth-century Rhondda.[7]

All the evidence so far points to farmers, and townspeople at that level, as the owners of 'wooden-bottomed chairs'. A group of inventories from Cowbridge,[8] in the Vale of Glamorgan, in the 1760s and 1770s places them in a formal setting; thus in an alehouse (1765) there are 'six wooden-bottom chairs' in the hall, together with a 'large round table' and 'two middle size ditto'. In the kitchen, however, people enjoyed more comfort and conviviality sitting on 'twig' or 'leather' chairs. The appraised contents of a dwelling house (1766) lists in the parlour, '12 wooden chairs' at 2/- each, with a 'long table' at 5s.; in the kitchen were 'five old leather chairs' at 8d. each. In each case, the hard wooden-bottomed chairs are in a formal dining situation, and although they may have been of earlier type (e.g. panel-back with turned legs) they were probably in the same joined tradition as the chairs we are considering. Stylistically, these can be categorised as 'Chippendale', 'Hepplewhite', and 'Sheraton', and considered in that sequence.

3. Gothic Chippendale side-chair, beech
with elm seat

4. Oak Chippendale side-chair

CHIPPENDALE DERIVATIVES

Figure 1 shows an eighteenth-century chair from the Vale of Glamorgan, typical of a range
of examples with high narrow backs, moderately raked, and bold simple splat patterns.
Predominantly of oak, the legs are heavy and the seat boards (missing in this example) are
usually rebated beneath to lap over the seat-rails. Sturdy chairs, they are probably the oldest
examples. The front seat-rails are usually shaped in a variety of forms; the most characteris-
tic, as seen here, is a double ogee-and-arch. The splat pattern is one of many variants of a
basic type, simplified from fashionable designs. This chair is known by long tradition in its
owner's family as 'uncle Jonathan's chair', probably Jonathan Howells of Llansannor, near
Cowbridge, who died in 1772.

Figure 2 also comes from a family with a long history in the Cowbridge area. It is one of a
number of relatively unsophisticated examples; the stay-rail ends in knobs rather than
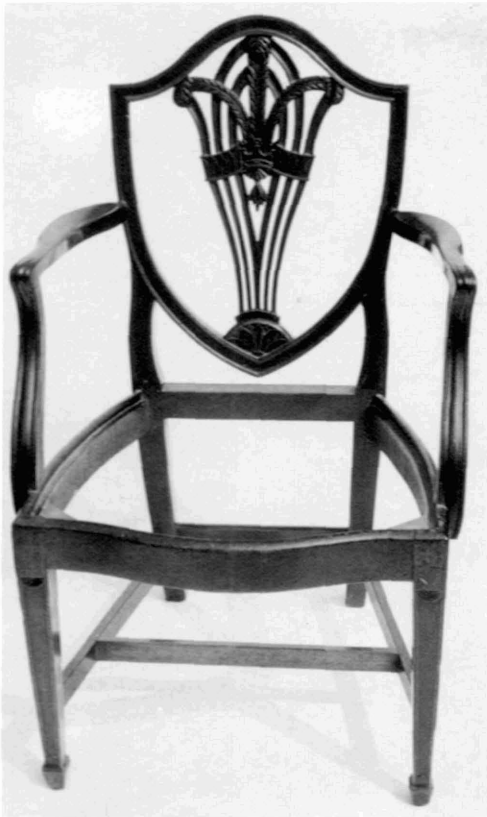sweeps, and the back has little rake. In this one, however, the splat is elaborately fretted with

5. Oak Chippendale side-chair

6. Oak Chippendale side-chairs, with 'love-spoon'
iconography

Photo: Courtesy of Phillips in Wales

7. Hepplewhite mahogany shield-back
armchair, eighteenth century

8. Hepplewhite oak armchair of
unusual size

a design incorporating the scroll elements of Figure 1, and closely resembling certain middle-class mahogany chairs.[9] It is also of oak, but the chair in Figure 3 is, unusually, made of beech with an elm seat fitted within rebates in the seat-rails. It represents a third type with predominantly Gothic splats, boldly swept stay-rails and raked backs, close in spirit to 'Director' designs. Here again the ogee-and-arch front rail, and the same provenance as Figure 2, indicates a Glamorganshire origin.

The chair in Figure 4 shows greater refinement, the seat-boards rebated over the rails with delicate moulded edges, and the back with an overall fretted pattern, lacking any strong vertical elements. From a farm at Pontsticill in the Brecon Beacons, near Merthyr Tydfil, it may originate from makers in the Usk/Towy valleys from Brecon to Llandovery.

Figure 5 is of closely similar type, but has a splat of developed C-scroll form, reminiscent of Manwaring. It also has an unusually-shaped front rail, a pattern commonly found on the aprons of dressing- and side-tables, and chests-on-stands. Another chair (not illustrated) from the same ownership and provenance is identical, except that the back has a shallow arched stay-rail projecting beyond the sides and a slotted 'wheatsheaf' splat. Clearly it is by the same maker, offering an alternative style. Both belong to a farming family originating

from Rhandirmwyn, in East Carmarthenshire, dated from before 1830 from notes in a family Bible.

While many plain vase-splat and basic, coarse examples are to be found, the Chippendale chairs of this area are characterised by bold, true proportions. The splat designs appear to be mainly based on English fashion, but show a high degree of creativity.

The most remarkable examples illustrated are the chairs in Figure 6, in oak, probably originating in Carmarthenshire or Cardiganshire, with later ownership in the Aberdare and Merthyr valleys. In these chairs, the Gothic-slotted splats have a central circular design incorporating typical Welsh 'love-spoon' iconography; in this case, two 'teardrops', a heart pierced with an arrow, and a tulip head. The teardrops also occur in Welsh furniture as piercings, usually in groups of four arranged as a wheel.[10] This symbol is common to Wales and Ireland, and may have a true Celtic origin, perhaps derived from geometric spiral patterns.[11] Its meaning is unknown, but its popularity was enduring, occurring generally in Welsh decorative arts[12] and in the New World wherever Welsh or Irish émigrés settled.[13] The tulip too is of distinctive South Wales type,[14] drawn in outline rather than formed from two geometrical petals, as found in carvings on seventeenth-century English furniture. These chairs originally had fretted corner-brackets beneath the front seat-rails. Altogether, they are a striking example of the fusion of a folk idiom with fashionable style.

HEPPLEWHITE DERIVATIVES

Wooden-bottomed chairs in this tradition are the most numerous group in South Wales. Oak predominates again, and although the patterns vary, they are more 'standard' than the Chippendale chairs, deriving from the high-fashion shield-backs of the 1770s and 1780s. Figure 7 shows a mahogany armchair of this type with a reliable provenance from a gentry house near Pontardawe in the Swansea valley in the eighteenth century. The same 'Prince-of-Wales feather' pattern is reflected in simple form in the back of the unusually large oak armchair with a footboard, shown in Figure 8. This too has the ogee-and-arch rail-shaping of the Chippendale chairs, in a more delicate form, with longer, shallower ogees. We find it again in the standard Hepplewhite variety in Figure 9; this pattern occurs more commonly with a straight rail, in great numbers and with minor variations of design. This example has a delicate splat, the detail resolved by carved fillets. Figures 7 and 8 are unprovenanced but attributed to South Wales, both bought at auctions or markets in Glamorgan.

Very common too are chairs of the type represented in Figure 10; this one comes from a farm at Garth, Maesteg, in the Glamorganshire valleys. Here, the centre of the splat is occupied by a small 'Prince-of-Wales feather' motif. This particular design appears to be of South Wales origin, and may be unique to the area. This example is one of the two simplest

9. Hepplewhite oak side-chair

10. Hepplewhite oak side-chair, 'Prince-of-Wales feather' motif

11. Hepplewhite oak side-chair, an unusual 'feathers' variant

12. Walnut side-chair, Hepplewhite variant

and commonest variants, the other being the same but having the central 'feather' extended upwards to connect with the top of the splat. More elaborate variants are also found, usually with low-relief carving in the form of fillets (as in Figure 9) and definition of the feathers. All found so far have straight front rails, except one chair with an unusual rail shape and splat details, shown in Figure 11. Here the feathers have more of the appearance of leaves. It is unprovenanced, attributed to South Wales.

In general, the Hepplewhite chairs are more lightly constructed than the Chippendale varieties, with thinner legs and seat-boards. These are sometimes set into rebates in the seat-rails, the edges being covered by shallow planted mouldings. The thin seats are usually supported by an additional rail running from back to front below the middle of the seat, dovetailed in at both ends. As with the earlier chairs, simple crude examples are found, but these are comparatively rare. They occur too as night-chairs and children's high chairs. In spite of the limited amount of variation in these designs, original and creative examples do
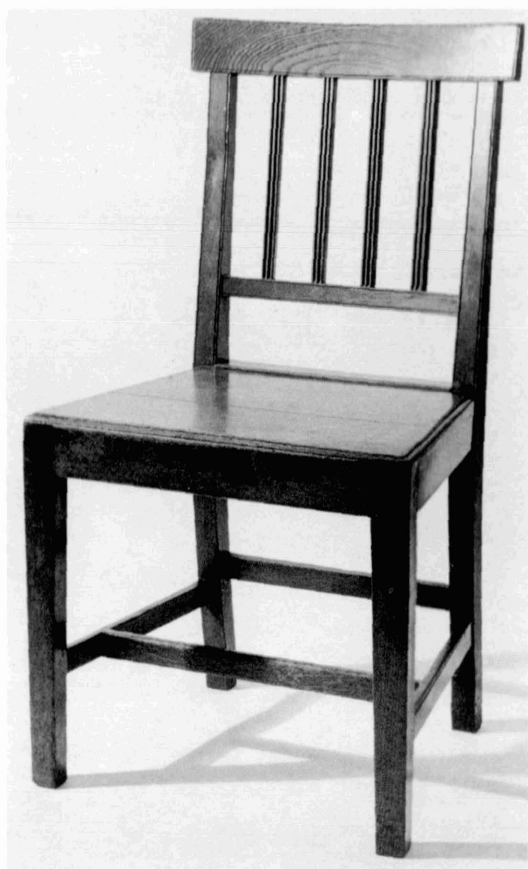
13. Sheraton oak side-chair,
the commonest type

14. Sheraton oak side-chair,
signed 'Wm.Wms.'

exist. Figure 12 shows a walnut chair with an arched stay-rail and a slotted splat design with Gothic elements at the base, from the same source as Figure 8.

SHERATON DERIVATIVES

Figure 13 illustrates a typical example of this style, which is also very numerous, and usually of the same light construction as the Hepplewhite chairs. This one, from a farming family from Merthyr Mawr, near Bridgend, Glamorgan, has reeded vertical splats and a fine bead worked around the other parts of the back. Many are found also with the stay-rail ending flush with the sides, or set down inside them, and endless minor variants occur.

The chair in Figure 14 has reeded verticals and a stay-rail with hollow corners. It is the first to be found with a probable maker's name on it; 'Wm.Wms.' is written in sepia ink beneath the seat. This may be William Williams of Llandovery,[15] who worked in the early years of the nineteenth century; it comes from a farm at Cray, fifteen miles away. Reliable records of William Williams have so far proved elusive.[16]
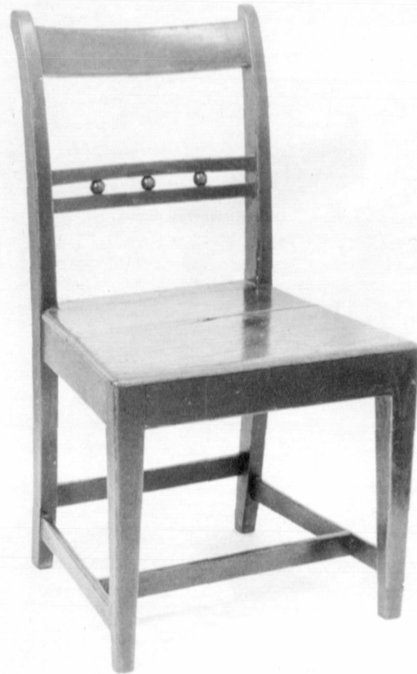

15. Sheraton oak side-chair

16. Sheraton oak side-chair with developed stay-rail

The back of the chair in Figure 15 has crossed horizontal splats, moulded verticals and square corners. It closely resembles a walnut settle in the Welsh National Folk Museum, St Fagans, attributed to late eighteenth-century Carmarthenshire. This chair is unprovenanced, but attributed to Carmarthen. Figure 16 shows a chair with a developed stay-rail, from the same source as Figure 4. Figure 17, with a central splat design of an arrow between two C-scrolls, is a well-known Carmarthenshire pattern, this one bought at auction near Swansea. These chairs often have fine detail (beads worked around the elements of the back) and an unusually bold rake. The significance of the arrow is not known, but two long arrows are shown in a chair back in Sheraton's 1793 *Drawing Book* (Fig. 35 of Plate 24). A square-backed, simpler version, from Cowbridge, has a splat with the arrow pointing upwards.

Plain straight seat-rails are the rule for these chairs, but one rare example of the familiar ogee-and-arch shaping has been found, bought at auction in Carmarthen (Fig. 18).

The child's high chair in Figure 19 comes from the Swansea area. Armchairs in the Sheraton styles in South Wales usually have the eighteenth-century type of arm, as in Figures 1 and 8, the high arm being uncommon. In this example the arm supports are chamfered rather than turned, and the seat is rectangular. It comes from a farming family with a history in the early nineteenth century at Pontarddulais (Carmarthenshire/Glamorgan border) and at Eglwys Nunydd, near Margam in Glamorgan.

Figure 20 shows an example of a distinct group of 'button-back' chairs which are very common in Pembrokeshire and Carmarthenshire; this one was bought in Tenby. The equally common type of plain chair which has one or two cross-splats only in the back appears to belong to this group, which may represent a later tradition. Typically the stay-rail is set between the sides.

PROVENANCES, DATES AND MAKERS

Nothing is known for sure about any of these chairs. Marks are very rare, and so far unknown in the first two styles. Provenances are based on family histories, mainly from farmers or people of rural origin, but the quantity of it and the numbers of chairs from families of stable background identifies them as a regional tradition.

Precise dating is impossible, but many of them may well have been almost contemporary with their high-style counterparts. Before the big growth of industry in the nineteenth century, the rich lands of Pembrokeshire, Carmarthenshire, and coastal Glamorganshire had the environment and the wealth to attract a fashionable trade. The *Universal British Directory* of 1793 describes Haverfordwest as being '... particularly noticed a place of residence for a great number of independent gentry. It is 256 miles from London'. It was

17. Sheraton oak side-chair, 'arrow-and-C-scroll' splat

18. Sheraton oak side-chair, ogee-and-arch front rail shape

19. Sheraton oak child's high chair

20. Oak 'button-back' side-chair

served by a daily coach from London via Gloucester, Cardiff, etc., and Carmarthen. A list of 19 vessels belonging to the port of Carmarthen is given, 10 trading with London and 9 with Bristol, which traded with all the South Wales ports for shop goods of all kinds. There was therefore no reason why the fashion-hungry landed gentry and their prosperous tenant farmers should have had to wait long for fashionable influences to reach them,[17] and late eighteenth-century prosperity would have provided the means to acquire them.

Whenever they originated, there is little doubt that the Hepplewhite and Sheraton chair styles at least were made over a long period of time. A study of numbers of cabinet makers (see Appendix) from Trade Directories shows two people each for Swansea, Haverford-west, and Carmarthen in 1793, and Haverfordwest had a cabinet-maker's society in the late eighteenth century.[18] From the 1820s, numbers increased in these towns and in other places such as Neath, Cardigan, Brecon, and Aberystwyth. The proliferation of chairs, with their many variations, points to the existence of many makers, which seems to coincide with these increases. Ambiguities and inconsistencies in the designations of carpenter, joiner and cabinet maker may indicate that many small-town joiners were furniture makers too. Interestingly, the term 'chairmaker' is entirely absent from these directories. There is an apparent contradiction in the growth of cabinet making in the 1820s at a time of intense rural hardship, following the collapse of grain prices after 1815.[19] Perhaps these makers supplied only the comparatively secure gentry and professional people, who certainly acquired a bad reputation for exacting high rents from their sometimes starving tenants. It may also mean that many of the oak chairs were joiner-made, before 1815.

The present-day distribution of the chairs is so general that firm conclusions cannot be drawn from it, although a few tentative ideas are justified. Thus, of the chairs inherited by families in the industrial valleys, the majority seen are of the Hepplewhite styles, with a few Chippendale examples. The first industrial workers moved there from Carmarthenshire and Cardiganshire before 1830,[20] so these chairs may have been brought there in the early nineteenth century. They occur throughout the area, but the Hepplewhite chairs are especially common in homes in Carmarthenshire and West Glamorgan.[21] The Sheraton styles are also to be found everywhere, but are particularly numerous in the West, indicating that many of them may have been made after 1830. Much of the later population growth in the valleys, particularly Rhondda, came from outside Wales.

The Sheraton-style chairs are also found further North, and are common in the Aberystwyth area, where the Hepplewhite types are scarce. Two small, plain Sheraton chairs with top-rails set within the sides (not illustrated) have been found with the name 'W.T.R.POWELL, NANTEOS'[22] stamped on the back rails, which dates them to 1854 or later in the Aberystwyth area. Assuming that the 'Wm.Wms.' chair in Figure 14 is from Llandovery in the 1800s, we have a style that ran for more than fifty years. Many homes accumulated chairs of different styles, often by buying them second-hand at farm sales.[23]

All the styles are represented by middle-class mahogany examples, which are not specifically regional and are lacking provenances. Many are identical to the oak versions, with added carving and moulding on the backs, and upholstered slip-seats instead of flat wooden ones. West Indian and Baltic timbers were available, shipped to the South Wales ports via coasters to Liverpool and Bristol.[24] Given the excellent proportions and joinery of the best oak chairs, there is no reason to suppose that the same makers did not make both oak and mahogany chairs, according to their customer's pockets. On the other hand, the

rough examples are surely the products of country joiners, being commonest in the earliest style, before the main expansion in cabinet making.

The provenances of the styles themselves are of great interest. Locally-available middle-class examples may have influenced local craftsmen, and it is tempting to make direct links between, for example, the Hepplewhite chairs in Figures 7 and 8.

There is more evidence, however, that the chairs followed imported designs. As stated above, joined chairs rather than Windsors predominated in South Wales. The only other area in Britain where this occurs is East Anglia,[25] where ranges of chairs have been identified which are virtually the same as the South Wales examples, even down to the 'button-backs' of Pembrokeshire. It seems impossible that such close similarities could have developed independently, even from common high-fashion sources, and that designs *at a vernacular level* must have been brought in, presumably from London. Into these, regional furniture makers incorporated their own features; thus East Anglia developed a hollow seat, while South Wales added shaped seat-rails and its own creative back designs, retaining a flat seat. The ogee-and-arch rail shaping is one of the commonest on the aprons of Welsh dressers, and it seems likely that chairs were made 'en suite' with them.

Both areas used native woods, so the East Anglian chairs are mainly of elm,[26] with fruitwood and oak also; South Wales used oak predominantly, with a few fruitwood examples. Walnut and more rarely alder are occasionally found too in both areas. Differences occur too in the tapering of the front legs. Most East Anglian chairs in the Hepplewhite and Sheraton styles have front legs tapered over their full length, the taper being on the inside when box stretchers were used, and even when the 'H' stretcher pattern occurs.[27] Welsh examples are usually tapered only below the stretchers where box stretchers are used, so that the stretcher tenon shoulders are cut square. Sometimes the legs are left straight altogether, or only tapered at the front, even in these later chairs.

How the designs were transmitted is still obscure, but recent discoveries of regional price books[26] which link different areas may be the answer. The Norwich book of 1801[27] gives details of plain cross-splat and 'button-back' chairs, while the London Chairmakers' book of 1823[28] shows both Hepplewhite and Sheraton backs in outline. The existence of an undiscovered Haverfordwest or Carmarthen price book is an exciting possibility.

This brief interim report will have served its purpose if it stimulates further research into the subject. The variety of wooden-bottomed chairs illustrated here is a small skimming off the top of a vast pool of examples. Because they have been so little regarded in the past, they have been largely unrecorded; many have left Wales as unacknowledged exports to England and elsewhere, and in the case of the more standard patterns, into permanent anonymity.

APPENDIX

Numbers of cabinet-makers recorded in Trade Directories

	Universal 1793	Pigots 1822	Pigots 1830	Slaters 1844	Slaters 1850
Aberystwyth	not known	3	4	7	7
Brecon	—	—	3	3	6
Bridgend	—	—	—	3	2
Caerphilly	—	—	—	—	3
Cardiff	—	4	5	8	11
Cardigan	—	—	—	4	5
Carmarthen	2	5	6	6	10
Cowbridge	—	—	—	—	1
Haverfordwest	2	4	5	9	7
Llandeilo	1	—	—	2	2
Llandovery	—	—	3	7	10
Llanelli	—	—	—	5	6
Llantrisant (inc. Pontypridd)	—	—	2	2	3
Merthyr Tydfil	1	—	2	6	13
Milford	—	—	—	5	4
Narberth	—	—	1	1	1
Neath	—	3	6	8	10
Pembroke and Pembroke Dock	—	—	4	3	2
Swansea	2	3	10	14	17
Tenby	—	—	2	3	5

In addition, some small or middle-sized towns which did not support cabinet making to a significant extent had numbers of tradesmen listed as joiners, or carpenters and joiners, some of whom may have been furniture makers too. This occurred particularly in Kidwelly (no craftsmen, 7 joiners in 1844 and 1850), Narberth (8 craftsmen in 1830, lumped together as carpenters and cabinet makers); Newport, Pembrokeshire (no craftsmen, 3 joiners in 1830 and 9 in 1844); and Newcastle Emlyn (no craftsmen, 4 joiners in 1844, 9 in 1850). There were of course joiners at all times in most of the towns, numbers in proportion to size.

It seems likely, too, that where relatively large numbers of cabinet makers were recorded in the developing industrial towns, some were retailers rather than makers, because in the Directories all trades were listed as such, not as shopkeepers. This is particularly likely, in the 1844 and 1850 Directories, in Cardiff, Swansea, Neath and Merthyr, where numbers were high but individual businesses often of short duration.

In conclusion, while inaccuracies and inconsistencies occur, the overall picture of the trade, from Directories, gives a fair indication of the growth and location of the cabinet trade.

REFERENCES

1. David Williams, *A History of Modern Wales* (1950), ch. 12.
2. B. D. Cotton, *The English Regional Chair* (1990), introduction.
3. John Brown, *Welsh Stick Chairs* (1990).
4. Theophilus Jones, *A History of the County of Brecknock*, 1 (1805, reprinted 1898), pp. 139, 142.

5. David Williams, *A History of Modern Wales* (1950), ch. 12.

6. B. D. Cotton, *The English Regional Chair* (1990), pp. 284, 285.

7. E. D. Lewis, *The Rhondda Valleys* (1959), ch. 12.

8. Glamorgan Record Office, Edmondes papers: Alehouse, D/ED 182; Dwelling house, D/ED 183, 184. Luke Millar, 'An Alehouse Inventory of 1765', *Regional Furniture*, II (1988), pp. 36, 37.

9. Phillips in Wales, sale catalogue of 24 Sept. 1986, lot no. 92 (illustrated).

10. For example, a cupboard bed in 'Kennixton', a Gower cottage now installed in the Welsh Folk Museum, St Fagans, has a decorative ventilation panel cut in this form, *c. 1675*.

11. George Bain, *Celtic Art* (1951), contains illustrations and analysis of geometric spirals, pp. 59–67.

12. For example, see Trefor M. Owen, *Welsh Folk Museum* (1987), a hand-made Valentine from Montgomeryshire (pl. 12); love spoons (pl. 9).

13. Lee Ellen Griffiths, *Line and Berry Inlaid Furniture, A Regional Craft Tradition in Pennsylvania*; Ph.D. thesis, University of Pennsylvania, 1988. Irish settlers in Nova Scotia; B. D. Cotton, verbal information.

14. The 'Welsh tulip' appears, for example, as low-relief carving on a 'coffr bach' (private collection); 'line and berry' inlay terminals on a dresser base (Welsh National Folk Museum, no illustration); a valentine (see note 11); border decoration on Llanelli 'spongeware' pottery dishes.

15. A bureau-cabinet, of oak with chequer inlay, is signed 'W.W. 1805'. In the Welsh Folk Museum, St Fagans; also illustrated in H. J. Lloyd-Johnes and L. Twiston-Davies, *Welsh Furniture* (1950), attributed to William Williams of Llandovery.

16. Carmarthen Record Office found no references in Trade Directories, parish records, or the rate books of 1810. William Williams was a common name in Llandovery, but no occupations were recorded.

17. For example: a) The Haverfordwest Cabinet-Maker's Society card (H. J. Lloyd-Johnes and L. Twiston-Davies, *Welsh Furniture* (1950), pl. 126) illustrates a kidney table, copied exactly from Sheraton's *Cabinet-Maker's and Upholsterer's Drawing-Book* of 1793, Pl. 58. b) The manuscript notebook of John Davies, a Carmarthen cabinet maker, for the years 1844–55, (Carmarthen Record Office) illustrates contemporary fashionable furniture made by his firm, and contains copies of current drawings from Henry Wood's *Designs for Furniture*.

18. Ibid.

19. David Williams, *A History of Modern Wales*, ch. 13.

20. Samuel Lewis, *A Topographical Dictionary of Wales* (1834), section on Glamorgan.

21. Richard Bebb, Kidwelly; verbal information.

22. William Thomas Rowland Powell, born 1815, succeeded to the Nanteos estate on the death of his father in 1854. The two chairs bearing his stamp were given to his agent, Hugh Lloyd, at the time of Lloyd's marriage, in the 1860s. I am indebted to Alun Davies of the Welsh Folk Museum for information on the Powells, and to Hugh Lloyd's descendants for access to the chairs and for family history.

23. A farming family with forebears from Trallong, Breconshire; verbal information.

24. Samuel Lewis, *A Topographical Dictionary of Wales* (1834), entries for South and West coast ports.

25. B. D. Cotton, *The English Regional Chair* (1990), ch. 4.

26. The *Norwich Chair-maker's Book of Prices* of 1801 gives 'elm, ash, beech or walnut-tree' as standard for a 'square back kitchen chair', costing 2s., with 'cherry-tree' as an extra at a 1½d. per s. See B. D. Cotton, *The English Regional Chair* (1990), p. 216.

27. Gerry Cotton, 'Common Chairs from the Norwich Chair-Makers' Price Book of 1801', *Regional Furniture* II (1988) pp. 68–92.

28. Illustrated in the *Pictorial Dictionary of British 19th Century Furniture Design*, ed. E. Joy (1977), p. 257.