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My Dear Hamy:

Insights and Intrigues at the Court of Caroline, Princess of Wales

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Text accompanied by a copy of *My Dear Hamy*

Abstract

My Dear Hamy (Thomas, 2016) is a scholarly work that challenges and has the potential to change historians' understanding of George IV's largely dismissed consort, Caroline of Brunswick, and the times in which she lived. In examining sources concerning Princess Caroline, the author uncovers new, contemporary perspectives on the social, political and military conflicts of the time. The exploration is largely from the perspective and surviving documentation of Anne Hayman, Caroline's friend, advisor and Privy Purse, whose detailed correspondence invites different conclusions from those drawn by many previous historians.

Working from local knowledge, personal reflection and extensive – and previously unexplored – documentary sources, Thomas has built up an extensive body of material relevant to understanding both the local community around Wrexham in North East Wales and the royal court in London.

The published text is the outcome of 17 years' research and access to material barely used by previous scholars. A detailed approach has been taken throughout, and the associated research pursued with a rigorous methodology. Collectively, the work offers a full exploration of the lives, involvements, political, social and economic impacts of all those involved, within their local and wider contexts, as well as on an international basis.

The work has been informed by, and influences, others working in these fields. The resulting coherent body of work consequently makes a significant and original contribution to the present state of knowledge about the geography and history of the period, and to wider understanding of social, cultural and economic contexts in general.

1. PROJECT ORIGINS, SOURCE MATERIALS AND PERSONAL MOTIVATIONS

1.1 This submission draws on a wide variety of sources: a chance finding in a library; institutional records within the same establishment; personal family records; local historical studies; physical evidence; ethnographic research; the pursuit and sourcing of additional documentation and personal curiosity. It prompted a subsequent search for relevant documentation, all of which led to the wider exploration of the social, political and cultural trends of the prime subjects, the events they lived through, and subsequent history. While firmly grounded in local history and personal information, collectively the outcomes and associated findings offer a new basis for understanding events and personalities on a national and international stage, and a new grounding for previously long-established individual and organisational reputations.

1.2 **A book in a library.** The initial chance finding was a book in the library of the Reform Club in Pall Mall: *A Brief memoir of the Princess Charlotte of Wales: with selections from her correspondence and other unpublished paper*, by Lady Rose Weigall, published in 1874 (Weigall, 1874). Several of the letters included offered as their address 'Gresford'. This attracted interest because it is the author of this submission's home in North East Wales.

1.3 **Further access to an institution's archive.** Further research within the Reform Club offered access to the Historical Manuscripts Commission, held in a wall of leather-bound volumes in their morning room. This is a collection of reprinted private archives, compiled from 1869 until its merger with the National Archives. A search of the indices revealed the name of Thomas Hayman, father of Anne. The associated documents were mostly professional communications to his clients in his capacity as an attorney, but as a whole they established him as a lawyer with a solid practice amongst the local gentry. It also established the name of Thomas' wife, Eleanor, from the Puleston family of Emral Hall, Worthenbury.

1.4 **Personal archive.** This information was cross-referenced with documents relating to the author of this submission's property of Gresford. The letters quoted in Weignall's book were signed 'A Hayman' and comparison with a bundle of ancient title deeds to the 'Gresford' property confirmed that the earliest conveyance was of land to Anne Hayman, who had the house built in 1806.

1.5 **Local history.** The location and history of Wrexham, its townships and the wider area of the counties of Flintshire and Denbighshire in North East Wales was explored and published in some detail over ten volumes by local historian Alfred Neobald Palmer (1847-1915), towards the end of the 19th century (Palmer, 1885 onwards), after whom Wrexham's AN Palmer Research Centre is named.¹ It was Palmer who offered the information that Miss Hayman had served as Privy Purse to Princess Charlotte's mother, Princess Caroline of Brunswick, the wife of the Prince Regent, later King George IV. Palmer's work was drawn on by another Palmer (Palmer 1932) and by AH Dodd² in his subsequent history (Dodd, 1957).

1.6 **Industrial history.** The political and social historical information Palmer offered is supported by industrial history. The Maelor district of North East Wales centred upon Wrexham contains carboniferous limestone and clay-bearing ironstones in abundance. There were ample supplies of wood for charcoal in early years and later seams of coal were easily mined, even outcropping on

¹ [A.N. Palmer Centre - Research - WCBC \(wrexham.gov.uk\)](http://www.wrexham.gov.uk)

² I vividly recall meeting Professor Dodd at the 1956 Speech Day of Grove Park School Wrexham which we had both attended. He welcomed me in my Peterhouse blazer which as a visiting Fellow he immediately recognised.

higher ground. Access to the Dee estuary at Mostyn and to the River Severn via Montford Bridge to Birmingham and the Black Country were both highly advantageous. Studies of “The Charcoal Industries of East Denbighshire 1630 – 90 and 1690 – 1776” by Ifor Edwards and published in the *Transactions of the Denbighshire Historical Society*³ reveal iron mining as early as 1472 in the vicinity of Wat’s Dyke which runs through Erddig, Eyton and the Wynnstay Estate.⁴ The production of iron continued through the 17th Century. Ifor Edwards tells us that the Myddletons of Chirk Castle and the Eytons of Ruabon were in partnership in a number of furnaces but were unhappily on opposite sides in the Civil War. In their several depredations across the countryside, they took care to leave their joint projects untouched. . In the 18th century Wrexham was known also for its leather industry, comb and button and nail-making and it grew rapidly in size from a town of 2,000 to become one of the pioneers of the industrial revolution. (Palmer and Dodd, 1951).

Abraham Darby was the first to experiment with the use of coke in blast furnaces in Coalbrookdale in Shropshire in 1712, but his early death at the age of 39 left it to his partner, Charles Lloyd, to continue the experiment at Bersham near Wrexham. It was in the latter part of the 18th century that John Wilkinson (1728-1808) known as 'Iron Mad Wilkinson', purchased the Bersham works and made them internationally famous, credited with the invention of the first machine tool, a device which bored out the muzzles of cannons. This led to the development of the Bolton & Watt steam engines, one of which he used for increasing the effectiveness of his blast furnaces⁵. The tradition and the skills that went with this industry continued in the works Wilkinson opened at Brymbo, three miles to the north. Locally, the remains of Wilkinson’s ironworks still stand in both Bersham and Brymbo. The latter works survived for so long that the author briefly worked there in a vacation job. The steel produced was of the finest quality, used in Rolls Royce engines, and the workforce entertained a certain contempt for the quality of steel produced by the much larger Shotton Steelworks on Deeside.

. Intriguingly, the ironmasters, Darby, Lloyd, Wilkinson and many others were bound together as Quakers. The exploitation of coal was largely in the hands of the gentry on their country estates in the initial stages, until the arrival of limited liability companies allowed for wider investment.⁶

, While this is also covered in histories of the industrial revolution (e.g. Ashton, 1956), the families who played their major part in the political life of Britain at the end of the 18th and the beginning of the 19th centuries are largely forgotten

1.7 **Physical evidence.** A monument to both Anne Hayman, and to her parents, is on the wall of the Lady Chapel inside Gresford church, where she was also buried (Palmer, 1886 Information gleaned from Historical Manuscripts revealed that the Hayman family lived at Holt Street House in Wrexham when Anne was young. This solid building, evidence of its owner’s prosperity, was well known locally because it later housed the local GP and his surgery within the town centre.

1.8 **Local family information.** Information could also be accessed from the local gentry, notably the Cunliffes of Acton Hall and the Yorkes of Erddig, from their archives as well as their local

³ Vol 9 (1960) p 26.

⁴ Vol 10 (1961) p 48

⁵ See Stephen Greuter “John Wilkinson and the Bersham Ironworks” in *Wilkinson Studies* (1991) Merton Priory Press

⁶ “Was the nineteenth-century Denbighshire coalfield a worthwhile investment? An analysis of the investors and their returns” by [Bethan Lloyd Jones](#)
<https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/09585206.2010.485750?journalCode=rabf20>

involvements. The Yorkes would invite local followers of the annual St David's Day Hunt to meet through the woods of Erddig and receive refreshments outside their mansion. Anne's contemporary, Philip Yorke of Erddig, published a learned treatise *Royal Tribes of Wales* (Yorke, 1799) which traced the pedigree of Eleanor (mother of Anne) back to the sister of the Welsh rebel and Prince, Owain Glyndwr.

1.9 Autoethnographic research. The project can also be situated within autoethnographic research. The author uses self-reflecting and writing to investigate anecdotal and personal experiences; in the process connecting memories and personal reflections with wider social, cultural and political events and understanding.

The author grew up on the Acton Council Estate, built in the 1920s and 30s within the grounds of Acton Hall and as a child attended Wrexham parish church where the Yorkes of Erdigg had a family pew. He was a pupil at Acton Primary School, close to Acton Hall, in the process developing a wide acquaintance with its grounds.

He had family stories to draw upon, for example, the reproof the author's Great Aunt Alice from her father as a child. The family had been out walking in Erddig Park when Squire Yorke passed by on his horse and Alice had absolutely refused to curtsy to him. The River Dee below Gwernheulog, where Anne Hayman nursed her disabled brother, Watkin Hayman, in his final hours had long been a childhood location for swimming. The author's Great Aunt Nan, in the latter part of the nineteenth century, had been the much-loved nanny with the Peel family who lived at Bryn-y-Pys, the estate where Anne Hayman's first and lost love Tom Price grew up.

In addition, the author's own memories were valuable. For example, as a young man he was invited to Wrexham Rugby Club, to accompany on the piano Philip Yorke (the last of the family line), playing *Shenandoah* on his musical saw, and so observed first-hand his plum coloured velvet smoking jacket and tasselled pill box hat. The Wynnstay estate was similarly familiar to him, as it offered the chance to play rugby against the public school it then housed. He knew the names of Anne Hayman's mother's family, the Pulestons, from visits to Worthenbury Church – it contained a three-decker pulpit, high-sided box pews with a special Puleston family pew with its own fireplace. At the side of the pulpit a monument carries a very poignant tribute in verse to Watkin Hayman.

After graduating in law from Cambridge, the author returned to North Wales as an articled clerk in a solicitor's office in Ruabon, and there studied the legal Abstracts of the Wynne family's various settlements, which formed the root of title to local farms and houses. Acting for the Myddletons of Chirk Castle, the firm sought to support their desire to banish poachers from their estate.

To this can be added the local knowledge of the politician, from knocking on doors, getting to know the local people and their problems, as part of election campaigning for the Liberal Party in three general elections in West Flintshire and five in Wrexham and East Denbighshire. Also relevant are more subsequent involvements which brought local knowledge. For example, Lord Thomas established a local radio company which served North Wales, Chester and the Wirral, and of which , Gerald Grosvenor the 6th Duke of Westminster, was a director.

1.10 Sourcing additional documents. Trying to source the whereabouts of Miss Hayman's original letters quoted in the Weigall book led to detective work about where they might be found. The preface (Weignall, 1874) acknowledged thanks to Stowe, a Palladian Mansion in Buckinghamshire, home of Lady Charlotte Williams Wynn's Grenville family for long a public school. While Stowe's library had been sold off by auction in the 1920s, what it originally held was found indexed within the Historical Manuscripts Commission in Quality Court, off Chancery Lane. The contents of the

Public Record Office had been moved from Chancery Lane to Kew in 1997 but the Quality Court office contained a searchable database, ARCHON. It emerged that the Hayman letters were in the Royal Library at Windsor. Permission was sought to access them, and on inspection (1997) the cache of original letters was much more extensive than the brief extracts in Weignall's book would have implied. Most of them had clearly never been accessed, and hence analysed or reported on, before.

1.11 Previously unseen correspondence. The correspondence included letters from Anne, as expected, but also subsequent lengthy correspondence between her and Princess Caroline. There were also a small number to 'Hamy' from Princess Charlotte; particularly difficult to read as the handwriting was very poor. It was however immediately obvious that these letters gave an intimate insight into the life of Princess Caroline that had previously not seen the light of day. Further, the contemporaneous portrayal of Anne Hayman which accompanied the bundle, as "agreeable, clever, overflowing with humour and good sense" d provided a strong indication that further exploration would be valuable and yield access to previously unappreciated understanding of life at the court of Caroline of Brunswick (Thomas, 2016, p. 13).

The letters suggested that justice had not been done to Princess Caroline. She had been lampooned in her lifetime, tried in the House of Lords for adultery, traduced by her Lady in Waiting, Charlotte Campbell in her reminiscences, and described as 'The Wanton Queen' in Tisdall's biography (Tisdall, 1939). Early investigation of the previously unseen letters of Anne Hayman however showed Caroline to be a feisty, intelligent and spirited woman in stark contrast to the insipid flock of royal princesses who fluttered around their mother, the Queen. Her husband, on the other hand, the Prince of Wales, had been generally regarded in a more favourable light as an aesthete and an elegant wit, whose passions and indiscretions were excusable in a male aristocrat and heir apparent. He was the titular leader of Regency fashion and gained in reputation by reflecting its brilliance, as portrayed in the novels of Georgette Heyer and Baroness Orczy.

1.12 Personal motivation. The author having been initially linked through a shared property, speculation on his part quickly grew about how it was that a woman in her forties of no great family, left the Maelor district of North Wales to travel the considerable distance to London to become the confidante of the Princess of Wales, the niece of George III and later the uncrowned Queen.

But while the starting point was personal, the detective and scholarly work that followed was enabled by a variety of different sources: a medley of published work, local anecdote, personal experience and rigorous pursuit of new material. Through cross-referencing and accessing previously untouched material, a new understanding of both the principal individuals involved, and their particular political, social and economic contexts emerges, of value to future historians, those interested in the specific locations covered, and others wanting to develop their own family research projects.

1.13 Similar patterns of research; personal and local interest overlapping with the wider political, social and economic factors, have been developed in other specific geographical areas. For example, developments relating to the industrial revolution in Denbighshire are covered briefly in TS Ashton's *Economic History of the 18th Century* (Ashton, 1956) and then in far more detail as referred to above, by local scholar Ifor Edwards, who offered specific studies of the charcoal industry in pre-industrial times (Edwards, 1960 and 1961). This was developed in subsequent historians' wider exploration of the role of this locality within the industrial revolution as a whole (e.g. O'Brien and Quinault, 1993, p209) as well as remaining a subject of continued interest among local historians (e.g. Lloyd Jones, 2010).

2. APPROACH TO RESEARCH AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF AN APPROPRIATE METHODOLOGY

2.1 The research programme reflected in this submission spans over seventeen years (1998-2016) of observation, study and close involvement with local and national developments: historians; participants; associates; funders; enthusiasts and commentators.

2.1 The approach to research adopted is the one used throughout a long legal career at the Bar. The aim of both historian and lawyer, certainly one who practices as a defence advocate in the criminal courts, is to piece together what has happened in the past. The lawyer has an advantage: his client's instructions are the central core from which he pushes out to discover the evidence supporting his case. As a barrister, the author's invariable practice was to advise his client to tell him the truth⁷. In every case, there is frequently a paper trail and unchallengeable scientific evidence but crucially, there are live witnesses who may be interrogated. Whether witnesses are called is a matter of judgement upon which the liberty of the client may depend: the evidence on both sides must be rigorously assessed and analysed. There is frequently robust discussion in the privacy of the conference room when the client is asked to explain evidence from elsewhere which conflicts with his instructions. Obtaining a sound and truthful platform from a client who trusts you is the basis of a successful career.

While historians cannot interrogate the past, it is fundamental to their discipline that they gather together such evidence as may exist: physical findings through archaeology but much more frequently, accounts as contemporaneous as possible. Rigour must be applied to all material, and educated guesses, based on evidence, must be made where documentary evidence is unavailable.

2.2 As an example of this process in action, Lady Charlotte Campbell, later Lady Bury, was appointed Caroline's Lady in Waiting in December 1809. She was not particularly troublesome to her mistress while in post but in 1831 she published anonymously her *Diary Illustrative of the Times of George IV*. Anne Hayman's reaction to its publication, at the time, was expressed in a letter to Miss Williams Wynn. She thought it 'an abominable book which made her blood boil'. She had never seen such an obvious "book making" business, written entirely for profit (Wynn, 1864). In the view of the author of this submission, the book seriously damaged Caroline's memory and reputation in prurient Victorian days and thereafter. Unable to interview Lady Campbell, but exploring her potential motivation in relation to allegations about the Sapio family it was hard to avoid the conclusion that she was motivated by vindictive spite, money and possibly the lack of a musical ear (Bury, 1838).

2.3 Another aspect worth considering is that historians do not have to prove their conclusions beyond reasonable doubt. Hilary Mantel, though not a professional historian, has recently reflected in discussing her Cromwell trilogy, that documents will take the writer so far, but that inferences may be drawn to fill in the gaps of the narrative. For example, there is virtually no contemporaneous account of Anne Hayman's life until she was into her forties. But she was well educated and proficient in music, and consequently it is reasonable to assume that she was educated in a similar manner to her near contemporary, Charles Apperley, who was brought up at Plas Gronow on the Erddig estate and educated in the same manner as the Wrexham gentry – namely by peripatetic tutors (Apperley, 1927).

⁷ My standard approach would be to say, 'Whatever you tell me will never ever be revealed, but if you tell me lies, my challenges to prosecution witnesses will be perceived as false as will the case I put to the jury and you will be convicted'.

2.4 Inference from known facts is equally a lawyer's tool. When Anne refers obliquely to having fallen in love with a young man at the age of 17, waved goodbye to him as he set off to make his fortune in India and mourned his death some five years later, it is a reasonable inference that she was referring to her cousin Tom Price, the young son of a near neighbour at Bryn y Pys close to her mother's family home. Tom had left for India in 1771 with a view to making his fortune. A search of the records of the East India Company and of BASCA (British Association for Cemeteries in South Asia) revealed that Tom died in 1776 and was buried in the recently opened South Park Street Cemetery in Calcutta. A simple stone, marks the spot. Further research did not reveal how he died (BASCA, 2017). At the time she was writing to Minto about this, Anne was tending her sick brother in the mansion adjoining the Bryn y Pys estate and no doubt the waste of young talent was in the forefront of her mind.

2.5 The research method therefore was to approach the material as though creating a mosaic; to review the various sources (outlined in section 1) and allow the growing picture to prompt further leads and enquiries. If fresh material when critically examined, added to understanding, it would be included in the account.

A research programme that depends on the published correspondence or books of those long dead may be vulnerable to bias in presentation, for example, the particular context of a friendship/relationship, the promotion and hence sale of a book or the enhancement of reputation, and certainly this was Anne Hayman's suspicion. The effects of this tendency have been mediated in the submission by the broad range of sources consulted, from local to economic historians, from personal memories to institutional papers, from contemporary press coverage to church records. Rigorous cross-referencing of research and comparison with broader historical overviews of (e.g. those studying royalty, the politics, economy or military history of the period) underpin the entire approach and hence submission.

Taken as a whole, this is a coherent body of original scholarly work, linked by a common methodology, which offers a systematic analysis of the period and a research platform on which others can build. The work has been read with interest by others, both scholars and those interested in the period or region (see section 8 on wider dissemination).

3. PICTORIAL RESEARCH

3.1 *As My Dear Hamy* was independently published, author control was retained over the number and display of the illustrations, and it was possible to include many more than would have been the case with a commercially published book. This involved research within art galleries and collections all over the world.

3.2 The starting point was the House of Lords, where there are numerous portraits and prints relevant to the narrative. The portrait of William Windham comes from that collection. The Chambers of the Reform Club are also decorated with well over a hundred contemporary cartoons, from which four were selected. There is a room in the National Portrait Gallery which is full of the leading political figures of the day. The Royal Collection houses the magnificent portraits by Sir Thomas Lawrence, including the depiction of Caroline at the harp with Charlotte listening, a picture which landed Sir Thomas in trouble in the Delicate Investigation. From America, portraits were sourced of Lady Cunliffe in Washington, separated from her husband Foster in Michigan. Emma Crewe was in the Huntington in California. The Morgan Library in New York was the unexpected

source of the two drawings by Ingres of Lord and Lady Glenbervie – a long way from Aberdeenshire. The Louvre houses the pastel drawing of Princess Charlotte reproduced on the dust cover.

3.3 Other valuable finds were in the home of Mr and Mrs Cotton, the late Mrs Cotton being a direct descendant of Sir Foster and Lady Cunliffe. There was a particularly significant watercolour of the Royal British Bowmen in the familiar grounds of Acton Hall, showing the role the local gentry continued to play in recruitment for civil defence. The pastel drawing of Anne Hayman herself by Sir Thomas Lawrence was previously unknown – until Sir Hugh Blackett casually mentioned it was on the wall of his home at Halton Castle in Northumbria. The labour of locating the images and writing to all the galleries and other institutions to obtain permissions took detailed and extensive effort, but very few charged for the privilege of reproduction. The most difficult to track down was a portrait of Lord Minto, officially in the possession of the National Portrait Gallery of Scotland. It was traced it to Edinburgh from Howick where it had once hung in the Town Hall and whether it is that local authority or a private individual who actually owns it (the Gallery refused to say), obtaining permission to reproduce it was the most prolonged and difficult of all the illustrations.

3.4 Presented together, these images form a valuable amplification of the text and a resource for future scholars, both in establishing the location of the sources and their visual perception. Family likenesses are evident and some images, that would once have hung together in family homes, have been reunited.

4. OVERVIEW OF CONTENT OF *MY DEAR HAMY*

4.1 The prime purpose of the book, upon which this application is based, was to lift the curtain upon the private life of Caroline of Brunswick and her court. She is seen primarily through the eyes of Anne Hayman, her Privy Purse from 1797 to 1814, in her largely unpublished correspondence with the Princess and with her own family. The second major source is extensive and private unpublished letters between Miss Hayman and her friend and confidant, the Earl of Minto. Additional insights are provided by the Journals of Lord Glenbervie, Caroline's friend and husband of one of her Ladies in Waiting, the private correspondence of others of her ladies such as Lady Lavington, and the extensive diaries of her friend Mary Berry. Lady Charlotte Campbell, later Lady Bury, a Lady in Waiting from 1809, published scurrilous diaries anonymously in 1838 which seriously damaged Caroline's memory and reputation in prurient Victorian days and thereafter.

4.2 In the process it has been demonstrated, from contemporary accounts, that Caroline was a feisty and intelligent woman, no doubt with many human faults, but facing her difficult life as the discarded spouse of the Prince of Wales with courage, humour and fortitude. It is similarly suggested that George does not deserve his reputation as the leader of the glittering Regency period. He wanted desperately to join the team but was never picked. His father would not have him as a military leader, he was ineffective in his political dabblings, and open to snubs even in the fashionable world. He made no contribution in support of music or musicians as his predecessors and European contemporaries did, save to attend boozy gatherings of the Noblemen and Gentlemen's Catch Club. He was pathologically vindictive towards his wife and a poor father to his daughter Charlotte. He was not even particularly lecherous, preferring, by and large, motherly mistresses: he could not cope with the independent, free thinking Caroline. To sum up, he gave no practical, political nor above all, moral leadership to the nation.

4.3 The background to this narrative has three strands – military, political and royal. Britain was at war for most of the period covered by the book. There was unrest in Ireland, the Helder expedition, the defence of Acre and battles in Egypt, the domestic fears of French invasion, Trafalgar and the wars at sea, conflicts against the French in the Caribbean and the Indian Ocean, campaigns in the Iberian Peninsula and across Europe, culminating in Waterloo. Research has enabled the author to uncover accounts which give individual glimpses into the attitudes of participants in and contemporaneous observers of these events.

4.4 The political battles of the day were fought between Whig and Tory with other factions - Windham's Third Party and Whitbread's Mountain MPs - playing their part. There were towering leaders - William Pitt, Wilberforce, Grenville, Grey and Canning, all people with whom Anne Hayman was closely familiar. As for the developing economy, the author focusses on North East Wales which, with its abundance of coal, iron and copper, led the way in the Industrial Revolution. It nurtured the entrepreneurial zest of innovators and industrialists of the calibre of John Wilkinson, the Ironmaster at Bersham and Brymbo. Its collieries made the local landowners rich.

4.5 The royal story centres upon George III and his Queen and their unmarried sons and daughters. George's disability meant that for long periods there was no strong and effective guiding hand on the levers of royal power and influence. These three strands interweave from time to time and set the scene in which the narrative is based.

5. CONTRIBUTION TO KNOWLEDGE

In bringing together the strands discovered in private and unpublished letters and in books long forgotten, new insights have been uncovered in three main areas, in particular: the Maelor district of North East Wales, Lord Minto, and the Royals of the day.

5.1 *The Maelor*

My Dear Hamy... throws a light upon a part of Britain, previously neglected, the old counties of Denbighshire and Flintshire, specifically the land between the Welsh hills and the English border around the town of Wrexham, known conveniently as the Maelor. It has been fought over many times, but it lacks many historians. Tacitus records in his Annals (?64AD) how the Romans penetrated into North Wales as far as the Menai Straits and there are many remnants in the Maelor of the XXth Legion based at Chester. Bede (731) chronicled the slaughter of 1200 monks in 615 by Æthelfrith, the Saxon King of Northumbria at Bangor on Dee, on land adjacent to Emral⁸. Offa of Mercia dug his Dyke close to his predecessor's Wat's Dyke, which bisected the Maelor in the 8th century, cutting the Welsh off from the River Dee. In the 12th and 13th centuries, Marcher Lords of Norman descent squabbled with the Welsh and between themselves at the interface between Wales and England. Llewelyn ap Gruffudd, Prince of Wales, and later Owain Glyndwr, in their wars, recovered the Maelor and held it for Wales. In the Civil War, battles around Chester in the presence of Charles I, including the assault on Royalist held Holt Castle, divided the local gentry between King

⁸ 'The Welsh National Prayer Breakfast, of a Welsh Presbyterian flavour, once circulated to the Maelor. I found myself, the appointed representative of the Party, in the Reception Hall at the Bangor on Dee Racecourse. Proceedings commenced with a prayer for the souls of the martyred monks. My innocent comment on arrival at the venue, that on the last time I had been there, the racehorse I owned, Kilhallon Castle, had come in a good second, was not well received.'

and Parliament. The Myddletons held the Norman fortress of Chirk Castle for Parliament: the Grosvenors and the Wynns were strongly Royalists⁹

At the beginning of the period concentrated on in the submission, there were still tensions over the Hanoverian succession. The 3rd Sir Watkin Williams Wynn was the leader of a secret Jacobean society, in the district called 'The Cycle of the White Rose'. They met regularly to drink the health of the 'King over the Water'. At Westminster where he served as a Tory MP, Sir Watkin and his friend Sir John Hynde Cotton led a pro-Jacobean faction and worked for the removal of the premier, Hanoverian-supporting Sir Robert Walpole. In 1744, Wynn sent assurances of support to the exiled Pretender, James, in Rome. When called upon by Bonnie Prince Charlie at Derby in 1745, Wynn declined to move: it was harvest time and he was awaiting the arrival of a French military force in support of the Jacobite cause. When he heard the news that no support was to be expected from North Wales, Prince Charlie remarked: "I shall do what they do to me - I shall drink their health!" Wynn just escaped being prosecuted after the rebellion.¹⁰

The generation before Anne Hayman, between the Jacobite rebellions of 1715 and 1745, had been more divided even than our contemporary Brexit society. While the 3rd Sir Watkin harboured his Jacobite sympathies, the poetess Jane Brereton who had retired to Wrexham following the accidental drowning of her husband at Saltney, wrote fervent lines of the same temper as Thomson and Arne's "Rule Britannia" (1740) and "God Save the King".¹¹ She warmly supported the Hanoverians, George and his Queen, seeing herself as a Whig, a protestant but above all British, opposed to the "rebellious Scots"¹². Her Welsh identity was subsumed in her poems in a fantasy of Ancient Britons: the name used by the 5th Sir Watkin for his fencible cavalry regiment in 1798. By the time Anne Hayman reached her teenage years, tensions had subsided and both Whig and Tory were able to meet and socialise comfortably together in the theatricals at Wynnstay and at frequent balls. Some, like the Pulestons and the Wynns, had strong Welsh roots. Others like the Grosvenors at Eaton Hall were staunchly of Norman stock, their estates a reward from William the Conqueror himself. Anne Hayman was born into a society of talented and progressive people. Two of her first cousins were to become Whig Members of Parliament. Her great friend, Charlotte Williams Wynn was a Grenville, cousin to William Pitt, and sister to Lord Grenville, a prime minister of the future. The Cunliffes of Acton Hall were of a merchant family and became her friends when in 1787 they arrived as newcomers to the district. They added to the gaiety of the scene with their founding of the Royal Society of British Bowmen and its Bow Meetings. Maelor society was clearly united across party lines and buzzing with talent in the second half of the century.

Through the Tory Wynns, Anne met and was taken under the wing of Mrs Frances Crewe, an early campaigning female Whig politician. She introduced her to her circle of leading Whig politicians,

⁹ Sir Thomas Myddleton having fought for Parliament, joined Booth's Rebellion against his former parliamentary associates in 1659 and in the Beast Market at Wrexham, declared himself with drawn sword for Charles II in exile. One of the last acts of Parliament before the Restoration was to sequester all his property, including Chirk Castle. (Ifor Edwards *Transactions* Vol 9 p 28)

¹⁰ The 3rd Sir Watkin was subjected to a curse placed upon him in the sermon of a Welsh Presbyterian Minister. Later the same day, he was killed in a hunting accident.

¹¹ Published in *The Gentleman's Magazine* in 1745. Mrs Brereton was a frequent contributor to that magazine under the name of 'Melissa'.

¹² The Cambrian Muse: Welsh identity and Hanoverian Loyalty in the Poems of Jane Brereton (1685 – 1740) <https://www.jstor.org/stable/30053420?seq=1> Our own society does not have to fear the Highland Charge of Jacobite clansman: only the demands for a referendum on Scots independence.

Burke, Fox, Windham, Minto and others. It is an indication of the breadth of Anne's relationships, made clear in her letters, that she would journey to and from Wales with the Wynns, stay with Edmund Burke's widow at Butler Court in Beaconsfield, and lodge with Mrs Crewe in Berkeley Square.

Anne Hayman was poised to succeed in London with the connections she had already formed at home in the Maelor. Her greatest asset was her ability to make lasting friendships, coupled with her talent for communicating. As an author, this research owes a strong debt to her for the picture she painted, through her lengthy letters, of her hearty relations and influential circle of friends. To this must be coupled appreciation of Charles Apperley (Nimrod), born on the Erddig estate on the outskirts of Wrexham. He had a prolific talent for writing humorously with a rare gift for storytelling. These sources had been obscured over the years and, where they had come to light, mostly forgotten. From other sources it has been possible to describe something of the changes brought about in the Maelor. What had essentially been an agricultural community was dramatically changed by the burgeoning Industrial Revolution and by the threat and pressures of war. Innovations of international importance in iron and steel were being made by John 'Iron-mad' Wilkinson, at Bersham and Brymbo as previously described. In addition to his iron furnaces, his copper from the Parys and Halkyn mines sheathed the hulls of the Royal Navy, significantly increasing their speed through the water.

These were difficult times. The seven years of the American Revolutionary War ended in humiliating defeat in 1783. Charlotte Grenville's father was the Prime Minister who imposed the taxes which led to the cry 'No taxation without representation'. Maria Boycott's husband Francis, 4th Earl of Guilford and Kitty Glenbervie were children of the premier Lord North, whose indolence and neglect in conducting the war is much criticised.¹³ Anne's soldier brother, like many in the military, carried the burden of incompetence. John was held by American forces as a prisoner of war for two lengthy periods. The French Revolution of 1789 led to hostilities with Britain three years later, with a British nation fearful of instability and Jacobin revolution: the atmosphere at home was captured by Sir Foster Cunliffe in his *Family Record*. There was deep unrest in Ireland: the iniquitous exploits of Sir Watkin's Bloody Britons in and around Newry are recorded and remembered there even today.¹⁴

The Helder expedition to Holland in 1799 is a minor event in British military history. Had it not been a failure, more might have been heard about it. But the immediacy of the accounts of the embarkation of the British soldiery at Deal by the excited Emma Crewe to Anne Hayman and Dr Charles Burney's letter to his daughter Fanny takes us there, the spectators cheering and waving them into their transports. The beauty of private correspondence is that it gives us an insight into the way people at any level of society feel and react to the historic events unfolding around them.

As France grew in military strength, Britain became apprehensive of invasion and of Napoleon's domination of Europe. Minto tells us of his meetings with his friend Horatio Nelson in September 1805, immediately before Trafalgar: how he was lionised in the street, and how at his home at Merton on the 13th, he said farewell to Lady Hamilton and to Minto before returning to the *Victory*.

¹³ See the historian, Sir Herbert Butterfield, Master of Peterhouse in my undergraduate days, as quoted in *Reader's Guide to British History* (2003) David Loade.

¹⁴ In the Brighton bomb trial at the Old Bailey in 1986, the author's client advised him that if he wanted to understand the motives of the IRA, not to bother reading the 1820s-- 30s speeches of 'The Liberator', Daniel O'Connell – "that traitor" – but to read the speech from the dock of Robert Emmet in 1803. Emmet was hung the following day. Such is the power of history.

In the years that had passed, the young actors at the Wynnstay theatricals, the competing archers at the Bow meetings, and the coterie of politicians at Mrs Crewe's receptions had taken up the responsibilities of power. It is the firm hope that the reader has been provided with a flavour of the society which gave them their values and influenced their decisions. Now that the region is facing once again economic decline, specifically the diminution of aircraft manufacturing by Airbus at Broughton, comparable to the losses of its steelworks, its collieries, its leatherworks and its breweries which flourished during the author's youth, the depiction of its innovative and comprehensive economic success in the 18th and 19th centuries will contribute to morale and to confidence for the future. .

5.2 *Lord Minto*

Research drew firmer attention to this long-forgotten diplomat and politician. In his family life, he was surrounded by a loving wife and family and his longings for home, as expressed in his letters from India, demonstrate his own strong affections. It is true he had a second family in London in the early 1790s but it appears to have been with the knowledge of his wife. He educated his illegitimate children and supported their careers, taking his sons with him to India as part of his staff.

In politics, he was close to Edmund Burke and supported him in his attack upon Warren Hastings by his impeachment in the House of Commons. In 1794, he was appointed Civil Commissioner in Toulon until it was captured by French forces under the young Napoleon. In 1799, he served as a diplomat in Vienna and Berlin. While Governor General in India, he defeated the Dutch in Java and the French in Mauritius and Reunion. He suppressed piracy and its attacks on British shipping. He ruled with compassion and sensitivity in India, quelling mutiny in the army of the East India Company.

At Malacca, he was described by Abdulla bin Abdulkadar¹⁵, not as of great appearance and gorgeous apparel as he had expected, but middle aged, thin in body, of soft manners and sweet countenance, dressed simply in black. 'He had not the remotest appearance of pomposity or lofty-headedness; but there was real modesty and kindly expression.' He made it his first duty in the lands that he took over to release all slaves with money for their immediate subsistence, and to throw the instruments used to torture them, into the sea.

He went with an expeditionary force to Java and was present as a spectator at the assault on the fortifications and redoubts at Cornelis. He described the "horrible spectacle" of the aftermath. His true account parallels in its compassion and humanity, Tolstoy's fictional narrative in *War and Peace* of the reaction of Pierre Bezukhov to Borodino.

Minto's tragic death on his return to England probably curtailed the recognition which he justly deserved. It is to be hoped that his portrait by Chinnery could be removed from its corrugated iron storage on the outskirts of Edinburgh and be hung with full honours on the walls of the National Portrait Gallery of Scotland who now hold it in its current hideaway.

5.3 *The Royals*

Within a short time of arriving at Carlton House, Anne Hayman was writing to her mother:

"... the most wonderful part is that I dread not Kings or Princes. They frighten me but little."

¹⁵ *Translations from the Hakayit Abdulla (bin Abdulkadar), Munshi*, (Thompson, 1874) , see *Minto in India* p 273

Her natural composure and lack of deference meant that she was not swept away by either the glamorous or the imposing trappings of royalty. She was a shrewd and objective observer from the inside. It was a privilege to allow her to speak for herself in her letters, rather than to paraphrase. She was humorous, perceptive and sensitive and I quickly grew to trust her judgement. Her generally warm relationship with Caroline and her love and care for Charlotte are manifest. They corresponded as warm and intimate friends.

Anne, in her retirement, summed Caroline up to her friend, Frances Williams Wynn:

“HRH was good natured in the extreme to all her ladies and to all her servants, so that it was impossible not to feel affectionate interest in her, even when her defiance of all propriety grieved us all to the heart. Nature had formed her well and a good education might have done much in informing a fine character. . . . But bad as her education was, it did not deprive her of the consciousness of what was right and what was wrong. . . .” (Thomas, 2016, p. 661).

With such an observer and communicator to rely upon, Caroline’s struggles with her husband and with life generally were highlighted. These contrast with the standard biographies of George together with his letters in the relevant period, so well collected and edited by Arthur Aspinall, but were in marked contrast with the knowledge gained from Anne’s experiences from within the household.

What sort of a man marries for no reason other than to clear the debts accrued from his own extravagances? How dare he insult his bride by flaunting his mistress before her, not just on her arrival newly into England, but even on his honeymoon? If that was acceptable conduct simply by reason of his being the heir to throne, the concept of royalty deserved the ultimate scrutiny given to it by the French. Empires and dynasties had been formed over centuries in Europe by cynical and loveless royal marriages, but the Age of Enlightenment was incompatible with the double standards of the Prince of Wales. Despite his own personal conduct with Mrs Herbert and his cuckolding of Lord Jersey, unaffected by his vows of marriage, he had no compunction in trying to reduce Caroline. He sought to bar her from her child and lower her in the eyes of the King. He could not have her under his roof. His wife’s servants were interrogated in secret through his agents and brought without notice before his irregular Delicate Investigation. Instead of leaving her in peaceful isolation in Italy, his Milan Commission and the work of his spy Ompteda resulted again in the public humiliation of his wife in the House of Lords.

Through the research processes for this submission, the reputation of Caroline of Brunswick, within today’s less prudish society, can be rebuilt. Anne Hayman allows us to see the whole woman: funny, even scatological, ebullient at times, at others depressed. She was prepared to take on the Royals face to face, defiantly to display herself in public and to relish her continuing popularity with the British people. She enjoyed falling in love. She was not a wholly loving or responsible parent. There was, however, a further side to her. As Anne remarked, she was not well educated but took every opportunity to improve herself: by attending artistic and scientific exhibitions, by reading books and not least, by taking singing lessons with the Sapios. She attracted around her men and women competent in politics and the arts, with lively dinner parties and entertainments. It is a tribute to her that some remained at her side, and even exiled themselves in her retinue. In her relationship with Anne, she claimed the precedence of her rank only on one occasion.

King George III himself is generally portrayed as unstable when he was not deranged. There are other aspects of him which the research presented in this submission has also uncovered. On his recovery from one of his spells of illness in 1801, the King first rode to Greenwich to see Caroline. She told Glenbervie of their conversation:

“... he had long meant to tell her his entire approbation of her conduct and his affection for her; that from his reserve hitherto he was afraid she might have thought he was angry with her, which he assured her was not the case; that he had thought a great deal about her during his illness, and had resolved to make his first visit on his recovery to her, in order that he could assure her she would in future find the greatest kindness from all his family, with the exception, he was sorry to say, of *one*.” (Douglas, 1910, p. 87)

The King took to dining with her alone at Montague House and as she told Lady Glenbervie some five years later:

“... his visits to dine with her alone put her in terror. The freedoms he took with her were of the grossest nature and could not be repeated. But she could not refuse to receive her King, father in law and uncle alone in her room without declaring him mad, while the government needed to portray him to the world as being in his senses... On one of the visits, he threw her down on one of the sofas and would have had his way with her, had not the sofa lacked a back enabling her to wriggle over it.” (Douglas, 1910, p. 87)

Anne Hayman had a different perspective. On sitting next to the King at dinner at Montague House in August 1805:

“I had got over the little fear I had of the performance and was very much amused. Were the King any other person, I should say that from what I have now seen that he is a sensible agreeable man, with considerable taste for humour and love of pleasantry in conversation... all the hurry of his manner is gone. He never said "Hey!" once, or "what!" twice together - and indeed was as quick and collected as possible.” (Stott, 2020, ch. 4)

By and large, the King remained a supporter of Caroline. He was not enamoured of his son George and frustrated his attempts to have sole control over Charlotte.

The message for the contemporary world is that royalty does not require a pedestal inherited from the past. Those born to the ‘family’ are subject to the same human frailties as their subjects, but today, the pressures put upon them to conform to some ideal of family or parenthood are immense – and to a large extent, hypocritical. They should receive the rewards and acclaim that their talents, their dedication and their service earn.

Does this approach offer an appropriate objectivity? It is difficult to be objective in considering such a question. Although not a fierce supporter of royalty the author recognises the stability of a constitutional monarchy. Even in the modern day, it is arguably better to have a pre-determined head of state who sits above the competing deceptions and ambitions of politics and politicians. But that throws up different problems. In the period of research, the country was facing particularly difficult circumstances: the King was not of sound mind and the Prince Regent was weak. What mattered was the quality of leadership provided by the Ministers of the Crown, appointed by the monarch certainly, but accountable to a Parliament, which had a sufficiently democratic base to carry the country with them. The author’s considered response is to sympathise with Anne Hayman for her common sense and her lack of deference, and with Minto for his forward-looking liberal views and his affinity with people of all races. I admired Caroline for her courage and her lust for life and felt sympathy for Princess Charlotte and the sad fate which befell her. As a lawyer, the author’s approach has been to open up an understanding of their lives based on facts established by evidence.

6. CONTRIBUTION TO DISCIPLINE ON WHICH FUTURE SCHOLARS MAY BUILD

6.1 Seventeen years of research was devoted to the research material analysed within this submission, much of which had never been previously seen, analysed or published. Had it not been found, accessed and engaged with, it would likely have remained spread across multiple archives. Princess Caroline of Brunswick's unfair and adverse reputation would never have been questioned and subjected to scrutiny.

6.2 In 1838, Nimrod wrote to his publisher, Mr Ackermann, offering his autobiography which would "embrace sporting and other matters of a most interesting nature, especially in reference to the neighbourhood in which I was born, the most aristocratic in England and Wales." The publisher was not encouraging but two years later, Nimrod succeeded in getting some part of his life into Fraser's Magazine. But he wrote nothing about the political and military issues or of the new industries springing up in the area. His is a partial picture.

6.3 By contrast, this was a period in which the tectonic plates were moving. The anti-slavery movement started in 1770, at the precise time of the Wynnstay dramatics, with the judgment of Lord Mansfield, abolishing slavery in England. Slavery in the Caribbean was still the basis of the wealth of men like Sir Foster Cunliffe, or the Revd. George Warrington. The Industrial Revolution was being forged, not least in North East Wales. Revolt in France and the ending of the Monarchy in 1789 led to war and ultimately, to the Napoleonic era which had huge potential implications for Great Britain too. *My Dear Hamy* illustrates the surging currents which were abroad, drawing them together into a collective defiance of external enemies. Of Anne Hayman's contemporaries, Sir Watkin, Grenville, Crewe, Billy Maddocks, Carysfort, Canning, all became Members of Parliament, both Whig and Tory. As George Canning wrote in 1802 (reported in Jupp, 1991), William Pitt, the cousin of Anne's great friend, Charlotte Williams Wynn, was 'the pilot who weathered the storm'. Grenville became Prime Minister and Canning himself achieved the same position in 1827, even if he held the office for the shortest term on record. It was a vigorous, outgoing local society with strong bonds of kinship and friendship, but it also produced figures of national importance. This is a significant platform on which future historians, both local and national, can build.

6.4 The submission also tells a story about human relationships: Caroline and her husband George; Charlotte with both her mother and her father. There is a universality in their human problems and their difficulties, in no way unique even in Royal circles. Caroline might have had a happier life had she been free to marry a man she chose for herself, such as Bergami. She might have avoided the stresses of an artificial royal court from which she was finally excluded. George, the ultimate lover of pleasure and a quiet life, could have settled down with Mrs Fitzherbert. Charlotte went through difficult years without the sensible support of either parent, and her loss of life when she had found happiness is tragic. Within this narrative, it is the sensible and loving Anne Hayman, constrained by the loss of her first love in her early years, who draws empathy, with a temperament akin to that of a Jane Austen heroine. But though less prejudiced than Elizabeth Bennett and a more successful matchmaker than Emma, she never married her hero in the last pages. Minto was married and, in his way, devoted to his wife: Anne had to content herself with the pretence of being one of the family – and the actuality of being accepted as such¹⁶. Mr Gladstone has the last word. After calling on Miss Hayman, a long-time friend of the Glynne family of

Hawarden, on the 7th January 1840 at Glasfryn, he recorded his view of her in his Diary: ‘...a prodigy of strength and life.’¹⁷

7. PRESENTATION AND PUBLICATION

7.1 The work presented for consideration has been independently published. As a product of scholarly research, whose importance to future debate has been established, this fits a number of important criteria for independent publishing established through research carried out at Kingston University.

7.2 Firstly, the work holds the considered investigations of a professionally sharpened mind, not – as has often been suggested for self-published content, the outpouring of an author desperate for publication (Baverstock and Steinitz, 2013a, b). This is an important contribution to knowledge that would otherwise be unavailable to the general public. Secondly, the project had been managed by publishing professionals, hired by the writer, demonstrating that independent and traditional publishing are *not* separated, as has been previously assumed, by the involvement of an editor (Baverstock, Blackburn and Iskandarova, 2015). Thirdly, the project delivered strong personal satisfaction to the author, confirming the key finding that self-publishing tends to bring contentment (Baverstock, 2011 Independent publishing enables completion and hence personal validation, and this is largely independent from sales, the only previously understood measure of success. It was highly pleasurable to this author to complete the book in the form which he felt it deserved, particularly with regard to illustrations, without being faced with editing demands and compromises to make it more ‘saleable’, a secondary consideration for me.

7.3 The publishing industry, with low profit margins and a need to offer customers (both readers and the wholesalers, bookshops and media who will store, stock, review and promote their output) a comprehensible sense of what is available, has tended to resist books that fall outside prescribed and long understood groupings (e.g. biography, history, politics). Independent publishing has therefore been a growing option for those who want to preserve material that has a personal value, and for others, but does not fall within traditional publishing categories. The processes and means of independent publishing have enabled me to give access to the diverse and nuanced process of producing a publication that both draws on historical documentation and provides insight into the complex process of navigating research. It empowered me to uncover previously unheard voices from the past, and to explore my own history. Reviewing the book for possible presentation as a PhD by publication, Associate Professor Karen Lipsedge commented:

Any reader of this book needs to approach the narrative through multiple yet complementary lenses. On the one hand, this a historical account that provides insight into the public and private life of Caroline of Brunswick. The author’s access to a wealth of unpublished material, means that book also ‘lifts a curtain’ on the life of Anne Hayman; a woman whose life and voice as Caroline’s friend, advisor and Privy Purse has, until now, been silenced and undervalued. In his book, Martin Thomas ensures that Anne is listened to and heard, and that her life is valued. Another, equally important lens through which this book needs to be approached, is a more personal one. In writing about the lives of Princess Charlotte and Anne Hayman, Martin Thomas also provides insight into his own formative years in Wales and his professional life as a barrister. As a consequence, the book

¹⁷ Gladstone, W.E. *Diaries* (1968) Clarendon Press Vol 3.

becomes a fascinating, multi-layered, melange of a resource, that twins the historical with the personal, interpretation with conjecture, fact with fact-fiction.

7.6 Examples of books developed in a similar way include Sir Rodric Braithwaite's memoir of his time as British Ambassador to Moscow (Braithwaite, 2014), independently published for the future edification of his family, although he had a series of highly respected titles published by Profile Press (e.g. Braithwaite, 2012). The memoir of Dame Elizabeth Anionwu, Emeritus Professor of Nursing at the University of West London (Anionwu, 2016) is similarly independently published, although she has many academically published papers in scholarly journals. As *My Dear Hamy* does not sit within any recognisable publishing genre, and preserves materials of strong local and personal value, it sits firmly within this tradition. As one of the key motivations for independent publishing has tended to be to ensure the independence of the researcher, the desire to proceed with a project rather than submit to externally imposed formats or manuscript length, this work is well suited to critical analysis through PhD by Publication.

8. PUBLICATION, DISSEMINATION AND CRITICAL RECEPTION

8.1 The book was prepared for publication by Alistair Williams, who runs Bridge Books, independent publishing company specialising in military and local histories. With a neat synchronicity, it was Bridge Books who in 1992 published the final volume of AH Palmer's books on Wrexham and surrounding area, unpublished at the time of his death in 1915. (Palmer, 1992). For *My Dear Hamy*, Alistair Williams prepared the typescript, designed the cover and arranged for the printing of 500 copies.

8.2 A successful launch party was held in the House of Lords, attended by some descendants of the characters portrayed – notably Lord Brougham and Vaux, Lord Thurlow, Lord Liverpool, who all found the material very helpful in exploring their own family histories. Lord Baker whose book of Regency caricatures is a classic, also attended. Copies were also sold in the Wrexham locality, at book talks, and through the publisher's website. Copies were made available through the local library and to the Denbighshire Historical Society. Copies were also distributed to relevant academics. Professor Adrian Dixon, former Master of the author's college, read it and wrote a letter of appreciation suggesting it was a shame I had not made it a PhD project. Amongst others, copies were given to Lord Kenneth Morgan, Lord Hennessy, Lord Melvyn Bragg, and the broadcaster Jim Naughtie.

8.3 A number of copies were sent for review and a favourable review was published by the Jane Austen Society of America in their magazine. That society was founded in 1979 by, amongst others, Jane-Austen Leigh and now has 5,000 devoted Austen fans. Susan Allen Ford, the editor of *Persuasions*,¹⁸ in her review of *My Dear Hamy...*, quoted an interesting letter, its significance particularly explored in the book, from Jane Austen to her friend Martha Lloyd on the 16th February 1813:

"I suppose all the World is sitting in Judgement upon the Princess of Wales's Letter.¹⁹ Poor Woman, I shall support her as long as I can, because she is a Woman, & because I hate her Husband. . . I am

¹⁸ <http://jasna.org/publications/persuasions-online/>

¹⁹ This was the letter largely drafted by Anne Hamilton and Bridget Perceval, sent by Caroline to the Prince Regent, the contents of which were disclosed in the *Morning Chronicle* on the 10th February. She complained that the constraints imposed on her by the Prince were injurious to her relationship with Charlotte. (Thomas, 2016, p. 507-508)

resolved at least always to think that she would have been respectable, if the Prince had behaved only tolerably by her at first.” (Souza, 2013)²⁰

Ms Ford describes the submission as a ‘compelling biography’ and continues:

“Thomas tells a riveting story in language that often echoes Austen’s. His subjects speak through the letters that connected them to each other and to those back home, to and from places such as London, Wales, Scotland, Italy, and India. Hamy’s judgment of Caroline sits well with Jane Austen’s... *My Dear Hamy* brings a legal, political and very human perspective to the events and people of Jane Austen’s world.” (Ford, 2017, p.18)

8.4 Lord Lexden, the official Historian of the Conservative Party and honorary Librarian of the Carlton Club, describes *My Dear Hamy...* as a ‘long and absorbing book’. In a review prepared for the parliamentary *House* magazine, he writes:

“The wide range of libraries and archives in Britain and the United States, which Lord Thomas consulted in his spare time over a period of seventeen years, have yielded an astonishing amount of material, enabling him to recount in detail the life and times of Glasfryn’s forgotten creator. A picture of the interior of the house today reproduced in the book is dominated by a harp which Martin Thomas plays with distinction. Hamy, steeped in Welsh traditions, would have approved... Hamy lived on contentedly amongst her Welsh friends, reaching the age of 97. This remarkable book is her second memorial.”

8.5 There were also some retail sales. The National Archives took some ten copies, as did Blackwells. A talk at the Alderney Book Festival, which specialises in history, resulted in 20 further sales.

9. THE SUBMISSION AS A STARTING POINT FOR FURTHER PERSONAL RESEARCH BY THE AUTHOR

9.1 The book has been the starting point for the author’s own further research. It has been an enjoyable experience to pursue further John Dubois Smith; concluding him to be the illegitimate son of Caroline and Sir Sidney Smith for reasons which are explained in *My Dear Hamy*. A copy of Dubois Smith’s baptism entry in Dover in 1793 shows him to be the age of four. He lived with his grandfather at ‘Smith’s Folly’ under the Dover cliffs until adopted by George Dubois Smith, the captain of the revenue cutter *Lively* of that port. The captain was engaged with Sir Sidney in daring raids on the French coast, but Sir Sidney describes in his memoirs how, in 1796, he was left exposed, partly because Dubois Smith sailed off in the *Lively* and did not come to his aid. Sir Sidney was captured and spent two years in a French jail, which doubtless did little to improve their relationship.

9.2 John Dubois Smith passed his lieutenancy exams in 1809 at the age of 20. It is likely that he served with the gallant Captain Watts RN of the frigate *Jaseur*. Detailed searching of the logs of the

²⁰ Pastnow, [Blog]. Available from: <https://pastnow.wordpress.com/2013/02/15/feb-16-1813-jane-austen-and-the-princess-of-wales/>

Jaseur in the National Archives have yet to confirm his name. Watts rescued Caroline's brother, the Duke of Brunswick and his Black Brunswickers at the mouth of the River Weser in August 1809, after they had fought their way to the coast (Thomas, 2016, p. 404).²¹ *Jaseur* was at the Chesapeake and involved in the expedition against Washington in 1812 when the White House and other public buildings were sacked. The trail continues to Halifax, Nova Scotia where the *Jaseur* arrived in September 1814: its passengers included freed slaves. In the light of the defeat of Napoleon and his exile at Elba, there is evidence that John left the Navy and became a schoolmaster in Rawdon, Nova Scotia.

9.3 He appears in Prince Edward Island shortly afterwards, where Sir Sidney's brother Charles, whom he must have known as a relation, also residing in Dover, was the Lieutenant Governor. Charles had a tempestuous time with the islanders, trying to impose his own autocratic rule over the heads of the island's Assembly. He was also charged with nepotism, employing members of his family in governmental positions. He was removed from office in 1822 by a petition of islanders: six were supposed to convey the petition to London but five were arrested and put in jail by Charles. Only one managed to deliver the precious petition with its list of complaints to Whitehall. John was married in 1828 to an Irish girl from Nova Scotia. He must have lost touch with George Dubois Smith, since, in his will of 1831, George instructed his executors to advertise in five London newspapers to trace him. He was to inherit the not inconsiderable wealth of his adopted father if he responded within three years. The advertisements were placed and can be found in the Newspaper archives. But it cannot be traced whether John, now living and school-mastering in the north of Prince Edward Island, ever knew of or replied to them.

9.4 There are gaps in the story, but it has strong potential for future development. Since his Prince Edward Island descendants believed by family legend that they were related to the British Royal family, presumably John must have known at some stage: but when and where? There is much interesting material and many lines of enquiry to pursue. So just as research projects invariably conclude with a recommendation for more research, perhaps another challenge awaits the author of *My Dear Hamy*.

²¹ They wore entirely black uniforms with the skull and crossbones across the chest. They fought with gallantry at Waterloo, where the Duke was killed.

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THE APPLICANT: MARTIN THOMAS [LORD THOMAS OF GRESFORD]

I am a native of Wrexham in the old county of Denbighshire. After grammar school in Wrexham, I studied at Peterhouse, Cambridge. I graduated BA in Classics in 1958, LLB in 1961 and MA in 1964. I was appointed an Honorary Fellow of Peterhouse in 2016.

I qualified as a Solicitor in 1961 and practised in Wrexham. In 1966, I decided to change to the Bar. I joined Gray's Inn and qualified in 1968. I was at the junior bar in Chester until 1979 when I was appointed Queen's Counsel. I then joined Lord Hooson QC at 1 Dr Johnson's Chambers in the Temple, subsequently becoming head of Chambers on Lord Hooson's retirement, and later head of Goldsmith's Chambers. In silk, I practised mainly in criminal trials in England and Wales and after 1983, developed a practice in Hong Kong, Singapore, Malaysia and Caribbean jurisdictions, frequently in the Privy Council. I specialised also in Courts Martial and am still Chair of the Association of Military Advocates (AMCA). I was sworn in as a Recorder in 1975 and as a Deputy High Court Judge in 1995. I was appointed a Bencher of Gray's Inn in 1990. In business, I founded and chaired for more than ten years Marcher Sound, an Independent Radio Company serving North Wales, Chester and the Wirral. It became by the time of its sale in 1999, the largest company still broadcasting independently of the main groups.

In 1962, I joined the Liberal Party. I subsequently fought eight general elections as a Liberal Candidate in North Wales. I was a co-founder of the Welsh Liberal Party in 1967 and subsequently served as Chairman and President. I contested unsuccessfully the Presidency of the Liberal Democrat Party in 1992 against Charles Kennedy and in 1994 against Bob Maclennan. I became a Life Peer in 1996 and was spokesman for Wales, and acted as Shadow Attorney General, a position which I still hold.

On a personal level, I married Nan Kerr in 1961 and we had four children. My wife died in 2000. I remarried in 2005 to Lib Dem Peer Baroness Joan Walmsley. We live in Gresford in North Wales in the house which Anne Hayman built in the first decade of the 19th century. My interests are musical and sporting: I enjoy singing and playing harp and piano and am devoted to rugby football, having been a player and a WRU coach and referee. I am also deeply involved in rowing. I am Chairman of the All Party Parliamentary Group for Rowing in Parliament and have been captain of the House of Lords eight. I am President of Rex Rowing Club of Chester.

Other Work

I have written innumerable legal opinions and advices which cannot be published by reason of legal professional privilege. Hansard contains over 600 speeches and interventions on various topics. I did however recently collaborate with Marian Harris in the production of her book about the saving of the Dulas Valley in mid-Wales. I was instructed to appear in the public inquiry which took place in 1972, in my early years at the Bar on behalf of the local community. Marian was secretary to my instructing solicitors but also daughter of the Chairman of the Action Group who led the opposition. In the tense political climate which followed the drowning of Tryweryn²² – still a major issue in

²² The Welsh-only speaking village of Capel Celyn, incidentally home of the author's daughter-in-law's family, was drowned in 1962 at the instance of Liverpool City Council. It led to the formation of the Free Wales Army and to many bombings and second home burnings, not least at the time of the 1969 Investiture of the Prince of Wales. The author prosecuted during the last of the bombing trials in 1993.

Wales. It was more a cause than a case - and we won. Marian had drafted a book about the events which I re-wrote for her, relying upon my contemporaneous notes and added as an Appendix my final speech. I refused her suggestion to be named as co-author. It was published in September 2019.

Apart from that, I have occasionally gone off piste and given talks at the Drwm in the National Library of Wales and elsewhere: Mrs Crewe's *Journey into Wales* to which I have referred above, and *The Family of Abram Wood* about my Welsh gypsy ancestors.

The printed copy of My Dear Hammy cannot be digitised for copyright reasons. A printed copy is available for consultation at Kingston University's Archives and Special Collections.