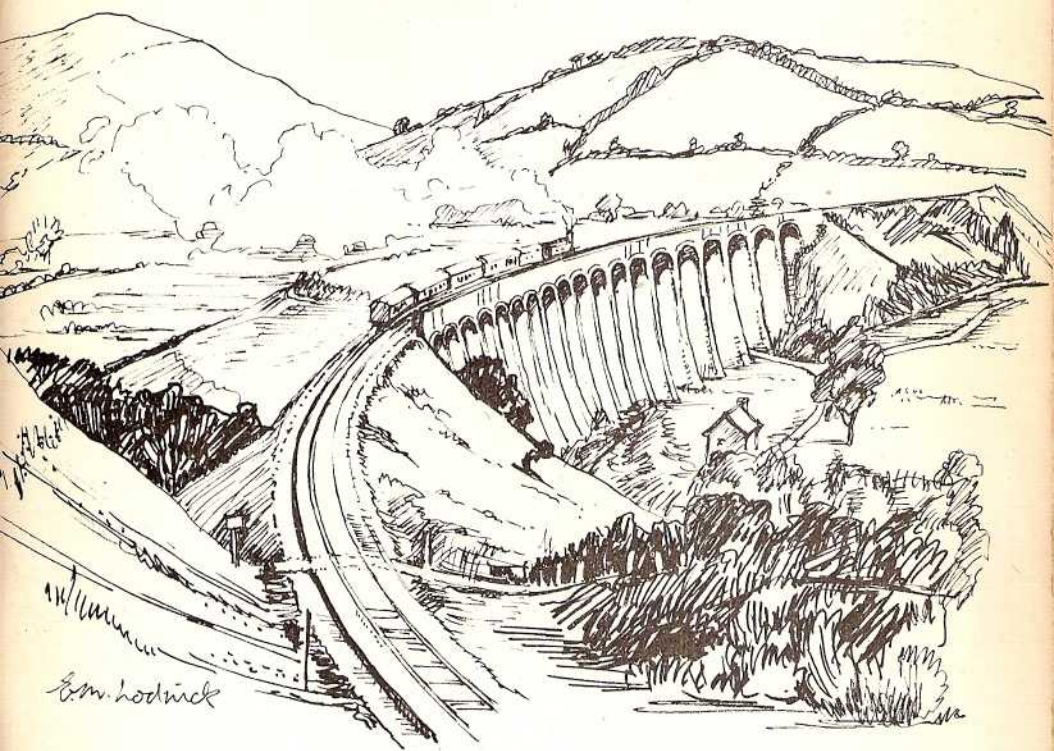


The Carmarthenshire Historian

Cynghordy Viaduct



THE CARMARTHENSHIRE HISTORIAN

Edited by
E. VERNON JONES

Published by
Dyfed Rural Council
Dark Gate Chambers, Red Street, Carmarthen
1977

CONTENTS

	<i>Page</i>
Life in Seventeenth Century Carmarthenshire	5
Cwmgwili and Its Families (Part II)	20
Richard Tibbot, Itinerant Preacher	50
Through Riot and Duel to Parliament	59
In Days of Christmas Green	66
No Ordinary Courtier She	73
Driving an Iron Road Through the Hills	76
Arthur Mee, 1860-1926	82
Ghost Hunting	84

Cwmgwili and Its Families

PART II

By Major FRANCIS JONES, C.V.O., T.D., D.L., F.S.A.,
Wales Herald of Arms Extraordinary

The story of Cwmgwili—the house that overlooks the Gwili below Bronwydd Arms—from the sixteenth century to the early years of the nineteenth century was related in Volume XIII of *The Carmarthenshire Historian*. In this concluding part of the story there are interesting references to personal experiences in Nelson's naval engagements, the Peninsular War and at Waterloo.

LITTLE is known of the administration of the Cwmgwili estate during the incumbency of John George Philipps, M.P. (1761-1816) but he does not seem to have alienated any part of it. Indeed, in 1790, he added to it by buying several slangs adjoining his farm of Pante from the Revd David Scurlock of Blaencorse, near St Clears, for £80. In 1785 he was negotiating to buy Ystradwralt and Ty Canol, from Herbert Evans of Lowmead, both of the clear annual rent of £75 10 0, the price being 25 years purchase of that rent; in the event he took the properties on a lease, and later acquired the freehold. Carmarthenshire landowners were very conscious of the value of timber, and took steps to afforestation, and often inserted planting clauses in the leases they granted. Trees could be sold for high prices, especially in war-time, to government contractors for ship-building and other purposes, and at all times to local industrialists who required charcoal for the furnaces, while bark was always in demand by the numerous tanners who carried on a brisk trade in the county. It was necessary to keep a careful eye on the timber. His wife wrote on 21 February 1785, that Mr R. Morgan had asked her to remind him about the "stragglin wood" which should be cut as the tenants ("so far from Cumgwily and from your sight") felled "ever so fine trees", and Morgan had discovered that a great many fine trees had been cut down "and the roots of them covered with grass that they might not be discovered". According to Morgan the wood could be sold for over £200. On 10 May 1785, John George Philipps agreed to sell to David Lewis of Carmarthen, tanner, all timber, trees, saplings, underwoods, etc, growing upon the farms of Trefynis, Rwythfawr, Cwmhowell, and Tir Terrant Elias, in Abergwili parish, for the sum of £240.⁵⁴

54. NLW. Cwmgwili DD, No. 113.

Mr Philipps entered into partnership with some of his neighbours to work a mine at Capel Dewi, and on 9 February 1785 Richard Lewis wrote from Abergwili Palace to enquire whether he could take up a one-sixth share which Mr Philipps had promised him. If Mr Philipps agreed to this, he would pay the money to Mr Stewart, the treasurer. Lewis informed him that "some favourable discovery had this week been made at the mine".⁵⁵

Apart from the affairs of the Borough, he was busy in county concerns, especially as a magistrate. He was a member of Llandeilo'r Ynys Turnpike Trust, and took a special interest in road communications and their effect upon agriculture. A letter from Richard Jones Llwyd written on 3 May 1790 to J. G. Philipps at the Somerset Coffee House in the Strand indicates the attitude of Carmarthenshire landowners towards taxes and tolls—"A double toll upon turnpikes will materially prejudice this county. Most of the Turnpikes in this county were made originally to facilitate the carriage of coal, lime, and manure, and they depended upon the conveyance of those articles for their existence. Lime has of late years advanced in price from 6s 6d the horse-load to 4 shillings (*sic*), so that farmers can now scarcely afford to buy it. Lay another tax upon it, it puts that article beyond their reach and they have no substitute. Farm yards and composition dunghills being in their infancy, I will venture to say that if lime and manure and coal are not exempted from double toll, it will nearly ruin the agriculture in this county"; he further hopes that tax on transfers of real property will be confined to Bonds and Mortgages—"As to the tax upon deeds, it may induce the gentlemen of the law to curtail the enormous prolixity of modern conveyances and reduce them to their former conciseness and simplicity. Laymen may then have some guess at their meaning and content".⁵⁶

Despite long absences from Cwmgwili during his parliamentary career, his domestic life was harmonious. There is no doubt that he and his wife Anne (Ball) were deeply in love, and it is from her numerous letters to him that we obtain glimpses of their family life. He, on the other hand, does not appear to have been a good correspondent, a fact commented upon in letters from his wife and friends.

55. *Ibid.*, No. 178.

56. CRO. Cwmgwili MSS, No. 450. The attitude of R. J. Llwyd is of particular interest when we recall that he was a member of the Llandeilo'r Ynys Trust in which he had invested £100, that he was a landowner, and a barrister-at-law.

Anne kept him posted not only with domestic news but with news of various friends and acquaintances. It is clear that she missed his company, and ends one letter (10 February 1785) with the words, "Adieu my dear, Cumgwilly is very dull without my JGP". Both were attached to the children, and Anne's letter to him on 12 February 1785 contains an account of her two small sons, "Little Griffith talks of you every day; he says that his papa is gone to London to buy him a new hat and a fine sash, so you can see the little rogue begins to grow coxcomical already as he talks of nothing but his dress. Little John is no less proud of his smart great-coat that came home today; he would not take it off till he went to sleep. . . . I dont know when to leave off when I begin to write to you. I am sure that I scribble a vast deal of nonsense for the sake of prolonging the time. Believe me my Dear that nothing can give me greater pleasure than writing to you. May you enjoy every happiness is the ardent prayer and sincere wish of your ever faithful and affectionate wife, Anne Philipps. P.S.—I would give the world to be with my ever Dear JGP, believe me there can be no happiness or pleasure for me without you. Pray write every post my Dear Mr Philipps." On 7 April 1787 she wrote that she had read that the House of Commons had been adjourned till 23 April—"Pray what will you do with yourself all that time? I wish to God it was in my power to make a pair of wings for you to fly home with. Since you have left Cwmgwilly I live here the world forgetting, by the world forgot. Your happiness is the chief study of my life".

Shortly after his return to London in February 1784, Anne says that Griffith "has been searching for you in the parlour, the study and in our rooms, crying all the way 'Papa, papa'. . . . I love you far too much to do anything contrary to your desire". Later in the month she chides him—"Why have you not written the last two posts? Hearing from you is my only pleasure". In a letter dated 28 February 1785 she again chides him for not writing oftener, for she wrote to him by *every post*, "Don't forget to be a Welshman tomorrow, and let little Griffith have the leek when you come home". Being a member of parliament was an expensive business and Anne was often busy getting in the rents, and raising money by other means to meet his occasions, often pressing, in the Metropolis.

Anne kept him informed of domestic and estate affairs, the farm at Cwmgwili and sale of commodities, and particularly about local political moves. She often urged him to take steps that would advance his interests. In 1784 she told him he should pay his com-

pliments to Mr Powell (Nanteos), who was to be High Sheriff of Cardiganshire—"You know there is nothing lost by civility".

She found her husband's aunt, the masterful Mrs Jane Davies of Penylan, somewhat of a trial. Anne had been unwell in the early part of 1785 (she was often ailing), and had allowed herself to be persuaded, against her real inclination, to accompany Mrs Davies to a dance at Kidwelly—"I should not have gone had it not been for Mrs Davies of Penylan who pestered me to death two days before about it. She sent to tell me it would be so ungentle and very odd of me if I did not go as Mr Lloyd was so kind as to come to fetch me, and Mr Billy her son was affronted with me at Kidwelly because I did not choose to dance with him. I hope I shall never see Mrs Davies at Cumgwilly again. You have always told me I behaved too well to her and I now see it myself, but I was always happy to do every thing in my power to oblige any of your family". In April 1785 she was quite ill, and everyone was most kind to her except "Mrs. Davies of Penylan, and she has behaved like a Brute". But this was a passing pique, Mrs Davies was often at Cwmgwili, and took the elder boys to Penylan when Mrs Philipps was brought to bed of her other children and when she was ill. It is not unlikely that Mrs Philipps was inclined to brood over her illnesses. In 1790 Mrs Jane Davies wrote a bantering letter to her brother, John George Philipps, "I remember you have often laughed at the idle chit-chat of the female pen, but nevertheless I have ventured your giving me a place in the list of such laughable beings, from the hope that even insignificant subjects, may for a minute or two divert my sister's attention from thinking of her complaints, which, I hope, will every day become less and less, and that very soon we may have the pleasure to see her return in perfect health".

After her husband's death Mrs Jane Davies lived at a house in Carmarthen belonging to her brother, whom she badgered continually about repairs and improvements. "Some time past notices were given to every house to erect troughs under the tiles. It has not been done here and the cornice being rotten part of it fell down nearly on Miss B. Lloyd's head, which might have killed her. Now the rain soaks into part of the front wall. I have sent to Evans the carpenter to do it, and hope you agree. I have sent to Jas George to get lime for the brewing kitchen which was stript by wind this last week all the southerly side. I wish for your sake and my own comfort that the outside was not in so poor a state, I'll take care to keep the inside comfortable without damage done to it".

This house proved troublesome and its later tenant, Mrs.

Life in Seventeenth Century Carmarthenshire

By *MOELWYN WILLIAMS, M.A., PH.D.,*
Keeper of Printed Books, National Library of Wales

IN the seventeenth century and the greater part of the eighteenth the livelihood of the overwhelming majority of the population of Carmarthenshire depended almost exclusively on arable or pastoral farming and their several subsidiary occupations. Most families lived on what they grew and made for themselves, and on what they could find and recover in the form of 'trifles of the countryside', i.e. the fruit on the trees, vegetables in the garden, berries on the hedgerows, rabbits on the Common etc. Their tools and implements as well as their household furniture were made to serve several generations of the same family; even their houses and cottages were, in a sense, a part of their agricultural equipment, for they were not only lived and slept in, but were also used for carrying out tasks ancillary to agriculture and animal husbandry.

Three centuries ago the inhabitants of the Welsh countryside were also dependent on favourable climatic conditions, and were in consequence for ever conscious of the long-term effects of adverse or abnormal weather conditions. For as Thomas Fuller once remarked, 'Tis not the husbandman, but the good weather, that makes the corn grow'. A late harvest, a single crop failure, or an outbreak of disease amongst the livestock were all factors which could affect adversely the husbandman's economic welfare for several years, and it was during such periods of adversity that the peasant farmer and his family flexed every muscle and exploited every subsidiary occupation, such as spinning, weaving and stocking-knitting, in order to make both ends meet.

In such circumstances, the family unit was the essential basis of the rural economy. Indeed it may be said that no other institution has had a greater influence on the social and economic history of Wales. The stability of Welsh society had for centuries rested heavily on the closely knit family ties that characterised Welsh life in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The uncertainties that attended life in a pastoral-agricultural economy left people with little time for leisure—in the sense we know it today; for the line between economic survival and disaster was very slender. So that even when the outdoor work did not occupy the peasant farmer and his family, they were still kept together in their homesteads applying themselves

diligently to domestic work such as we have already mentioned—spinning, weaving, knitting etc. Economic necessity was certainly a factor that preserved the unity of the family.

The real concern of ordinary people to preserve their family bonds even after death was sometimes reflected in their wills, their final and solemn declarations. For instance in the will of Elizabeth Browne, a widow of Carmarthen who died in 1685, she desired that she be buried 'in the grave where my sonne Samuel Browne was buried in the chancell of the parish church of Llangadock Fawr, in case it shall please God I shall die in Wales, or, in the grave where my son Thomas Browne was buried in the churchyard of the parish church of St. Anne's-in-the-field in the County of Middlesex, between the two green trees next to the gate of the same churchyard, in case I shall die at or near London . . .' The close links that existed between members of the same family helped to maintain some degree of social discipline and quite often the wills of the period were the means through which such discipline was exercised. Rowland Rees, a yeoman of Llanstephan, who died in 1699 bequeathed to one of his several sons, Samuel Rowlands, the sum of £20 of good English money upon the condition that he would accept and comply 'with ye counsel of my sons Griffith, William and John Rowlands, touching his way of living and marriage settlement in the world, but in case of refractoriness and disobedience to the aforesaid Councillors' the testator declared that 'I do give and bequeath unto my said son Samuel ye sum of £10'.

In a pre-industrial society, therefore, the family unit was of paramount importance, not only as a dominant economic group but also as a social group ensuring the care of the young, the old, and the continuity of the group.

Social Structure

Broadly speaking the population was made up of the landed gentry, free-holders, tenant-farmers and farm labourers, the rural craftsmen, tradesmen, merchants and mariners. It should be added, however, that the church, as represented by the clergy, played an important part in the rural economy of the day by virtue of its ownership of land, including glebe, tithes etc. There was of course a wide gulf separating the landlords and gentry from the peasant farmers and stock breeders; it was a gulf created and perpetuated principally by the prevailing system of landownership.

In order to have a clearer picture of the community we are

discussing we should enquire at this point into the size of the population of the county in the seventeenth century. From various estimates based on official tax returns it would appear that there were some 30,000 to 35,000 persons living in Carmarthenshire during the last quarter of the 17th century, that is to say, about a sixth of the present population total. In the borough of Carmarthen itself, there were probably about 1000 souls occupying about 220 houses. In Cydweli, by comparison, there were roughly 500 persons occupying some 120 houses, while Llanstephan had a population of around 250 dwelling in 62 houses. The county therefore had a population density of roughly 1 person to every 14 acres.

The following table illustrates the kind of distribution of the size of houses in the several Carmarthenshire towns and townships in 1676. It should be noted that there is a positive correlation between the number of hearths and the size of houses.

Towns	No. of households	HEARTHES									
		I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X+
Carmarthen	220—	84	57	37	16	14	10	2	3	3	2
Cilrhedyn	27—	23	—	3	—	1	—	—	—	—	—
Cydweli	81—	70	—	6	2	—	—	1	1	—	1 ^b
Llanarthney	91—	81	1	4	2	1	1	—	—	—	1
Llanelli	188—	164	—	12	4	1	1	—	—	—	6 ^a
Llangadog (Town)	72—	62 ^c	—	5	4	—	—	—	1 ^d	—	—
Llangeler	51—	45	4	—	1	—	—	1	—	—	—
Llangyndeyrn	102—	78	—	6	3	1	3	—	—	9	1 ^c
Llannon	124—	117	—	5	1	—	1	—	—	—	—

- Henry Mansell—possessed 15; Henry Vaughan—possessed 12.
- Henry Mansell—possessed 18.
- Richard Vaughan—possessed 10.
- Thomas Lloyd of Llansevin was the possessor.
- 40 under value and poore.

It will be seen that in Carmarthen, for example, out of approximately 220 households 84 had only one hearth, 57 had two hearths, 16 had four hearths, 14 had five hearths, 10 had six hearths, while only 2 households had 7 hearths, 3 households had eight and nine hearths each, and only two households had ten hearths and more. In Cydweli, out of 81 households only one had ten hearths and over, namely, Henry Mansell who had eighteen hearths. Again in Llanelli, out of 188 households only six had ten hearths and over and these included the households of Henry Mansell and Henry Vaughan who possessed fifteen and twelve hearths respectively.

It has been established that in general the number of hearths in a person's possession was a measure not only of the size of his house but also the size of personal estate, for there was, in short, a positive correlation between the size of a person's house or residence and the total value of his material wealth. The above table, therefore, illustrates in part the broad-based triangular character of the social structure in the several Carmarthenshire towns noted—the base comprising those householders possessing one to three hearths, while the apex of the triangle would represent those possessing ten hearths and above. It is in this class of householder that we can trace those families who for centuries had ruled the county in almost every aspect of its economic, social and cultural life.

From the information contained in the Hearth Tax returns for the county in 1670, about 20 per cent of the population might have been classified as paupers on the grounds that they were regarded as being unable to pay the hearth tax amounting to one shilling payable half-yearly on each hearth in a person's possession. There was also another category of poor persons, namely, those who were in receipt of 'constant alms' and who were on that account not always accounted for in the tax lists. Taking a general view of the structure of society in Carmarthenshire as reflected in the hearth tax returns we may argue that between 25 and 30 per cent of the population were "poor", and had no legal access to the land except by selling their labour. About 60-70 per cent of the population comprised the yeomen, free holders, tenant farmers, craftsmen, tradesmen, etc. The county and local gentry made up about 1-2 per cent of the population and by virtue of their ownership of the land controlled access to it; they dominated almost every aspect of economic and social life, and more especially, the political life of the community.

The Carmarthenshire gentry were not, comparatively speaking, of the 'first order'. Some held extensive areas of land but from the standpoint of annual revenues, they fell far short of their English counterparts. When James I offered baronetcies to 'all persons of good repute, whether knights or squires, who possessed lands worth £1000 a year' of the thirty-seven Welsh baronets who eventually received the honour, only five were Carmarthenshire landlords. As Sir John Edward Lloyd put it: 'This suggests that the majority of them were relatively well-to-do people whose income from lands would vary between £500 and £1000 annually.' Nevertheless, although they constituted but a minute proportion of the total population, they ruled the community whose members accepted their role 'as a natural course ordained by a benign Providence, buttressed by the church and confirmed by the secular power'.

The Poor

Perhaps in these days when the State provides for the welfare of the needy under the aegis of so-called 'Social Security' it might be salutary to consider the condition of the poor classes in Carmarthenshire in the seventeenth century. Jeremy Bentham (1748—1832), who advocated as a guiding principle of ethics 'the greatest happiness of the greatest number', held that the establishment of equality is a chimera; the only thing that can be done is to diminish inequality. There was certainly a considerable degree of inequality in rural Wales during the period under discussion and this rose mainly from the gross inequalities that prevailed in the ownership of land. These circumstances gave rise to a society in which about one person in every four of the population was classified as poor. Although contemporary society accepted this there was, nevertheless, a fairly extensive voluntary charitable effort which aimed at diminishing local poverty, or at least, alleviating it.

Perhaps it is not altogether a strange phenomenon that a person's last will and testament should reveal his deepest anxieties about his affairs in this world and in the hereafter. Seventeenth century wills are particularly enlightening in this respect and go to show that 'the poor' were almost invariably provided for even by testators of modest means. Most wills began with an eloquent confession of the testator's faith, confessing his sin and confirming his confidence in the mercy of God at the 'Great Day of Judgement'. The two initial bequests would then be toward the reparation of the Parish or Cathedral Church, and the poor. For instance, David Edward (d. 1602) of Carmarthen, bequeathed 'to the reparation of the Cathedral Church of St. David's—4d; to the reparation of the parish church of Carmarthen—6s 8d' and 'to the poor people of Carmarthen—5s 0d'. Similarly, Atwell Taylor (d. 1640), a mercer of the town of Carmarthen, bequeathed 'to the Cathedral Church of St. David's—4d' and 'to the poor of Carmarthen 20 shillings [100 pence] to be distributed according to the customs of the same place'. Again, in the parish of Llanstephan, Francis Lloyd, who died in 1642, bequeathed 12 pence to the Cathedral Church of St. David's and 10 shillings 'to the poor of the parish'. Similar examples could be cited many times over from the various parishes of Carmarthenshire and they would confirm that in common with the rest of the country in the seventeenth century there was in the county a 'social conscience' compelling, not only well-to-do, but in fact all classes to help alleviate the extreme poverty and sometimes destitution that were present in their midst.

Some unmistakable clues to the degree of poverty that prevailed in certain areas of Carmarthenshire are to be found in the inventories

which accompany some of the contemporary wills. For example, we find that a certain Richard Thomas (d. 1602) of Llandingad was indebted to Ralph Gibbon of the same parish in respect of the following items: 'For meate and drink—2s 4d; for a kerchief borrowed—8d; and his quilt cap which he had pawned for 8d'. When Rees Llewelyn of Cydweli died in 1600 he bequeathed to his son 'my brass pan now in mortgage of 27s 4d with Morris Thomas, to be redeemed by my son'. Owen Morgan of Llandilo Fawr, who died in 1601, bequeathed to his nephew 'one candlestick and one pan now in my hand in pawn of 12s 4d'. Other examples could be quoted time and again, thus showing the simple ways of a rural economy which was gradually becoming dependent on a 'cash nexus', that is to say, on the growing necessity of having to find and use ready cash as a medium of exchange in the local fairs, markets, shops, and in the payment of rents to the landlords.

Despite the provision made to lighten the burden of the poor through voluntary charitable efforts, the fact remains that strong family ties and the deep concern that members of a family had for the welfare of each other were a major contribution in providing relief for many of those in need, and to that extent local 'poverty' as a social problem was somewhat disguised.

Maritime Trade

It is difficult for us who live in the second half of the twentieth century to imagine what life must have been like in rural Wales some three centuries ago when the network of roads was perhaps little better than it had been in Roman times. As early as 1547 a Carmarthen-shire will contains a provision that 20 shillings 'be bestowed upon the highways between Llanstephan and Carmarthen where need doth require'. Two centuries later in the 1730's Nicholas Cloggett, Bishop of St. David's wrote: 'From Abergwili to Swansea . . . I was obliged to travel on horseback . . . The country one goes through is mountainous and the waies stony . . .'

Until the coming of the railways in the mid-nineteenth century the key factor in the system of communication in South Wales was to be found in the ports and creeks that dotted the Welsh coastline, and in gaining access to them. Like other Welsh counties Carmarthen was heavily dependent on water transport and in consequence almost every creek and haven—now mostly forgotten—could boast of some sort of craft, much like a modern village, perhaps, having its bus service.

Throughout the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries Carmarthen had been an important port for the disembarkation of soldiers and military supplies needed for the conquest of Wales: crossbows and quarrels, as well as wheat, salt and bacon were regularly imported from Bristol. Overseas trade from Carmarthen had centred mainly on French ports and was connected mainly with salt and wine products from La Rochelle. It is on record that between 1566—1603 at least 58 ships carried salt, wine, tar, fruits and other goods to Carmarthen, while some 89 boats left the port for France, Ireland, and Scotland, carrying corn, coal and provisions of all kinds. In the middle of the 16th century, in the reign of Edward VI, Thomas Phaer (constable of Cilgerran Castle, Searcher of the port of Milford and all ports between Swansea and Dyfi) prepared a report on the harbours and customs administration of Wales in which he described Carmarthen as 'an ancient town well-traded and peopled' where there was 'a great passage of leather, tallow, and hides by reason of the merchants there'. Phaer further stated: 'All this country is very bare of corn and be not able to live of their own provision, for the most part of their tillage is oats, and are served with wheat and malt out of the Forest of Dean and other parts'.

During the second half of the sixteenth century Carmarthen was rapidly supplanting the harbour at Cydweli and it forged ahead until it became generally recognised as a convenient port for both coastal and foreign trade. Standing on the banks of a tidal river which was wide and deep enough to accommodate ships of substantial tonnage, it was also a gateway to a rich agricultural hinterland in the Towy valley.

By the seventeenth century more evidence is available to show that Carmarthen and the creeks and landing places at Marros, Laugharne, Llanstephan, Llangain, St. Ishmael and Cydweli, could muster numerous ships, boats and lighters, which were owned and often manned by local mariners. For instance, at Llangain, some four miles from Carmarthen, David Howell, who died in 1678, left an estate valued at £103 that included one boat or lighter called the *Mary*, another little boat, and one third part of another boat or lighter called the *Blessing*. In the township of Laugharne, Henry Butler (d. 1688), John Butler (d. 1690) and Henry Langston, a mariner, owned between them two barges called the *Assistance* and the *Samuel*. Although Henry Langston was the only one described as a 'mariner', it is fairly certain that Henry Butler was also an acknowledged seafarer because his personal estate at the time of his death included 'a sea card and a sea bed'. In this connection it is worth noting that Henry Langston, to whom reference has already been made, also owned one half of a ferry-boat which probably operated between Laugharne and Black Scar on the opposite side of the Taf.

In 1670, another mercer named Gideon Tottenham of Carmarthen sold an enormous range of articles, some of which are now difficult to identify. His stock included: 18 yards of Garlix (a kind of white linen imported to this country from Germany), 44 yards of linsey wolsley; 2 remnants of Calamenco (a Flemish woollen material with a fine gloss and checkered in the warp); 14 yards of dowlas, 5 pieces (78 yards) of coarse oxenbrigs; 23 yards of white underlining . . . 121 yards of Coarse stuff; 14 yards of coarse fustian . . . ; school books, cotton, tape, and gartering; flat and hemp and mohair, gunpowder and earthenware; Coppras and rosin; soap, candy and tobacco . . . In another Carmarthen shop, John Jackson sold various waters, essences and balsams, spectacles and penknives, razors, scissors, corkscrews, spectacle cases, wash balls and sweet powder; knives and surgical instruments for lancing and bleeding. All this retail trade, which was conducted not only in the town of Carmarthen but also in the smaller townships such as Loughor and Newcastle Emlyn and even in remote villages such as Cilmaenllwyd, was possible because of the maritime services of those who went to sea in ships, and of those who provided the capital necessary to build or purchase the ships.

Probate wills and inventories of the late seventeenth century confirm that there was a strong maritime tradition in the county and that men of means were investing large sums of money not only in local but also in foreign ventures. For example, in 1643 Nicholas Hobbs, a 'gentleman', of Llangennech died leaving as part of his estate half a boat valued at £20 as well as 'certain goods sent by him in adventure to Newfoundland and by him given to his daughter Margaret Hobbs, but the value of which could not be assessed with certainty before the return thereof'. Here we have an interesting piece of evidence indicating clearly that the local gentry were participating in foreign ventures of the day. But with reference to Nicholas Hobbs' foreign venture, could it be that another Carmarthenshire gentleman, the quixotic William Vaughan of Golden Grove, (author of several books, of which *The Golden Fleece* (1626) contains among other things observations on the commercial weakness of the kingdom, all of which led to the advocacy of colonisation, particularly in Newfoundland) had set an example in this regard? For in 1617, some nine years before the publication of *The Golden Fleece*, William Vaughan had purchased land from the Company of Adventurers to Newfoundland and had sent out settlers there at his own expense. He called the settlement 'Cambriol', and introduced Welsh place-names such as Cardiff, Vaughan's Cove, Glamorgan, Pembroke, Carmarthen and Brecon. But despite the fact that Vaughan's attempt to

establish a Welsh colony failed, men were still prepared to venture their capital in the New World and it is interesting that Nicholas Hobbs of Llangennech held commercial interests in Newfoundland three years after Vaughan's death and some six to ten years after he had pulled out of the 'Cambriol' venture.

Sufficient has been said to show how the economic and social horizons of the people of Carmarthenshire in the seventeenth century were widened by the variety of household goods and other commodities that came by water to its ports and creeks. These undoubtedly enriched the quality of life within what was still a predominantly rural economy. It was through the links between the ports of Carmarthen and Bristol, in particular, that such musical instruments as the virginal, cither and flagelots—already referred to—found their way to the homes of those who could afford them and who had the leisure for their use and enjoyment. Similarly, books were brought coastwise to the port of Carmarthen and its creeks to be transported to, and sold from, local shops. As we have shown, books were sold in Carmarthen shops almost a century before a printing press was established on Welsh soil in 1718, at a place called Trefhedyn, otherwise known as Adpar on the Cardiganshire side of the river Teifi.

It should perhaps be mentioned that the local ships and boats were not employed exclusively on the coastal trade with Bristol and elsewhere. Many were employed in conveying cargoes of coal from Pembrokeshire loading stations to various ports along the Carmarthenshire coast, as well as in carrying lime from creek to creek for transportation inland for use in agriculture and other operations related to agriculture. It will be recalled that it was the importance of lime and its costly passage through the tollgates and bars along the roads of a later century that precipitated the Rebecca Riots.

Scotchmen

Of somewhat less importance than the mariners, but of equal significance in the everyday life of our pre-industrial ancestors, were the Scotchmen or pedlars—the travelling merchants who were once familiar figures in the rural areas of South Wales. Many of them lived in the towns and villages. For instance John Williams, a pedlar, lived in Carmarthen town in 1604, and another, John Thomas, a chapman, lived in Llangyndeyrn. After the death of the latter in 1688, his goods and chattels included 'a pair of hampers, 2 horses, a roll and a piece of tobacco and his pedlary ware which was valued at £3.15.0'. He had debts due to him from nine persons ranging from 6d to £1. The pedlars and chapmen hawked a variety of wares from village to village and from parish to parish,—tobacco, gloves, pins, ribbons,

combs etc. figured prominently in their hampers. They were also bearers of current news bringing reports of happenings in the English and foreign scene. The chapmen were also vendors of small pamphlets of popular tales, ballads, tracts etc.—a category of literature which, since the early years of the eighteenth century, has been known as chap-books. The pedlars or chapmen, therefore, supplemented the work of the mariners in bringing the inhabitants of the Welsh countryside into contact with the English markets—more particularly the West of England markets.

Yet not all sections of the community could afford to take advantage of the facilities offered by local businessmen in their shops. Indeed, there was a hard core of poor people who found such shop-goods as I mentioned earlier far beyond their means and these were the people who relied a great deal on the 'trifles of the countryside', the people who were vulnerable to the vagaries of the weather.

Fairs and Markets

Although I have emphasised the importance of maritime trade in the daily affairs of our seventeenth century forbears, there were also the local fairs and markets which helped considerably in lubricating the economic processes of the day. The majority of ordinary people in the seventeenth century depended mainly on what they grew and manufactured themselves, but there was, nonetheless, a fair amount of local business conducted in the exchange and sale of surplus goods. Indeed, commercial agriculture was in the seventeenth century the sheet anchor of the rural economy. The late Professor Dodd of Bangor estimated that in the seventeenth century there was a fair or market somewhere or other in Wales about four days out of seven. I have calculated that in Carmarthenshire alone there were 520 weekly markets held in the eight principal towns, and 80 fairs held in 30 centres during the late decades of the seventeenth century and throughout the greater part of the next century. It was at these fairs and markets that the great mass of surplus agricultural goods from both small and large farms were sold for money—sorely needed by the tenant farmers to pay their rents and to clear the small debts they incurred from time to time. The fairs and markets were not only centres for the sale of goods; they were also social occasions when ideas were exchanged, and where local news and gossip gained currency.

Role of the Inns

The social side of the local fairs and markets extended to the local inns, or alehouses as they were commonly referred to in the

seventeenth century. The inns catered mainly for two classes of customer, the 'locals', and the frequent traveller and the occasional 'tourist'. To the local inhabitants the inns were often the centres of serious business transactions as well as of social intercourse and conviviality. The traveller in turn required board and lodging and other facilities such as stabling. But to what extent could the inns of Carmarthenshire in the seventeenth century cater for the requirements of visitors or travellers from other areas? The answer is to be found in part in the first survey of inns made in this country in 1686 and instigated by the Secretary of State for War in order to find where troops might be billeted in the entire kingdom. The survey does not indicate the names of the inns in Carmarthenshire, but we are given the number of beds available for guests and the stabling facilities for horses in 31 towns and villages in the county.

The survey indicates that in the town of Carmarthen itself there were in all 60 guest beds and stabling for 95 horses, while in Abergwili there were 4 guest beds and stabling for 8 horses, and in Pentre Cothi there were but 2 guest beds and stabling for 4 horses. By way of comparison with Carmarthen town it is interesting to note that in Cardigan there were 10 guest beds and stabling for 16 horses, in Lampeter 18 guest beds and stabling for 34 horses.

The general picture presented here of Carmarthenshire inns reveals a fairly static society underpinned by a rural economy. Mobility was limited—a condition consistent with the backward state of the roads and land traffic. People certainly travelled from one Welsh county to another, but those who wished to travel into England frequently exploited the maritime links that sustained local trade. Similarly, English visitors who made excursions into Carmarthenshire made great use of the various maritime routes between England and Wales.

It would be instructive to describe the interior of what must have been one of Carmarthen's foremost inns *c* 1700, and kept by one Charles Butterwick. It had nine rooms, and the contents were as follows:

In the parlour—a clock and case, 1 large oval table and 12 chairs, 17 maps and pictures (presumably for the guidance and instruction of visitors).

In the kitchen—168 pounds of pewter (vessels), 17 brass candlesticks, 1 old brass pan (weighing 7 lbs), 2 old warming pans, 6 leather chairs, a dog wheel, and 1 old copper tea-pot.

In the room behind the Bar—1 old looking glass and an old chest of drawers.

In the dining room—18 leather chairs, an old cupboard, an oval table and 13 pictures.

In the room within the dining room—1 small oval table, 3 cane chairs, 1 cushion stool and 1 looking glass.

In the room over the kitchen—1 bedstead with curtains, 1 quilt and 2 blankets, 4 window curtains, 4 cane chairs and 1 cushion stool, 1 close stool box, 1 old broken looking glass and 1 cushion.

In the room over the scullery—1 old cubbard bed, 1 quilt and 1 blanket, 1 deal chest of drawers and 1 cane chair.

In the room over the dining room—1 cubbard bed and curtains, 2 rugs, 1 table, 2 pairs of curtains, five feather beds, bouldsters and pillows (weighing 312 lbs), 18 diaper napkins, 24 huggaback napkins, 27 old pillow cases, coarse towels and other linen.

In addition, there were in stock at the inn 17 hogsheads (52½ gallons each) of ale, 12 dozen bottles of ale, as well as 34 dozen empty bottles as evidence of good custom! In the haggard, or stack yard, hay to the value of £12 was stored for stabling.

The modest facilities available for travellers in the inns of Carmarthenshire during the seventeenth century are an indication of the limited demands there were at that time for hostelries which arose out of long distance travelling or wayfaring. As yet, road services in South Wales had not developed to any significant degree although there is growing evidence which shows that land carriage from London to the provinces was being extended during the latter half of the century. No such improvement, so far as the writer is aware, benefited Wales until the eighteenth century. South Wales was still heavily dependent upon the maritime services made available through the Welsh coastal trade.

In conclusion, it should be stated that although this article relates to a period when the overwhelming majority of the people of Carmarthenshire were dependent on a rural economy there were, nevertheless, small 'industrial' or non-agricultural activities which were becoming more and more evident. As early as 1538 John Leland

had observed that at Llanelly 'Ring coles for Smith' were dug and were 'blowid and waterid', and at 'Wendreth Vour' they dug anthracite or stone coals which, he said, 'be sumtime waterid, but never blowen for blowing extinguisht them'. By the end of the seventeenth century there is evidence of a more vigorous development of Carmarthenshire's mineral resources. Many wills and inventories show that an increasing number of individuals were becoming involved in small local ventures. For instance, when James Clarke, gentleman, of the town of Cidweli died in 1693 his personal estate included 'One boate', 'culm and coal', as well as 'ropes and other implements belonging to coal-pits'. Such industrial activities were conducted alongside agricultural and pastoral activities but as yet agriculture continued to be the basis of the county's economic life and its rural culture.

Jane Davies' unmarried daughter Anne, proved as vigorous as her mother; for instance—"Dear Uncle. I have received a letter from my brother William in consequence of yours to me last Wednesday. He tells he had receipts for everything in the house. The shelf & dresser with several other things, my mother bought of Mr Hoskins who had bought them of the tenant before him; the dog-wheel she bought of old Mrs Rice and James Evans the carpenter. We have not sold the locks as you have been told. William also has the receipt for the marble slab in the parlour, which my mother put down but that we left there. The shelf, dresser & dogwheel the man who has taken the house bought by auction at £1 2 6, but on being told at Cwmgwili they belonged to the house has refused to pay for them. Do you wish to buy them? if not they will be taken down tomorrow and sold. To whom shall I deliver the key of the street door on Michaelmas day. We then leave Carmarthen for Penylan and to make some visits we have promised before we leave Wales. I hope should your Daughters be left without father or mother (which is certainly not impossible) that they may not find a Landlord or uncle as tenacious about such a trifle as we have found. Wishing you and my cousins health & happiness, I am dear Uncle, your affectionate Anne Davies".

Anne Philipps's life was not made pleasanter by the fact that her brother, Herbert Ball, and others of the family, proved difficult about paying her marriage portion and other monies due. On 28 March 1789 she wrote to her husband that she had heard from brother Herbert, who said he had been cheated of half his fortune, but promised he would send "your money this term". She adds that "a Mob has destroyed and layd waste all the enclosures of the commons about the town this last week. I am affraid it will end seriously if there is not a stop put to it soon; the first Rebellion that ever happened in Carmarthen was about enclosing the Commons. I hope it will not end as it did then".

In 1791 (?) another child was born, who received the name Grismond. She wrote to her husband on 25 March 1792, "Old Mr Rogers and Mr John Lloyd called on me last Friday, the old gentleman said he was anxious to see another Grismond Philipps before he died; you cannot imagine how many old people has come here to see the child on account of his name", adding that the boys are constant at their books, and ending on a more mundane note, "I assure you I will sell fresh butter every week and have a shilling a pound for it".

John George Philipps had considerable commitments: the ex-

penses of living in London and maintaining the household at Cwmgwili were heavy, and in addition he had to pay an annuity to his mother (who did not die until 1810), while the education of the children, and, in due course, the portions of the daughters, added to his liabilities. Elections and petitions had proved burdensome, and in 1800 he was becoming financially embarrassed. His somewhat offhand attitude to business did not help. On 14 June 1800, his solicitor, John Lloyd of Carmarthen, implored him, "If you intend coming down, do bring the money to pay off the mortgage, if not there is no object in coming. I know your indolence in your concerns and I would wish you could get any friend of yours in Town to be active in the business and the money would soon be got. . . . I know you will excuse the liberties I have taken of digging you out of your indolence".⁵⁷

To meet his occasions he sold farms in the parishes of Abergwili, Newchurch, Llanllawddog, Llanarthney, and Llandeilo-fawr, of the estimated capital value of £12,000—£13,000. This was done mainly to enable him to pay off the inherited £4000 mortgage and other debts. The purchase money for those farms amounted to £9000.⁵⁸ In 1805 he sold part of the woodlands for £1800.

Despite indolence in some matters, he was active enough in others. He took a prominent part in raising and training the militia, served in the Royal Carmarthenshire Fusiliers, first as Captain and then as Major and second-in-command to the commanding officer, Lord Cawdor, and accompanied the regiment when it did duty, for instance, in 1798 at Wrexham, Liverpool, Pewsey (Wiltshire), and elsewhere in England, and for some time at Dublin.

Anne had endured many spells of ill-health, and was ailing for most of 1804 and 1805. Her condition worsened, and on 2 April 1806 she was buried at Abergwili, aged about 45 years. She had been a good, affectionate wife, and J. G. Philipps felt her loss grievously. However, he soon took a second partner, "On the rebound" so the late Sir Grismond Philipps informed me. Apparently he had proclaimed his intention to marry the first woman he met on his return to Cwmgwili from his wife's funeral. She turned out to be his servant-maid Anne Thomas, whose father kept the Black Horse inn in Water Street, Carmarthen. The marriage settlement was made on 2 December 1807, and they married at Abergwili Church on the 10th of that month.

57. See Cwmgwili MSS, Nos. 472A, 427, 488, 490.

58. *Ibid.*, No. 702.

He had always been plump—in January 1796 a friend wrote to him, “Nash says you are grown fat and indolent”—and in later years grew excessively corpulent, suffering bouts of ill-health, particularly from that popular squirarchical complaint, gout. He died on 26 May 1816, aged 54, and was buried in the family vault in Abergwili church. His will, dated 19 May 1816, was proved in P.C.C. on 11 May 1822. The widow Anne afterwards married, in 1823 at Llangain, Captain Henry Harding, Adjutant of the Royal Carmarthen Fusiliers, who died on 14 September 1830 in his 64th year; on 11 August 1831 the widow married, at St George Hanover Square, her third husband, Captain John Bankes Davies of Myrtle Hill, near Carmarthen.

After saying that Mr Philipps had been a Member of Parliament for nearly twenty years, the obituary notice in *The Cambrian* for 1 June 1816, went on—“during which time zealously devoted to the principles of Mr Fox, and warmly attached to his person, he almost invariably supported the politics of that distinguished statesman. Well-versed in the laws and history of the country, he was on all occasions an able and upright magistrate. His memory was very retentive, and possessing a fund of anecdote, his presence always enlivened the circle in which he moved. As a landlord he was most indulgent. . . .”

By his first wife Anne (Ball) he had seven children:

1. Griffith Philipps, born in July 1782, educated at Ystrad Meurig School (Cardiganshire) and at Mr James Edwards's school in Fairford. When twelve years of age he wrote to his father (14 April 1794) “. . . my sister Eliza completes her seventh year today. Eliza and Anne are constantly in school, and merry little Grismond tells everybody ‘Papa gon to Lanon, buy pittu sing for Gtsi’;” the writer says he would be pleased and obliged for a present, “Not for a pretty thing but for an useful book”, and ends, “Mama desires me to ask your opinion of that great, very great man, Danton as you used to call him”. On 15 December 1800 he matriculated at Jesus College, Oxford, graduated B.A. in 1806, and proceeded M.A. in the following year. The payments his father had to make for his battels at Jesus College suggest that he was in no way extravagant. He did not enjoy robust health, and died unmarried at Cwmgwili, aged 25 years and was buried at Abergwili on 23 December 1807.
2. John George Philipps, born in September 1783—see later.
3. Elizabeth (“Eliza”) Catherine Philipps, born on 14 April 1787, married Peatre Garland of Lincolns Inn, barrister-at-law (her

portion, £2000). They lived in London and Michaelston, Essex, and had issue.

4. Anna Martha Philipps (“Tiddy”), born in August 1788; married on 3 November 1807 at Abergwili, William Edwardes Tucker,⁵⁹ of Sealyham, Pembrokeshire. A man of bewildering nomenclature, he was born William Tucker Edwardes but in compliance with the request of his uncle, Admiral Tucker, assumed the name of William Edwardes Tucker but afterwards transposed his name into William Tucker Edwardes. He was High Sheriff of Pembrokeshire in 1829, and died on 8 May 1858, aged 74. His widow died in 1876. They had nine children.
5. Grismond Philipps, born on 5 February 1792—see later.
6. Georgianna Jeannetta, born in April 1796, died in December 1799.
7. Emma Louisa Mary, born in 1802, married at Abergwili on 7 September 1824 Dr Robert Williams, M.D., of Bedford Place, London, and had issue.

By his second wife Anne (Thomas), he had an only child, Fred-eric Philipps, born in October 1808, and baptised at Abergwili on 24 March 1818, being then nine years old. When a youth, he lost the sight of one eye after it had been pierced by an arrow accidentally discharged by Dr Henry Lawrence. As a result he wore a black patch over the eye in the manner of a pirate, and became known as “Patch” Philipps. He was a Justice of the Peace and lived for a time at Llwyndu. His path was not wholly smooth; he amassed large debts for which he was thrown into gaol. The poor fellow eventually died of apoplexy in Bristol on 30 August 1838, at the early age of 31, and his remains were brought back for burial at Abergwili. His wife, whom he had married on 28 June 1831, was Elizabeth daughter of Lewis Pugh, publican, of the Castle inn, Haverfordwest. After her husband's death she returned to live at the inn, and was buried at Uzmaston on 23 May 1841. They had at least three children.

John George Philipps the Younger, 1783-1869

John George Philipps received his early education at Ystrad Meurig school, and on 12 March 1796 the master reported that John's “diligent application, his open behaviour, and the fair progress he has made, entitle him to my warmest recommendation”. Later in that year he entered the Royal Navy, being thirteen years of age, and went to sea with his father's friend, Admiral John Macbride. John Nash wrote to the young sailor's father on 23 September 1796.

59. His brother Thomas Edwardes Tucker, Captain in the 23rd Regiment, became ADC to General Picton, and was wounded at Badajos.

“ I have the highest accounts of poor little John—he crawls up the ropes like a young monkey, and there is not a masthead that he had not been at the top. He is extremely liked by every body in the ship and will make a thorough sailor; he is now on his way to the *Minotaur* where the admiral is about to hoist his flag none of you ever write to little John. I cannot wonder that you are so bad a correspondent with your friends when you neglect even your son. It will be necessary to assign John an allowance, say £30 a year”. Soon, he was to experience what was, mercifully, an unusual occurrence in the Navy, and on 1 May 1797 wrote to his father that he could not have done so sooner as “the men would not let any letter out of the ship without reading, till lately”; and on 11 May tells him that everything will be settled as soon as the King’s pardon comes down, that a great many officers had been turned out of different ships by the mutineers, especially *Mars* and *Duke* who have no officer at all on board, and that Lord Howe was expected to arrive. By firmness, moderation, and tact, Howe soon brought the sailors back to their allegiance.

He saw active service within two years of joining his ship. In 1798 he was present at the Battle of the Nile, at the capture of Naples, Civita Vecchia, and Rome, and at Barcelona and Egypt. In 1804 he received his first promotion; on 5 March 1806 was appointed Lieutenant of the *Lavina*; on 8 December of the following year appointed to the sloop *Pilot*, and on 24 March 1808 to the sloop *Speedy*. On 2 February 1809 he was serving on the *Shirley* at Spithead where he had just arrived from Newfoundland after a passage of 21 days, and told his father, “A great bustle prevails here at this moment occasioned by sending the Troops from Spain. I assure you it is very distressing to see the poor fellows almost the whole of them, both Men and Officers, being half naked. All the hospitals here are quite full of the sick and wounded. The mortality is very great amongst them. You can’t walk the street without meeting the funeral of some gallant fellow going to his last home, about thirty die daily. Regiments that mustered a thousand strong have only brought home three hundred. Sir John Moore’s retreat is supposed to be one of the first that ever was made, the Country has suffered a severe loss in him as he was the only person in our army that Buonaparte would allow to be a General. It is rumoured here that another expedition of sixty thousand men is to be sent off immediately for some part of Spain. I fear they will be served in the same manner as the last as it is impossible that we can fight against so great a superiority in numbers. If a sufficient force could be sent I have no doubt but we should thrash them. All the Officers that I have seen who have come from Spain agree in saying

that the French are not equal to our troops in personal bravery as they could never stand against our charge.”⁶⁰ He added he had received a letter from Mr Morris (the banker) that he (i.e. J.G.P.) had been admitted a burgess of Carmarthen.

This was the “other end” of the retreat from Corunna and the evacuation of the British troops from Spain.

Between 1809 and 1813 he served as a Lieutenant in H.M. Ships *Majestic* and *Redpole*, and on 6 May 1814 was appointed in the same rank to the *Monmouth* or any ship where the flag of Admiral Foley might be flying. Promotion came on 22 October 1814 when he was made Commander of the *Reliance*, and in the following year he became a Captain in which rank he was to retire later.

The few letters that have survived offer some glimpses of naval affairs during the latter part of his service. On 5 February 1812 he wrote from HMS *Monmouth*, off the Downs, about “the melancholy fate of the *St George*, and the *Defence*, only eighteen members of their crews having been saved after they had foundered in a storm; the body of Captain Atkins of the *Defence* had been washed ashore, which was to be buried, “by order of the King with the honours of War”, and about seventy more bodies were also recovered, but the bodies of Admiral Reynolds and Captain [?Ginon] had not been found. The bodies of two females were washed ashore, and, from her dress, one was believed to be the Admiral’s daughter. The *St George* went down in deep water at Boston on 24 December. He noted that his father had been appointed High Sheriff, which would mean a great deal of work should parliament be dissolved in course of the year.⁶¹ Later in the month he wrote to tell his father that “the fleet at this anchorage have subscribed two days pay for the benefit of the relations of those that were lost in the *St George* and the *Defence*; and it is expected that such a subscription will be made throughout the Navy; heavy gales have damaged several ships; the Admiral, a heavy man, fell from his horse the other day, but is much better”; “smuggling is carried on to a great extent at this place, several of them of late have been taken”; he expects that Grismond [who was home at Cwmgwili] is as good a sportsman as he is a soldier particularly after the daily practice he takes, but he (the writer) has “knocked down a few snipe this winter”; adding, “I

60. CRO. *Cwmgwili Collection*, No. 606.

61. CRO. *Ibid.*, No. 651.

don't think his Royal Highness the Prince Regent so determined a man as what was thought he would be when the restrictions were taken off; it is generally thought here that if the Catholics are not emancipated there will be disturbance in Ireland, such a business would be very unfortunate at the present moment".⁶²

The *Monmouth* was still off the Downs when he wrote to his father on 15 May 1812. He has learned that Grismond is still at home, but supposes that the affair at Badajos will soon occasion his departure to join the first battalion; when he does go it would be a good thing to get him recommended if possible to General Picton "who appears to be a rising character in the Army and might be of great service to him"; he was sorry to see Mr Thomas Tucker's name in the list of severely wounded, who, he has been informed, is to be one of Picton's aides de camp; it is said promotions will take place on the Prince Regent's birthday, and "I should like very much to be included, pray have you any interest as High Sheriff? I shall be much obliged to you if you will have the goodness to speak to Lord Cawdor about it when you see him"; everybody is quite in a gloom about the assassination of Mr Perceval.⁶³

The last surviving letter from him was sent to his father from the Admiral's Office, Deal, on 8 June 1814. He tells him of "the landing of the allied Sovereigns in England the day before yesterday, and certainly was a most gratifying sight"; the Admiral received them at Dover, taking the writer with him as aide de camp; "before our arrival there we could see the *Impregnable* with the Royal standards of Russia and Prussia flying at her mastheads, standing over from Boulogne under a press of sail with the squadron following. Dover was then filling very fast besides 3000 troops that had marched in under the Earl of Rosslyn from all quarters were flocking in so that by 5 in the evening the crowd was immense. The tide having ebbed too much in the harbour for the Monarchs to land there, it was set that they should land on the beach directly under one of the forts called Archcliff; a stage provided for the occasion was accordingly placed there, and the troops were stationed in two lines from thence to Mr Hector's house which was prepared for the Emperor, and again from thence to the York Hotel where the King took up his residence. At 5 the *Impregnable* with the whole Squadron anchored in the road, at 6 the Sovereigns shoved off in the barge accompanied by His Royal Highness and followed by all the boats under two Royal salutes from the ships. The yards were manned and three

62. *Ibid.*, No. 652.

63. *Ibid.*, No. 656. Spencer Perceval, Prime Minister 1809-12.

cheers given at the same time. When they were about half way on shore a general cheer from the immense crowd welcomed them to the British shore, and upon landing they were received, under two Royal salutes from all the batteries, by Lords Rosslyn and Yarmouth, the Russian and Prussian Embassadors, General Barlow and a great many military officers, Admiral Foley and a great many naval officers. The Sovereigns appeared much pleased at the attention shewn them. They conversed and shook hands with a great many people very cordially. The Emperor is a very fine looking fellow about 5 foot 11 in height, very square about the shoulders, well made, and pleasing in his manner. He looks younger than he is, and struck me at first sight to be in his countenance not unlike what Mr Davies of Penylan was 20 years ago. The King is taller but thinner in his person than the Emperor. He looks about 40, was dressed in his uniform and has very much the appearance of a soldier. I was also gratified with the sight of Blucher and Platoff the Hetman of the Cossacks. They are both fine looking old men. Blucher was particularly well received by the soldiers as he passed between the lines. They all cheered him and as many shook hands with him as could get near him. They stopped at Dover that night, and set off for London early next morning."⁶⁴

After leaving the Navy he returned to Carmarthen. Like all his family he was a Whig, and made a brief incursion into politics, when in the Reform election of 1831 he contested the Borough against the Tory John Jones of Ystrad. Feelings ran high, and as a result of the rioting that broke out soon after the poll was opened, the borough sheriffs declined to make a return, and on 30 April certified they had been unable to execute the writ "from the uproar, tumult and violence which prevailed", whereupon the House of Commons directed that a new election be held. As a precaution, a large force of constables was drafted to maintain order, and a force of dragoons quartered in Llandeilo. Nevertheless violence continued during the polling but not to the extent at the former poll, and on 25 August Jones was returned with 274 votes to Philipps's 203.

On 1 February 1808 J. G. Philipps had married Frances Eliza Hawford, his address being then given as Furnace House, Carmarthen, and it was there that they were still living in 1835. Later they settled at Ystradwrallt near Nantgaredig. He was appointed a Deputy Lieutenant in 1821, was a Justice of the Peace, and served the office of Mayor of Carmarthen in 1817 and again in 1836.

64. *Ibid.*, No. 688.

A list of the farms and lands of the Cwmgwili estate, made in 1821, shows its extent to be as follows:

Abergwili parish. Cwmgwili demesne, Cwmgwili Mill, Danyrhiw, stable at Abergwili, Rhydwyalchen, Rhydyrhaw, Trefynis, Pentrefynis fields, Machroes, Tir y Graig, Grug House, Baily glas, Glantowy, Cwmhowell, Rwythfawr, Fald fields and Parkcapel, Capel bach, Foes Mawr.

Newchurch parish. Blaenige, Falefach, fields in Folefawr, Llechigon, Pistillgwyon and Godrewene, Waunllane issa, Clynmelyn slangs, Bwlch Tomlid, Pantau, Henallt (part), Ffynnon Wiber, Penllwyncrwn.

Merthyr parish. Place y parke, Cwmdyhen, Nantypair, Park y berllan, Tir y banal.

County of the Borough of Carmarthen. Henallt. House in town (Mr Tardrew), Weir and fields (Dr Morgan), Cots and fields.

Llanegwad parish. Ddolwyrdd.

Llanpumpstaint parish. Bedw bach, Derimisk, Derwen groes.

Captain J. G. Philipps died in April 1869. He had the following children:

1. John George Hawford Philipps, born 19 February 1809, entered the army, served in the 61st Foot, and attained the rank of Captain. He lived sometime at Sarnau, Meydrim parish, and at Ystradwrallt, and was a magistrate; married Elizabeth only child of Edmond James, R.N.; he died on 15 November 1864, aged 55, and was survived by his wife who died on 23 May 1886, aged 71. They had five children—(a) John George Philipps, born on 31 August 1846, died on 22 March 1854. (b) Vaughan Lloyd Philipps born at Sarnau on 14 April 1848, admitted to the Middle Temple on 18 April 1868, became a magistrate, and a lieutenant in the Carmarthenshire Artillery Militia: he died on 26 January 1885. (c) Elizabeth Philipps, died an infant in 1849. (d) Emma Ellen Philipps, baptised at Abergwili on 19 August 1850, married in 1879, Antony William John Stokes of St Botolphs, Pembrokeshire, lived for some time at Ystradwrallt, and had issue. (e) Elizabeth Frances ("Lilla") Philipps, baptised at Abergwili on 5 January 1851, died on 11 July 1883.
2. Griffith Grismond Philipps, born 28 November 1811, entered the Royal Navy, served as a Lieutenant in the *Royal William*, the *Cornwallis* (1838), *Seringapatam* (1839), *Hecate* (1845), *Acheron* (1847), *Merlin* (1855), and on 26 May 1856 was appointed Commander of HM Sloop *Scout*, and later retired in that rank.

When in Carmarthen he lived at Ferryside.⁶⁵ By his wife, Georgina Wilkinson of Barbadoes, whom he married in 1852, he had five children: (a) Fanny Philipps, married on 18 January 1877, J. H. Sandwith, R.M. (b) Georgina Elizabeth Emma Philipps, married on 20 August 1879, R. Manning Driver of Cromwell Road, S.W. (c) Magdalen Philipps. (d) Griffith Grismond Philipps, Lieut. R.N., married on 30 April 1895, the youngest daughter of William Arthur of Wellesburn, Compton Clifford, near Plymouth. (e) John George Philipps.

3. Grismond Frederic Philipps, baptised at Abergwili on 22 November 1815.
4. Emma Eliza Philipps, born 1814, married John Jeffreys de Winton of Maesderwen, Breconshire, and had issue.
5. Lloyd Price Philipps, captain in E.I.C.S. He married a daughter of Thomas Tardrew, druggist, of Guildhall Square, Carmarthen.
6. George Vaughan Philipps, entered the Royal Navy, and on 3 May 1853 was appointed Lieutenant in *H.M.S. Royal William*. He married, firstly, a Miss Galley, and secondly, a daughter of Nicholas Brabyn of Llanelli.
7. Herbert Folkes Philipps, baptised at Abergwili on 11 July 1817, buried on 2 June 1843.
8. Cecil Elizabeth Philipps, eldest daughter, unmarried in 1850.
9. Georgina Catherine Philipps, baptised at Abergwili on 2 August 1820.
10. Mary Anne Philipps, privately baptised in London on 19 October 1831, publicly at Abergwili on 12 August 1832.
11. William Thomas Philipps, baptised at Abergwili on 20 February 1822.
12. Charles Henry Philipps, baptised at Abergwili on 16 January 1824.
13. Edmund Garland Philipps, baptised at Abergwili on 7 July 1825.
14. Lloyd Rice Philipps, baptised at Abergwili on 5 March 1827. He lived in Abergwili village, married Maria Anne, and their daughter Augusta Louisa was baptised on 26 October 1866.
15. George Vaughan Philipps, baptised at Abergwili on 30 November 1829.
16. Elizabeth Grace Philipps, baptised at Abergwili on 5 August 1834.

65. On 2 May 1854 it was reported, "Griffith Philipps has been appointed to the Transport Service and has left the Ferryside"—CRO, *Plas Llanstephan Documents*, No. 878; and NLW *Cwmgwili DD*, No. 482.

Grismond Philipps, 1792-1850

Grismond Philipps, younger son of John George Philipps and Anne (Ball) his wife, was baptised at Abergwili on 12 February 1792, and educated at Lewis Turnor's school at Bradmore House, Hammer-smith. A letter he wrote to his father on 7 June 1806 is interesting for its account of the school curriculum. He tells his father that he pays attention to arithmetic, geometry, composition, and versification, and "Latin I am of course required to study every day. The authors I read are Ovid's *Metamorphoses* and Terence to which my attention has been regularly directed during this half-year. I therefore, flatter myself that I have not laboured without deriving very considerable benefit. And to French I have not been less attentive, conscious that I cannot, with any degree of credit to myself, leave a school where I have had opportunities of acquiring a thorough knowledge of it, without having availed myself of them. And since I constantly read French into English, and write French exercises every afternoon, I do not think that you will hereafter find that I have neglected the advantages I have. And since I daily read French, I have some hope that I shall acquire a good accent and proper pronunciation. The French master is very particular with us in this respect".

At first his father had intended to send him to Oxford, but it was decided later that he should take up a military career. In July 1809 he was gazetted a 2nd Lieutenant in the 23rd Regiment, the purchase money being £450. In August he reported to Horsham Barracks, and was briskly engaged in buying uniform and other necessaries of an officer's life. These included a bed £14 14 0, boots and shoes £4, pantaloons £1 14 0, mess fees £3 3 0, great-coat £4 14 0, feather 2s 6d, gorget 10s 6d, furnishing his room £4, and jacket and trousers for his servant £1. He found that mess cost a good deal of money—£2 4 0 every week, 14 shillings for dinner, 1s 6d every afternoon for wine, and 1s for breakfast. On 12 September he wrote to his father that they had received very bad news from Flushing, all the soldiers were sick except 40, and that he expected to be sent to join the regiment. On 11 October the regiment was ordered to march in a few days' time from Horsham to Colchester, and Grismond asked his father for money to help to pay a mess bill and marching expenses, but on 29 October he wrote that as so many officers were sick the regiment would not march till the following Spring.

Like many young subalterns he found his pay inadequate to support his inclinations, and had to apply to his father on numerous occasions for assistance. On 29 August 1810, Lieut. Col. William

Wyatt, commanding the 2nd Bn 23rd Regiment, wrote to John George Philipps saying that he trusted there would be no further necessity for Lieut. Philipps to make demands on him, for "he has promised to be more cautious in the future. I consider £80 for the first year is adequate for a young gentleman entering the army, but after the first year I do not think a subaltern can do with less than £100. . . . Lieut. Philipps's debts have arisen from imprudence and not vice".

In 1810 he was posted to the 1st Battalion, then due for overseas service in Wellington's army. In the following year he was fighting in the Peninsula, and on 19 May 1811 wrote from "Field of Battle near Albuaria".⁶⁶ "Dear Father, I have only just time to inform you that the army under the command of General Beresford (to which our Regiment was attached) had had a severe engagement with the French under the command of Soult in which they were entirely defeated with the loss of about 8000 men killed and wounded having left the latter in our hands. I have escaped unhurt thank God for it, as it is Wonderful to me how I did. Our Brigade consisting of the 1 & 2 Batt of the 7th Reg and our own was ordered to charge a column of the enemy which we did in a most Gallant manner. We advanced to within about twenty paces of them without firing a shot when our men gave three cheerers, and fired, the enemy broke in great confusion. We followed them, but were obliged to retreat as their cavalry were going to make a charge on us. The Brigade entered the Field two thousand five hundred strong and we can now only muster 700 men, the strength of our may a slaughter been. The British Tre amounted 7000, and killed and wounded will then the baseness of the as I am obliged to enter the and write on my knees every time to say that from the fatigue I have undergone I have been obliged to borrow 50 Dollars to buy a horse and have a bill upon for the money with I trust you will have the goodness to accept give remember Mrs Evans I am / Dear Father / your dutiful son / G. Philipps."

At the end of the Peninsular War the Regiment returned to England, and the young lieutenant enjoyed some well-deserved leave at Cwmgwili until the re-emergence of Napoleon brought an abrupt halt to his enjoyments. On 19 March 1815, the adjutant Captain John Enoch, wrote informing him that orders had been received to hold the 23rd in readiness for embarkation for foreign service, and that Lieut Philipps was to proceed immediately to join battalion

66. Albuera, perhaps the bloodiest battle of the Peninsular War.

headquarters at Gosport. In the event, the battalion was engaged at Waterloo, suffering 100 casualties, including the Colonel killed, but Grismond escaped unscathed. After the peace, the regiment returned to England and in 1820 was stationed at Horsham and Lewes, and we find Grismond writing to his brother, John George Philipps, for money to meet his pressing occasions. He retired with the rank of captain and came to live at Cwmgwili.

When he married, on 11 July 1822, at Llansaint church, he was living at Croft Cottage, Llanllwch, within the parish of St Peter's, Carmarthen. His wife Catherine was daughter of John Warlow, a well-to-do wine and brandy merchant of Haverfordwest, and Catherine Picton daughter of John Picton of Poyston near Haverfordwest and Cecil daughter and heiress of the Revd John Powell of Llandough, Glamorgan. Mrs Catherine Warlow's brother was the renowned General Sir Thomas Picton who fell at Waterloo. Grismonds' father-in-law eventually bought Castle Hall near Milford, to which he retired.

By the prenuptial settlement dated the day before the wedding, Grismond settled Glantowy, Ffosymaen, Tir y Graig in Abergwili parish to the uses of the marriage, and assured £300 per annum for his bride in lieu of dower during widowhood. The trustees were the Revd Edward Picton of Iscoed (brother of the General), David John Edwardes and Henry Lewis Edwardes Gwynne both of Rhyd-y-gors, and the bridegroom's brother, John George Philipps.

Later they moved to Cwmgwili. Grismond Philipps kept diaries, and those for the years 1833-1849 have survived, providing interesting glimpses of the life of a country gentleman of that period. Although brief, often terse, the entries are sufficient to reveal the writer as kindly, humane, and conscientious, devoted to his wife and children, and enjoying a happy domestic life. Fond of the open air, he was a tremendous walker and often went on foot to Carmarthen and back, to Abergwili church, and to see tenants and friends in the district.

As a county and a borough magistrate he was closely concerned with administration of justice and county affairs that came within the ambit of Quarter Sessions held alternatively at Carmarthen and Llandeilo. There was as much civil as criminal business at the Sessions in those days. He attended often as a Grand Juror at the Assizes, and waited on the judge. On 3 March 1833 he attended the judge to St Peter's church, and afterwards dined with him at Mr Jones's house, Ystrad; on the following day he gave evidence against "the rioters", George Thomas and Woolcock, but the jury acquitted them; and on the day after, he dined with the borough

Grand Jury. Complaints about "judge's lodgings" are by no means new. On 16 July 1834 we are informed that the Quarter Sessions engaged new lodgings for the judge, "he having complained of the old". Some alarm must have been caused in court on 11 July 1837, when Grismond was a Grand Juror, and he reported in the diary that "the Judge had a fit". On these occasions the Grand Jurors dined together at some hostelry, the "Bush" for instance (1840).

Like all his forebears he was closely associated with Carmarthen, and served as Mayor in 1827 and again in 1833. He was already a county magistrate, and on 4 November 1833 qualified as Borough magistrate. He sat on the Borough bench on 2 January 1834 when Mr Price the saddler was fined £8 and costs for buying hides from the wreck of the *Brothers* of Liverpool; and on 11 February Grismond and the Revd Edward Picton of Iscoed, rode to inspect the *Brothers*, where they "took up some of the wreck". The magistrates scrutinised very carefully all administrative matters and appointments brought before them, and on 25 April 1834 for instance refused to confirm the appointment of the general overseers for St Peter's parish because they considered them unsuitable.

It was a time of agricultural distress in west Wales, which culminated in the Rebecca Riots, aimed principally at turnpike gates and tolls which were particularly burdensome for the farmers. Grismond Philipps felt the impact of the economic difficulties and there are several references to the rents being "slow coming in". He was on the Bench at Carmarthen on 2 November 1833 when two men were fined for refusing to pay tolls. He had been closely associated with road improvements, and the diaries record his attendances at Turnpike Trust meetings between 1836 and 1846, held at Carmarthen, Pensarn, Llangyndeyrn, Llanelli and elsewhere in the county. Matters did not improve, the grimalkin Rebecca raised her viper-wreathed head, and riots broke out. On 19 June 1843 Grismond noted that there was "a tremendous row" in Carmarthen and "the military sent for a troop of the 4th Light Dragoons". Matters were not improved by the slowness of the authorities in trying to resolve grievances, and when the magistrates met in Carmarthen on 22 and 23 June to discuss "the state of the country", Grismond noted "nothing done". These words also follow several meetings of the Trusts which he attended. An example of the attitude of the disaffected appeared in a Welsh notice affixed to some buildings in Felin Wen near Abergwili, which read, in translation: "Notice. We as children from our childhood have heard our respected mother give her opinion on several things, and it is Justice she wants and will have. The notice is given to any person or

persons that takes any farm before asking and getting leave from the present holder, that his life and property will be in danger. For that, let all persons after this notice take care that they do not take Ty Llwyd, Abergwilly, &c. Furthermore be it known to the Landlord that he must lower his rents as other respected great men do ; if not we shall see him according to our promise. [signed] Charlotte and Lidia. Castle Newidd. Awst 5/43".

On 16 March 1846 he walked to Carmarthen to attend a Board Road Meeting "respecting moving the gates. Nothing done", but when he went to a similar meeting on 1 July following he was able to note "the gates were removed on Monday".

The liaison between the gentry and the forces of law and order is reflected in Grismond's diaries. Time and again he dined at the messes of the military units that had arrived to quell disorders, and often entertained officers to dinner at Cwmgwili and invited them to sporting pastimes—shooting, hunting, fishing, horse-racing, etc. Thus, on 1 July 1843, Colonel Love and the officers of the 4th Dragoons called at Cwmgwili where "the haymakers were alarmed at their appearance". On the following day he returned the call, and two days later "went to see the cavalry exercise". On 22 February 1844 Lieut Keightley of the 76th Regiment called, on 27 September Lieuts Holding and Deacon of the 13th Dragoons dined with him, and on 16 October 1845 Captain Hamilton and Lieut Clutterbuck of the 37th Regiment ; on 29 August, accompanied by his two daughters he drove to a picnic at Kidwelly given by the officers of the 6th Dragoons ; and on 12 November he walked to Carmarthen to dine with the officers of the 37th. On 10 August 1846 he and his son, young Grismond, dined at the mess of the 37th, and on 12 September he called on the dragoons. On 14 June 1847 he noted that Capt Hammersley's troop of the 1st Dragoon Guards marched into Carmarthen, and on 16 October following he called on the officers of the 43rd then stationed in the town.

Such attachment was natural in a former regular officer, and whose son had entered his father's former regiment. He entertained several old comrades at his home. On 3 November 1841 he recorded that "Morden an old brother officer" had dined at Cwmgwili, and on 18 December 1844 he "heard from my old friend Dean of the 23rd" ; on 18 October 1849, Major Enoch of the 23rd arrived and stayed a couple of days, and on Monday 19 November he recorded, "The Colours of the 23rd Regt in which I served [were] placed in Carmarthen church, escorted by the 14th Regt and 5th Dragoon Guards", and when he went to that church on the following

Sunday he tells us that he "sat under the Colours of my dear old Regiment the 23 RWF". The authorities had been extremely slow in sending him medals to which he was entitled, but on 12 February 1849 he noted that he "received my Peninsular medals", and on the following evening proudly "went to the Ball [at Carmarthen] with my Peninsular medals on".

Voluntary work took up much of his time. He attended numerous parish and vestry meetings at Abergwili. He had reason to regret his attendance on 4 April 1833 to appoint overseers—"Dined there, and smoked a pipe which made me very ill". He was an active member of the Board of Guardians and took part in improving the poorhouse, and on 4 July 1836 attended the first meeting of the Board at Carmarthen. His humane feelings are reflected in his conduct in April 1847, when he attended meetings at Abergwili to discuss ways to "assist the poor to set potatoes", and personally went around the parish "to collect for the poor".

A good churchman, he attended both Abergwili and St Peter's churches. Accompanied by his wife and children, he sometimes walked, sometimes rode in the carriage, and when a sermon was particularly good, noted the text in his diary. On 3 February when the Revd Mr Jones "read himself into Abergwilly church", he noted "an excellent sermon". He was particularly impressed with the Revd Mr Bevan who preached at St Peter's from Timothy 16. 15. on 7 April 1833. When the weather proved forbidding he sensibly stayed at home, but by no means neglected religious observances—"dyletswydd teulu" as old Welsh folk called it. When obliged to stay at home on Sunday 1 December 1833, he "read prayers to my children and wife" ; on Sunday 24 January 1847, the weather confined the family to the house, and "I read prayers at home to the children" ; and Sunday 10 September 1849 was a "wet day, no church, read prayers at home". He was conversant with Welsh, and recorded being present with his family in Abergwili church on 9 November 1834, when the service was conducted in that language. On Sunday 18 March 1849, accompanied by his five daughters, he walked to St Peter's church, Carmarthen, and afterwards Mr W. R. H. Powell of Maesgwynne, the High Sheriff, walked back to Cwmgwili with them. When staying with friends and relations, such as at Iscoed and Haverfordwest, he never neglected Sabbath observance, and on one occasion (30 March 1834) rode from Haverfordwest to a service at St Davids Cathedral, sixteen miles away. On 27 May 1835 he was at Carmarthen to see the foundation stone "of the new church laid", being somewhat discomfited by "a severe thunderstorm during the ceremony" ; and on 6 October 1842 walked to the town

"to hear the Bishop's charge". An old custom is recalled by the entry for Wednesday 10 October 1849, when, together with his children, he walked to St Peter's church, being "a fast day and humiliation for the cholera" (known in the days of my youth as *cyfarfod ymostyngiad*). The Bishop of St Davids and other clergymen, were frequent callers at Cwmgwili.

Like all Welsh gentry of that period, Grismond Philipps farmed. Accordingly, he could sympathise with his tenants during difficult times, knowing from personal experience the results of bad harvests, low prices, the costs of feeding stuffs and other necessities. Neither could a tenant impose upon one who "know it at first hand". He conducted mixed farming, grew crops of wheat, oats, barley, and hay; kept sheep, pigs, and calves for the market and for home consumption; grew fine crops of potatoes and turnips; but the main emphasis was on cattle. The entries in the diaries indicate the scope of his activities and are particularly valuable to students of economic history since he often includes prices. Thus, on 21 May 1833 he bought a cow and calf at a sale at Towy Castle, but "on coming home a stallion kicked the calf, which was killed by a butcher on the spot", and adds feelingly, "I got 5 shillings for it"; on Sunday, 14 July 1833, "the bull broke out of the field and alarmed Davies", and in September wisely sold the lively animal for £5; he attended the pig-fair at Carmarthen on 13 August 1833, and at the Alltygog sale on 4 September bought ten mows of wheat at 19 shillings each; on 17 January 1834 he bought 20 sheep at 13s 4d each; his fondness for attending fairs took him regularly to Abergwili, Carmarthen, and Mydrim. The entry for 15 April 1842 contains this interesting piece of information—"John Brown's fair held at Abergwili, the Corporation of Carmarthen (where this fair was usually held) having raised the tolls". He made a careful note of happenings to his cows—"Nancy and Deborah took the bull", "Polly calved a she-calf", "Margaretta calved a female", and so on. In 1835-6 he bought a cow at Goode's sale for £8 15 0, a "bait horse" for £16 15 0, and a chestnut mare for £21. He attended Agricultural Meetings at Carmarthen, and competed in cattle shows; on 2 October 1846 he took cattle to Abergwili fair, but as prices were so low, brought them home again; on 9 June 1846 he "ringed the bull's nose"; and on 2 August of the following year thatched a haystack, but a week later had to open it because it had "heated too much", a hazard of old-time farming.

He was interested in afforestation, and planted numerous trees in hedgerows and around Cwmgwili to provide shelter for man and beast in wintry weather, as well as several plantations which in due course

would have commercial value. In 1835 he sold trees in Cwm wood for £40, and four years later sold a quantity of bark to a tanner. He was particularly fond of flowers and flowering bushes which he planted around the house and in the garden. In February 1833 he was busily engaged in pruning the rosebushes and in January 1836 planted rhododendrons and lilac in the shrubbery. He produced a home-made weed deterrent, and in 1833 noted in his diary, "Grass or weeds springing up amongst gravel or in courtyards may be destroyed for years by mixing a pound of sulphur and a pound of lime in a couple of gallons of water, and pouring this liquor over the weeds".

His recreations consisted mainly of field sports—fox and otter hunting, beagling, shooting, and fishing. The Carmarthenshire packs with which he hunted met at Maesygrigie, Bronwydd Arms, Pantycendy (Capt Evans' hounds), Glangwili, and other places. He notes on 13 February 1833, hounds found near New Inn and "ran him into Cardiganshire", and on 27 March 1846 hounds met at Glangwili gate and killed a bag fox after a fast run of twenty-five minutes. In Pembrokeshire he hunted with Edwardes of Sealyham and with Mr Roch of Butter Hill's hounds (1835). On 22 February 1833 after dining with Mr Rees of White House they went coursing together and killed two hares, but Grismond found it "bad sport", and "Mr Rees very dull"; in October and November he hunted with Howell's beagles and saw fourteen hares killed. On 1 October 1833 he went shooting and killed a pheasant; and in December 1844 he went rabbit shooting at Iscoed where "little Bean the spaniel bit me when taking a jay from him". Most of his fishing was done on the Gwili, Towy, and Teifi, and his best catch seems to have been 19 sewin taken in a weir on the Gwili on 20 August 1845. He attended race meetings at Carmarthen, Haverfordwest, and Newgale, and in April 1833 attended the steeplechase at Cheltenham when he happened to be there on legal business. Occasionally he was present at a private match, such as that on 20 January 1847 when his son Grismond's horse ran unsuccessfully against Mr Davies of Penallt's mare.

To ward off indoor tedium he played at cards, and when in Haverfordwest, at billiards. The sums he won or lost at these diversions were very small, ranging from one to six shillings. I suppose we can include bets in this category. Making bets on all sorts of matters was then a popular pastime, usually made after dinner, sometimes in order to settle an argument. On two occasions in 1833, when dining at Cwmgwili, Mr Goode (the estate agent) bet £5 with Mr B. Davies of Maesygrigie, that the rental of the Glangbrân estate in 1807 or 1808 was £5000: at another dinner there,

Mr Goode bet Mr B. Davies that Mr Llewellyn's glasshouse was longer than his garden ; on 9 November 1834, the inveterate Mr B. Davies bet Mr Philipps six bottles of champagne that Mrs (?Hitton) had not had a child by her present husband ; on 28 April 1835 Mr Saunders of Glanrhydwl bet Mr Philipps a dinner "for the present party" that there would be rooks fit to shoot on 29 of April.

He was loyal to friends, and whenever death or other mishap befell them, was genuinely upset. He felt some responsibility for their actions, and became apprehensive when they took a step which he himself felt to be unwise. When his old friend John Davies decided to take a partner, he entered in his diary on 27 July 1843, "John Davies married this day to Mrs Jones widow of old Jones the Banker of Llandovery—God help him".

His home life was harmonious. He suffered much from gout, and as he was a *bon viveur* there is little doubt of the cause of that painful affliction. Mrs Philipps does not seem to have enjoyed robust health, and spent longish spells with her kinsfolk in Pembrokeshire. They were very fond of each other, and although there were occasional tiffs they were soon patched up. When confined to the house on a rainy Sunday in February 1844, he admits being "out of temper with my wife ; she threatened to cut my throat ; in bed early ; my throat not cut" ; but within a few days he was referring to her as "my dear wife". On 23 October 1846, she was out of humour with him, and he recorded "Catherine my wife calls me a fat" (the last word defies interpretation, mercifully perhaps). He was extremely indulgent to his children, their illnesses caused him much unease, and any death in the family much anguish. The little girls were sent to a boarding school at Haverfordwest. The boys were educated in a private school at Llanstephan, and he often drove them in a carriage to Iscoed, then to the Ferry whence they crossed the estuary by boat. He took his wife and children to picnics at Dynevor and Llanarthney, to circuses and concerts at Carmarthen, on trips into Pembrokeshire, and his sons accompanied him on hunting, shooting and fishing expeditions. Occasionally some trips were made by water, as on 14 August 1847 when he took his wife and three daughters in a carriage to the bend in the river below Green Castle, "where the steamer stops", whence they sailed down the Towy to the open sea and so on to Tenby.

The family enjoyed holidays at Haverfordwest, Little Haven, Tenby, and Ferryside. During the years 1833-49, he only ventured far afield on three occasions—to Gloucester 1833 on legal business, to London in January 1840 when his son Grismond entered King's

College, and in December 1847 when he accompanied his son Jack to buy the latter's uniform to go to Madras as a Cadet in the H.E.I.C. The speed with which post coaches took him may be judged from the fact that on 22 January 1840 he left Carmarthen at 5 a.m., arrived in Cheltenham at 9 p.m. and got to London in the evening of the 23rd. After seeing the Zoological Gardens and visiting the theatre, he started his homeward journey at 8 p.m. on 28 January, and arrived at Cwmgwili at 9 p.m. the following day. The travelling in December 1840 was equally fast ; leaving London on the 24th, and arriving in Cwmgwili at 4 p.m. on Christmas Day.

On 10 November 1842 Philipps's friend John Jones of Ystrad (the political hatchet had long been buried) died. When the sale of Jones's effects took place on 9 August of the following year, Grismond Philipps turned up early with a purseful of guineas in his pocket. The main reason for his attendance was because a fine portrait of the celebrated General Sir Thomas Picton was listed in the catalogue. This, with some other things, he bought and proudly bore away to Cwmgwili much to the delight of Mrs Philipps, the General's niece. The portrait required cleaning and on 11 January 1847 he took it to Mr Francis, a portrait painter at Carmarthen, who had agreed to undertake the work. At the same time he commissioned the artist to paint portraits of his sons Grismond and John. After several sittings in January and February the sons' portraits were completed, and the father pronounced them "a good likeness". So far, so good. But Mr Francis fell behind hand with the rent, whereupon the owner of the house, Thomas Joseph, seized the General's portrait saying he intended to impound it until the tenant had cleared the arrears. When Grismond Philipps heard of the turn of events, he was furious and demanded the portrait as his property. Joseph refused to hand it over, and in April the aggrieved owner brought an action in the courts. The trial took place on 20 October, and a verdict was given for the plaintiff. He recorded in his diary—"In town about my picture and the trial. Sir Thomas Picton returned to me".

The diaries tell us little about the management of the estate, and contain no hint of financial difficulties. However, the deeds convey a different impression. On 21 November 1833 Grismond mortgaged Pfoesymaen, Tyngraig, and Llechigon, to William Evans of Haverfordwest, solicitor, for £1000, and by way of additional security assigned his life insurance policy for the like sum. In 1840 Evans assigned mortgage and policy to the widow Mary Lewis of Walton, Pembrokeshire, and four years later she assigned them to two farmers, William Lewis of New Moat and James Lewis of

Walton East. The mortgages were redeemed in 1846.

On 3 November 1838 he mortgaged Blaenige to the widow Eliza Jones of Quay Street, Carmarthen, for £1000, which he redeemed on 6 July 1846; on 18 May 1839 he gave a bond for the payment of £200 to David Evans of Clyngwyn, Newchurch parish, and on 31 March 1840 a bond for £150 to George Williams of Ffoesymaen; on 25 April 1842 he mortgaged Vole-vach, Cwmgwili Mill, Porthdwy otherwise Cwmduhén, and Nantypair, for £700 to the widow Anne Mapleton of Carmarthen executrix of Elizabeth Cow of Carmarthen, deceased; on 3 January 1843 he mortgaged Cwmgwili Mill for £200 to David Cozens of Carmarthen, which he redeemed three years later; on 8 February 1844 he mortgaged Glantowy, Rwythfawr, Tirygrai, Machrosfach, Ffald, Cwm, Cwmcastell fach, Penlan crwn, and Nantypair, to Thomas Parry of Carmarthen for £500, and on 28 December in the same year gave a bond for payment of £253 and interest to David Price, tailor, of Cork Street, Westminster; on 14 June 1847 he mortgaged the capital message and demesne lands of Henallt to Thomas Eaton of Haverfordwest, land-agent, for the considerable sum of £5,500, and on 15 December of the same year Henallt farm to the widow Mary Berry of Tenby, for £200.

Although these incumbrances may seem considerable, the capital value of the properties far exceeded the sums in which they were mortgaged and so long as interest was paid, the mortgages could stand or be assigned until the mortgagor found it convenient to pay them off. His main income came from the estate rental, augmented by farming activities, sale of timber, and royalties from quarries, such as the one at Blaenige.

His stepmother, Anne, continued to enjoy a life interest in the estate, and on 3 August 1841 joined with her then husband John Bankes Davies of Myrtle Hill, and her stepson Grismond Philipps, to grant a lease for lives of a parcel of land at Plasparke (Merthyr parish) to William Jones of Dover Hill, Merthyr parish, tailor, who agreed to erect a dwelling house thereon.

Grismond Philipps died at Cwmgwili on 28 April 1850, in his fifty-ninth year. By his will, made at Croft Cottage, Llanllwch, on 22 July 1828, proved in London on 27 May 1850, he left everything to his wife Catherine. She died on 20 May 1854.

They had the following children:

1. Grismond Philipps, born 4 October 1824—see later.

2. Edmund Garland Philipps, died on 10 March 1826, aged 8 months.
3. Edward Philipps, born in 1828, died at Haverfordwest and was buried at 8 of the clock in the morning of 8 December 1837 at St Mary's church in that town.
4. George Henry John ("Jack") Philipps, received a cadetship in the E.I.C. Service in the 1840s, and sailed to Madras. He became a Lieutenant in the 41st Madras Native Infantry, and obtained his company in 1862. He married and had three children (a) Grismond Philipps. (b) Alice Philipps, and (c) Blanche Elizabeth ("By") Philipps who married Colonel James FitzGerald of the Berar Commission and had a son, James FitzGerald and a daughter Cecil Blanche FitzGerald, who married George Ivon Woodham-Smith, solicitor in 1928. Mrs Cecil Woodham-Smith is the well-known historian of our day.
5. William Philipps, born on 22 June 1832—the "dear little William" of his father's diary—was placed in school at Llanstephan in July 1838. He settled at Llandeilo. On 18 September 1861 married Ellen Mary Powell Watkins only child of Hugh Powell Watkins of Merton, Bishopston, Glamorgan. He died on 19 May 1908, his wife having predeceased him on 19 August 1901. They had the following children: (a) Charles Henry Philipps of El Tab, Pessara, Ceylon, tea planter, who died unmarried in London on 1 October 1916. (b) Charlotte Augusta Philipps, died unmarried on 11 August 1950. (c) Arthur Edward Philipps of Fulham died unmarried, 15 November 1935. (d) John Vaughan Philipps of Bath, Chief Constable, died unmarried 1 May 1950. (e) Hugh Grismond Philipps of Llandeilo, solicitor, married Elizabeth, and died on 26 September 1936. (f) William Picton Philipps of Rhosmaen, Llandeilo, Chief Constable of Carmarthenshire, married, firstly Ruth daughter of Sir Brodrick Hartwell, Bart., by whom he had three daughters; and secondly, Mrs. Valentine by whom he had John William Picton Philipps, solicitor.
6. Cecil Elizabeth Philipps, born 14 February 1826, married on 14 February 1860 James Baillie of Enniskillen, captain 82nd Foot. He became a Major-General and died on 7 January 1901, aged 84. His wife died on 15 November 1892, aged 66. Both were buried at Abergwili. They had issue.
7. Catherine Anne Prudence Philipps, born 15 April 1830, married on 14 March 1851, as his second wife, Walter Rice Howell Powell of Maesgwynne, landowner, progressive farmer, Master of Fox Hounds, in 1849 High Sheriff, and from 1880 to 1885 Member of Parliament (Liberal) for Carmarthenshire. Owing to his low stature he was affectionately known as "Y Dyn Bach";

he died on 25 June 1889. Their 2nd daughter and coheirress married in 1874 William Francis Roch of Butter Hill (1849-1889), by whom she had Mary Catherine Roch, ultimate heiress of Maesgwynne, who in 1907 married Wilmot Vaughan, by whom she had issue.

8. Charlotte Maria Philipps, baptised at Abergwili on 10 October 1833, married before 1860, Frederick Augustus Edwardes of Pilloath, Llangain parish.
9. Frances Philipps, married on 31 March 1860 Arthur Henry Saunders-Davies of Pentre, Pembrokeshire, who served as High Sheriff in 1861. They had issue.
10. Anne Philipps, baptised at Abergwili on 30 January 1838, married Professor J. Brandt, M.A., on 25 April 1882 at Holy Trinity private chapel, at Pentre, Pembrokeshire.
11. Mary Anne Philipps, baptised at Abergwili on 8 March 1836.

The Later Grismonds

Grismond Philipps the eldest son, was born at Croft Cottage, Llanllwch, on 4 October 1824, entered King's College, London, in January 1840, and from there was commissioned into the family regiment, the 23rd, Royal Welsh Fusiliers. On 12 July 1842, his father noted in his diary—"My dear son Gris left his home to join his regt, the 23rd. God bless him. Went off in good spirits". In 1844-49 (and later) he served with the regiment in Canada. He retired before 1854 as a Captain and returned to live in Cwmgwili. He was a Justice of the Peace, and in 1865 was appointed a Deputy Lieutenant for the county.

On 28 February 1854 he married Mary Anne daughter of Captain Thomas Bowen of Pantyderi, north Pembrokeshire, a former officer in the 10th Hussars. By the marriage settlement, dated three days before the wedding, Grismond Philipps settled the Cwmgwili estate in the parishes of Abergwili, Abernant, Llanegwad, Merthyr, Newchurch, and St Peter's, Carmarthen, to the uses of the marriage. The two most important of the properties were the capital messuages of Cwmgwili and Wythfawr. The bride's dower was £1000 and she was assured a jointure of £300 a year for life from her husband's estate. During the years 1858-60 he sold a large number of farms in order to pay off incumbrances on the estate, which amounted to over £20,000.

He died at Cwmgwili on 11 September 1891, and his widow in 1902. By his will dated 16 December 1871 he bequeathed wines, liquors, fuel and other consumable household stores and provisions,

linen, china, and glass, to his wife absolutely, and bequeathed his other furniture and utensils, books, pictures, prints, and plate (including "the plate left me by Colonel Chester") to trustees to hold to the use of his wife for life and afterwards to be enjoyed by those entitled to the Cwmgwili demesne estate, and directed that Colonel Chester's plate "be kept and retained in my family as an heir loom".

They had the following children:

1. Grismond Philipps, born November 1867—see later.
2. John Picton Philipps, born October 1870.
3. Catherine Elizabeth Philipps, baptised at Abergwili on 22 May, 1855, married on 10 July 1877, Colonel Edward Hugh Bearcroft, C.B., of Mere Hall, Droitwich, Worcestershire. Their pre-nuptial settlement was dated 9 July 1877, her portion being £2000. Col Bearcroft died on 27 January 1932, his wife in December 1933. They had no issue.

When he succeeded to the Cwmgwili estate in 1891, Grismond Philipps was twenty-four years of age. Like his forebears he was particularly fond of horses and field sports of all kinds, and was a familiar figure at hunt and race-meetings and agricultural shows. He served for some years in the Carmarthenshire Artillery Militia, and afterwards in the Pembroke Imperial Yeomanry from which he eventually retired with the rank of major. Although he lived for some years in Cheltenham he remained deeply interested in local affairs and was a Justice of the Peace for his native county. In May 1897 he married Edith Margaret daughter of William Picton Evans of Treforgan near Cardigan, who, like her husband, descended from the family of General Picton. Major Philipps died on 7 October 1927, and his widow survived him for nearly twenty years, dying on 29 May 1947. They had an only son, Grismond Picton Philipps.

Grismond Picton Philipps was born on 20 May 1898, and educated at the Royal Military Academy, Sandhurst. At the outbreak of the first World War he was sixteen years of age, and three years later, in 1917, was gazetted to the Grenadier Guards with whom he served in France. He was promoted to the rank of captain in 1925, and retired from the regiment in 1933. While serving with the Grenadiers he had been seconded for a tour of duty as adjutant to his county Territorial unit, the 4th Battalion The Welch Regiment, and in 1934 was promoted to the rank of major, and from 1938, lieutenant-colonel commanding the battalion. Sometime after the outbreak of the second World War he returned to the Brigade of Guards, and in 1941 became a brevet-major. His duties kept him in

England, mainly at Windsor, and in 1945 he was appointed Commander of the Royal Victorian Order for personal services to the Royal Family. Thirteen years later he received the honour of Knighthood. After the war he continued to take a personal interest in the reconstituted Volunteer Force, and from 1960 to 1964 was Honorary Colonel of his old Territorial battalion.

On 4 November 1925 he married Lady Marjorie Joan Mary Wentworth-FitzWilliam, second daughter of the seventh Earl FitzWilliam. They had an only son. The marriage was dissolved in 1949.

Sir Grismond's record of voluntary service is impressive. In 1935 he was appointed a Deputy Lieutenant, in 1938 a Justice of the Peace, and later served as chairman of the Carmarthen County Bench. He was Vice-Lieutenant from 1936 until 1954, when he was appointed Lord Lieutenant and Custos Rotulorum for Carmarthenshire, offices he held until his death thirteen years later. His associations with the government and administration of the county had always been close, he having been a county councillor for the Abergwili division from 1945 to 1952. Before becoming Lord Lieutenant, he took a brisk part in political life, and for twenty-five years was chairman of the Carmarthen Division Conservative Association, and was a former President of the Council of Conservative and Unionist Associations of Wales and Monmouthshire.

In outlook, Sir Grismond was an Elizabethan, interested in most aspects of life, proficient in everything that engaged his attention—in fact an all-rounder. He read widely, particularly biography and history, and had a special affection for the fifteenth century on which he was an acknowledged master. He was fond of drama, music, portraiture, and the arts generally, and looked forward with delight to attending hymn-singing festivals in Carmarthen. As a founder member, and for some years chairman, of Television Wales and the West, he was able to influence and direct the cultural activities of that broadcasting body during the period of its existence. Equally, his highly successful chairmanship of the Historic Buildings Council for Wales afforded him ample opportunity for preserving some outstanding examples of our country's architectural heritage. In addition, he served as a Governor and Council Member of the National Library of Wales, and a Council Member of the National Museum of Wales, and was elected a member of the gorsedd of bards of the Royal National Eisteddfod. Both as president and chairman of the Carmarthenshire Antiquarian Society and

of the Carmarthenshire Community Council, he stimulated and advanced local interest in historical studies; he took an active part in the formation of the County Record Office, and his continued support was an assurance of its success. He largely administered the Cwmgwili estate himself, possessed a sound knowledge of farming, afforestation, and gardening, and did much to beautify the demesne lands around his historic home. To his presidency, too, the Carmarthenshire Federation of Young Farmers Clubs (his special concern) and the Carmarthen Chamber of Agriculture, were deeply indebted for advice and guidance. In every field that he entered he became a good shepherd.

Providence had endowed him with many gifts, but the quality for which he will be mainly remembered, was his humanity. Modest, courteous, good-natured, generous, Sir Grismond attracted the loyalty and friendship of people in all walks of life, and the Bishop of St David's statement at his memorial service that "he had walked with kings but retained the common touch" was no more than an affirmation of literal truth.

Sir Grismond Picton Philipps died on 8 May 1967, aged 69, and was buried in Abergwili churchyard. A memorial tablet, raised by public subscription, was placed above the family pew in the parish church where he had been a faithful worshipper for many years.

He was followed at Cwmgwili by his only son, Griffith William Grismond Philipps, born on 19 May 1935. Educated at Eton, he served as a second-lieutenant in the Grenadier Guards. On 17 May 1964 he married Ingrid Götilda daughter of Med. Dr. von Sydow of Sweden, and has the following children:

1. John George Grismond Philipps, b. 30 July 1965.
2. Marianne Sioned Philipps, b. 13 Feb. 1967.
3. Charlotte Ingrid Philipps, b. 24 Aug. 1969.
4. Ebba Serena Philipps, b. 4 March 1971.

The significance of the survival of this ancient family through many generations of change, vicissitudes, even dangers, does not rest alone on its capacity to surmount the challenges it was called upon to face, but rather on its steadfast adherence to the ideal of voluntary public service, which remains the hallmark of excellence and the imprimatur of all goodness.

Richard Tibbot, Itinerant Preacher

By GOMER M. ROBERTS, M.A.,

President of the Calvinistic Methodist Historical Society

[Richard Tibbot (1719-98) was a native of Llanbryn-mair, Monts., and a member of the Independent Church where he began to preach in 1738. He came under the influence of Howel Harris of Trefeca in 1740, and soon afterwards went to Griffith Jones's school at Llanddowror, and joined the Methodists. He kept a school in the Llanddowror district, and began to 'exhort' in the Methodist societies. For Richard Tibbot, see *The Dictionary of Welsh Biography* (1959).

The late Richard Bennett (1860-1937) found Tibbot's diary for 1741-42 in the possession of a Mrs. Williams, Islwyn, Wrexham, and he copied it for inclusion in the *Journal of the Calvinistic Methodist Historical Society*, and published in 1916-18. I have translated relevant extracts, omitting extraneous matters of no particular interest to readers of *The Carmarthenshire Historian*. I have also added a few explanatory footnotes to the text. These extracts illustrate the activities of the early Methodist societies in one corner of Carmarthenshire in 1741-42.]

IN the year 1741, about the 20th of July, I went to Llangeitho, where I was very dry and sleepy hearing Mr. [Daniel] Rowland on Saturday at Llangwnlle [*sic*, Nantcwnlle], text Mark x. 16, and on Sunday at Llangeitho, but had little profit in listening. . . .

July 24. I was at Pingie,¹ after being in a society the previous night whilst coming on the 23rd from Maes Gwennllian² to Pingie . . . It was dry with me in the society.

July 25th. I was at Llangyndeyrn, in the fair, where I had some conversation with my Christian brethren concerning my condition ; and that night I came to Jacob's house in Llanelli. . . .

1. Probably Pinged, about 2 miles north-west of Pen-bre.
2. Maes Gwennllian, on the eastern bank of Gwendraeth Fach, near Cydweli, the home of Edward King, who welcomed Howel Harris there on many occasions (Tom Beynon, *Trefadaeth y Censu*, &c. (Aberystwyth, 1941), p. 110).

July 26. On Sunday I heard Mr. Lloyd,³ at Penrhyn, text Psalm li, 17. . . . That afternoon I went to the society at Pen-bre, at Prysantwn ; I was in bonds, so that I could not discourse but a little. . . .

July 27, 28. I was at Pen Pont Rhys Bwdwr,⁴ where my soul was still in bondage. . . .

July 28. Tuesday evening, I was meditating on Luke xv., the Prodigal Son.

July 30. I was at Pen-bre, with John Sanders,⁵ and that afternoon I came to Morfa Bach, to Mrs. Pugh's house,⁶ where I was with William Christopher⁷ that evening. On the 31st I came to Cil y Carw,⁸ where I had some measure of comfort and consolation whilst listening to Dorothy Jones⁹ singing hymns with the other girls before we parted ; we stayed up that night with John William and his brother and Dolly Jones. The next day we went

3. Howel Harris, in his diary, refers to a "Jn. Lloyd the Diss. Minister" undoing "what Rd. Tibbot had been doing" (18 Dec. 1740) ; he calls him a "common Drunkard & Swearer" on 21 Feb. 1741 (T. Beynon, *Gwmsêl a Chefn Sidan* (Caernarfon, 1946), pp. 121-22).
4. "Pont Spwdwr" (on the Ordnance Survey Map), a bridge over Gwendraeth Fawr. There is a farmhouse nearby named Bont (Pen-y-bont) near the west bank of the river. Penybont "near Spudders Bridge" is shown on the Ordnance Survey Map, 1809-36.
5. John Saunders, a married man, and David and John Saunders, young men, were members of the Pen-bre Society in Jan. 1744 (*Journal, C.M. Hist. Soc.*, vol. lii, p. 28). "Ioan Sanders, o Blwyf Penbre" published a collection of hymns entitled *Hymnau a Chaniadau Duwiol*, printed in 1786 by John Daniel, Carmarthen (W. Rowland, *Cambrian Bibliography* (Llanidloes, 1869), p. 627). I have also seen a copy of *Hymnau a Chaniadau Efengylaidd ; o waith John Sanders, o Blwyf Penbre*, published circa 1782.
6. Morfa Bach, a farmhouse near the western bank of Gwendraeth Fawr, about 2½ miles above Cydweli ; the home of Catherine Pugh, who corresponded with Howel Harris and entertained him on many occasions (T. Beynon, *Allt Cunedda, Llechdwnni, &c.* (Caernarfon, 1956), pp. 78ff.).
7. William Christopher kept a school at Abergwili in 1750 (T. Beynon, *Trefadaeth y Censu*, p. 88.).
8. In Pontyberem, the home of John William(s), who entertained H. Harris on many occasions, and corresponded with him (*Journal, C.M. Hist. Soc.*, vol. x., pp. 71-2).
9. In H. Harris's diary, 17 Dec. 1741, she is referred to as "a sweet soul, Dorothy Jones of Llanddarog, who is made quite passive, . . . singing almost continually when set free". A hymn, composed by her, is included in Tibbot's diary (*Journal, C.M. Hist. Soc.*, vol. ii., p. 10).

to Carmarthen, to the fair, and then I went to Llandeilo [Abercywyn], to hear Mr. Davies;¹⁰ he discoursed on Heb. iv. 1, and that evening at Rhys Hugh's house.¹¹ The next day, Sunday 2 August, I was at Llandeilo hearing Mr. [Griffith] Jones discoursing on Luke xi. That night I came to Pont Rhys Bwdwr, and the next day to John Arnold's house, where I bound barley, and the next day to John William's house, where I bound barley. These days [4-5 August] I had some freedom to work, and more measure of love for duties.

August 5. I came from Achddu¹² to Llandyfaelog. . . .

August 6. I came from Llandyfaelog to Gwndwn Bach,¹³ where I was the previous night in the society. During the afternoon, 5 August, in the field near Richard's house, I had a better view than before of the Father and the Son. . . . I wrote this in Jacob's house. . . . I am now sore afraid of speaking to men because Mr. Jones opposes exhorting.¹⁴ . . .

August 9. Sunday, I went from Jacob's house to Llangydeyrn, and from there, with my brethren Dafydd Bowen, John of Cil Carw, and William Christopher to Llandyfaelog, to the monthly society, where I was aided to speak on the question, What is the cause of so much deadness in the society, and so much contention these days amongst the ministers? . . . I was that evening with Dafydd William Dafydd.¹⁵

10. Howel Davies (c. 1716-70), afterwards styled "the Apostle of Pembroke-shire"; he was Griffith Jones's curate at Llanddowror and Llandeilo Abercywyn (see *Dict. of Welsh Biography*).
11. Rhys Hugh (d. 1778), churchwarden of Llanfihangel Abercywyn, befriended Thomas Charles of Bala when he was a lad; Charles was much attached to him, and refers to him as "an aged, holy and pious man, an old disciple of Mr. Griffith Jones" (D. E. Jenkins, *Life of T. Charles*, vol. i., pp. 21-2, 29-31, 94-5, 110).
12. A farmhouse, a mile from Pen-bre, on the Llanelli road. Pant Asddu (sic) and Melin Asddu (sic) are shown on the O.S. Map, 1809-36.
13. There is a farmhouse named Gwndwn Bach in Llangydeyrn; a circulating school was held there in 1741-42 (T. Beynon, *Cwmâl a Chfefn Sidan*, p. 141).
14. Griffith Jones, in 1741, censured the Methodist exhorters' activities, charging them with unlawful preaching contrary to the Scripture and the laws of the Church, &c. In consequence many of them desisted from itinerating and preaching for a season.
15. Of Is-coed, Llandyfaelog; afterwards a well-known Methodist exhorter. He settled later in the Vale of Glamorgan, and became known as David Williams, Llysyrny; he died in 1792 aged 75 (see G. M. Roberts (ed.), *Hanes Methodistiaeth Galfinaidd Cymru*, vol. i., pp. 247-48).

I was much pained in hearing 'Aunt' Siwed saying that she was sorry that she ever came to the society. This came to me as a temptation,—that Mr. Rowland and Mr. Harris and all the society were led by a spirit of error. I was convinced to be more industrious in my calling; I was in some measure of sadness that evening. The next day I went to Pont Rhys Bwdwr, and spent the day with Harry. . . . These days [viz. 10, 11, 12 August] I spent with Harry, my temperament was middling. . . .

August 13. I came to Achddu, and was at the Pyrsantwn Society the other night.

August 14, 15, I was at Pingie, with John William, and on Thursday evening I went to the society where I had some measure of aid and gifts to discourse on John vi. . . . On Saturday I had some consolation in reading the end of *Pilgrim's Progress*. I went that evening to see William Christopher at Morfa Bach, and I slept with Harry. The next day, Sunday, William Christopher and myself heard Mr. Samuel Jones¹⁶ preaching on Math. xvi. 31. . . . In the afternoon I was near Llwyn y Bustach discoursing on 2 Cor. v. 17 instead of Mr. Davies,¹⁷ who was ill. I came that evening to Jacob's house. The next day, Monday, I was as unconcerned as a pagan . . . full of carnal thoughts . . . may God keep me safe from my spiritual enemies.

August 18. I was at Jacob's house the previous night. That evening I came to the society at Llandyfaelog, where I discoursed on Luke v. 27.

August 20. I came this night with William Christopher to Morfa Bach. The next day I was at Pingie, where I discoursed on Luke v. 27. The next day I went to Carmarthen, to see the iron works (?) . . . On Saturday night I was with John Gryffyth at Pen y Sarn, and I was that night with Jane of Water Street, [Carmarthen]. . . . I wrote this whilst going from Carmarthen to Llanddowror, 22 August.

August 23. On the Sabbath day I was at Llanddowror hearing Mr. [Griffith] Jones preaching on the text Luke xii. 4. . . .

16. Samuel Jones (fl. 1715-68), the minister of Capel Sion Independent Church, Dre-fach, parish of Llanddarog; he kept an academy at his house at Pen-twyn, in the parish of Llan-non (see *Dict. of Welsh Biography*, and vol. xiii of *The Carmarthenshire Historian*, pp. 67ff.).
17. Richard Bennett was of the opinion that this was John Davies, curate of Llanddarog, 1719-62, who consorted with the Methodists and attended their associations (see G. M. Roberts (ed.), *op. cit.*, p. 207).

August 24, 25. I was working with Mr. Jones. . . . On Monday evening I had some consolation in my soul whilst meditating in the fields above Llanddowror. Tuesday night I was at Bola Haul.¹⁸ The next day I came to Carmarthen. It was sore with me that night with thoughts of carnal love; I was strongly constrained to go a-courting to Cydweli,—may God keep me eternally in His hand and under His wings . . .

August 26. I came to the society at Llandyfaelog, where I found it very hard. The next day I went to Pen-bre, to the society at Pingie. That night I was at John William's house. On Friday I was at Pen-bre, and I came that evening to Maes Gwennlian, where I conversed with the few who came together; I encouraged them to re-establish the society, which they purposed to do on Thursday evening. The next day I went from Maes Gwennlian to Llandeilo [Abercywyn], through Carmarthen, where in the fair I chanced to meet Mr. Jenkin,¹⁹ who came with me to Llandeilo. I went that evening to hear Mr. Jones of Llanddewi²⁰ preaching on Acts iii, 19.

The next afternoon I went to hear Mr. Jenkin at Llandeilo, and came that evening to Harry's house at Pont Rhys Bwdwr. During these days I was in much bondage to corruption and guilt May God be good unto my Soul. This was written at Pont Rhys Bwdwr, August 31.

September 1. I was at Llandeilo Pen-y-bont [*recte* Tal-y-bont] hearing Mr. Jenkins preach on this text, 1 Peter . . . This was written [at] John Evan[']s house], Llan-non.

Sept. 2. I was at Llanlluan²¹ hearing Mr. [Daniel] Rowland, text Acts xii. 11. He had much unction. That evening I heard him conversing at Mr. Jones',²² . . . The next day I went to John

18. A farmhouse, near Pen-sarn, Carmarthen, where he was on the 20th.
19. David Jenkins, curate of Cellan, Cards., who collaborated with Daniel Rowland for a short season; he died in 1742. See G. M. Roberts (ed.), *op. cit.*, pp. 207-08.
20. Richard Bennett surmised that "Mr. Jones of Llanddewi" was Griffith Jones of Llanddewi Felfre, Pembro. ; he had church orders and served occasionally at G. J.'s church at Llanddowror (see *Journal, C.M. Hist. Soc.*, vol. ii., p. 69, footnote).
21. A ruined chapel-of-ease in the parish of Llanarthne, repaired and used by the Methodists (see *Carmarthen Antiquary*, vol. ii., parts 1 & 2, pp. 27-8).
22. David Jones, of Dugoed, nr. Llanlluan, who corresponded with H. Harris and entertained him at his home on many occasions (see *Journal, C.M. Hist. Soc.*, vol. xxi., pp. 71ff.).

Evan Rees's house, where a few neighbours had come together. My 'gift' was middling that evening. I could not agree with the spirit of the woman [of the house?]; I fear she is led by a spirit of error . . . This day, 3 September, I was sorely troubled, but I had some consolation on the Great Mountain [Y Mynydd Mawr]. The next day I came to Dafydd Daniel's house, to my brother Richard. . . . This was written at Dafydd Daniel's house September 4.

September 5. I came from Cil y Carw to Llandyfaelog, and from there to Jacob's house to go towards Llandeilo. The next day, the Sabbath, I heard Mr. Jenkin at Llandeilo Tal-y-bont preaching on this text, 2, Cor. xiii. 5. He held Assurance with much power. I relished the sermon. That evening I went to Llandafen,²³ and was in the society with them discoursing on 1 John i. . . . I have room to believe that the Methodists will succeed. I see a great cause for praying on behalf of the ministers of the word. This was written at Llandafen, 7 September.

September 8. I was at Jacob's house, and the previous night I discoursed a little there. . . . This was written at Jacob's house, 8 September.

September 9. I was during the morning at Cil y Carw, after being the previous evening in a private society of brethren, where we opened our hearts to one another in the barn. . . . The next day I went from Cil y Carw to Llandyfaelog, and from there to Pen-bre, to the Prysantwn²⁴ society. That night I was at John Sanders's house. . . . This was written at Pont Rhys Bydwr, 10 September.

September 10. I came to Llandyfaelog, where I helped my brethren to repair a society house. That night I was at Coed Lleine. The next afternoon William Christopher, Dorothy [Jones], and myself went to Llangeitho, but on the way it came to rain, and we turned back to Carmarthen, where we were that night. . . . This was written at Carmarthen on September 11.

23. Welsh: "i lan Dafen", i.e. "to Glandafen"; but Tibbott has "llan Dafen" at the end of this paragraph. Nant Dafen flows from its source at Porth Dafen through the present village of Dafen to its confluence with Llŵchwr at Bachynys. "Glandafen", by false analogy, became "Llandafen". The modern parish of Dafen, Llanelli, is a recent foundation.
24. A small tenement on the southern slope of Mynydd Pen-bre, noted on O.S. Map, 1809-36.

September 12. I was at Carmarthen the previous night, and from there, on Saturday, I went to Llanddowror, where I was on the following Sunday hearing Mr. [Howel] Davies preaching, Text 1 Peter iii. 18. . . . I was on Sunday evening at Pen-hyl.²⁵ The next day, Monday, I came through Cydweli, where I conversed a little with Catrin Morris. That night I came to Harry's house at Pen-y-bont.²⁶ That evening there was a very high tide, and I was caught on the bridge, on going there to watch. The next day I came through Pen-bre to Llandafen to seek a Welsh School,²⁷ but I did not get an account of any. . . . This was written on the way from Llandafen to Llan-non, 6 September.

September 19. I came to Llandafen, and that evening sought a school. The next day I was at Llanelli, in the fair, and that evening came to Owen's house. . . . The next day, Sunday, I went to Felin-foel to hear David Owen²⁸ preaching, Text, Rev. i. 3. That night I was at Anthony's house on the mountain, where I discoursed a little on Heb. xii. I received a little help. . . . This was written at Pen-bre Mountain, 21 September.

September 23. I came from Maes Gwenllian to Llandyfaelog, and from there to Llanarthne to the society at Richard Powel's house. The previous evening I bathed in the sea beneath Y Tywyn. . . .

September 23. I came from Richard Powel's to John Evan Rees's house, where I was that evening. It is pretty quiet with me these days, but carnal love induced me that evening to court the servant maid; by this I saw that I had no strength within to withstand any temptation. . . . I was pained in my soul on hearing that John Arnold had thoughts of not attending his society. This was written at John Evan's house, 23 September.

September 24. I came from John Evan's house to the Wern,²⁹ where I stayed that night. The next day I went to Llan-y-crwys, where Providence arranged for me to stay that night. A poor old man invited me to stay in his house that night; his wife said she

had no victuals³⁰ in the house. But I was welcomed to stay there if I wished. The next day I went to Llanddewibrefi, where I heard Mr. [Daniel] Rowland preaching. . . . The next day, a Sunday, Mr. [David] Jenkin and Mr. Rowland preached there. On Saturday evening Jenkin Morgan³¹ exhorted at the society at Llanddewi. On Monday I came to Llansawel, to Maes-y-llan, where Mr. Rowland and Mr. Jenkin discoursed—thundering threatenings mostly. The next morning we were in houses at Llansawel, conversing, and from there we came to Abergorlech,³² where Mr. Jenkin preached. . . . That evening I came to Llangathen, to a society in Morys's house. The next day Morris and myself went to Capel Ifan,³³ and from there to Edward Manri's house, at Llan-non, where Jenkin and myself discoursed a little. The next day to Llandeilo Tal-y-bont: John Powel³⁴ had been there hearing Mr. Rowland, whom he highly praised. I am much pleased with John Powel. That evening we went to Llandre-môr,³⁵ where Mr. Jenkin and Mr. Rowland discoursed. Mr. Rowland had much unction that night. Dorothy Jones and others with her were on their feet all night. The next day Jenkin preached at Llan Newydd chapel,³⁶ . . .

I came that night with Dai Bowil [or Bowen] to Llandafen. The next day I went to Llandyfaelog, and I stayed the night there in Richard's house. The next day I went to Felin-foel to hear John Powel, he preached on John xii. That night, together with the

25. There is a farmhouse named Penhill (O.S.M.), near Llan-saint.
26. i.e., the farmhouse ("Bont" on the O.S.M.), near Pont Rhys Bwdwr.
27. There was a circulating school at Llanelli in 1740-41, but not in 1741-42 (see T. Beynon, *Cwmstâl a Chefn Sidan*, pp. 140-41).
28. Baptist minister, of Felin-foel (d. 1765)—see Joshua Thomas, *Hanes y Bedyddwyr* (Carmarthen, 1778), pp. 294, 320, 324).
29. There is a house named "Y Wern" near Llanlluan.

30. Welsh: "enllyn", a savoury eaten with bread, such as butter, cheese, &c.
31. Jenkin Morgan (d. 1762), was one of Griffith Jones's schoolmasters, and afterwards a minister with the Independents (see *Dictionary of Welsh Biography*).
32. There was a chapel-of-ease at Abergorlech, attached to the parish of Llanybydder, and used by the Methodists in the 18th century (see *Carms. Antiquary*, vol. ii., parts 1 & 2, pp. 25-6).
33. Capel Ifan, a ruined chapel-of-ease in the 18th century, near Pontyberem, attached to the parish of Llanelli, was used by the Methodists for many years (see *Carms. Antiquary*, vol. ii., parts 1 & 2, p. 28).
34. John Powel (d. 1743), a Baptist preacher, of Abergwesyn, Brecks., and a Methodist exhorter (see *Dict. of Welsh Biography*).
35. Llandre-môr Uchaf, near Pontarddulais, Glam., the home of a vigorous Methodist society up to 1746 (Glyn Hopkins, *Hanes Eglwys y Gopa, Pontarddulais* (Swansea, 1973), pp. 8, 11-12).
36. i.e., Newchurch, nr. Carmarthen. Capel Llanfihangel Croesfeini was demolished in 1847, but the field where it stood is named "Lan chapel" in the Tithe Schedule for 1844; the remains of the chapel had been used as a tithe barn. It was known in the 18th century as Capel Llan Newydd (see T. M. Morgan, *Hist. and Antiquities of Newchurch* (Carmarthen, 1910), pp. 9, 73, 213; *Inventory of Ancient Monuments, County of Carmarthen* (London, 1917), p. 222).

people of Felin-foel, we went to hear him at Llanelli. At the end [of the service] I conversed until midnight, with much pleasure. The next day I came to Capel Llan Newydd to keep a school instead of Evan John of Glamorgan, and stayed that night in Richard Arten's (?) house, where this was written 18 October.

I kept the school at Capel Llan Newydd³⁷ . . . I went from the Chapel to hear John Powel. To Llandafen 12th of October.

October 13. I was at Llandafen. The previous evening John Powel discoursed there on the Song of Solomon iii, . . . He discoursed on Arminianism, against Thomas Howper. I was pained because John Powel was so derisive in his discourse ; . . . This was written at Llandafen 13 October. During these days I heard Mr. Powel at Pant, text 1 Tim. i. 15.

About October 15th I heard Mr. Powel discoursing near Jacob's house on John iii. 3. He was unwell, so he did not thunder much, but discoursed evangelically. I went that evening to Cil y Carw, and discoursed on Mark xiii. 26, &c.

The following Friday I was at Jacob's house, and now I am keeping a school at Gwndwn Bach instead of William Dafydd. . . . This was written at Gwndwn Bach, 20 October.

37. The original is puzzling: "Mi fym yn Gadw ysgol yn gapel Lannewydd 4 or 8 o hydre 12". There was a circulating school at "Llan-newydd" in 1740-41 (T. Beynon, *Cwmsêl a Chefn Sidan*, p. 140).

West Wales 'Watergate' of the last century

OF the hundreds of people living in the Carmarthen suburb of Johnstown I doubt if there are more than a handful who have even heard mention of the local man after whom Johnstown was named.

And it was only this week I realised that the bicentenary of John Jones of Ystrad in Johnstown, a prominent local politician who reached fame in the eighteenth century, had gone by almost unnoticed.

John Jones was born on September 13, 1777, and it was appropriate that a fascinating article on a man who achieved more heights of popularity than any other on Carmarthen's ancient political stage and then lived to suffer the anger of the mob has been included in the current issue of *The Carmarthenshire Historian*, published by Dyfed Rural Council.

Written by the booklet's editor, Mr. E. Vernon Jones, the article paints a graphic picture of the contribution to the local political scene made by the man who became mayor of Carmarthen before being elected MP for Pembroke, Tenby and Wiston and after for Carmarthen.

Established

John Jones was born at 38 King Street, Carmarthen, the son of solicitor Thomas Jones, of Job's Well, Carmarthen, and Capel Dewi.

A well-to-do birth ensured an education at Eton, followed by entry to Christ College, Oxford, and in 1803 he was called to the bar from Lincoln's Inn and quickly established himself as a successful barrister, becoming the leading counsel on the South Wales circuit and Recorder of Kidwelly.

Mr. Jones points out, he was more than adequately provided with the wherewithal to ensure the creature comforts of his time. But that he was also a man of culture is shown by his handsome library of some 4,000 volumes.

Early in his political career, he was a disciple of Charles James Fox and his radical views naturally led him to support the Whig cause in Carmarthen — Whigs and Tories later became known as Liberals and Conservatives. But he later changed sides and became a Tory champion.

It was in 1812 that Jones

by David
Roberts

first tried to get into Parliament and on that occasion he was not only leading Tory reaction against a Whig dominance that had endured for something like three-quarters of a century but was also trying to overcome a family monopoly exercised by the Cawdors over the political affairs of the borough.

Opportunity

Jones did not have to wait long before getting into Parliament. He was elected as the member for Pembroke, Tenby and Wiston in 1815, succeeding General Sir Thomas Picton, killed in the battle of Waterloo. But in 1821 there came another opportunity to fight Carmarthen.

Apparently John Frederick Campbell, who was elected for the borough in 1813 following the resignation of his uncle because of ill-health, and was returned again in 1818 and in 1820 was called to the House of Lords as the second Baron Cawdor. In the 1821 election Sir William Paxton came back from retirement to try and keep the seat for the Whigs, but John Jones found himself elected by 312 votes to 281.

He was a popular man. And in 1827 was presented with a service of silver plate.

But darker days were in store. His popularity slumped as the demand for parliamentary reform grew. And although he may have kept some of his earlier views he was officially a Tory and opposed to full-blooded reform.

The Reform Bill was introduced in March, 1831, but because of its controversial nature Parliament was dissolved the following month and in the election he was opposed by J. G. Phillips of Cwmwili, the Whig Reform candidate whose father had been MP for Carmarthen from 1784 to 1804.

Phillips had barely started on April 23 when disturbances broke out and Phillips's supporters, impatient for the result, chaired their candidate and bore him in triumph through the town.

As a result, there was a riot, special constables were

sworn and troops were brought from Brecon. Fourteen Reformers found themselves in jail.

Rigging

The poll was suspended, the sheriffs reported to Parliament their failure to execute the writs, and there were many allegations. Jones was accused of rigging and supplying voters with liquor which he denied and complained of a "disgraceful conspiracy, intimidation and riot, violence and threats".

It seemed that Watergate did not have anything on Carmarthen politics of the last century. In the interval before a fresh election could be ordered condemnatory leaflets were published, the chief target being Jones, who was described as a "Pretended Reformer. Derives his support from the tithes of Carmarthen."

Despite all the attacks, Jones kept the seat by 274 votes to 203. But far from meeting with popular approval, the result provoked yet more riots and Jones suffered severe injury to the head from a stone hurled at him while he was being chaired in triumph through Dark Gate.

Surprised

As it happened, Jones surprised many of his supporters when it came to voting in parliament on the Reform Bill. He voted for reform and, ironically, sealed his doom as the borough representative for in Carmarthen the majority of those enfranchised by the Act were Whigs.

In the election of 1833 Jones was kicked out but his parliamentary career was not over. Another consequence of the Reform Act was the award of two parliamentary seats to Carmarthenshire and in the election of 1835 Jones decided to try his luck outside the borough. But he was unsuccessful.

Two years later Jones returned to parliament and retained the seat until his death.

Jones died on November 30, 1842, and was buried with his forebears in St. Peter's Churchyard, Carmarthen. There was a mile long funeral procession and he is remembered by a simple tablet on the north wall of the chancel in St. Peter's and by a painting in the jury waiting room of Carmarthen's Guildhall.

1979 ESCORT 1.1 Ls 4-dr, vinyl roof, radio, 5,000 miles only
 1976 R CAVALIER 1.9 GL red, 1/m
 1976 R GRANADA Gls, 16,000 miles only
 1976 R CHEVETTE E, 4-door, 10,000 miles
 1976 TRIUMPH 2500 S, russet brown, 17,000 miles
 1976 CORTINA 2000 E Estate, Roman bronze, 1/m
 1976 CHRYSLER Alpine GL, 1/m
 1976 M. H. MARINA 1.8 Super, 4-dr, 11,000 miles only
 1975 P New ESCORT 1.3 GL Estate, one private owner
 1975 MG B Roadster, hard top, o/d, chrome wheels, 1/m
 1975 New ESCORT 1.6 Sport, orange, 1/m
 1975 TRIUMPH 2000, o/d, very clean
 1975 ALLEGRO 1300 Super, 4-dr, 1/m
 1975 AVENGER GT, vinyl roof, 1/m
 1974 BMW 525, sundyn, 1/m
 1974 N FIAT 152, Gls
 1975 AVENGER 1500 estate
 1972 CORTINA 1300 L, 4-dr, 35,000 miles
 1971 VIVA SL, 4-dr.
 1971 SIMCA 1301, 36,000 miles only
 1971 TRIUMPH 1500, 1/m

35c

R.W.T. MOTORS

WEST CROSS GARAGE
 95, MUMBLES ROAD,
 SWANSEA TEL. 66259

QUALITY USED CARS

P Reg RELIANT 4-wheel Estate car, 6,000 miles only, one owner, radio
 P AUSTIN Allegro 1500 4-door Super d.l., excellent condition
 P Reg. MORRIS Marina 1.5 4-door Super d.l., one owner, radio
 N Reg. FORD Cortina 1600L, 4-door, vinyl roof, radio, excellent condition
 M VAUXHALL Victor 1800 4-door Transcontinental, excellent condition
 K Reg VAUXHALL Viva 2-door d.l. new engine
 J Reg TRIUMPH 2000 auto
 H Reg FORD Cortina 1500 Estate car

Part exchange welcomed

34c

SNOWDON MOTORS

CLARENCE TERRACE
 SWANSEA, TEL. 51653

1973 HILLMAN Hunter Estate £1,195
 1973 DATSUN 1000 £1,025
 1973 FORD Cortina 1600L £1,095
 1973 TRIUMPH Sparta £1,095
 1972 FIAT 127 £645
 1971 HILLMAN Hunter Estate £795
 1971 VAUXHALL Viva SL, 2-dr. £745
 1971 MORRIS 1300 GT £695
 1971 FORD Escort 1100 £695
 1971 VAUXHALL Viva, 2-dr. £695

Part exchange welcome. Finance arranged.

35

CITROEN cars
 1977 CITROEN CX 2400, Pallas, brown met., 10,000 miles £4,800
 1976 CITROEN GS Club £1,750
 1975 CITROEN Dyane 6 blue £1,175
 1975 CITROEN GS Club blue £1,600
 1974 CITROEN GS 1230 Estate Ivory £1,400
 1974 CITROEN GS 1230 Club Salmon, blue and green, colour of 3 £1,400
 1973 CITROEN D Super 5 £1,350
 1972 CITROEN D Super 3 beige £895
 1971 CITROEN DS 20, Yellow £800

Buy a used British car with a two year written warranty. H.P. arranged. Part exchange taken. Cars bought for cash. Beats, bikes, practically anything taken in part exchange.

36c

SWANSEA CAR SALES

GOWER ROAD GARAGE
 (Next to Police Station)
 GOWER ROAD, SKETTY
 TELEPHONE: SWANSEA 28074/5

1974 N Reg. TRIUMPH 2000, white with black cloth trim, fitted with power steering, o/d, radio £2,250
 1973 MINI Clubman Est., white, sunroof £995
 1975 TRIUMPH 2000, auto, white with black cloth trim £1,595
 1972 MORRIS Marina 4-dr. Super, harvest gold, 52,000 recorded miles £995
 1972 JAGUAR 4.2, auto., in Assoc lawn, very clean, example, radio, electric windows £2,150
 1972 AUSTIN 1800 in vinyl moss £895
 1972 AUSTIN 1500, mid-night blue, auto., one owner £795
 1972 FORD Escort 1100, 3-dr, yellow £725
 1971 DAIMLER 4.2, auto., in dark blue, with electric windows, tinted glass, radio £1,695
 1971 VOLVO 1.4, auto., £1,295
 1971 TRIUMPH Toledo, white, 32,000 miles only £850
 1970 JAGUAR E Type, PEG, chrome wire wheels, stereo £2,195
 1968 G Reg M.G. B. G.T., in green with wire wheels, o/d, h.r.w., very clean example £775

COMMERCIALS:

1974 ESCORT 6 cut. Van (VAT) £650
 1972 L Reg LAND Rover petrol, long wheels base, full length hard top (VAT) £1,595

36c

JAGUAR XJ6, 4.2 litre l.w.b.

49,000 miles, airconditioning, automatic transmission, power assisted steering, tinted glass, Chrome wheels
 Superlative service record. Must be seen. — £5,555.

PETER PHILLIPS,
 ALSBY MOTORS
 SADDLER ST., BRYNHFRYD
 SWANSEA 52753

35c

DRIVING TUITION

RENNETT School of Motoring for expert driving tuition. — 12 Eaton Crescent, Uplands, Swansea 56372.

37c

CORTINA ESTATE

L to N Reg. Reasonable mileage.

Tel. Clydach 842953

MOTOR CYCLES & ACCESSORIES

A Honda CB200, low mileage. P Regd., recently fitted T1100 tyres, front and back crashbars, carrier, manual, well maintained. £415.

EXCHANGE Lambretta SX 200, for old British bike or sell, £100, nearest. — Skewen 414087. 50c
 FOR Sale Honda SS50 moped, M Reg £150 or nearest offer. — Tel. 5, Clearys 230668. 50c

HONDA CB 175, L Regd., M.O.T. till May, rear crashbar and rack, need signal attention, £70 or nearest offer. — Tel. Pontardawe 865748. 50c

HONDA 175CD, N Reg., good cond., extras, £250 or nearest offer. — Cwmaman 7344. 50c

motor Cycling accessories: Leather jacket, size 56, as new, £40
 Belland one piece suit, medium size, never worn, £20, Lewis
 leather bag racing boots, size 6,
 £10. — Tel. Ammanford 3503

SCHOOLBOY'S Scrambler, Honda XR75, August 1977, £500. — Briton Perry 820149. 50c

SUZUKI TS 185, excellent condition, 1977, plus extras, £365 or nearest offer. — Swansea 37978, after 6 p.m. 50c

JAGUAR TS 185 P reg., plus accessories, good condition, £325. — Swansea 68658 between 6 p.m.-8 p.m. 50c

SUZUKI 750 GT, P Reg., fairings, new GT 100's, top box, mirrors, two full face helmets. Beautiful machine. Offers for cash, or part exchange car, considered. — Briton Perry 820149. 50c

SUZUKI GT, 550, 1975, 10 months M.O.T., rack, mirrors, T.T. 100, £410 or nearest offer. — Swansea 69485 after 6 34n/c

SUZUKI 250 Carburetors, £15 or nearest offer. — Telephone Swansea 36152. 50c

TRIUMPH 500, taxed, tested, plus many spares, £209 or nearest offer. — Swansea 461847 between 4.30 and 6.30 p.m. 50c

YAMAHA X5 250, R Reg., like new, many extras. Excellent condition, £360. — Rees & Francis, 6 Lawrence Street, Llanelli 4537. 50c

YAMAHA 50 cc, P.A.L.E. DX R reg, low mileage, excellent condition, £190. — 15, Rhondda Street, Mount Pleasant, Swansea. 54c

YAMAHA DT 175, 8 months old, showroom condition. — Penclawdd 486. 50c

REPAIRS, M.O.T. TESTING

ALL repairs including welding major overhauls. Crypton tuning and M.O.T. — Skewen Motor Services, Pagan Road, Skewen, Skewen 41332.

M.O.T. while you wait on all makes. — Nelson Garages, William Street, Swansea 41511.

M.O.T. while you wait. — John DeVan (Sales) Ltd., Llanhamnel Swansea 72544/76215.

M.O.T. while you wait. — Sio Motors, Millbrook Estate Landor Swansea 53107.

M.O.T. while you wait a Customer Motors Service, Clarence Terrace, Swansea 43845.

M.O.T. Testing and mechanics repairs undertaken. RUG 88 Drs for a speedy, efficient service at competitive rates. Trust your car to our personal service. — Halfway Garage, Mumbles Road, Swansea Tel. Swansea 23451/2

with REPAIRS on all makes of cars including body work and painting M.O.T. testing carried out in the most modern testing bay in Swansea. — Grandid Lawrence (Swansea) Ltd., Kingsway, Forestfach, Indaf Lland Estate, Forestfach, Swansea. Tel. 54857.

GARAGES

WANTED, single lock-up garage Morriston area. — Telephone Swansea 794242. 34c



SWAN NATIONAL
 car rental
 All new cars.
 Phone now & compare our rates.
SWANSEA
 Jet Service Station, Oxford Street.
Tel: 50580

Through Riot and Duel to Parliament

By E. VERNON JONES

NO man of all those who have appeared on Carmarthen's ancient political stage achieved more eminent heights of popularity and then lived to suffer the anger of the mob than John Jones of Ystrad in Johnstown on the outskirts of Carmarthen.

John Jones first saw the light of day on 13th September two hundred years ago in the year 1777 at 38, King Street, Carmarthen, being the son of solicitor Thomas Jones of Job's Well (Carmarthen) and Capel Dewi, four miles outside the town. A well-to-do birth ensured an education at Eton, followed by entry to Christ Church, Oxford. In 1803 he was called to the bar from Lincoln's Inn and quickly established himself as a successful barrister, ultimately becoming the leading counsel on the South Wales circuit and recorder of Kidwelly. Frequently, "unsolicited and unpaid, he espoused the cause of the undefended accused with an amount of forensic skill that made his benevolence triumphant, too often perhaps at the expense of justice".¹ This kindly consideration in court was matched by forbearing generosity at home, for the picturesque grounds of Ystrad were always open to the public and at holiday times accommodated the Carmarthen throng; that this hospitality was sometimes abused seemed to worry him not.² Such professional competence, together with a generous charm of unusual abundance won for him unstinted admiration and popularity.

As rivers run to the sea, so riches gravitate towards wealth, and this phenomenon Jones experienced by inheriting the worldly accretions of several relatives. He was thus more than adequately provided with the wherewithal to ensure the creature comforts of his time, but that he was also a man of culture is evidenced by his handsome library of some four thousand volumes.

In the early phase of his political awareness he was a disciple of Charles James Fox and his radical views naturally led him to

1. Wm. Spurrell, *Carmarthen and Its Neighbourhood*, 1879, p. 49.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 70.

support the Whig cause in Carmarthen, which early in the nineteenth century was led by Lord Cawdor, who nominated Jones to succeed him as mayor of the borough in 1809. That he would become a Tory champion is one of the ironies of circumstance that had less to do with party philosophies and more to do with local power blocks, for it was still a time when party allegiance owed more to the influence of local factions and family considerations than to political ideology.

It was considerations of such a local kind that persuaded Jones to espouse the Tory cause in the parliamentary election of 1812, for it was his avowed intention "to prevent Carmarthen becoming a Family borough" and to "establish the Freedom of the Town beyond the attacks of any powerful Individual or his adherents". He was therefore not only leading the Tory reaction against a Whig dominance that had endured for something like three-quarters of a century but also seeking to overcome a family monopoly exercised by the Cawdors over the political affairs of the borough. This explains why he emerged first and foremost as the champion of "Independency" rather than the representative of the Tory interest. In the event, his candidature in the 1812 election failed and the Cawdor candidate, George Campbell, was returned yet again for the third time since 1806. Indeed, the Cawdors were to hold on to the seat for almost another decade and Jones's antipathy continued to smoulder long after, as evidenced in 1830, for example, when he led the opposition in the Commons against Lord Cawdor's Bill to abolish the Courts of Great Sessions, though, as a lawyer, it is possible, too, that Jones had a vested interest.

Thwarted in Carmarthen for the time being, Jones took advantage of the next opportunity that presented itself and got himself elected as the Member for Pembroke, Tenby and Wiston on 3rd July 1815 in succession to General Sir Thomas Picton, recently slain at Waterloo. But in 1821 another opportunity came to enter the lists at Carmarthen. John Frederick Campbell, who had been elected for the borough in 1813, following the resignation through ill-health of his uncle, George Campbell, and again in 1818 and 1820, was called to the House of Lords as the second Baron Cawdor. John Frederick Campbell was not the dedicated political animal his father had been and his indifference gradually resulted in the Tories winning over the borough machinery. In the 1821 election Sir William Paxton emerged from retirement to make his last effort for the Whigs, but he was not the man to withstand the tide now flowing for the Tories and John Jones found himself elected Member for his native borough by 312 votes to 281. Jones's success was the occasion

for great celebration and rejoicing, which was commemorated according to the custom of the time in a song entitled 'The Glorious Carmarthen Election', the first stanzas of which went :

Behold the glorious day is come,
'Squire Jones is our Member ;
The lovely rose in season's come,
It is July and not December:
And all that did against him stand,
Their names I'll not relate, sir ;—
He won the day through real fair play,
They raised him to the chair, sir.

The fifth day of July, sir,
The like was never known, sir,
The nobility of counties three,
Came flocking to the town, sir,
The Red and Blue they triumphant wore,
To celebrate our Member,
All windows lin'd with Ladies gay,
To magnify his honour.

When he ascended to his chair,
The town did roar like thunder,
St. Peter's Boys with one assent,
Cried, "Jones is our Member".
His own footman before him rode,
In sailor's dress, indeed, sir,
A gay-drest may-pole in his hand
Mounted on a warlike steed, sir.³

So popular was Jones that all his election expenses were met by his supporters—who were to afford him similar financial aid during his successful elections in 1826 and 1830—and during the following decade he largely succeeded in removing the deep party differences in the borough, so that by 1830 the High Sheriff of the County was moved to say that "men have found in him a common resting place for their views". A tangible expression of the high esteem in which he was held during this period was the presentation of a service of silver plate to him in Carmarthen's Guildhall in October 1827.

3. This song, comprising ten stanzas, is reproduced in its entirety in *The Carmarthenshire Historian*, Vol. v, p. 91.

Election Riots

But in the new decade his popularity began to wane as the demand for Parliamentary Reform swelled in full tide. Although he may have retained some of his early Foxite views he was officially a Tory and opposed to full-blooded reform. In the new climate of feeling, he must have found it difficult to maintain his popularity and only just succeeded in keeping a perilous balance along the political tightrope he was obliged to walk. The Reform Bill was introduced in March 1831, but its controversial content precipitated a dissolution of Parliament during the following month and in the election he found himself confronted by J. G. Philipps of Cwmgwili, the Whig reform candidate whose father had been the Member from 1784 to 1804. Polling had barely started on 29th April when disturbances broke out and Philipps's supporters, impatient of the result, chaired their candidate and bore him in triumph through the town. To cope with the riot thus incited, special constables were sworn and troops of the 93rd Regiment were brought from Brecon, with the net result that fourteen Reformers found themselves in gaol, a contemporary rhymester complaining that they had been

Committed by Jones or his minions
Because they declared in the crowd
With boldness their honest opinions
Too long and a little too loud.

Because of the disturbances, which were not out of keeping with a tradition of electioneering violence in Carmarthen, the poll was suspended and the sheriffs reported to Parliament their failure to execute the writs. Allegations were freely exchanged, Jones being accused of rigging and supplying voters with liquor. Jones refuted the accusations by complaining of a "disgraceful conspiracy, intimidation and riot, violence and threats".

The interval before a fresh election could be ordered afforded opportunities for the printing of condemnatory leaflets, the chief target being Jones, who, in one of these, was described as a "Pretended Reformer. Derives his support from the Tithes of Carmarthen". What has been described as a "gross impropriety" of the times was the "sale of spiritualities", and it is true that when Jones died there was offered for sale, in addition to the tithes, his proprietorship of the north chancel of St. Peter's Church, Carmarthen, which entitled the purchaser to the pew rents and fees for burial therein. Jones's share of the tithe had been £971-12-6, whereas the vicar received only £7 14

In another of these election squibs, "One of the Dear Little Boys" (as he described himself) alleged:

"John Jones has imprisoned me and got me tried as a Rioter at the last Assizes, for doing nothing more than crying out **REFORM!** He has thus shown how he would use you if it was in his power. He was very glad of my services **at one time**, but as soon as I began to **think** for myself, he sent me to **Prison** and would have **transported** me if he could. I am a hard working man, but I think a little Reform would do us all good. John Jones told us last Election that he was something of a Reformer too, but I said then that we could not trust him, and now I find that I was right, for I am told that all the time he was in London he was in company with those wicked wretches called boroughmongers".⁵

This was a time when any disgruntled citizen, under the cloak of anonymity, could find a ready printer for verbal ammunition, fair or foul, that would damage the cause of any candidate important enough to be the object of personal grudge. In yet another of these leaflets, this time signed by "A Burgess", Jones is criticised not only for his political record but for his manners, too:

"Everyone knows that he has talked us over pretty well for some years, but I have been often wondering why he can't make a speech in Parliament. Is he thought of no more there than I of him, and as you all thought of him at our Slave Meeting the other day, where (in spite of the wishes of every lover of humanity) he insultingly sneered at the proceedings, although Chairman at the same time? Now the Boroughmongers and the Slave holders, with John Jones in the middle of them, were joined together to oppose Ministers in the great work of Reform—fine company indeed for our Member, after being returned three times free of expence Witness how **very friendly** he is during, or a little before, Elections; I almost supposed him to be the pattern of humility,—but as soon as that business is over, goodbye friendship, goodbye (I was going to say **manners**)—but stop, I will give you a sample of manners. Some of us were giving vent to our feelings in a real way last evening in Spilman Street, when who came out of the Ivy Bush, but the good John Jones himself—who blackguarded us—offered to fight any of us—and at last told us to (decency forbids)—there's **manners** for you"⁶

But Jones retained sufficient popularity to survive this onslaught, for in the fresh election which was held between 21st and 25th

4. David Williams, *The Rebecca Riots*, p. 126.

5. *Transactions of the Carmarthenshire Antiquarian Society*, Vol. xxvii, p. 27.

6. *Ibid.*, pp. 22-3.

August he emerged the victor by 274 votes to 203. The result, however, far from meeting with popular approval, provoked yet more riots and Jones suffered severe injury to the head from a stone, hurled at him while he was being chaired in triumph through Dark Gate, with the result that he was unable to attend the celebratory dinner the same evening. But in expressing his thanks to the burgesses Jones declared his "contempt of those who with pretence to the denomination of Gentlemen have under the name of Reform been the stimulation to excesses as cowardly as they have been atrocious". Philipps hotly rejected the allegation by blaming Jones's injury on the injudicious conduct of those who insisted on chairing him in defiance of public feeling.

Pistols For Two

The Pembrokeshire election of the same year, 1831, was also bitterly contested and when Jones went to Haverfordwest to support Sir John Owen of Orielton he was spat upon and insulted by one of the Carmarthen Reformers who had been arrested in Carmarthen and who, for this later offence at Haverfordwest, was fined £5. Jones, in turn, insulted the opposition candidate, Robert Fulke Greville, though in this instance redress was sought not in court—the place for lesser mortals—but in the abtrament of arms, which was still felt by those of superior station to be the proper means of satisfying bruised honour. Jones's courage was equal to Greville's challenge and a duel was arranged between the two at Tavernspite on 22nd October 1831. Presumably Tavernspite was chosen as the venue because it was a mid-way point in the nature of neutral territory between Haverfordwest and Carmarthen. Jones received his adversary's shot, but he refused to apologise and fired his pistol into the air. Thus honour was satisfied without the interference of the law.

Soon the country was brought to the brink of revolution and it was the realisation of this danger that ultimately ensured the passage of the Reform Bill in 1832. To the general surprise, Jones, perhaps influenced by the fear of dreadful consequences if the Bill were not passed, voted for Reform and, ironically, sealed his doom as the Borough representative, for in Carmarthen the majority of those enfranchised by the Act were Whigs, who in future would be able to overcome the power of the non-resident freemen admitted by the Tories since 1821. Retribution came quickly, for in the election of 1833 Jones was turned out by the Whig candidate, the Hon. Wm. Henry Yelverton of Whitland Abbey, and his career as the borough Member was at an end.

Even so, his parliamentary career was not yet over. Another consequence of the Reform Act was the award of two Parliamentary seats to Carmarthenshire, which doubled the previous representation, and in the election of 1835 Jones thought it prudent to transfer his political activity outside the borough. But he was unsuccessful, for the elected members turned out to be Sir J. H. Williams of Edwinstford, who had been the member from 1831 to 1833, and George Rice Rice-Trevor. Not to be denied, however, Jones got himself elected in 1837 along with Rice-Trevor and retained the seat until his death, being re-elected in 1841. It was during this period that Jones played a hand at the outset of the Rebecca Riots. After the Efailwen toll house and gate were destroyed in May 1839, the magistrates, on the motion of John Jones, overruled the Whitland turnpike trustees and revoked the order establishing the gate. It has been suggested that Jones acted thus to gain popularity for election purposes, but the suspicion is unproved.

Because of his endeavours to secure the abolition of the salt tax he became known as Jones yr Halen, but the sobriquet has not survived in the public memory, for now he is affectionately remembered by Carmarthen people simply as John Jones, Ystrad and most are content with the received knowledge that Johnstown is named after him, despite the avowal of Prof. David Williams that such a belief is erroneous.⁷ Although he spoke Welsh fluently he shared a widespread feeling among the upper classes of the time that deplored the continuance of the language.

John Jones died on 10th November 1842 and was buried with his forbears in St. Peter's churchyard, Carmarthen, south-east of the church on 17th November. The mile-long funeral procession, stretching back to Johnstown, demonstrated the persistent esteem in which he was held; beside a concourse of people on foot there were forty-seven private carriages "all of which with one exception were occupied by their owners".⁸ He is commemorated by a simple tablet on the north wall of the chancel in St. Peter's and by a painting, given to the County of Carmarthen in 1844, which hangs in the Jury Waiting Room of Carmarthen's Guildhall. This three-quarter length portrait by Thomas Brigstocke shows him in a black suit beside a table, with his left hand resting on what appears to be a lawyer's brief, suitably bound with red tape, and an inkstand and quill nearby.

7. *Dictionary of Welsh Biography*, p. 1134.

8. Spurrell, *op. cit.*, p. 147.

In Days of Christmas Green

By T. L. EVANS, B.A.

CHRISTMAS in 1868 was heralded early in December by advertisements in the Carmarthen newspapers which offered an abundance of good things to ensure a festive season. There was, for instance, the invitation to visit Thompson & Shackell's shop in Guildhall Square and inspect Dressing cases, Travelling Despatch Desks, Pocket Books, Book Slides, the new game of Besique, Patent Perfume Pistol, Fan Expanding Almanack, the original Mrs. Gamp's Umbrella Needle Case, The Zoetrope or Wheel of Life (reduced to 3s 6d), the Fez Pen Wiper, Animated Clowns & Jumping Jim Crows, a One Donkey Power steam Boat (for 10s 6d), plus Christmas Tree decorations like filled acorns, Eggs and Walnuts, Perfumed Grapes, Perfumed Opera Glasses, Fruit Soaps, and Baskets, Rimmel's Magic Crackers each containing some article of clothing such as Nightcap or Fool's Cap, and to keep guests or children amused, magic lanterns and Bagatelle Boards could be lent or hired. Rees Evans, Guildhall Square advertised Christmas fruit—currants 3d to 4½d, raisins 3½d to 5d, lemon, orange and citron peel 1s a lb., figs, muscatels and French plums also 1s a lb. Good cheer could be obtained from Brigstocke's in St. Peter's Street, where good dinner Sherry cost 2s 4d a bottle and Port 2s 5d, Champagne from 32s 0d a dozen. Tea was not the drink of the lower classes; they had to rely on beer. Tea varied in price from 2s 4d to 4s 8d a lb. Wages were low—a weekly wage averaged between 8s 0d to 17s 0d (in the November hiring fair male farm servants were hired for £15 to £20 a year). Ladies with money could visit the new show-rooms of D. & W. Davies, 1 & 2 Guildhall Square, where they could buy an elegant assortment of Novelties in Bonnets, Caps, Wreaths & Artificial Flowers, Trimmed & Seal-skin Hats & Bird Hats (no prices were given).

The Waits went round singing carols on Christmas Eve and got short shrift from many an indignant householder, if one is to believe the letters printed in the *Carmarthen Journal*. One old Carmarthen tradition on the eve of Christmas was a firework display in Guildhall Square with squibs, crackers and roman candles. On this occasion (1868) a rocket broke a window and set fire to a blind in the upper storey of a shop. It was a rainy night and it was reported that the display was not so good as last year when the traditional lighted tar barrels were dragged through the streets. There was a

good deal of hooliganism masquerading as Christmas spirit and it was suggested that the firework display be held in the Cattle Market. There is no reference to any Guy Fawkes firework display in November. According to Mayhew, in his book on London (1851), the character of Guy Fawkes day had entirely changed, it being an occasion for the parade of gigantic effigies and clowns, with musicians and dancers to accompany them, the guy being made to represent any celebrity of the day, but bonfires and fireworks were seldom indulged in. Possibly the Christmas Eve fireworks replaced the November display in Carmarthen.

On Christmas Day there were services in all churches (obviously in all places of worship, but the local papers did not give details of the services in the chapels). As usual the Mayor and Corporation attended divine service at St. Peter's. At half-past-ten "an immense number of inhabitants of the town assembled at the Guild Hall to pay their respects to his worship (John Lewis) and accompany him to church. The Volunteers also of which he is an officer mustered under the command of Capt. Browne Edwardes and the Militia Band gave their services. After partaking of the Mayor's hospitality of biscuits and wine, the procession was formed and headed by the band walked to St. Peter's Church which was completely filled. Morning Service was read by the Vicar after which the sermon was preached by the Lord Bishop on 2nd Chapter of St. Luke and 7th verse. The musical portion of the service was conducted by Mr. Ap Rhys; the Christmas Anthem 'Behold I bring you glad tidings' was sung by the choir". All the churches and chapels were full for Christmas service.

As was the custom, all Churches were decorated in greenery—it was a Green Christmas not a white one, not at all like the present day Christmas card view of Victorian Christmas accompanied by snow. Snow was not that regular at Christmas, at least in Carmarthen. According to Mr. Watts, Schoolmaster of Water Street, Carmarthen had only one day with snow in 1868 and twenty-six days with rain in December, which was equally wet in Cardiganshire, where a local rhymester was moved to write:

"The South Wind always brought wet weather,
The North Wind wet and cold weather,
The West Wind always brought us rain,
The East Wind blew it back again,
If ever the Sun in red did set,
The next day surely it would be wet,
And if the Sun should set in grey,
The next day would be a rainy day".

But the following year there was a brief spell of snow just before Christmas and this gave an opportunity to the then Mayor to try out a Christmas gift from his timber agents in Canada, namely a Canadian sleigh, perhaps the first and last time that such a mode of transport was seen in Carmarthen streets.

Churches Like Theatres

To return to the Church interiors—they were a riot of decorations and texts, so much so that one indignant Church-goer wrote to the paper that the Churches looked like theatres. The decorations in St. Peter's were supervised by Mr. Armstrong and Mr. J. Buckley. Along the wall of the north aisle was displayed the text "I am the way, the truth, the life" and opposite, bordering the pillars "Behold the Lamb of God which taketh away the sins of the world". In the south aisle there appeared "Unto us a Child is born, unto us a Son is given" and "Thou art the King of Kings"; in the chancel over the window, "Glory to God in the Highest"; above the communion table, "The word was made flesh and dwelt among us"; around the chancel arch, "Arise. Shine for the light is come" in blue, red and gold letters. The pulpit panels were inlaid with crimson velvet and decorated with crosses and double triangles. The interior was one mass of holly, berries, everlasting, laurel and flowers.

At St. David's Church the interior was also decorated. Over the south door was the text "Ac Eilwaith y dywedasant aleluia"; on the adjoining wall by the font, "One Lord, One Faith, One Baptism"; over the wall of the transept, "In Him was life and the life was the light of man"; under the west window a large crown surmounted by "Alleluia". The pulpit and reading desk were fringed with holly berries and adorned with crosses and double triangles. Within the altar was a gothic screen of evergreens and above in red letters bordered in holly "I bring you glad tidings of great joy". The Font was nearly hidden in holly, crosses, flowers and berries. The walls were literally covered with banners, crosses and ecclesiastical devices.

St. Mary's Church in Union Street was equally well decorated. The walls were festooned with holly garlands, and there were bunches of evergreens under the gaseliers. Over the altar was the text "Gloria in Excelsis Deo" in berries on a white ground; over the Blessed Sacrament, a fine canopy, richly interlaced with gold; and behind the image of the Virgin Mary, 'Maria' in white. There was a brilliant array of lights in the sanctuary. On Christmas night there were Solemn Vespers and Benediction.

The detail given shows how bright and cheerful the interiors of Carmarthen churches were during the Christmas season. Many homes, too, were bright with good cheer; besides traditional dinner of roast beef and plum pudding, there were gaily decorated Christmas trees. The Christmas tree was the pine tree, mentioned in a German folk song from Swabia as the faithful tree of the forest, possibly because of the evergreen appearance in bleak mid-winter, unlike the stark bare branches of the deciduous oak, ash and elm. In a Christmas version of 'O Tannenbaum' it is addressed, "Oh, Christmas Tree, in Winter's bitter snow, how faithful are thy branches".

On December 31st a Grand Christmas Tree (Bazaar) was held in the Assembly Rooms (on the site now occupied by the Lyric Cinema) in aid of the fund for St. Peter's new School-Church in Priory Street (now housing Priory Street School—but the pictorial stained glass window at the east end indicates the building's former dual purpose). This was the first occasion of this popular annual event, which was later held for very many years in the Church House in Nott Square. At the original event there were two trees, with many stalls and refreshment—the purchase of a biscuit entitled one to a glass of sherry, port or champagne! It is no surprise to learn that a sum of £142 was raised. A musical programme included the first appearance of the new organist at St. Peter's, namely C. Videon Harding from Leeds.

The Lot of the Poor

The better off enjoyed grand fare, boasted a well decorated Christmas tree, exchanged festive gifts in convivial drawing rooms, gas-lit and cosy. Even the poorly paid lower orders were able to enjoy themselves. There were schemes such as the St. Peter's Visiting Society & Benefit Club for saving during the year; the Club had £112 for distribution in 100 homes. But it must have been very difficult for farm labourers, working from 6 a.m. to 6 p.m. for a wage of twelve shillings a week, to save. The working classes of the town (the Tinworks were the main employer) could save for Christmas cheer and in addition they were able to pay a penny or twopence a week to educate their children (using slates, but writing books cost extra). However, there was a still lower class for whom Christmas was a cheerless time. These were the people who could not afford a penny a week and for them there were collections in town for the support of the Ragged School and Chapel held in a warehouse. Soup kitchens (three times a week) provided soup, bread and coal for paupers (many too old to work).

For the helpless, the weak and utterly destitute the unwelcome refuge was the Workhouse, where life was made as unpleasant as possible. Families and children were segregated—at this time there were 36 children in the Workhouse who were segregated from the rest of the Town's children and had their own Schoolmistress. Life for the sick and destitute can be imagined from the report of Dr. E. Smith in 1868: “. . . the sick wards had openings with iron gratings covered with shutters, ventilation aided by circular holes in the ceiling, but in some wards even these inefficient means do not exist. The water closet accommodation was very defective and offensive. There are not any fixed baths. The bedsteads are of iron with rigid laths and beds of straw. There are a few old chairs and benches but there is not much furniture. There are tin wash hand basins and two towels are supplied to each ward twice a week. Tin plates and pannikins are provided for the sick. There is not a paid nurse” (one was appointed in 1869 and she was expected to help with the cooking). A dismal picture, but, according to the local press, on Christmas Day at the Workhouse the “inmates were regaled with the annual dinner of roast beef and plum pudding. The Master and Matron spared no exertion to make happy those under their charge and responded with alacrity and delight to the eager and smiling countenances of the juveniles in particular”!

The *Carmarthen Journal* of the day had no time for tramps and printed returns of the workhouses in the Carmarthen Union to show the sharp increase in numbers—in 1860 there were 210 men, 20 women and 10 children, whereas in 1868 there were 3009 men, 196 women and 120 children. The *Journal* suggested that the punishment of a month in gaol in the Lake District had driven the tramps to the Carmarthen area “as we were too indulgent with them”. According to the Editor the vast majority of tramps described themselves as of no trade and were registered as labourers, “which might be more correctly rendered—vagabonds—so viciously indolent are they that the Master of the Carmarthen Workhouse informs us a great many will rather lose their breakfast than break the prescribed bushel of stones”. The Editor hastens to add that children were not required to break stones before they could have their breakfast. The tramps “luxuriate in a lucrative profession” of begging, alleged the *Journal* (omitting to add that if they were caught the miscreants were sentenced to seven days in the House of Correction with its treadmill). The Editor suggested “that it is well known that pauperism and crime are twin associates” and went on to say that “it is a monstrous grievance that the public should be burdened with the provision of even temporary lodgings for this class of people and any

leniency to tramps in general will be of no avail”. He favoured the scheme put forward by the Governor of Shrewsbury Gaol that any tramp guilty of disorderly conduct should be tattooed on his shoulder with a V and for the second offence an R under the V, to be permanently condemned as a Vagabond and Rogue. This was the other side of Victorian charity and Christmas could not have been altogether a season of peace and goodwill.

A popular event was the annual Musical Soiree of St. David's Church, which was held on December 30th in the Assembly Rooms. It is recorded that “the tea tables were neatly ornamented and upwards of 450 partook of the viands”. After tea a Concert was given by members of St. David's Church Choir and accompanied by Mrs. Hancock. Among the items sung were ‘Our dear old Church of England’, ‘Dowch adref fy Nhad’ and a soloist was E. Colby Evans. St. David's Church was for Welsh speakers and obviously a great deal of Welsh would have been used at the Concert and this probably inspired the reporter to write that “there is something intrinsically musical in the Welsh language—the oftener we hear it the more we love it”.

On New Year's evening the Vicar of St. Peter's did his good deed by entertaining the choir “to a sumptuous repast in the Vicarage. About 30 sat down. The good ales and choice wines were duly appreciated”!

On New Year's Day, among certain classes, it was considered unlucky and an unfavourable omen if the first people met were of the same sex. There were instances where old ladies actually engaged police officers to be their first visitors on New Year's Day in order to be favoured with good fortune in the coming year.

It is fitting to end this account with a reference to one man's generosity to those less favoured. Archdeacon David Archard Williams, the incumbent of St. David's Church, on his 74th birthday invited to his annual dinner all those in the Parish over eighty, of whom nineteen attended divine service at noon and after prayers repaired to the Vicarage to partake, among other things, of roast beef and plum pudding. The Archdeacon, assisted by the Rector of Merthyr, “dispensed the viands while the different members of his family attended to the creature comforts of the veteran party”. The average age of the guests was more than eighty-five. There were fifteen absentees from various causes and dinners were supplied to them at their homes, the eldest being ninety-five. After dinner, the

Archdeacon, speaking in Welsh, addressed his guests in terms of affection, reminded them of the mercies vouchsafed to them during a long life and urged them to prepare for the inevitable change that awaited them soon. Some of them present had attended the Archdeacon's ministry for nearly fifty years. When the party broke up every one of the guests was presented with a florin, the considerate gift of two benevolent ladies of the congregation who had themselves passed the limit of four-score years.

[This reconstruction has come mainly from the files of the *Carmarthen Journal* and *The Welshman* of the period.]

No Ordinary Courtier She

When little Miss Murray found herself launched in a coracle on the river Towy in 1802 she could hardly have realised that this was an early taste of the adventure that would colour her much travelled life. She was but seven years old at the time and living in the Bishop's Palace at Abergwili just before the great flood of July 1802 changed the course of the river. When she found herself upon the water she was in fact afloat in the old river bed, which at that time ran close to the palace grounds.

Amelia Matilda Murray was born in 1795 the fourth daughter of Lord George Murray (1761-1803) and Anne Charlotte, second daughter of Lt-General Francis Ludovick Grant, M.P.; through her father she was the grand-daughter of the third Duke of Atholl. Her father was Bishop of St. Davids from 11th February 1801 to 3rd June 1803, which accounts for her presence on the Towy in what was perhaps her first voyage, and it was the memory of this and other pleasantries which must have lured her back, more than sixty years later, during the episcopate of Bishop Thirlwall.

Her father's untimely death cut short the family's sojourn at Abergwili and it was while staying at Weymouth in 1805 that ten year old Amelia became known to the royal family. Weymouth was at that time a fashionable resort patronised by royalty. In 1808 her mother was appointed lady-in-waiting to the Princesses Augusta and Elizabeth, which meant that Amelia was also frequently at Court, where her vivacious personality attracted the notice of George III himself. Later, one of her most intimate friends would be Lady Byron.

Miss Murray grew up to be an accomplished artist and a highly competent botanist, two qualities she would put to good use during her travels. But in the meantime she in her turn was destined for life at Court in an official capacity, for in 1837 she was appointed maid of honour to the new queen, Victoria. She was already forty-two years old and because of her maturity she became known as the Mother of the Maids. Although she greatly enjoyed her position at Court, she nevertheless continued her interest in the education of destitute and delinquent children and her membership of the Children's Friend Society, which she had joined when it was started in 1830.

At a time when most women of her age and station would have been preparing themselves for the serenity of old age, Miss Murray,

now approaching sixty years of age, decided to embark on a voyage across the Atlantic. After setting out in July 1854, she visited Cuba and toured the American States and Canada before returning home in October 1855. According to the *Dictionary of National Biography* she returned a zealous advocate for the abolition of slavery, but Bishop Thirlwall, after reading her own account of her experiences, recorded that in America "she fell into the hands of Southerners, who prepossessed her in favour of their domestic institution, and got her to promise that on her return to England she would publish her sentiments in its favour".¹ Expanding on this observation, the Bishop wrote: "As long as she remains in the North [of the American States] she is only opposed to the precipitate measures of the Abolitionists and to the suppression of the slave trade, which, by limiting the number, appeared to her to have deteriorated the condition of the slaves. As she moves South she finds herself more and more prepossessed in favour of the white population, in comparison with the manners and habits of the Yankees; and the more she sees of the 'Darkies' the more she is convinced that they are incapable of civilisation, and that, if their labour is to be made really useful, it must be compulsory".² He further observed: "The slave trade she regards as the great instrument appointed by Providence for the civilisation and evangelisation of Africa."³ Without sharing her views on slavery—"with what a frenzy of indignation and abhorrence such doctrines would be received at Exeter Hall"⁴—the Bishop confessed to being "very much of her opinion as to the capacity of the negro," and did "not believe that he will, or ever can be, raised to an equality with the whites".

These views about slavery Miss Murray recorded in *Letters from the United States, Cuba and Canada*, published in two volumes in 1856, after resigning her position at Court to satisfy the convention that forbade the publication of any material of a political nature. But her strong loyalty to the Queen remained unsullied and in time she was made an extra woman of the bedchamber. Despite her inflammatory views about slavery, her account of her travels contains much interesting information. Thirlwall judged her to be "a clear-headed and perfectly independent observer", always keeping her eyes open and often meeting "historical persons".⁵ She travelled extensively in the United States, always sketching and botanising,

1. *Letters to a Friend*, p. 43.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 49.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 53.

4. The London home of Evangelicalism and venue of many great meetings that examined the public conscience. Exeter Hall, which was demolished before the 1914-18 War, stood on the site of the Strand Palace Hotel.

5. *Letters to a Friend*, p. 49.

often armed with an umbrella, which on one occasion was held over her protectively against pelting rain by the poet Longfellow while she committed the scene to her sketch-book. But although she prepared many sketches to accompany her narrative they were never published.

Besides her talent for sketching, which she did "rapidly and well", and her interest in botany, which she cultivated "to the root", Miss Murray played the piano "from memory with a free bold touch". Characteristic was her claim to practise homoeopathy with unflinching success. Thirlwall thought her "a woman of very original and independent modes of thought, not always . . . consistent with that faultless orthodoxy which one looks for in a bishop's daughter". She was an entertaining though interminable raconteur, who was "said to have performed the almost incredible feat of keeping Macaulay in gasping speechlessness, vainly waiting, like Horace's rustic, for a pause in her fluency".⁶

In her later years especially, she seems to have spent much of her time in endless peregrination visiting relatives, friends and acquaintances. It was thus that in 1865 she felt drawn towards her childhood home at Abergwili, having crossed from Ilfracombe in atrocious weather after visiting in Cornwall. She was then seventy and her episcopal host, himself two years her junior, was led to observe that she carried her years with "rare elastic vigour". She still continued to rise every morning at six and must have been something of a trial for John, the Bishop's manservant, whom she knocked up the very first morning after her arrival so that he could show her around the palace and the grounds.

She left Abergwili armed with a letter of introduction to a canon of St. David's, who reported that she had made the most of her time and scaled St. David's Head, unafraid and undaunted. She revelled in the scenery and did not fail to produce sketches, again under her umbrella in a downpour. She also visited Tenby and went on to see the Talbots at Margam, all the time preaching to anyone who would listen the duty of contributing to the restoration of "the greatest Welsh Cathedral" and producing her sketch-book to prove it.

Death overcame her at last on 7th June 1884 at Glenberrow in Herefordshire. She was eighty-nine and one would like to feel that she was hale and visiting to the end. Besides *Letters from America*, her published work included a volume of recollections (1868) and *Pictorial and Descriptive Sketches of the Oden Wald* (1869).

E.V.J.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 44.

Driving an Iron Road Through the Hills

By G. F. GABB, M.A.

BY 1858, the Llanelly Railway and Dock Company, with its lease of the Vale of Towy line, had penetrated inland as far as Llandovery, and over the next ten years it opened branches to Carmarthen and Swansea. Meanwhile, by faltering steps, a sequence of small companies, latterly under the aegis of the London and North Western Railway, pushed a snake-like track south-westwards, from Craven Arms in Shropshire towards the railhead at Llandovery. By June, 1867, the gap had been reduced to the twelve miles between Llandovery and Llanwrtyd Wells, but this last section presented severe engineering difficulties.

The *Cambrian* newspaper for 6th March, 1868, outlined the first problem. North of the station it referred to as "Cynhordy" (Cynghordy) was "a valley so deep that it would not be practicable to fill it up level. Over this a magnificent viaduct is being built, the total length of which is nearly 700 feet, and its height to the top of the metals 109 feet. . . ." Cynghordy Viaduct cannot be appreciated from the train, but, viewed from near the chapel and cottages which nestle below it, its splendour is quite apparent. Sandstone for the pillars came from a quarry at Dunvant on the L.R.D.C.'s Swansea Extension. Construction began on March 22nd, 1867, and, by 12th May, 1868, a train of eight trucks, loaded with stone to build a turntable at Llandovery, passed safely over it. The other main obstacle lay three miles further north, on the Carmarthenshire-Brecknock border. This was the Sugar Loaf. The L.N.W.R. authorities favoured a gradual ascent but Robertson, the engineer of the Central Wales Extension Railway, persisted with a thousand yard tunnel, despite its mounting expense. (Perhaps, in retrospect, an open cutting would have been easier to maintain and modify). By March, waggons could pass through the tunnel and, in May, the stone laden train emerged safely into the Vale of Llandovery. Its arrival at Llandovery Station was "greeted by a display of flags" and application was made immediately to the Board of Trade for inspection. Once Colonel Rich had pronounced himself satisfied, the opening of the line was celebrated with a sumptuous luncheon at Llandovery, on Whit Monday, 8th June, 1868.

The *Cambrian* sent a reporter to the festivities, and the issues of 26th June and 3rd July, contained a detailed account of those present, their meal and their oratory. Among the hundred V.I.P.s were Campbell Davys of Noyadd, Chairman for the day, Gwyn Vaughan of Cynhordy (sic), Sir Charles Boughton, Sir John Mansell, Green Price, M.P., and the engineers, Messrs. Robertson and Mackintosh—all representing the three small companies which had actually built the railway. The L.N.W.R. had financed much of the later construction, and their big guns arrived in force: apart from Richard Moon, the Chairman and three other directors, all the chief officials of the company were present, including William Cawkwell, the general manager, and also Joseph Bishop, the first district manager of the new line. The Great Western and the Llanelly Company sent representatives, and there were four important visitors from Swansea—Starling Benson, Chairman of the Harbour Trust, J. W. James, the harbour manager, George Burden Strick of the Brynamman Works, and J. E. Morris, Secretary of the Swansea Vale Railway. The gentry and the railway magnates made sure they dined well on these occasions, the Raven Hotel Company of (significantly) Shrewsbury being responsible for the catering. They consumed: "Mayonnaise of Salmon, Roast Fowls, Galantine of Fowls, Tongues, Turkey-a-la-Royal, Fore Quarters of lamb, Veal aspic, Hare pies, Pigeon Pies, Lobster Aspic, Lobster salads, Charlotte-a-la-Russe, Savoy Cakes, Jellies, Blancmanges, Pastry (and) Ices . . .", all washed down with fine wines. Then the waiters cleared the tables, and glasses were recharged for the usual toasts, and the exchange of congratulations all round on the completion of the line.

A Town is Reborn

Mr. Rees of Tonn, Mayor of Llandovery, made a long speech which naturally outlined the advantages the town would enjoy as a railway centre. He traced Llandovery's history, attributing its continuing prosperity to its situation "at the confluence of four river valleys". However, when the long distance coach routes declined, and the early railways were not attracted to the town, commerce dwindled, and "grass grew upon some of the streets". In 1858, the Vale of Towy line arrived from the south, and the mayor claimed that he himself had first suggested the route for its northward extension, "through the supposed impassable range of Kerry Hills and Radnor Forest". In concluding that he hoped the L.N.W.R. would make Llandovery its headquarters for Southern Wales, Mr. Rees was only reflecting his civic office, but a *Cambrian* advertisement on 10th July, seemed to suggest that Llandovery was the hub of the whole Central Wales route. It offered for sale farmland in the parishes of

Llandinat and Llanfairybryn "some portion . . . within two, the remainder within three miles of the market town of Llandovery, where there is a first class station on the Central Wales Extension and Vale of Towy Railways. By the former. . . . easy access is afforded from Llandovery and its neighbourhood to Liverpool and Manchester, and the Northern and Midland Counties of England, while the latter forms a direct communication with the Port of Swansea, and the mineral districts of Carmarthenshire and Glamorganshire, hence coal and lime are easily available. . . ." Such were the magnificent facilities available to farmers in this corner of Dyfed.

In his speech, Richard Moon said that, "As directors of the railway, they liked to look at tall chimneys, and large factories dirty hands and large numbers of mechanics and artisans. . .", but such scenes did not exist between Craven Arms and Llandovery. The London and North Western had hesitated long before committing itself in Central Wales; Moon's tone was cautious, and he warned that this "was certainly not the end of their labours. . . . Whether the London and North Western Company could make a living out of the country. . . depended on a number of circumstances." To the south, on the L.R.D.C., were rich coalfields. Central Wales could attract sportsmen and tourists, while the spas of Llandrindod and Llanwrtyd were developing apace. Every item of local produce could be transported to market. "But all these things wanted to be developed—they must not leave the line alone by itself". Only the greatest exertions of Mr. Bishop and the local inhabitants would produce a dividend. The *Cambrian* of May 29th, 1868, summed it up brutally: "The country which it (the C.W.R.) traverses is not thickly populated, nor is its produce of much consequence. There is no considerable town on the route, and the junction of other lines is of very little moment. Indeed, the local traffic for a long period, could hardly pay the cost of working".

For the L.N.W.R., the value of Central Wales lay in its potential as a through route. By July, 1868, the narrow gauge Pembroke and Tenby Railway had linked those two places to Whitland on the G.W.R., and had also forced that company to convert the up line between Whitland and Carmarthen from broad to narrow gauge. By means of running powers over the Llanelli Railway and its branches, the L.N.W.R. could run trains through to Carmarthen and on to West Wales. Tenby was a growing holiday resort, while the deep water port of Milford Haven was considered capable of limitless development, once the Great Western's broad gauge monopoly there was ended.

In the event, the G.W.R. was able to largely checkmate these schemes, but the notion of the Central Wales as a trunk route between Swansea and Llanelli on the one hand, and the whole of Midland and Northern England on the other, was to be proved most practical. It was this possibility which led the *Cambrian* to declare: "Whit Monday, 1868, will stand noted for years in the history of the narrow Gauge system of Railways in South Wales". The L.R.D.C. immediately re-timed its whole passenger service, and invested £1,380 in three new locomotives to cope with the through traffic. From the opening day, there were through coaches from Swansea, Llanelli and Carmarthen to the North of England, the distance between Carmarthen and Manchester being 55 miles shorter than over the Great Western system. Passengers fares were considered very reasonable, and the G.W.R. was forced to make immediate reductions. The L.N.W.R., and after grouping in 1922, the L.M.S., even ran through coaches from South Wales to Euston, a much longer, but more scenic route to London than by the South Wales main line, and at the same fare. In 1868, a substantial potential trade already existed between the metal refineries and collieries of Swansea and Llanelli, and the factories of the Midlands and the North. Through goods traffic probably reached its height in the twenties and thirties, if one excludes the two wars.

In the 1860s, the local communities in Central Wales wanted a railway, but could not raise the capital to pay for it. The L.N.W.R. correctly discerned that through traffic would make the line viable, and supplied the cash. Nowadays, through traffic has declined immensely on the Central Wales. Capital has not been made available, over the years, to keep the line up to scratch; for example, in substantially renovating Cyngordy Viaduct and the Sugar Loaf Tunnel; furthermore, Central Wales has been omitted from the Inter-City Network. So the line ekes out a precarious existence based on the local and tourist traffic (which was considered of dubious value in 1868) and a large government subsidy.

Battle of the Gauges

To return to the luncheon at Llandovery. Speaker after speaker praised the liberality of the London and North Western Company, and expressed gratitude to the directors for saving the Central Wales scheme, almost as if that action were a piece of disinterested idealism. Elsewhere, they acknowledged that the company would doubtless make substantial profits on long distance traffic, and this muddled thinking did owe something to the great relief that the struggle to finish the line was over, so feelingly expressed by Boughton. At the same time,

this partiality for the L.N.W.R. had other roots. Since 1850, the Great Western Railway had enjoyed a near monopoly in South Wales. The local ruling classes were shocked by the insensitivity of the company—with its large interests in the Midlands and the West Country—to their wishes in local matters. First and foremost, only the G.W.R. used the broad (7 foot) gauge, which remained in South Wales until 1872, despite its manifest inconveniences. The answer to the tyranny of the G.W.R. was conceived to be competition from a major company using the narrow gauge, and when Campbell Davys mentioned the L.N.W.R. in this light at Llandovery, he was answered by cheers. The fact that the London and North Western was also very widely spread geographically, and was naturally, first and foremost concerned with profits and dividends was ignored in the identification of a saviour.

The small Central Wales Companies were quite content to be bought out by L.N.W.R. in June, 1868. In South Wales itself, the smaller railway companies had an ambiguous attitude to their giant competitors. On one hand, the density of industry and the prosperous example of the Taff Vale line led them to hope to remain independent; but, in bad years, the shareholders yearned to be bought out, perhaps at a profit. In February, 1868, the Swansea Vale Railway had struck a lean patch, declaring a half-yearly dividend of only one per cent. The *Cambrian* speculated in April that the L.N.W.R. and the Midland Railway might join in leasing the S.V.R. to give them access to the port of Swansea. (L.N.W.R. trains would presumably have proceeded from Central Wales via the projected link from Llangamarch to Defynnog on the Neath and Brecon which was never built, and then by the Swansea Vale and Neath and Brecon Junction line, completed in 1873, into the Swansea Valley, or via the junction of the Llanelli Railway and the Swansea Vale at Brynamman). It may have been significant that of the four Swansea men at Llandovery in 1868, three were intimately connected with the S.V.R.—Strick, a director, Benson, chairman, and Morris, secretary. In the event, the Midland alone absorbed the S.V.R. in 1877.

By then the London and North Western had secured a more direct route to Swansea. At the Swansea Vale general meeting of 28th February, casting around for examples of small companies which "would never pay", J. Glasbrook commented: "The Llanelli Company struggled for about twenty years before they were taken in hand by another company. . ." The L.R.D.C. did not consider itself "taken in hand". When in August, the *Cambrian* reported an excursion from Carmarthen, Llandilo and Llanelli to Swansea "over

the recently opened L.N.W.R.", the newspaper was rebuked by a Llanelli railway official, who stated that while his company was "working in amity with the London and North Western Company [they] yet hold their integrity entirely independent of the aforesaid Company".

Yet, by the end of 1868, the L.R.D.C.'s independence was gravely compromised. At the general meeting of 13th February, it was reported that "they had entered into arrangements with the L.N.W.R. to bring their traffic over their lines, which could not fail to increase the receipts, especially as it would involve only a trifling outlay for increased station accommodation. . . ." This was a fatal step. It was predicted that the completion of the Central Wales system would give the L.R.D.C., with its newly finished branch lines, its first taste of real prosperity. At the August general meeting, it was stated that since 1st April, 1868, (perhaps a significant date) the L.R.D.C. had conceded half its lease of the Vale of Towy line to the L.N.W.R., but there was still no sense of foreboding. These two innocent concessions were the bases of the London and North Western's legal victory over the Llanelli Company in 1871, by which the latter's prized extensions to Swansea and Carmarthen were filched.

The guests who departed from Llandovery rather precipitately to catch their special train had seen more than the completion of an important line; they had witnessed the advent of a second major power in the railway world of South-west Wales.

SOURCES

- Shrewsbury to Swansea, the story of the Railway through Central Wales*, by D. J. Smith, (Town and Country Press, 1971).
The Central Wales, published by the Swansea Railway Circle, 1964.
History of the Great Western Railway, Volume II, by E. T. Macdermot and C. R. Clinker. (Ian Allan, 1964).
The Cambrian, 1868.

Arthur Mee, 1860-1926

As is so often the case among those who examine the history of their environment, Arthur Mee was not a native of the place whose past he loved to delve into. He wrote about Llanelli and Carmarthenshire, but was born in Aberdeen on 21st October 1860 the son of George Samuel Mee and Elizabeth, the daughter of James Phillips, a Pembrokeshire farmer. The father was a brilliant student at Glasgow University, which he was obliged to leave prematurely through overwork to become the pastor of a Baptist Church at Aberdeen. After leaving the ministry to take up a career in journalism George Mee edited the *Bradford Observer* briefly before settling in Llanelli as editor and part proprietor of the *South Wales Press*.

Arthur Mee, who was sixteen when his father died, had been intended for the medical profession, but, as he himself confessed, he "saved many lives by becoming a journalist". He learnt his profession in Llanelli, but he left in 1892 for Cardiff to join the *Western Mail*, which he served in several capacities for the rest of his life, contributing to its columns on many topics, often under the pen-name Idris. He married Claudia, daughter of David Thomas of Llanelli, in 1888.

Although he is now remembered as an amateur historian concerned in particular to preserve the heritage of the town of his upbringing, it was an interest in astronomy that probably commanded his greatest attention outside the demands of his work-a-day life. He was a keen observer of celestial phenomena from his youth, contributed to journals concerned with that science and became a fellow of the Royal Astronomical Society and its French counterpart. Among his published works was *Observational Astronomy*, a useful guide in its time, which ran into a second edition.

He was a man of many interests, which included an aptitude for languages. His obituary records that he "mastered the Welsh language" and was "a French, Latin and Greek scholar", and a devotee of Esperanto. But next to astronomy his abiding interest was Welsh antiquities, to use his own description. As a young man he took an active part in the life of Llanelli and was secretary of its Debating Society for some years. He became a mine of information about the town and in 1888 he published *Llanelli Parish Church, Its History and Records, with Notes Relating to the Town*, (South Wales Press, Llanelli), pp. lxxii, plus pp. 109. Although it was criticised for its inadequacies at the time (*Archaeologia Cambrensis*

1888, p. 362), it was nevertheless a pioneering attempt to present something of the town's history to his fellows. Much of the material was incorporated in *Old Llanelly*, by John Innes (Cardiff 1902).

In 1889 he started *Carmarthenshire Notes*, the purpose of which he expressed in his first editorial by saying he felt "strongly that something should be done for Carmarthenshire akin to what has long been done for many counties in England, and for at least one in Wales, viz. the establishment of a repository where correspondents possessing scraps of curious information may place the same for the benefit of the public and posterity. How much priceless material has passed and is passing away for ever!" Although there never was a flood of such correspondents, this laudable sentiment sustained the publication, which appeared in periodical parts, through three annual volumes (1889, 1890 and 1891) until his departure from Llanelli in 1892. One suspects that had he remained *Carmarthenshire Notes* would have continued to flourish, but in that year he left to join the editorial staff of the *Western Mail* in Cardiff.

But the links were not broken, and when the *Transactions of the Carmarthenshire Antiquarian Society* appeared early in the following century he at once became a contributor and continued to send items to the next ten volumes until 1916. In one of these contributions—in Vol. IV of the *Transactions* for 1908, the tercentenary of the invention of the telescope—he pointed out that some of the earliest astronomical observations ever effected with the telescope were made in Carmarthenshire and drew attention to the work of Sir William Lower of Treventy, south-east of St. Clears, and John Protheroe of Nantyrhebog, near Sarnau in the early years of the seventeenth century. Major Francis Jones has acknowledged that the credit for noting Protheroe's contribution to science belongs to Arthur Mee (*vide* 'The Squires of Hawksbrook', *Trans. Hon. Soc. Cymmr.*, 1937, p. 344).

When he was about sixty Arthur Mee embarked upon a task which had never been successfully undertaken before. The result was the publication of *Who's Who in Wales* in 1921. Mee was the editor and in the foreword he wrote: "Whatever the imperfections of the volume now offered to the public, it is, at any rate in one respect, unique. Several schemes have at one time or another been projected to do for Wales what has long been done by Messrs. Black's 'Who's Who' and similar publications for the British world at large. Not one of these schemes has fructified, and the present work, therefore, occupies the position of being the first actual *Who's Who in Wales*". Sadly, unlike the counterpart it strove to emulate, it never became the subject of regular revision to provide a contemporary

dictionary of living notabilities ; yet it remains a valuable record of its time and will long continue to be a source of reference.

Arthur Mee died suddenly of heart failure at his home in Llanishen, Cardiff on the evening of Friday, 15th January 1926 after a normal day's work at the wordy trade he had pursued with distinction, marked by unflagging attention to detail, for almost half a century. He was sixty-five years of age. A man of small stature and earnest countenance, he had a large heart full of kindness and encouragement, and possessed a sense of humour and geniality which made him an endearing personality. In his later years he was required to explain all too often that he was not the Arthur Mee who edited the *Children's Encyclopaedia*, a confusion of identity which he seems to have suffered with good humour. He described himself as a Christian, but allied himself to no church, and politics he had none.

E.V.J.

Ghost Hunting

"It is my intention to publish before long a detailed study of the ghost stories of Dyfed," writes J. Towyn Jones, Brynsiriol, 14 College Road, Carmarthen, who goes on, "All the notable stories of this nature in the new county will be examined in depth. However the profusion and diversity of such tales in this region would seem to indicate that there may well be many unusual experiences or family traditions, seemingly of a supernatural kind, that are hitherto unrecorded. My study of published sources, archives, countless interviews and inquiries can not have been totally exhaustive. The expediency of obtaining all possible data is obvious and the correlation of such material will I trust prove to be interesting and revelatory to the antiquary and folklorist alike".

Any readers who can give information regarding alleged supernatural manifestations or traditions connected with Carmarthenshire, Pembrokeshire or Cardiganshire, are invited to communicate with Mr. Jones.

Cave Legends

'Legends and Lore of Carmarthenshire Caves' is the title of an article by Ioan Richard in Vol. 65 of *British Caves*, which also includes a contribution on 'Some Cave Archaeology in South Wales' by the same author. *British Caves* is obtainable from Anne Olham, Rhydydwr, Crymych, Dyfed, price 60p plus 20p postage.