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THE CARVIARTHESHIRE
HISTORIAN

Edited by
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COVER : The illustration, which shows Quay Street, Carmarthen early in this century, is taken from an engraving by W. Jones, Principal of Carmarthen School of Art from a drawing by his son Harold Jones. Buildings in the foreground, on each side of the street, were demolished when Coracle Way was constructed.

'To Supply the Sick Poor'

By D. L. BAKER-JONES, J.P., M.A., F.S.A.

County Record Office, Carmarthen

'At a numerous and highly influential Meeting of the Nobility, Clergy and Inhabitants' of Carmarthenshire held at the Guildhall, Carmarthen on Saturday 24 October 1846, Sir John Mansel, Bt., High Sheriff in the chair, unanimous expression was given to the view that 'the want of a Public Infirmary to supply the sick poor with gratuitous Medical advice on Surgical treatment has been long and grievously felt in this Town and County'. It was further felt that this want, already urgent, would be aggravated by 'the increased number of casualties which may naturally be expected to occur' during the prosecution of 'the Great Public works about to be commenced in this county'.

THIS meeting was the first step towards the foundation of the Carmarthen Infirmary, and then on the proposition of D. A. Saunders Davies, Esq. M.P., seconded by David Morris Esq. M.P. it was unanimously carried—"That an Institution which in other counties has proved under the Divine Blessing eminently successful in mitigating human misery and corporal sufferings, is imperatively demanded by the wants of this County and Town, and that a benevolent project, fraught with such prospective advantages to the cause of suffering humanity, specially commends itself to the sympathy and co-operation of the Ministers of Religion of every denomination and they are hereby earnestly requested to extend their utmost influence in their various localities and respective spheres of labour to promote the humane objects of this meeting". In the subsequent discussion it was stated—"That it is a duty incumbent on everyone whom God has blessed with the means, and especially on the great landed proprietors, to contribute to the Building of the Projected Infirmary". Subscriptions of £20 per annum to the Building and Endowment Fund secured membership of the committee and the medical practitioners of the town and county of Carmarthen were thanked "for the kind and liberal tender of their gratuitous professional services when the Infirmary is opened for the reception of Patients". Various suggestions were put forward for the acquisition of a suitable building including the Carmarthen Barracks, but matters were left to the General Meeting on 7 July 1847. It was then resolved that the Borough Gaol be converted into a temporary infirmary and the offer of the Town Coun-

cil to allow its use rent free was accepted. The committee appointed for making alterations to that building comprised—Sir John Mansel, Ban., Daniel Prydderch, Esq., The Ven. Archdeacon of St. Davids, Thomas Charles Morris and William Morris the Bankers, the Mayor of Carmarthen Wm. George Thomas, Mr. Lewis Morris and the Rev. D. A. Williams as well as the "medical gentlemen" resident in the town. Following an inspection by the sub-committee it was resolved to reduce the height of the walls surrounding the Borough Gaol and the Town Council gave permission for fixtures to be removed on termination of occupation. Rules were made up and printed—"Rules of the County and County of the Borough of Carmarthen Infirmary". Mr. John W. White, Chemist and Druggist, Guildhall Square, was appointed Secretary and circulars requesting subscriptions were sent out. Over three hundred persons responded from Carmarthenshire and beyond. According to the rules unanimously adopted by the general meeting any person making a single donation of fifty guineas "shall be eligible to serve as President of the Institution for life ; or subscribing annually the sum of Ten Pounds, shall be eligible to serve as President during the continuance of such subscription. That any person making a single donation of Ten Guineas shall be a Governor for life ; or subscribing annually One Guinea shall be a Governor during the continuance of such subscription".

The officers of the Institution consisted of at least two physicians, two surgeons, a resident surgeon and apothecary, a treasurer and secretary. The general committee of the Presidents, Vice-Presidents and Governors was to be held on the Friday of the April Sessions, at which meeting a House Committee of twenty one Governors was to be appointed for the following year. The latter was to meet at the Infirmary every Tuesday at 11 o'clock a.m. with powers to examine and discharge tradesmen's accounts, for regulating the admission and discharge of patients and to deal with the administration of the Infirmary generally. With regard to the finances of the Infirmary no part of the Permanent Capital invested by the Trustees was to be sold unless four fifths in number of the Presidents, Vice-Presidents and Governors for life authorised such a transaction. All sums of money belonging to the Institution except annual subscriptions and other sums in the hands of the Treasurer were to be laid out upon good security, and the income used for the purposes of the Institution.

According to Rule 1.7 the Secretary was to solicit the Vicar of St. Peters, the several clergymen and ministers of the different Meeting Houses for religious worship in the town and county, to preach a sermon once in each year, and use their best endeavours with their congregations to promote collections for the benefit of the Institution.

Every clergyman or Minister was thereby entitled to the same power of recommending Patients for admission as private individuals subscribing the same amount, and of voting at all meetings of the governors. But no person was allowed to vote whose name had not been upon the books and his subscription paid for the same, at least three calendar months.

Persons wishing to visit their friends were not allowed to enter the Wards without the permission of the House Surgeon or the Physician and Surgeon attending the patient. And amongst the numerous duties of the Physicians and Surgeons was to visit the Dispensary together, every month at least, to examine drugs and medicines, an inventory of which was to be kept by the Secretary. The diet of patients was a matter to be referred to the Medical Staff and "no other provisions or liquors be brought into the House, or given to the Patients, on any pretence whatever". A table of rules and orders relating to the conduct of Patients and servants was to be hung up in each ward. In particular Rule 29 said "That any Officer or Servant who shall give to, or receive from, any Tradesman, Patient or Stranger any fee, reward or gratuity of any kind, directly or indirectly on account of the Institution, and any Patient giving any fee, reward or gratuity to any Officer or Servant shall be liable to instant dismissal ; and the friends of Patients are desired not to give any money or make presents to any of the Nurses or Servants".

A register was to be kept by the House Surgeon, with the names of patients with their respective parishes, ages and diseases, times of admission, the names of the recommending governors and the time and cause of discharge.

No person was eligible to the office of Physician who was not bona fide a member of a British University or otherwise legally and properly qualified to fill the post, and the Infirmary Surgeon had to give satisfactory proof that he was a Member of the College of Surgeons of London, Edinburgh or Dublin. The medical cases belonged to the Physicians and the Surgical cases to the care of the surgeons—"and it is left to the gentlemanly candour of both parties to call each other in, to consult on cases requiring it". A second opinion was to be called in, in cases of difficulty, the ordinary hour of dressing the Surgeon's patients be at eleven o'clock daily, and in all cases where differences arose after consultation "the opinion of the majority present shall be binding—and if the votes were equal the physician in medical cases and the surgeon in a surgical case would have the casting vote".

No capital operation was to be performed without a previous consultation, for which the summonses were to be sent out the day before, except in cases of immediate necessity. No person was allowed to witness operations without the consent of the faculty, ". . . who are requested to make the Institution as available as possible to the Profession, by inviting their medical brethren to see the operations performed, and the most interesting cases admitted into the Institution".

The body of a patient who had died in the House was not to be subject to examination, unless the Physician or Surgeon was present, and only with the express consent of the friends and relatives of the deceased. Rule 43 stipulated "That every Surgeon using the Instruments belonging to the Institution, shall immediately afterwards cause them to be replaced, clean and in proper order in the repository". Again physicians and surgeons were to compile a Pharmacopoeia and, subject to the confirmation of the Committee, a general diet scheme for the use of the Infirmary.

Surgeons had the liberty of bringing two pupils to see the practice of the Institution and be Infirmary pupils. They were to obey the instructions of the House Surgeon and whilst keeping the rules of good behaviour—"shall not conduct themselves disrespectfully or improperly towards any Officer of the House or Matron or any Servant, Nurse, or Patient ; they shall not obtrude themselves unnecessarily into any part of the House to which their duties do not lead, such as, the dispensary, kitchen or household apartments". Rule 48 was more specific—"They shall not at any time go into the Women's wards unaccompanied by the House Surgeon, or Matron, except in a case of absolute necessity : nor remain at the Infirmary, unless especially ordered to do so, after four o'clock in the afternoon. They shall perform no operations, except the trivial ones of bleeding, extracting teeth etc.". The other pupils of the surgeons were allowed to dress the patients requiring it, to watch operations being performed and become pupils of the House after one year of apprenticeship. If any pupil "forgot himself as to appear in the House when in a state of inebriation", he was to be dismissed instantly, without the possibility of reinstatement on any account.

In addition to the qualifications mentioned earlier the House Surgeon and Apothecary was to be a certificated Apothecary, unmarried and free from the care of a family, and once elected was to continue in the office for five years, was not to practise out of the House, nor be engaged in any other business. His salary was to be £100 per annum and his duties included "the fixing of tickets" over each bed

specifying the name and age of the patient, the date of admission, the physician or surgeon by whom attended and the diet prescribed. He was to visit the wards every morning not later than nine o'clock, make up the medicines and keep a diary of his cases, and keep a diet list, order book for instruments, drugs, spirits, brandy or wine for the use of the dispensary. The House Surgeon had to keep a register of in-patients and carried out many other administrative tasks. He was to inspect all the medical and surgical instruments, utensils and articles when brought into the house and—"reject such as are not proper, and use all the means in his power to prevent damage, waste and embezzlement". Gaming was strictly forbidden. Patients, nurses, servants, pupils and apprentices were under the supervision of the House Surgeon. He was to keep letter books—both of letters received and the replies sent.

The House Surgeon was permitted to take two apprentices "whom he shall hind himself to transfer to his successor"—and who were to serve at least five years apprenticeship. Each apprentice was to be provided by his parents or guardians with board, washing and lodging, and had to pay a premium of not less than £50 to the funds of the Infirmary, with an addition of £30 to the House Surgeon at the time of executing the articles, and a further sum of £20 also to the House Surgeon at the expiration of his apprenticeship.

Rules 71 - 104 relate to the admission and discharge of patients. No patients were to be "admitted or assisted with advice, medicine or bath, who are able to assist themselves, or pay for the relief afforded them". Patients were only admitted on the recommendation of a President, Vice-President or Governor (except in urgent cases). Every subscriber of one guinea annually was to be entitled to have three out-door patients constantly on the books, and every subscriber of two guineas annually was to be entitled to recommend one indoor patient in the year, and three out-door patients constantly on the books—and so on—"so that every subscriber of ten guineas annually shall be entitled to recommend four in-door patients in the year, and out-door patients without limitation". In varying degrees these privileges were extended to—the physicians and surgeons of the Carmarthen Infirmary, the Head Officer of any parish or district or of any society or public company subscribing or making a donation to the Infirmary. Preference was always to be given to the cases of the greatest urgency, and if a patient, within a period of two months, did not receive positive benefit, he was to be discharged. Rule 90 stipulated—"That no woman big with child, no persons disordered in their senses, or who have the small pox, epilepsy, itch, or any infectious distemper nor any person who is apprehended to be in a dying state or consumptive state, or

who may receive equal benefit as Out-patients, shall be admitted, or permitted to continue as in-patients".

According to Rule 91—"All persons admitted as In-patients must bring at least two shirts or shifts ; and if they live at distant places, the persons recommending are requested to send before hand, directed to the Secretary, (post paid) a short statement of their case, drawn up by their medical attendant, in order that some judgement may be formed whether they are proper objects for the charity, and that an answer may be returned when they can be admitted, but the House Committee are to be at full liberty to reject such patients if it shall appear that their cases have been misrepresented. And all persons recommending a patient were to `deposit with the Secretary *One Guinea as a Security* for the expense of the funeral, if the Patient die, and of his journey home if cured'.

No in-patient was to leave the Infirmary without leave of the Physician or Surgeon, nor sleep out of the Hospital. They were not to swear, use abusive language, or behave themselves indecently in any other way, on pain of expulsion. Playing cards, dicing or smoking were not allowed. Such patients as were able to work to assist the matron, nurse or other servant were to nurse the other patients, washing and ironing the linen, washing and cleaning the wards. No patient was to be out of bed after 8 p.m. in winter nor after 9 p.m. in Summer ; all patients who were allowed to quit their beds were to rise by seven o'clock in Summer and eight in Winter.

Any patient who did not exactly conform to the rules was in danger of being discharged under disgrace, and such irregularity would render them "incapable of future admission to the benefits of this charity". The number of Patients discharged cured during the preceding month was to be delivered to the Vicar of Carmarthen, with a request for him on the first Sunday in each month to return thanks on behalf of those who so desired. Similarly patients of other religious persuasions should, on their recovery, return thanks in their respective places of worship. Out patients who attended at the Infirmary for advice, medicine and bath, were to attend punctually at the time appointed by the medical officers ; and no fresh medicines were to be given to them until they returned all phials, gallipots and other things supplied with.

Lastly rules 105 - 108 govern the duties and responsibilities of the matron, nurses and servants. The matron was to be unmarried and between the ages of 30 and 60, and without the care of a family. In keeping an inventory of all the goods brought into the House—she

was to weigh and measure all provisions, keep an account thereof, receive no article without a bill or parcels without the price affixed. She was to visit the wards in the morning, dinner time and in the evening, and see that the wards and other apartments together with the beds, clothes, linen etc were neat and clean, and that no sand be used. The matron distributed the provisions according to the Diet table ; kept all the keys of the House and supervised all the staff, reporting cases of misbehaviour to the House Committee ; seeing to it that the doors were locked at nine o'clock at night and opened at seven o'clock in the morning.

Nurses and servants were—to obey the House Surgeon, Matron and their superiors generally, to be diligent and attentive to the wants of the patients, and show neither partiality nor ill will towards any of them. Wards were to be cleaned by them before seven in the Summer and eight in Winter. No items of foul bed linen or bed clothes were to be kept or to remain in the wards, but had to be taken immediately to the wash house. Every Friday morning the respective wards were to be scoured with soap and warm water or lees. Moreover nurses and servants were to adopt every means in their power to promote cleanliness in the person of the patients, and ventilation in the wards as well as punctually administering the medicines according to directions. Any nurse or servant disobeying any order they received from their superiors or neglected their duties would be immediately discharged.

These rules were printed and published by J. White, Printer, Carmarthen and circulated to subscribers by the police.

At a meeting of the general committee held on 15 July 1847 it was decided to prepare for two sick wards and room for twelve in-patients, accomodation for the House Surgeon and the `usual offices'. The first trustees of the foundation were the Lord Bishop of St. Davids, the Rt. Flon. Geo. Rice Trevor, David Saunders Davies, Esq M.P., William Morris, Esq., and Daniel Prydderch. The first house committee consisted of

Capt. Philipps,	and Messrs.—E. H. Stacey, W. G.
John Lloyd Price, Esq.,	Thomas, Job Jones, W. Gwynne, J.
Colonel Love,	Rowlands, Lewis Morris, George Day-
W. Owen Price, Esq.,	ies, Wm. Carver, Wm. Norton, Charles
Capt. J. Bankes Davies,	Brigstocke, John Lewis Philipps and
	the Revs. Archdeacon Bevan and D.
	A. Williams.

From now on the house committee met every week and decided on matters of policy and needs of the new Infirmary. Mr. Collard's

tender was received for altering the Gaol and the supervision of carpenters, masons and labourers. A window in the Surgery was to be inserted as being 'absolutely necessary' and on the outside of the building a board was put up inscribed with the words "County and County of the Borough of Carmarthen Infirmary, supported by Voluntary Contribution". The clerk Mr. White was paid one guinea for writing out a fair copy of the rules and regulations, and the whole of the building was whitewashed and coloured and essential repairs made to the roof.

In due course the following basic equipment was provided—6 iron bedsteads, 2 pairs sheets each, blankets, quilts, 5 chairs and a table for each of the rooms in the back wards ; for the matron's room a tent bedstead with bed, bed clothes, oak drawers table, chairs, washstand and ware and bedside carpet. For the House Surgeon's room similar items were ordered—"with a little extra carpet", while an iron bedstead was to be got for 'the surgery boy' with other furniture as in the patients rooms.

On 14 September 1847 it was agreed to advertise in the local press for a House Surgeon and Matron, the 'house' was to be thoroughly cleaned and washed out, while the following sums of money were allocated—£200 for furniture, £100 for medicines, bottles, fixtures for dispensing including water pipes, a washing trough and stone, £100 for surgical instruments, splints etc. and a sum 'not exceeding £4' for painting windows and doors in the Infirmary.

By the Autumn of 1.847 work was proceeding well on the conversion of the Borough Gaol with "comfortable wards and compartments for the relief of the sick poor". The finances were such that the treasurer purchased £1500 worth of India Bonds—£1000 of which were to be the permanent capital of the institution. For the first year of its existence £500 was earmarked for running expenditure. It was felt that the post of House Surgeon should be advertised in The Welshman, Carmarthen Journal, Lancet, Medical Times, Medical Gazette, Bristol Mercury and The Guardian. The Matron's salary was fixed at £20 a year, and she was to be assisted by two nurses earning respectively £12 and £10 a year.

As the committee was inexperienced in administering a hospital the secretary was requested to write to his counterpart at the Swansea Infirmary to ascertain such matters as—the length and breadth of patients iron bedsteads, their cost and where they could be obtained from. Other items of equipment were obtained and comprised—16 pairs of sheets @ 2/4d per pair, 8 do. @ 2/8d, 16 counterpanes @ 3/4 ea. from Messrs. Davies, Bros., 48 yards of towelling (patterns to

be submitted to the next committee meeting) 1 table for each ward 6' x 24', 2 benches the same length as the tables, 1 night chair for each bed, 6 pewter urinals, 1 towel horse for each ward, 12 jack towels, 2 large folding screens lined with green serge, 4 wash hand basins and ewers, 4 soap pans, 1 large kitchen table, 1 bench, 1 small table, a shelf over the fire place in the kitchen, 1 kitchen fender and fire irons, 1 covered roasting apparatus, 1 boiler, 1 set iron saucepans, 1 iron fountain about 4 gallons, 4 hanging lamps for each ward, 6 iron candle sticks, 6 brass upright candle sticks, 6 bed chambers, 10 candles with extinguishers, 4 common iron fenders for each ward with fire irons, 2 doz. iron table spoons, 2 doz. plated tea spoons, 2 doz. tin pannikins, 2 doz. knives and forks, 1 pair of carvers and steel, 1 meat saw, 1 cleaver, 1 grid iron, 1 paste board, 1 chopping block, 1 frying pan, 1 warming pan, 3 pairs snuffers, 1 bellows, 6 smoothing irons, 3 tin jugs, 1 knife box, salt box, 1. rolling pin, 4 washing tubs, 2 pails, 1 large rope mat.

The Matron's room was to be furnished with—1 common Pembroke table with drawer, a fender and fire irons, 1 ink stand, 1 writing desk, while the servant bedrooms had in them 2 flock beds, 1 table and chamber utensils. Most of these items were obtained locally from Mr. Bagnall's and Mr. Edward Jones' "commercial establishments". For the outside yard the following items were deemed necessary—I coal hammer, 1 shovel, 2 sweeping brushes, 1 hand brush and 3 brooms.

By the end of 1847 the new establishment was taking shape—"the whole of the chimney was swept", in the dispensary, counters, drawers and shelves were painted by Mr. Brigstocke. Messrs. Joshua and John Evans' tender to make 3 iron bedsteads at 20/- ea. was accepted, with another tender for 3 iron bedsteads with a curtain @ 24/-ea.

The post of Infirmary porter at a salary of £10 per annum was advertised—the successful candidate was to be "without incumbrance" and in addition to his salary was to have "rations of the house". On 30 November 1847 Thomas Jones of Llanboidy was appointed to the post—"subject to his testimonials, which he must produce, being approved" ; and in the same meeting the committee decided that 8 Windsor chairs left in the Infirmary by Jones, the gaoler be purchased of him at the price asked, namely, £1.15.0. Jones had acted as temporary porter and was paid £3 for his services, and Price the late gardener at the gaol was prepared to sell the committee a feather bed which he no longer wanted.

In order that the Infirmary could be opened by Christmas Day 1847 the secretary wrote to the Narberth, Llanelly, Llandovery, Carmarthen and Newcastle Emlyn Unions requesting their co-operation and subscriptions. An advertisement in the Carmarthen Journal and Welshman informed the public that the Infirmary would be open for the reception of patients on Christmas Day. And thus with Mrs. Rowlands as matron and Elizabeth Williams as nurse, and Mr. Howell Evans of Cynwil Elfed as House Surgeon the Carmarthen Infirmary was opened. But a great deal needed to be done again before the Infirmary was properly equipped. At the weekly house committees further items were ordered e.g.—linen bandages, tow and wadding from Mr. Hughes, pillow cases, table cloths, house flannel, rollers blinds and an ironing blanket from Mr. Stacey ; cupboards were installed in the consulting room and pantry—and following replies from the Swansea Infirmary the Swansea Diet Table was adopted at Carmarthen.

From the Infirmary minutes little information is available about the scientific and technical apparatus of these early days. There are however a few sparse references e.g.—Grays Supplement to the Pharmacopoeia and Phillips' Translation of the London Pharmacopoeia were ordered from Mr. Spurrell, a tin stomach bath was supplied by Mr. Williams for £4.0.0, Mr. Jenkins, the surgeon made a present of an "Instrument for Restoring Suspended Animation", surgical instruments costing £15 came from Messrs. Evans & Co., Old Change, London, the dispensary was fitted with a pill machine, medicines came from the Apothecaries Hall, London, Thomas Charles Morris, Esq., added to the library a copy of Munro's "The Nervous System". But it was in June 1850 that it was decided "that 4 thermometers be procured as soon as possible". In November 1850 a Galvanic Battery (repaired at a cost of 12/- two years later) was obtained and in the following month £10.3.10 was spent on an "electric machine". Sometimes expense was avoided when gifts were made e.g. a Mrs. Griffiths made a present of 2 cases of surgical instruments.

In April 1851 the "medical gentlemen" were asked about the advisability of purchasing a "vapour bath", and five pairs of crutches of various sizes were authorised by the Committee. Later on a "hydrostatic bed" costing £9.0.0 was ordered from Messrs. Spencer and Co., and a set of pulleys for dislocation were obtained. Although the members of the house committee were laymen, every item of expenditure had to be approved by them e.g. on 5 May 1852 they refused to pay for certain text books, viz. Coopers' First Lines in Surgery and Graham's Chemistry, Vol. I. In May 1855 it was reported that the "water bed" leaked, and from what the porter said it had

never been water tight, but a solution was found to the problem when a quantity of oil cloth was bought for the house surgeon to make the necessary repairs.

As has been seen from the summary of the rules of the infirmary the day to day administration of the Infirmary was carried out by the medical and other staff subject to the approval of the house committee which met every week. The year's progress was reported to the annual general meeting who could authorise any major departures in policy. As far as one can make out those attending the annual general meeting acted as a rubber stamp to what had been carried out during the year. The agenda invariably was the same over the years—the appointment of a house committee, formal thanks to Archdeacon Bevan for his attention to the spiritual wants of the inmates, thanks to the medical officers for their "indefatigable services". Gratitude was expressed to clergy and dissenting ministers who had advocated the interests of the—"Institution and promoted congregational collections in aid of its funds". And in April 1849 special mention was made to those ladies—"who so kindly and zealously promoted the Bazaar for the benefit of the Infirmary and carried out so beneficial a result", whilst the thanks of the meeting was offered to "those Noblemen and Gentlemen whose exertions and liberal subscriptions were the means of founding the Infirmary which has already been productive of so much benefit to the sick poor"—and the medical officers of the town were also praised for "rendering their gratuitous and valuable services" for the same cause. In April 1851 an earnest appeal was made—"to those gentlemen connected by property with this town and who have not contributed to the Funds". The treasurers Messrs. Morris the Bankers took a prominent part in guiding the slender financial resources of the Infirmary and their expertise was invaluable. Usually the meetings ended with thanks to Sir John Mansel, Bart., "for his able conduct of the chair". This pattern was followed without a break.

But the daily problems of the Infirmary are best illustrated by the minutes of the weekly House Committees, (except on 15 November 1849 there was no meeting of the Committee as it was "thanksgiving day for the cessation of cholera") and from them one can obtain a closer look at—the patients, the premises, weekly expenses, matters of general discipline and a number of incidental details.

Subscribers to the funds were allowed to nominate the names of deserving cases for treatment, and it was important that subscription did not lapse. Consequently from time to time reminders had to be sent out before the "temporary intake of patients". Recommendations were made by Mr. John Colby of Ffynone, John Johnes of Doi-

aucothi, David Saunders Davies of Pentre and others. But Thomas Davies, admitted an in-patient on the recommendation of Mr. Colby on 2 November 1855, had left the Infirmary after a stay of 8 months owing to intoxication. In one instance the solicitude of the gentry had been unnecessary as out-patient No. 2169 was recommended to be discharged "it appearing since his admission that his grandfather David Evans of Tirbach has sufficient means to pay for Medical Advice".

In December 1852 a resolution was passed that a "book be kept by the house surgeon in which he shall enter the names of all patients who are relieved during the intervals between each committee meeting....

An "inventory book" was to be kept giving details of "clothes, money and other effects which the in-patients may have on entering the Infirmary". And in July 1853 the question of admission of patients from "works and mines" was raised. This development would mean that firms and other commercial magnates would subscribe to the Infirmary, and thereby be able to send their workmen to it in the event of an accident. This applied as well to poor law unions and one James Hughes of Llanelli was requested to "attend the Infirmary to be examined by the medical gentlemen ... to determine whether his case be fit for admission according to the rules of the establishment". In fact "all accidents of whatever nature are at all times admissible to this Infirmary" and the secretary was directed to "communicate this resolution to the proprietors of works and to solicit subscriptions to the friends of the Infirmary". At this time there was an increase in the number of applicants for treatment, and so the committee decided that no patients were to be admitted—"to the benefits of the Carmarthen Infirmary without their personal attendance before the Committee and provided that the Committee be satisfied of the fitness of the parties". Out-patients could be visited by the doctor in their own homes under special circumstances and never except at the request of the committee. Thus for example we read the following out-patients being attended to at home—David James, a smith residing in Blue Street, David Lloyd of Priory Street, Rachel Bona in Goose Street, Evan Rees in Pensarn, Sarah Bartlett in Conduit Lane, John Driscoll in Dame Street and Joanna Donoghue in Kidwelly Fach. The increasing demand for attendance by out-patients resulted in instructions to the House Surgeon not to supply medicine or advice except on recommendation of the committee, and in August 1857 the House Surgeon was authorised to visit patients at home in cases of cholera.

Although the Infirmary was a charitable institution, it is inter-

esting to note that to ensure uniformity in the admission of pauper patients, it was ordered that "in future no pauper in receipt of parochial relief be admitted as an outdoor or indoor patient" unless he was recommended by the clerk of the union to which he belonged. With regard to patients' needs the House Surgeon was requested by the committee to furnish a list of those who were supplied with wine and beer, and the actual quantities given to each for the week. Other patients recommended by various subscribers were more in need of a change-of-air rather than hospital treatment, and following the decision of the general committee in April. 1851 Charlotte Lewis an in-patient was removed for a change-of-air to such a place as Mr. Rowlands one of the surgeons directed. On 14 July 1852 on the proposal of Mr. C. Diggle Williams, seconded by the Rev. Dr. Lloyd it was resolved that ". . . in as much as it is the opinion of the medical gentlemen who have examined John Roberts of Cwmcarnhowell, Llanelli, he is not likely to receive benefit from the Infirmary but that the sea side will be more advantageous to his case". And a fortnight later it was resolved that—"one shilling and sixpence per week for one month be given free to Thomas Morgans from the funds of the Infirmary to assist him in procuring board and lodging at the seaside" and David Evans was given `1/6d per week for one month' for the same purpose. On 22 June 1853 Elizabeth Evans and Maria Williams were discharged, and sent to the seaside, their allowance being 15/- each out of the `subscription fund made for that purpose'.

The number of patients in the early years averaged about 15 in-patients and about 65 out-patients per week. The duration of each patient's stay was kept constantly under review owing to the demand for beds and treatment. Some concern was expressed in May 1849 when ". . . the committee appointed to examine the average weekly expenditure in the Infirmary for the last twelve months have to report that during the first three months of the term, there was no account kept of the number of inmates in the House in the matron's weekly statement . . .

There had been dissatisfaction for some time concerning the supply of drugs to patients. It appears that the procedures had been abused, and on 23 October, 1847 the drugs sent by the Apothecaries Hall were to be used carefully, and the House Surgeon was "... particularly instructed not to give advice or supply medicine to patients except on the recommendation of the committee ... and at the request of the medical gentlemen . . . and that the names, and residence of the parties thus recommended be kept by the House Surgeon and placed before the committee'.

There were other problems, too, especially concerning the behaviour of the 'inmates'. Smoking was strictly forbidden '... in any of the Public Rooms of the Institution and no patient was allowed to smoke within the walls of the establishment'.

On 13 December 1854 a complaint was received that someone had been smoking in the men's wards, and the patients were informed that the next culprit committing such a nuisance would be expelled. In January 1855 the matron had complained of the insolent behaviour on the part of the patients, and on being reprimanded for their misconduct 'they expressed their sorrow and promised amendment'. But the smoking habit could not be eradicated easily for Mr. George Bag-nail reported in the following month '... a slight smell of stale tobacco smoke perceptible in the wards upstairs' for which the patients had been cautioned. But the warning had been of no avail as John Evans an in-patient had been found guilty of tobacco smoking and had been abusive as well. He was therefore ordered to be discharged forthwith, and the secretary was to inform Miss Lloyd who had recommended his admission. In April 1857 one James Jones was expelled for the same reason, but there was a worse case in October 1858 when Edward Richards was immediately discharged because he was drunk and abusive to the matron.

As we have seen it was the duty of the house committee to meet once a week and a few examples may be given to illustrate matters usually under discussion. The agenda followed the same pattern

- (a) House Surgeon's report, number of patients etc.,
- (b) The visitors' report for the preceeding week ;
- (c) Nomination of visitors for the following week, and names of new patients submitted.
- (d) The authorisation of payment of bills for the week-

e.g. 17 May 1849

Mrs. Rowlands (the matron) for Diet	...	...	£3	0	1
John White for Gutta Percha	...	...	£1	0	3
Mr. Melton for candles	...	...		3	0
Mary James for leeches	...	...		11	0
Dr. Lawrence for salts, vinegar	...	...	£1	0	6
Mr. B. Jones for wine	...	...		5	6
Mr. B. Jones for printing	...	...	£3	11	6

12 July 1849

Mrs. Rowlands for Diet	...	...	£2	18	9
Mary James for leeches	...	...		4	0
J. White for combs	...	...		2	7

D. Williams for coffin	...	...	...	£1	0	0
D. Williams for screens	..	...	...		7	6
Isaac Davies for Bed Chair	...	...	...	£1	3	0
Messrs. David & Co., Ironmongers	...	...	...	£1	4	0

13 April 1853

At this meeting the visitors' report was satisfactory, no male or female bed was vacant, the matron was to provide Bed Tick for one of the new rooms, tenders for printing the Report of the Treasurers and Committee were received from Messrs. R. Jones, W. Spurrell and Messrs. White and Son.

The report of the general meeting was advertised in the two Carmarthen newspapers, the expense not to exceed £2.2.0 each. Estimates were requested from three different masons for—whitewashing and colouring the buildings, and the following payments authorised-

29 June 1853

Mrs. Thomas for Diet	...	...	...	£3	17	7
Mary James for Leeches	...	...	...		3	9
C. Jones, Barber	...	...	...		6	5
House Surgeons Salary quarterly				£25	0	0
Matron Salary quarterly	...	...	...	£5	0	0
Secretary Salary quarterly	...	...	...	£5	0	0
Nurses Salary quarterly	...	...	...	£3	10	0
Porters Salary quarterly	...	...	...	£3	0	0
Servants Salary quarterly	...	...	...	£1	5	0

Tenders for supplies were accepted as follows

Beef @ 8d per lb.	Soda @ 8/- per cwt.
Mutton @ 6d per lb.	Treacle @ 20/- per cwt.
Sugar @ 4d per lb.	Best Soap @ 44/- per cwt.
Rice @ 2d per lb.	

And since June 1852 the desirability of obtaining stores to the Infirmary by contract had been the committed policy, and printed forms for that purpose were to be procured by the secretary like those already in use at the workhouse. Moreover 100 handbills advertising for the supply of stores by contract were to be distributed by the porter. Not all the foodstuffs received were satisfactory, and on one occasion on 3 May 1854 the matron complained that the tea supplied was not equal to the sample and the secretary communicated with Mr. E. M. Richards requesting him to send tea of a better quality in future. Other matters which may be mentioned include—hang-

ing a bell in the committee room, a wooden rail on the staircase instead of a rope, apothecaries scales were bought costing 6/6d, a pestle and mortar for 4/6d,—that a book be procured and placed in the Hall of the Infirmary to be called the Visitors' Book'.

In January 1854 the Rev. Dr. Lloyd gave notice that he would propose a resolution to rescind the order made previously to allow supper to be given to the patients. Eventually he got his way and the patients' meals were breakfast, dinner at 1.30 p.m. and tea at 6.00 p.m. The committee kept a vigilant eye on expenditure and were provided with abstracts of weekly expenditure (see example on following page).

Once a week visitors, being members of the house committee, made a tour of inspection of the Infirmary and interviewed the patients. Their reports were invariably that conditions were satisfactory in the Infirmary. But from time to time there are numerous indications that the premises were inadequate, unhygienic and primitive by accepted standards.

The borough gaol itself was an unsuitable building, and it was as late as 1851—some years after the Infirmary was opened—that steps were made to have proper ventilation for the wards. Indeed on 25 September 1851 the—medical gentlemen having called the attention of the committee to the offensive and unhealthy smell arising from the Public Slaughter House, the committee deem it their duty to represent the matter to the Town Council and earnestly to request that some steps be taken to remedy the evil complained of. The committee feel deeply convinced that the stench which has for some time pervaded the atmosphere throughout the whole neighbourhood of the said slaughter house is most prejudicial to the public health and especially to the inmates of this Infirmary'. This resolution was passed to the Mayor and Council.

A month later Mr. Collard's estimate not exceeding £2.10.0 for ventilating the men's wards was agreed to. Messrs C. Diggle Williams and C. Brigstocke the visitors in the first half of May 1852 observed that the yard was in a dirty state and should be cleaned up, otherwise everything else was satisfactory. On one occasion a visitor, the Rev. H. W. Jones was pleased with everything he had seen, but considered it expedient to divide the male and female wards. The committee acted promptly and on 23 March 1853— The committee for the division of the men's from the women's wards recommend that it be effected by placing an Iron Gate now in the ward across the upper passage, that the gate be kept locked and that the men use

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Geo. Bagnall

the yard to the south and the women that to the north, that the key to the division gate be kept by the Surgeon or Matron, and not on *any* account be given to the patients'.

At the same meeting it was considered advisable to place an ash-pit in the yard to receive the cinders to prevent them being carried about the yard'. Moreover the wash house and coal yard were to be whitewashed, and the drain in the yard covered. In January 1855 a rule was made that the straw from the patients' beds be carried away by the Scavenger with the ashes instead of being burnt on the premises'. In the summer of 1854 it was observed that one of the privies had overflowed' and should be repaired. But the problem persisted, for on 19 September 1855 the committee decided that because the privies were constantly in need of repair, an estimate be requested of the cost of connecting them to the town drains.

It is not surprising that in these conditions epidemics could easily become serious. A contagious disease had broken out in August 1853 and a recommendation was made for the immediate dismissal of as many patients as can bear removal ... all the patients except Thomas Owen, Jonah Davies, Ann Davies and Elizabeth Rattenburg'; also that the house be forthwith effectually cleansed and washed under the superintendence of Messrs J. J. Stacey, George Davies, J. Hughes and J. W. White'. And there is further evidence of the had conditions prevailing in the Infirmary e.g. in October 1853 the Rev. Dr. Lloyd having visited the premises during the previous week reported that—the smell in the male ward was so bad that he could not remain a minute in the room'. But the problem continued, and was especially bad because of the—offensive exhalation in the room occupied by Thomas Owen only, attributable to the circumstances of the patient drawing his urine'. In future the house surgeon or his pupil was to attend to him as often as was necessary. At the same time it was reported that the House was overcrowded' and in January 1854 there was another complaint of—a considerable degree of Effluvium in the male ward'.

In Mr. Bagnall's report, 8 February 1854, the 'offensive Effluvium in the male ward from patient Thomas Davies' was brought to the attention of Mr. Rowlands so that he might abate the nuisance by the removal of the patient or otherwise as he may recommend'. In March overcrowding was more serious and in the female ward one of the women patients was sleeping with the nurse in consequence of a patient being admitted with an accident.

From its commencement the Infirmary was largely supported by

voluntary subscription, and the list of subscribers shows how the initiative came from the landed classes, the clergy and well-to-do business men. But other means were resorted to ; for instance, in April 1848, Thomas Charles Morris, the treasurer, proposed at the annual general meeting that the secretary be paid a commission of 5% on the collections of the yearly subscriptions—'such allowance to commence retrospectively in addition to his yearly salary of £20'. Six hundred copies of the report and two hundred circulars were addressed to the clergy and ministers of the county to make known the purpose and needs of the Infirmary. In July 1848 the Bishop of St. Davids preached a sermon in aid of the institution at St. Peter's Church, Carmarthen, and the committee had it printed at its own expense,

George Chilton, Esq. and Q.C. made a handsome donation of 25 gns. to the funds. Public spirited ladies organised bazaars to help the Infirmary. In April 1849 the Directors of the Talbot Steam Packet, Co. made a liberal offer of a pleasure excursion to Ilfracombe for the benefit of the funds and the sum of £19.4.6 was contributed. In August 1850 the gentlemen of the Dream Boat Club made a 'handsome donation of £6.18.6 to the Infirmary'. In December 1851 Mr. Brinley Richards offered his services at a concert held for the benefit of the Infirmary. The secretary was instructed to write to Mr. Richards to insure the pianoforte sent for the concert', the expense to be defrayed by the committee. The concert was a great success and others who took part were the Carmarthen Musical Society conducted by Dr. Westfield, and Messrs. Broadwood and Son were paid £2.17.0 for the carriage, etc of the piano. In August 1852 John Johnes, Esq. of Dolaucothi, was thanked by the committee for his 'liberal donation of twenty pounds (the first fruits of his office of Recorder)' to the Institution. Mrs. Wood of Cwm left a legacy of £500. It was felt that donors should be remembered for their generosity, and on 11 May 1853 the secretary was instructed to procure a board for a list of benefactors to the Infirmary, bearing the title—"A list of bequests to this infirmary". Mr. Isaac Davies, cabinet maker provided a design for this board for £5.10.0 and this included gold lettering, but if it was to be made in mahogany there would be a further charge of £1.1.0.

Sometimes gifts instead of money were received, and second hand items were also acceptable, for example in February 1855 Mrs. Morgan of Alltygog gave a quantity of old linen for the use of the inmates.

In March 1855 £50 was received by the will of Charles Diggle Williams, Esq, the Carmarthen solicitor and former governor of the Infirmary. This sum was invested in Consols, and the committee further resolved that with regard to the investments of the Infirmary

the Bishop of St. Davids be asked to prepare a petition in the House of Lords against the Charitable Trusts Bill which would place the real estate or stock in the public funds of charities under the control of the Charity Commissioners,

At a committee held 12 September 1855 an application was made by Mr. Ribbans that the junior warden for the time being (in perpetuity) of the Freemason's Lodge of St. Peter's, No. 699 be instituted a Life Governor of the Carmarthen Infirmary on payment of £10.10.0 to the funds of the Institution'.

Lastly, we read that the Rev. Dr. Lloyd gave a public lecture which produced £7.0.0 towards the funds of the Infirmary, also that the old custom of asking prominent clergy, like the Revs. Gwyther Philipps and J. H. A. Phillips, to preach sermons at St. Peter's Church in aid of the institution continued. Appeals for subscriptions were circulated throughout the county, and local ministers and clergy organised collections and this continued until a state hospitals service was introduced after the 1939-1945 war.

From time to time there are references in the minute books to staff appointments and the problems that arose occasionally in connection with them. In October 1847 an advertisement was put in *The Lancet*, *Medical Times* and *Medical Gazette* for the post of House Surgeon. One of the House Surgeons appointed was Mr. Howell Evans of Cynwil Elfed. He suffered a serious illness in March 1850, and the house committee decided to procure a person for a few weeks to take his place to allow him leave of absence to remit his health'. In his place a Mr. Owen Robert Owen was temporarily appointed.

On 24 April 1851 it was resolved that the House Surgeon be requested not in future to attend any out-patients under any consideration whatever as great inconvenience results from such a practice'. In 1853 we read: 'it having been proved before the committee that the House Surgeon had neglected his duty in not attending a patient who had been burnt and thereby seriously injured, and that he had kept irregular hours and greatly neglected his duty, it is resolved that the secretary give the House Surgeon notice to resign his situation in three months'.

In June 1854 the house committee were compelled to investigate the charge of irregularity that had taken place in the Infirmary'. In the spring of 1855 the house surgeon had been absent on two occasions from the Infirmary and the committee had to take action

consequently on 21 February Mr. Howell Evans tendered his resignation, and an advertisement for a successor was published in the two local Carmarthen papers, *The Cambrian*, *Caermarvon Herald*, *The Times*, *Bristol Mercury*, *The Lancet* and *Medical Times*, and also in a conspicuous place in the Apothecaries Hall. When the secretary received applications he was instructed by the committee to inform the candidates for the situation of House Surgeon that there was no local candidate and that it will not be necessary to canvass the subscribers but the appointment will be given to the party who is best qualified' and that their personal attendance was not necessary. But before the new House Surgeon was appointed Mr. Howell Evans was again reprimanded for not attending his duties, and his excuse was that he had been called away to a case of labour, no other surgeon being in town'.

In the first week in May 1855 the new House Surgeon was appointed—a Mr. George Stratton Symmons—for a term of three years at an annual salary of £100. But within a fortnight of commencing duties he fell foul of the committee and was reprimanded for being absent from the Infirmary from 6.00 p.m. on Saturday until 2.00 p.m. on Monday, attending a patient for a private practitioner. When he was reminded of the rules and conditions of appointment Symmons said they were 'unwarrantable and uncourteous', to which the committee replied that they were neither. And there were other occasions when the House Surgeon had absented himself from duty.

Surgeons and physicians were allowed to have apprentices and pupils, and the surgeon was empowered to give the friends of an apprentice an undertaking to permit him to leave the Infirmary at the end of three years for the purpose of prosecuting his studies at the London or other hospitals. As in the case of other staff, advertisements were put in the local papers. In July 1850 William Jarrett Lewis and Thomas Charles Hughes were admitted pupils of the institution, and in May 1851 Abel Evans was received into the Infirmary on trial with a view to his being apprenticed at the institution. Thomas George Bowen was admitted a pupil in December 1852. A request by Abel Evans to be allowed to leave the Infirmary to continue his studies in London before the three years pupilage were completed, on the understanding that he made up the lost time during vacations, was turned down by the committee. Other apprentices mentioned were Mr. Richard Instance in 1856, and Caleb Gargery a pupil in 1857.

The matron and nurses were recruited locally and, as in the case of the senior medical staff, there were problems of discipline. In

April 1849 a nurse was immediately discharged, the matron having made a complaint against her for disobedience, but she was allowed a month's wages in advance.

In May 1849 Charlotte Jenkins was engaged as nurse 'for one month on trial provided her testimonials from Swansea are satisfactory'. We know next to nothing of the qualifications expected of the matron and nurses. When Mrs. Rowlands resigned in January 1850, it was resolved — that this committee cannot receive the resignation of Mrs. Rowlands from the office of matron without expressing their satisfaction with the efficient and economical manner in which she has conducted the business of the Infirmary.' In 1854 a notice appeared in the *Carmarthen Journal* and *The Welshman* for a nurse 'not under 30 years of age and conversant with the Welsh language'. Her salary was to be £14 per annum with board and lodging.

In addition to the 'medical gentlemen', matron and nurses, there were what may be described as the ancillary staff. A few months after the opening of the Infirmary on Christmas Day 1847 Thomas Williams the porter was given notice to quit and Samuel Evans, late Sergeant in the 61st Regiment, was appointed to replace him. There were three servants, who were allowed two shillings a week for beer, in addition to their wages.

A barber visited the Infirmary twice a week to shave the patients, and during the week ending 30 November 1845 he was paid three shillings.

The house porter appointed in October 1851 was John Arthur. He remained in the post until July 1854, and was given £2 in full satisfaction of his wages, £1 being deducted because he did not give the usual month's notice. When the post was advertised, the notice stated that the successful candidate must be 'between 30 and 50 years of age and that an old soldier will be preferred'. As a result John Davies was appointed porter at a salary of £1.2 a year 'with rations'.

When the post of porter became vacant once more in January 1859 there were three applicants. The committee wished to interview Mr. H. Howell of Newcastle Emlyn if he was unmarried, but he declined. Mr. Joseph Morgan was considered too old at 55 and Thomas Miriam aged 20 was interviewed by the committee. Lastly there are references to a resolution of the committee 'that the matron should have discretionary power to employ assistance every week if necessary to wash clothes', 8 pence per week was allowed for beer for the female

servants, and on one occasion when a nurse was ill one of these female servants took over the duties.

For some time there was a feeling that the building of a new infirmary could not be delayed much longer, and on 21 September 1853 a sub-committee comprising Messrs. J. J. Stacey, George Davies, Thomas Charles Morris, George Spurrell, C. Brigstocke and the Rev. D. A. Williams was chosen to ascertain what sites were available for the erection of a new infirmary. It was felt that a field belonging to Capt. Williams seemed suitable; even so the committee refrained from making a hasty decision and it was on 11 October in the following year that . . . the Ven. Archdeacon Bevan, Mr. T. C. Morris and Mr. E. H. Stacey be requested to wait upon Earl Cawdor, the Lord Lieutenant of the county, during the approaching Quarter Sessions to ascertain from his lordship the intention of the county with regard to the interest of the trustees of the Carmarthen Infirmary in the Barracks'. Negotiations continued for the next few months, it being left to Mr. T. C. Morris to deal with any difficulties with the county magistrates, but without success. Consequently at the Annual General Meeting in April 1855, it was decided to proceed with the building of a new infirmary on a piece of ground in Priory Street as previously recommended, and a special appeal was to be made to the public for subscriptions 'without touching the present capital of the institution'. In April 1856 special thanks were accorded Messrs. Morris, the Bankers, for their exertions on behalf of the Infirmary and the annual general meeting authorised the treasurer (Thomas Charles Morris) to offer the sum of £500 for the ground in Priory Street, 'being the sum at which Mr. Goode valued the property on behalf of the charity commissioners'. On 7 January 1857 a special general meeting of governors and subscribers was held at the 'Town Hall' with the following present

Earl Cawdor (Chairman)	George Bagnall
The Lord Bishop of St. Davids	George Spurrell
Sir John Mansel, Bart.	G. S. Symmons
Thomas Charles Morris	John Johnes
William Morris	Ven. Archdeacon Bevan
Rev. D. A. Williams	Rev. T. Warren
Dr. Lawrence	J. J. Stacey
Capt. J. G. Philipps	E. H. Stacey
R. Goring Thomas	J. Hughes
David Morris, M.P.	R. M. Davies
George Goode	John L. Philipps
George Thomas	S. Tardrew
George Davies	J. J. Walter Philipps

C. Brigstocke
W. G. S. Thomas

J. Rowlands

Plans for the new building were examined and accepted, a building committee was to obtain tenders, but the most pressing matter was the need to increase the number of subscribers. A few of those closely involved with the new infirmary had given their services gratis, such as Mr. George Goode, who had returned £5.5.0 to the funds. In February 1858 the treasurers Messrs. Morris were authorised to sell £700 of India bonds to meet the expenses of the building committee, and shortly afterwards to sell out the capital of the institution as was required.

By April good progress was reported and in July the committee were in a position to thank the Town Council for their interest and help over the years. A letter was sent to the Mayor and Town Councillors of Carmarthen :

Gentlemen,

The House Committee of the Carmarthen Infirmary are happy in being able to state that the New Infirmary having been completed and being fit for occupation the Patients and the whole Infirmary establishment have been removed there and that therefore having now no further need of the old Borough Gaol they beg to restore it for the use of the corporation. The House Committee avail themselves of the present occasion of again expressing the deep sense they entertain of the kindness and liberality of the Town Council in permitting the Institution to have the gratuitous use of the Borough Gaol for a period of more than ten years, this has been the means of affording to the poor of the Borough and County that assistance in the time of their sickness and greatest of need, which has so highly been appreciated by them, and which could not otherwise have been extended to them for a great portion of that time at least, and has materially assisted in the erection and completion of the large and commodious building which is now devoted to their use. The House Committee on this occasion not only express their own sentiments but express those of the Subscribers generally as will be seen by the resolution passed at their last General Meeting a copy of which they beg to enclose. Signed on behalf of the Committee Carmarthenshire Infirmary,

George Spurrell.

July 7 1858.

And thus it was that the new Infirmary came into being. According to the *Carmarthen Journal*, 'The new building is now occupied having been entered upon several days past. This noiseless event it is hoped is the commencement of a better state of things. The building is situated in a most salubrious and unexceptionable place and the whole premises are everything that could be desired. The committee having admirably performed their part, it only remains for the public to contribute liberally to make this institution what it should be. It cannot for a moment be imagined that any lack of funds will be permitted to prevent the Infirmary doing all the good it is capable of, but that it cannot effect without an increased amount of subscriptions'. A week later it was reported that 'The committee of the Infirmary have made arrangements for a public meeting in the Grand Jury room to devise means to augment the funds of the Institution to that degree which is indispensable if the full benefit of the Infirmary are to be enjoyed by the County'.

House Committee meetings continued to be held once a week and their decisions were very much as before—a wheelbarrow was to be bought, the house female servant was allowed ale at 8d per week, the matron could employ a charwoman once a fortnight to help with the cleaning. Sweeping brushes, stair brushes, pots, pans, an iron bound box with handles for the disposal of ashes, linseed meal, an umbrella stand, a visitors book, a collection box, spittoons, bed pans, hand bidettes were acquired. The over-riding problem was finance, and eminent clergy continued to preach sermons on behalf of the institution, more subscribers were canvassed and from time to time there were generous gestures from prominent people, In October 1858 Sir James Williams, Bart., Edwinstford made ". . . a munificent addition to the income of the Institution by his most liberal appropriation of the game on the Derllis estate for a term of years, such an aid being at the present time of peculiar value because of the pressure on the funds . . .

In November a letter was received from Messrs. Garaways of Bristol intimating that they were giving about 100 ornamental shrubs for the grounds of the infirmary to be planted by Mr. James Parry, who was paid £2.5.0 for his work together with board and lodging in the Infirmary until the work was completed. The ground at the rear of the building was made into a kitchen garden and in the spring of 1859 garden seeds worth 1/4d were bought along with garden posts costing £2.2.7.

For a century the Infirmary continued its work and was supported largely by voluntary effort throughout the county. Local collectors

went from house to house for meagre contributions. Prominent public figures served on the house committee, acted as visitors and organised functions to raise funds to meet the rising costs and the demands of more and more people and of more educated medical profession with advanced skills and techniques. After the end of the war in 1945 Parliament passed legislation bringing about a National Health Service and Hospitals as institutions have over the years become more complex. Each year brings an acceleration of new medical knowledge requiring new treatments that were unknown a few years ago. The role of hospitals inevitably changes with the times, but the basic function remains that of the prevention and cure of disease and the amelioration of human suffering. When the Carmarthen Infirmary was founded, it was perhaps not much more efficient than a medieval almshouse—"a public infirmary to supply the sick poor"—yet it was an important milestone towards the kind of modern hospital that has emerged in the last decades of the twentieth century.

LETTER TO THE EDITOR

AN UNCOMMON CABMAN

Sir,

Some time ago I read with interest in one of the issues of *The Carmarthenshire Historian* an article* on the Gwynne Family of Glanbrane Park in which mention was made that one of them had completely squandered his inheritance and had been reduced to driving a cab on the streets of Liverpool.

Recently I re-read some of Kilvert's Diary and under the date of Saturday, 22 June 1872 there is the following entry :

'I was very sorry to leave Liverpool this morning. Theodore went with me in the cab to Lime St. Station at 9.15. The cab was driven by an old gentleman, named Gwynne, who was once a man of good estate and county magistrate. He married a woman of family, but he dissipated his fortune and now he has sunk to be a common cabman and his wife makes him an allowance'.

WM. G. TASKER-DAVIES,
Tree Tops, 18 Cyncoed Place, Cardiff.

*Fingers of Forsaken Stone : The Story of Glanbranal, by E. Vernon Jones, in Vol. TX. Kilvert's note is an interesting confirmation of an oft-told tale.

An Artist in Peace and War

By EIRWEN JONES, B.A.

CAREY Morris, artist, was born in Llandeilo, the son of Benjamin and Elizabeth Boynes Morris on May 17, 1882. He died on November 17, 1968 and was buried in Llandeilo Churchyard.

The family was an established one in the locality. Their painters' and decorators' business was well known. The home was hospitable and cultured and the children achieved academic distinction.

Carey Morris attended the National school and later the Llandeilo County School. He claimed, with strong personal pride, that his name was one of the first on the school register. It was with pride also that he related the vicissitudes of the effort made in the town to establish a county school, this in the face of severe, active opposition from the squirearchy who could foresee in the project that they would be "educating their masters."

His literary, musical and artistic talents were developed in the school and he spent long hours at his home in a section of Rhosmaen Street, then known as Prospect Place, practising his drawing.

The writer has had access to the artist's collection of personal papers and it is interesting to reflect, in the light of later decades, how he managed to develop his talents, in spite of the rigidity of the school system of his time. As an adult, he looked back and criticized adversely the systems that prevailed in the art schools of his youth.

"These schools were started in England and Wales after the Great Exhibition of 1851 which praised the merits of British craftsmanship. They were designed to raise the standard of art but the system is so stereotyped, so uniform that, instead of encouraging art, it has stultified art in both countries. It is a system which, starting in the elementary schools, permeates upwards like a noxious leaven," he wrote.

"A child learning to draw under the Board of Education system would have to be a very great artist to maintain his individuality and to throw off in later life the shackles imposed upon his mind.

"When I was a boy, I was taught drawing by the Board of Education system. The method then was that everything should be drawn from copies, all outlines had to be put in by a series of dots and the

spaces between, afterwards joined up with lines from dot to dot. It seems incredible that such a system should be dignified by the name of drawing. It included niggles and timidity and tended to stamp out any real talent the budding draughtsman might possess.

"Although I was only a child, I instinctively rebelled against this method and, holding my pencil as I hold my brushes, I refused to make the dots and drew boldly in line. Corporal punishment was then in vogue, and for drawing as my instinct compelled me, instead of in the wrong way forced upon us by the Board of Education, I was so severely beaten that my father withdrew me from that school. The incident is more important than appears at first. The system . . . arouses the contempt of the Continental Nations."

He went on to study at the Slade School, London, under Professor Tonics, the famed anatomist who gave up medicine to become Slade Professor of Art at the University of London. Here Carey Morris was to excel in the study of anatomy, both surface anatomy and that of bone and of muscle. These minute and painstaking studies were to bear fruit later, especially in his portrait studies, giving them unerring three-dimensional qualities together with an uncanny air of personality which were later acclaimed by experienced critics.

After the strenuous and rigid discipline of the Slade School, life at the Newlyn School of Painting, Cornwall, was a happy relief. He lived in close and harmonious affinity with the artist colony, Dod Proctor, Mr. and Mrs. Stanhope Forbes, F. Tressider and others. Carey Morris and his wife Jessie Phillips Morris were to return there again and again. Friendships made there proved life-long. Tales of the Cornish men and women coloured Carey's conversation to the close of his life.

Many of the Cornish personalities became perpetuated in his paintings, such as *Saunders the Postman and Gillieboo his dog*. The beauty of the landscape appealed to him and the clarity of the light made painting a joy. Some of his pictures show his ingenuity in choosing titles: *The Last Farm in England*—this was Escalls at Land's End, a study which was exhibited at the Royal Academy. Well-known is his study *Woman at the Well*. This was made at the farm at Land's End. He found there a curiosity, a well sunk in the farmhouse itself. The inmates had no need to go outside to draw water, for the well was at hand inside the walls in a little white-washed room of its own. This rare type of inside well was known as a *peath*.

His portrait study shows the tiny white-washed room lighted by a little window of bottle glass; a lantern hanging near had seen service for over 200 years and still did duty on dark nights. The quaint wall bucket was of a make and a shape not seen elsewhere, and in a niche in the wall stood an old pot.

Most interesting of all was the ancient dame who helped in the work of the farmhouse and drew the water from the peath. Her sun-bonnet was a work of art. Pleated and quilted by herself, it was made to withstand all weathers, the strongest sunrays could not penetrate its folds, nor the wettest shower penetrate its thickness. The old dame was proud of her bonnets and kept them spotlessly white. The artist came into possession of one of these bonnets and it was a treasured "conversation piece" in his studio to the end of his days. The old lady's uneventful life was a record of hard work and scanty wages but she brought up her family well and quaintly boasted they all had their "first and second suits", meaning that, however hard the struggle, she managed that they should always have a "Sunday best."

Carey Morris and his wife transferred to London. He had his studio in Chelsea in Cheyne Walk, and Mrs. Jessie Morris became an editor and journalist. Their coterie of friends was various—artistic, literary, musical. Carey Morris's first love was the 'cello; he was a popular member of ensembles at the currently fashionable conversations. Frequent visitors to the studio in Cheyne Walk were artists such as William Orpen, John Nash, Ethelbert White, Dod Proctor, Mr. and Mrs. Stanhope Forbes, Frank Brangwyn, Evan Walters, Sir George Clausen and Sir Herbert Herkomer. Many were the tales of these artists which Carey Morris told in his puckish way. He was a raconteur without rancour. He related how Sir Herbert Herkomer was once asked by a Welsh admirer what he thought of Welsh art. He replied brusquely, "Madam, there is no Welsh art." Carey Morris remarked that Herkomer was a German genius who owed his first encouragement to a Welshman, Mr. Mansel Lewis, who bought one of his earliest pictures for 500 pounds. He might well have added, "You will never have any Welsh art while you support foreign artists and starve your own". If Wales desires a National Art then she must encourage her native artists. Italian art did not begin with Raphael and Michelangelo. Art is like a tree that must be nurtured and tended; it may bloom for many generations until at last the perfect flowering comes. Remember however that but for the previous blossomings there would be no mature perfection.

There were frequent visits to Llandeilo and the Towy Valley proved in many ways an artist's paradise. One of his best known pie-

tuxes, *The Welsh Weavers*, showed two members of the Edwards family of Rhosmaen working at their craft in their cottage home. It was a picture with a strong human appeal and its reproduction by the Anglo-American Publishing Co. ensured its wide circulation on both sides of the Atlantic.

War came to interrupt these halcyon days. At the outbreak of the First World War, Carey Morris enlisted. Later he was commissioned in the South Wales Borderers. He served in the trenches in Flanders, where he was severely gassed. As a result he spent many months in war hospitals, mainly in the Isle of Wight and at Liverpool. His health remained sadly impaired for the rest of his life.

Reticent in person about his war experiences as are ever those who suffered greatly from them, nevertheless Carey Morris's personal papers and memoirs throw interesting light on scenes seen through the eyes of an artist. He recorded his experience working as a Welsh artist in France.

"As we marched to the training ground at Rouen on a January morning a keen icy blast blew into our faces which almost took off our noses despite the glorious sunshine. Frozen snow lay everywhere.

"Gazing at this parade ground for the first time, one thought it rather strange to see soldiers in khaki marching up and down, when informed that Napoleon used it for the same purpose for his intended invasion of England's shores. Now it was the training ground of the British Army.

"On the left side of the square was a rampart where, at intervals, a French trumpeter appeared in blue and red uniform. It was like an illustrated page of the Franco-German War of 1870.

"Extending my gaze to the other end of the square, which was some distance away, I saw a troop of Indian lancers appear from the right hand corner. At a sudden command they quickened their pace then lowered their lances and charged up and down, wheeling in different directions at a tremendous pace.

"While I was watching this thrilling scene, there appeared from the opposite corner a battery of French artillery and they too swept up and down at great speed.

"It was a wonderful sight this thrilling scene. The colouring, fine horsemanship, discipline and control were superb ...

"This training ground, known to the troops as The Bull Ring, was situated about three to four kilometres on the outskirts of Rouen on the Paris road and at the edge of a great forest which was many miles long."

One feels that had Carey Morris his canvas and palette at hand he would have depicted a scene much in the style of Breughel, capturing the wealth of colour, light and vivacity. Soon, all too soon, the scene had changed, as the following extracts show.

"An R.E. officer came to our compartment for a chat. From him we gathered that Poperinghe was our stopping place. On approaching this town, it was still dark. Our new friend diverted our gaze to what appeared like fireworks (Verrey Lights) in the distance. 'The front line is yonder and that is where you are going', he said.

"In the distance we could hear the booming of guns and with some apprehension our friend exclaimed, 'Did you hear that? There is a heavy bombardment going on. Some poor fellows are catching it in the neck.'

"We reached Poperinghe about 8 o'clock, cramped and aching, having been in that wretched train since 4 p.m. on Sunday. We crossed the road to the officers' club where we had a very welcome breakfast which we ate ravenously

"Everything on both sides was being hurled over. Heavy shells, shrapnel, machine guns and rifle-fire and trench mortars. *It was hell let loose.* We were all on the firestep peering into the gloom for any sudden attack . . . (Details of the carnage need not be repeated).

"The intense bombardment lasted five hours but this sort of thing was a daily occurrence. This one incident should be enough to deter anyone rushing into war again

"When I arrived at Brieculeu I had already walked about 7 miles on a rough cobbled road and my heels were quite sore. It was past midnight and I felt very thirsty. There wasn't a soul to be seen anywhere. I didn't expect to see civilians as there were none, the village having been reduced to ruins.

"At last I saw a chink of light in one of the houses. I turned in there and found a young artillery officer writing. He made me welcome and supplied me with some hot tea. I stayed with him for some time as I had walked about 12 miles since three o'clock in the

afternoon and needed rest. Eventually I took my departure and soon rejoined my Company on the other side of the canal bank. Directly afterward Captain Galsworthy had to visit Briculcu but returned quite soon. He told me that as he entered Briuleu he heard the scream of a shell which fell on to one of the houses in the street and into a room where a battery major and a young artillery officer were sitting, killing both outright.

"For a few minutes I could hardly speak. Then I told him I had been resting for a few hours in that very room chatting with the young artillery officer, now dead, on my way back."

There were other instances of imminent danger. These experiences left a deep mark on his personality. From his silence and reticence one became aware that he was conscious of an over-ruling Presence saving him at the eleventh hour.

Army life had its lighter side too and his artistic eye was conscious of vivid scenes.

"One afternoon I was sent to Poperinghe to find billets for the officers of the battalion. The colonel should have sent me in the morning, for, when I arrived in the town, the other battalions had stolen a march on us and booked nearly all the billets. I was directed to the convent. I went there and interviewed the Mother Superior who took me up a staircase and showed me a number of cubicle, which we could have but it would be necessary for me to see the Town Mayor first of all to obtain his approval. When I had done so I returned to the Mother Superior and told her we would be arriving about midnight.

"It was very dark when we arrived. I led the officers to the convent, but in darkness I was quite at a loss to direct them to the cubicles I had seen in daylight.

"I led the way up the staircase which I imagined was the one I had been up in the day but, when we heard women coughing we discovered we were in the nuns' quarters and on the wrong staircase and hastily retreated. By this time it was hardly worth turning in as we had to parade again at 4 o'clock."

His skill as an artist was marshalled to undertake a gruesome commission.



Carey Morris, a Self Portrait.

"We remained at Laires for a few weeks. Our company officers' mess was in the house of a carpenter, wheelwright, undertaker and farmer rolled in one.

"One morning while I was having my breakfast, the landlord asked whether there was an artist in the company. Captain Galsworthy turned to me and said, 'Here's a commission for you, old boy'. I asked the landlord what he wanted and he informed me that he had

a coffin to make for a great sportsman in the village and that the gentleman had expressed a desire to have a picture of a hare sitting on its haunches with landscape painted as large as possible on the coffin lid.

"I said I would do it with pleasure if I could find some paint and brushes I had somewhere in my valise. I eventually found them but I was a bit stumped for a hare as a model. The landlord then took me to the backyard and showed some rabbits in hutches. I made a rough sketch of one of the rabbits and turned it into a hare by drawing the ears and hind legs larger. My range of colours was limited as I had lost my tubes of paint while attempting to sketch in Bocsinghe village, which was too dangerous a job as the shells were continuously dropping in the street.

"I managed to get some ordinary paint from the carpenter and having got all my materials together, I proceeded with my work of art. The news that an artist was painting a picture on the lid of a coffin spread like wildfire through the village and shortly there was a crowd outside pressing hard against the window and endeavouring to catch a glimpse at the artist working on such a gruesome and unusual canvas.

"I managed to get a fairly good representation of a hare which looked quite effective against a big sky and trees. When it was complete the carpenter invited the villagers to view the work of art. It was like a one-man art exhibition.

"Slowly the villagers left the room but one old man lingered on and when he was about to leave I asked the carpenter, 'When is the owner of the coffin to be buried?'

"Me isn't dead yet. There he is going out now,' said he, pointing to the old man leaving the house. 'Yes, he is a great sportsman. I do not remember the number of times he has been in prison for poaching.

"When the training was over, we began our long march back to the salient. By this time a serious illness came upon me and I left the battalion at Proven and returned to 'Blighty' where I spent the next 12 months in hospital and in this way missed the great offensive of July 30 1917. A few weeks later Company Sergeant-Major Jack Williams of B Company won the Victoria Cross for great gallantry."

In efforts at recuperation there were long visits to Llandeilo. Considerable and meticulous thought was devoted to the needs of the family business. With the succeeding years, sorrow and tragedy were to bring their sombre colours on to the canvas of his life throwing into relief that which was honest, simple and good.

In some ways out of his milieu, in other ways he was literally at home in Llandeilo. He had many friends in the town and district ; he was a congenial companion, a first rate raconteur, the drama of his words being heightened by gentle mimicry. His brother, Robert, was an insatiable local historian and geologist and many were the conferences and dissertations between the devoted brothers. Their combined interest in genealogy led them into many by-paths of research. Carey was proud to possess an authentic record of the family tree of the Morisiaid from the time of their activities in Anglesey and their migrations southward to Cardiganshire and Carmarthenshire, together with details of their successful enterprises in silver and lead mines down to contemporary times. The late Victorian-Tennysonian atmosphere which had been inculcated at Newlyn found continuation and satisfaction in Carmarthenshire. Mrs. Dod Proctor had concentrated on the mystique of the Arthurian legends and he delighted to find it again in the poems and prose of Sir Lewis Morris. Carey Morris knew Sir Lewis well both at Penbryn, Llangunnor and in London. They claimed to be kinsmen. He often decried the fact that Sir Lewis had been passed over in the choice of poet laureate.

During the 1920s he was director of the Arts and Crafts Exhibition of the National Eisteddfod of Wales and as an artist conferred with men of the calibre of Sir Goscombe John, Owen John, (Sir) Clough Williams Ellis and others in developing this side of the national festival.

An artist is essentially a man before his time. He saw much room for improvement in the Gorsedd ceremonies which were being introduced and he spoke and wrote freely on the subject. With piquant humour, he saw something incongruous in the sight of bespectacled, he-robed bards riding precariously in a bus over an undulating eisteddfod field. He urged strongly for more dignified and better organised bardic ceremonies. He succeeded in convincing the authorities concerned that resonant trumpeters rather than blaring brass bands were more appropriate for proclamation ceremonies.

During the inter-war years he spent much time in the homes of the Welsh squirearchy and he must have been among the last of a long line of artists who worked under the direct patronage of this social class. A record of his life at that time would have made fascinating reading to both the social and local historian. Much time was spent in different parts of Wales, North and Mid Wales, Llandaff and Pembrokeshire. There were long sojourns in present day Gwent at the home of Sir Joseph Bradney, an expert in heraldry and genealogy and author of the monumental work, *The History of Monmouthshire*.

Writing of Sir Joseph Bradney, Carey Morris recorded :

"On one occasion we went to Pembrokeshire together to visit St. David's Cathedral. Neither of us had been there previously. Sir Joseph desired some historical information which he knew would be found in the Cathedral.

"On our way down from Carmarthen, a woman passenger shared our train compartment. She informed us that she was returning to her home in Solva. We told her we were also going in that direction, whereupon she exclaimed, 'Why, I have seen you two often at 'Arford (Haverfordwest) fairs.'

"The remark immediately took me back to my student days in Newlyn, Cornwall.. Ernest Proctor and I had received an invitation to tea from a fellow artist in Penzance to meet some North Country connoisseurs. The next day we were informed by our artist friend that the visitors were very disappointed with us and said we did not look at all like artists but more like farmers' sons from the country . .

"On one occasion Sir Joseph related to me the story of the Welsh Guards and how the leek became the regimental badge.

"During the war period, before he went to France, Sir Joseph commanded a battalion of the Queen's Rifles quartered in London. The project to form a new regiment of Welsh Guards was being mooted. The merits of the leek and daffodil as the regimental badge were advanced by the respective coteries.

"One morning, Sir Joseph received a message from Gen. Sir Francis Lloyd asking him to call on Sir Francis immediately. Sir Joseph, in the interview, was informed that the Welsh Guards was about to be formed. Sir Francis Lloyd was aware of Sir Joseph's knowledge and experience in matters concerning heraldry and entrusted to him the task of deciding on a fitting emblem for the regimental badge and a regimental motto. Sir Joseph came to the conclusion that the leek was the appropriate design for the badge and for the motto he chose *Cymru Am Byth*. Sir Francis Lloyd received the decision with enthusiasm and expressed delight with Sir Joseph's adoption of the leek.

"The next morning, the King (George V), gave his approval and the new regiment of Welsh Guards with the leek as regimental badge and *Cymru Am Byth* as motto came into existence."

On artistic grounds alone the leek, with its simple and clear cut form, makes a distinctive and elegant regimental badge.

Carey Morris became at this period a prolific writer on matters

of art and national interest. His wife and he moved in literary circles. He found affinity in Edward Thomas, the Anglo-Welsh artist and writer. The latter saw a striking resemblance in the features of the celebrated William Morris, artist, and Carey Morris. A lithograph of the senior artist, presented by Edward Thomas, became a treasured possession and many strangers visiting Carey Morris's home were themselves struck forcibly by the resemblance.

Many of Carey Morris's writings were published, among them *Personality as a Force in Art*. He wrote trenchantly, some of his opinions reaching out to the metaphysical.

"Every beautiful and sincere picture even if painted by an obscure artist whom the world does not account great, contains a living quality," he wrote. "It changes every day according to the light, the moods of those who look at it and most of all through that mysterious quality of its own. It becomes a companion and a friend.

"What is it that gives to a picture this mysterious quality? It is the personality of the artist who painted it and the personality of the subject. If a landscape, it contains the varying moods of nature during the time it was being painted and the artist's reactions to those moods ; if a portrait, it reflects more than one mood of both sitter and artist.

"The power of concealing several moods in one portrait is proportionate to the genius and sympathy in the artist's own personality. His moods are also contained within it.

"This confirms my belief that personality never dies. It lives on in a man's work and if it can be so alive long after his physical body is laid in the grave, is it not reasonable to suppose that the essence of his individuality is still alive? Human beings have different tasks to perform in the world ; some have been destined to plan great works which have been too heavy a burden for their physical span of life, but their personalities are still alive, inspiring others to build on the foundation which they have laid. Is it not reasonable to suppose that personality 'the dweller innermost' then relives to inspire others?"

In *Art and Religion in Wales* he challenged the current attitude of Welsh Nonconformity towards art in general and pleaded for a wider acceptance of the beautiful as a fitting element in religious practice. His piquant humour was evident in his observations.

"It is remarkable how incidents make strong impressions on the mind of a child to be pondered over, but not understood for many years—incidents slight in themselves, which yet have a certain psychological importance.



Llangwm Fisherwoman, a portrait by Carey Morris.

"When I was a boy, it was a familiar sight to see itinerant vendors displaying most gaudy and highly-coloured reproductions of religious pictures to the simple country folk. The vendors were invariably sons of Israel and the pictures were obviously Roman Catholic in sentiment ; the subjects were the Madonna and Child and the

Crucifixion, very gaudily coloured and the general effect considerably heightened and made most attractive to the people by a liberal supply of gold and silver tinsel decoration. As a boy, these pictures and the itinerant visitors fascinated me. Some years later it struck me a most remarkable sight—Jewish vendors selling Roman Catholic pictures to Nonconformists!"

He was always the champion of young artists and called for support for them on a national and on an individual basis.

He was an ardent champion of the crafts. He wrote *Craftsmanship Must Not Be Allowed to Die*, in which he considered what future generations would think of the artists and craftsmen of his own generation and how the former achievements of our own crafts might be restored, a consideration which led him to say with deep feeling, "If we want to produce craftsmen our education authorities should consider this matter more seriously. It is astonishing how ignorant educated people may be on the use of such a simple instrument as a two-foot rule. To hold certificates and not be able to read and use a two-foot rule is a preposterous position."

His interest in Wales and in its cultural activities remained paramount. He was called on to illustrate books. Among the best known were his illustrations of a translation of Bunyan's *The Pilgrims' Progress* by Tegla Davies, and he found pleasure in illustrating books for children written by his wife. On occasions he co-operated with his wife in writing about his native country. Describing a moonrise over Snowdon, he wrote :

"It was 2 o'clock when we reached the marge that joins snow to its peak of Crib Goch. We had climbed so far by the aid of the stars but by now they too had vanished leaving us in a strange weird light, through which we saw one another's faces dimly.

"From the opaque masses of clouds above us, a faint strip of blue emerged merging with a lakelet of colour that paled into exquisite green and with a still serenity and peace that contrasted strangely with the boisterous after-rising of the sun, the golden crescent appeared. Though shadowed by the pale wraith of the dead moon, she 'moved a queen', secure in the stainless purity of the waves that bore her through the fleecy mass that heaved sullenly round their margin. Higher and higher above the peaks of Crib Goch, she was *borne* on the bosom of that fairy tide. To the right, awful crags loomed darkly ; beyond Moel Siabod, that home of enchantment, gleamed like one huge emerald ; and in the distance, wave upon wave of rounded hills rolled into view.

"Far below, the track by which we had come glistened, a mere silver thread and one by one as the rays reached them, the lakes shone out like jewels. One could almost hear the rays falling through the great silence, while the listening peaks seemed to bow their heads before the enchantment of that wondrous moonrise. Oh! to remain in that ecstasy for ever ; but our path lay upward and in the silence, borne of music, we continued our way."

Back in Llandeilo and with much responsibility in *the* family business Carey Morris was still closely identified with art. He was commissioned to paint numerous portraits. Of special interest to him was the designing of a flag which the town of Llandeilo sent to its namesake in New South Wales, Australia.* Ever a friend of children, he found special delight in painting portraits of them.

Carey Morris's canvases, his portraits, his landscapes and his studies have established for themselves their own particular niche not only in Britain but in many countries in the world. To those who knew him well, it was *the* canvas of his own life, in its subtle tones and nuances which had the greatest glory. Wales can be proud of one of her most dedicated artists. The words of A. C. Swinburne in *Super Flaming Babylonis* form his epitaph :

Unto each man his handwork ; unto each his crown
the just Fate gives ;
Whoso takes the world's Life to him and his own lays down;
He, dying, so lives.

While touring Europe, Mrs. E. Eldridge of Wentworthville, New South Wales, Australia made a sentimental pilgrimage to Llandello in July 1977 because she remembered this flag being hoisted at an annual ceremony during her school days in Llandeilo, N.S.W.—Editor.

The Families of Berllandywyll

By Major FRANCIS JONES, c.v.o., F.D., D.L., F.S.A.

Wales Herald of Arms Extraordinary

AMONG the rural parishes of Carmarthenshire that provide pleasurable feasts for those who seek the delights of the countryside, few can excel the diverse scenic fare provided by the parish of Llangathen, where rolling uplands, wooded dingles, lush lowlands and meadows are given over wholly to the promotion of Britain's oldest occupation, farming and its ancillaries. Llangathen straddles the highway leading from Llandeilo to the county town of Carmarthen, bounded on the south by the river Tywi, on the north by the hills and woodlands of Llanfynydd, embracing some 5608 acres, and including within its bounds the 525 acres of the little ecclesiastical parish of Llanhhangel Cilfargen, so that today the whole administrative unit is 6133 acres.

In addition to the enchantments of the countryside, the parish offers antiquarian evidences of the activities of primitive folk whose lives were dominated by two considerations—subsistence and safety. Above a steep scarp on Grongar hill, the remains of an ancient fort remind us of the uncertain lives its builders must have led before the rule of law imposed discipline on the community, while the forms 'castell' that occur elsewhere in the parish, and in field-names, those flickering rushlights of an unrecorded gloom, indicate how widespread and general this uncertainty must have been. Belonging to a later period, no less capricious, is Dryslwyn castle on a knoll above the Tywi, a fortress that played an important part in the twelfth and thirteenth century struggles between Welsh princes and Norman barons, now reduced to a few straggling walls and ramparts. Under the year 1257 the *Mints* record a battle at Coed Lathen, believed to be near Llether Cadfan, where the Welsh inflicted a severe defeat on an invading force commanded by one Stephen Bauzan. More peaceful inclinations are represented by the church dedicated to the Celtic saint who gave his name to the parish, built on a heightly spot above the hamlet where it continues its centuries-old mission of bringing solace and comfort to parishioners, and although altered from time to time the fabric retains certain medieval remnants. Amongst its noteworthy features is the resplendent tomb of Anthony Rudd sometime Bishop of St. Davids, who had lived at nearby Aberglasney, and the small chapels still bearing the names of the residences of the gen-

tle families for whom they had been built—Capel Berllandywyll and Capel Llether Cadf an.

Nine mansions of landowning families stood within the parish—Aberglasney, Berllandywyll, Brynhafod, Court Henry, Parc Henry, Hafod Neddyn, Lanlash, Llether Cadf an, and Penhill—six being well-established in the Tudor period, three at least having been "going concerns" in medieval days. It is Berllandywyll and its owners that will exercise us in these pages.

The house, now adapted to farming usages, stands on a southerly slope facing towards Grongar Hill immortalised by the muse of John Dyer, and overlooking the meandering flow of the Tywi through the fertile vale below. When Joseph Gulston called there in 1783 he described it as "a very beautiful spot", while the Revd Thomas Beynon, agent of the Golden Grove estate described it in 1806 with pardonable exaggeration as "one of the most beautiful spots in the kingdom". The property has been known by two names. The original, Porthwryd, persisted until the latter half of the seventeenth century when it was supplanted by the name Berllandywyll, the 'secret or hidden orchard'. What determined the change is not known. The newer form occurs first in 1671 as *Berllan Towell*, in 1673 as *Bedard Dowill*, in 1679 as *Porthwryd*, and in 1690 as *Berllan Dowill alias Perthwrit*, after which the form Berllandywyll or—dowyll occurs consistently. The house and outbuildings stood within a triangular area formed by two roads, the apex being below the house, near the Towy where the old ferry, Glan y had, once operated. Among the field-names attached to the property were College Chapel, Castell y Gwr-ychion, Ferren fach, and the ten-acre field Erw Porth which may contain an echo of the older name of the property. The original house stood in the field across the road, and part of its surrounding wall survives; the present house was built just above the orchard during the 18th century.

No information has been found enabling us to judge the extent of the estate in early times, but evidence surviving from the eighteenth century suggests it had been modest. Nevertheless, its owners were among the front-runners of West Wales gentry, and some of them held estates in neighbouring counties as well. Although four families lived there from 1350 to 1806, the property was never sold, for each family succeeded by marriage with the heiress of the predecessor, so that the biological link continued unbroken for four and a half centuries. The first family occupied the property for some three or four generations, the second for five, the third for six, and the fourth for one transient generation, after which the house and demesne

was let to tenants, and the attached farmland became noted for the quality of its harvests. The Tithe Map for 1839 shows Berllandywyll as comprising 221 acres, owned by Lord Cawdor and farmed by David Jones.

The first family at Porthwryd

The first of this family at Porthwryd, the magnate Llewelyn Foethus, traced his ancestry through eight generations to Elystan Glodrudd the prince who had ruled the territory between the rivers Wye and Severn, largely represented today by the county of Radnor. His father Llewelyn ddu was the son of Owain ap Sir Gruffydd, Esquire of the Body to King Edward III (see Lewis Glyn Cothi, *Works* i, 170). Llewelyn Foethus ("the Luxurious") lived in the first half of the fourteenth century, and is described by the deputy-herald Lewys Dwnn (*Heraldic Visitations*, ii 224) as "o Langathen a Borthwryd". He was followed by his son Gruffydd who held the Crown appointment of Constable of Maenordeilo in 1355-58. Gruffydd had two sons, Rhys and Ieuan, and two daughters, Tenet who married Rhys ap David Fongam ap Hywel ap David, the said David Fongam having held the post of Steward of Cantref Mawr in 1303-09, and Janet who married Nicholas ap Philip of Crug near Llandilo, and became the great-grandparents of Sir Rhys ap Thomas, K.G., of Dynevor.

The eldest son, Rhys, like his father, held Crown appointments. In 1386 he was Constable of Cetheiniog and Maenordeilo, and in 1392-1400 Beedle of Cetheiniog, and Deputy-Farmer of Llanllwch 1398-1400. During the rising of Owain Glyndwr, the younger son Ieuan espoused the Welsh cause, with the result that his lands were forfeited to the Crown, and given to his brother Rhys who had remained loyal to the King. Rhys benefitted to an even greater extent on 3 December 1401 when he received the forfeited lands of the Cayo magnate Llewelyn ap Gruffydd Fychan who had been executed for rebellion at Llandoverly in the King's presence on the preceding 9 October. Further offices were showered on him—the important appointments of Sheriff of Carmarthen (1400), Constable of Dryslwyn Castle and Forester of Glyncothi and Pennant (1402). However, in July 1403 Rhys caused a great sensation in west Wales by publicly espousing Glyndwr's cause. The defection of so important a Crown official called for immediate action, and in September of that year Henry, Prince of Wales entered the county at the head of a strong force, declared Rhys an outlaw, seized all his lands and handed them to Thomas Dyer a burgess of Carmarthen. After wandering in the wilderness for several years, Rhys returned to the King's peace in 1409, received a pardon, and his lands were restored to him, while two years later he received one of his former appointments, the Constablership

of Cetheiniog and Maenordeilo. The bells of Llangathen rang again, and the notes of the harp enlivened the halls of Porthwryd as in days of yore.

Rhys ap Gruffydd ap Llewelyn Foethus married Maud daughter of Sir William Clement who held extensive lands and public offices in Ceredigion. He was followed by his son Llewelyn who married a daughter of Icuau Gwyn ap Gwilym Fwya, descended from the Glamorgan chieftain, Griffith Gwyr. From this union there was an only child, Gwenllian described as "aeres Porthwrid" by Lewys Dwnn. She was the last of the direct line of Llewelyn Foethus at Porthwryd which she brought to her husband Rhys ap David Hir who became the first of the succeeding family at his wife's ancestral home.

The second family at Porthwryd

The man who now hung his shield in the hall of Porthwryd descended from the lords of Rhydodyn (Edwingsford) in Llansawel, who traced their lineage to an Irish mercenary leader, Idio Wylt, who had come to Wales in the eleventh century and settled in south-west Breconshire. His descendant David Fychan ap David of Rhydodyn had a son, Morgan, who married Lleucu daughter and heiress of Rhys ddu of Gornoethe in Cayo, descended from Dafydd Fongam. Morgan was followed by his son Dafydd Hir (The Tall) who lived in Llangathen, and was twice married. By his second wife, Lleucu daughter of Ieuan ap Llewelyn ddu, he had two sons, Rhys who married the heiress of Porthwryd, and Howell whose descendants lived in Carmarthen.

After Rhys ap Dafydd Hir married Gwenllian of Porthwryd, he settled at his wife's home. By her he had two sons, Henry ap Rhys the elder son and heir, and Owen ap Rhys who married Margaret daughter of Joan Gwilym Fychan of Baili Glas in Abergwili whose descendants settled at Hafod Neddyn.

In due course Henry ap Rhys succeeded to Porthwryd. He married the daughter of one of Ceredigion's most powerful families, Lleucu daughter of Llewelyn Lloyd of Castell Hywel in Llandysul. He was alive in 1550, and on 24 May of that year Henry ab Rees David Hire of Llangathen, gentleman, released four parcels of land in that parish to David ap John ap Gwilym (*Edwingsford deeds*). By Lleucu he had two sons and three daughters : 1. William ap Henry, of whom later. 2. John ap Henry married Catherine daughter of Sion ap Gwilym ap Thomas Fychan of Llether Cadfan, settled at

Ystradwrallt in Abergwili, whose descendants took the surname Williams, one of whom, Nicholas Williams was High Sheriff in 1698. 3. Lleucu married David Edwardes of Carmarthen. 4. Jane married William Morgan of Carmarthen. 5. Elizabeth married Francis Williams of Carmarthen.

William ap Henry of Porthwryd married Elen sister of the Catherine who had married his brother John. Her father John ap Gwilym of Llether Cadfan was the son of Gwilym ap Thomas who had been an Esquire of the body to King Henry VIII. They had an only child, Harry ap William.

Harry ap William also known as Harry William and Harry William Harry, succeeded to Porthwryd. On 13 July 1586 he and Walter Vaughan of Golden Grove, esquire, gave a bond of indemnity to David Rice ap William touching a bond for payment of a fine of £200 imposed for certain offences on the said Walter by the Court of Star Chamber. He married Anne daughter of Griffith ap Morgan of Carmarthen, a descendant of the powerful family of Morgan of Muddlescomb. Anne had been married previously, to David Lloyd of Castell Hywel in Llandysul by whom she had issue, which, as we shall see, led to a pretty tangled relationship. On 30 April 1586 Harry William Harry, gentleman, granted the tenement called Parkey Henrye in Llangathen to Richard ap Rudderch of Llanfynydd, gentleman ; and on 28 December 1590 Harry William Harrie, gentleman, and Harry William Thomas, yeoman, gave a bond to Thomas Vaughan, gentleman, all of Llangathen, to suffer a Fine and Recovery with further assurances of a tenement called Tyer Lloid in the said parish.

Harry William and his wife Anne were both still living in 1608. They had five sons and four daughters : 1. Walter Williams, eldest son and heir apparent, married Margaret daughter of David Lloyd of Castell Hywel. He was alive in 1608, but died very shortly afterwards, for in the following year his widow remarried to Harry Thomas Morgan of Carmarthen (*Dwnn, i, 228, 235*). As he left no issue, the estate passed, ultimately, to his two surviving sisters Barbara and Mary. 2 - 5. Harry, Lewis, Robert, and David Williams, all died without issue.

6 - 7. Sage and Sioned Williams, died without issue.

8. Barbara Williams, ultimate co-heiress, inherited Porthwryd as part of her share of the estate. She married George Lloyd of Castell Hywel son and heir of David Lloyd by his first wife Jane of Pantstreimon. Both were living in 1608. Their issue will be discussed in the next section.

In 1709 Morgan Davies of Llangain parish, gentleman, who had been Clerk of the Peace since 1700, petitioned the Lord High Chancellor, complaining that Thomas Lloyd of Berllandowyll, Thomas Lloyd of Danyrallt, William Brigstocke of Llechdwnny, and Samuel Hughes of Laugharne, esquires, Justices of the Peace, had deprived him of certain emoluments of office. When an alehouse licence was issued the licensee paid a fee of 2s. 6d, of which 1s. 6d. was the prerequisite of the Clerk of the Peace. However the said justices held licensing meetings in private so that the Clerk could not attend, and pocketed the fees themselves. In their answers, sworn on 22 April 1710, the squire of Berllandywyll (who said he had been a justice for 50 years) and the others flatly denied the Clerk's allegation, and asked for the complaint to be dismissed with costs to the defendants. The verdict is not recorded, but doubtless it was in favour of the defendants. He is described as "Thomas Llwyd of Berllandywyll" when appointed a trustee of the will of David Lloyd of Llanfechan on 30 July 1711.

Thomas Lloyd probably died shortly after 1711. By his second wife, Bridget (Vaughan) he had a son, Thomas, and a daughter, Elizabeth, who died unmarried.

The son and heir apparent, Thomas Lloyd, never succeeded to the estates as he died in his father's lifetime. He married Mary eldest daughter of Sir Francis Cornwallis of Ahermarlais by Elizabeth daughter of Sir Henry Jones of that place. The post-nuptial settlement was made on 2 August 1690 between the following parties-1. Thomas Lloyd the elder of Berllandowill, esq., Bridget his wife, and Thomas Lloyd the younger, their son and heir apparent. 2. Benjamin Lewis of Cilgwyn and John Phillipps of Carmarthen, gentleman. 3. Sir Rice Rudd of Aberglasney, Bart., Thomas Cornwallis of Ahermarlais, William Pugh of Mathafarn (co. Mont.), Richard Vaughan of Grays Inn, Thomas Lloyd of Bronwydd, and Edward Jones of Llether Neuadd (co. Carms.), esquires. By this deed the following properties were settled on Thomas Lloyd the younger, and Mary (Cornwallis) his wife, and the heirs of their body.

The Berllandywyll estate—"the capital messuage called Berllan Dowill alias Porthwryd", parcels of land formerly owned by Henry Penry ; messuages called The Upper Rhywraddar and Goytre, in Llangathen; a messuage and land near the great mountain in Llanfihangel Aberbythych ; a messuage called Park Henry, and two unnamed messuages in Llanddarog ; all in Carmarthenshire.

The Castell Howell estate—"a capital messuage called Castell Howell",

a water corn mill, a tucking mill, messuages called Glan Clettwr, Tythyn Pant Yscawen, Gwarr Alit yr ynn, Pant y Llyn, Glan rhyd y dre, Gwarr Alit Davolog, Gwarr Alit y Faerdre, Glan y dwr, Tythyn Rhyd y Says, Nant y Gwyddy-Ucha and -Issa, a meadow, in Llandysul ; messuages called Mayn Gwnion and Moeley Cwmbach, in Llanarth ; a messuage called Tyr y Bryn, in Llandissilio ; and right of common in Llanwenog ; all in Cardiganshire.

Although the acreages are not given it is possible to obtain an idea of the size of the estate—over nine properties in Carmarthenshire, and eighteen in Cardiganshire. It must be borne in mind that these are the settled estates, and it is possible (indeed likely) that other properties held in fee simple and leaseholds were not included in the strict entail.

The date of the death of Thomas Lloyd the younger, during the lifetime of his father, is not known, but as he left a son, an only child, the lineal succession was assured. The widow married secondly John Lloyd of Llanfechan, Cardiganshire, who did not live long after the marriage. She then took a third husband, William Lewes, and he too did not survive for long. Undeterred, she embarked on her fourth matrimonial venture, by marrying, before 1737, John Morgan, esquire, of the town of Cardigan. Mary died on 17 November 1741, aged 70, Mr. Morgan on 21 April 1765, aged 77, and a monument to their memory was placed in the church of St. Mary, Cardigan.

Some time before 1717 Thomas Lloyd, only son of Thomas Lloyd the younger, succeeded his grandfather, Thomas Lloyd the elder, whose executor he was. He became a Justice of the Peace for Carmarthenshire, and served as High Sheriff in 1720. In the parliamentary election of 1722 he supported Sir Nicholas Williams of Rhododyn against Rice of Dynevor. He married Grace daughter and heiress of David Lloyd of Crynfryn, in Nantcwnlle, Cardiganshire, an estate she brought to her husband. He died comparatively young, before 4 April 1726, as shown by a deed of that date in which Grace is described as "Grace Llwyd widow of Thomas Llwyd late of Berllandowill esquire, deceased". In March 1727-8 she was party to the separation deed made between John Williams of Dolau Cothi and his wife Elizabeth, and is described as "Grace Llwyd of Berllan Dowill widow". Later, she took a second husband, Bennett Dyer, attorney at law, fourth son of Robert Dyer. Bennett who became High Sheriff of Cardiganshire in 1735, died without issue. The widow made her will as Grace Dyer of Berllandywyll on 7 January 1731-2, whereby she bequeathed "my purchased estate" in Llanfynydd to her husband for life to her daughter Bridget, one shilling ; to her daughter Mary,

£500 charged on the Cardiganshire estate provided she marries with consent of her guardians or her brother, otherwise to receive £30 per annum for life ; to her daughter Alicia Graciana £1000 on marriage provided she marries with the like consent ; to her second and third sons Thomas and Samuel, £500 each when they became 21 years of age ; the sum of £1000 that her late husband Thomas Lloyd esquire had borrowed of Mr. Mathew Jones of ye Wayne in Monmouthshire, was to be charged on the Cardiganshire estates ; all her realty in Cardiganshire, Montgomeryshire, and Llanfynydd in Carmarthenshire, also leaseholds and personalty, she left to her eldest son David Lloyd for ever, subject to the preceding legacies, and appointed him sole executor ; she appointed Thomas Johnes of Llanfair (Clydogau) esquire, Elizabeth Williams of Dolan Cothi, widow, and Lewis Vaughan of Jordanston, Pembrokeshire, to be tutors and guardians of her children during minority.

Thomas and Grace Lloyd had the following children:

1. David Llwyd or Lloyd as he was variously called, eldest son and heir, succeeded to the Berllandywyll, Castell Hywel and Crynfryn estates. He was made a Burgess of Carmarthen on 6 April 1738. In the list of Cardiganshire freeholders his name is included as owner of the Castell Hywel and Crynfryn estates. By 1760 he had sold Crynfryn to John Jones, attorney at law, of Aberystwyth, and later sold Castell Hywel to David Lloyd of Alltyrolyn. He married Magdalen eldest daughter of David Lewes of Dolhaidd Ucha by Elizabeth Bowen of Llwyngwair. By the pre-nuptial settlement dated 18 December 1740 he settled Berllandywyll, Bwlch y gwynt, and a messuage and lands lately held by Miss Jane Griffith of Kilsane, all in Llangathen, to the uses of the marriage, and undertook to convey the Castell Howell estate in Llandysul, Llanarth, and Llandysilio-go-go parishes, to similar uses. Magdalen's portion was £147. In order to settle and establish the aforementioned properties "in the name and blood of the said David Llwyd", he and his wife, by a post-nuptial settlement made on 28 October 1742 conveyed the properties in Llangathen to David Lewes of Dolhaidd, esquire, on trust, to the uses of the couple, theirs heirs male, in default to their heirs female, and in default to the right heirs of David Llwyd ; while the Castell Howell estate was to remain in the absolute ownership of David Llwyd. Excepted from both settlements were Rhywyradar (rent £27 p.a.), an unnamed messuage (£6.10.0 p.a.), Foeswen (£6.7.6 p.a.), Goitre (£3 p.a.), a water corn mill near Rhywyradar, and the College (£6 p.a.), all part of the Berllandywyll estate, and to continue in David Llwyd's possession in fee simple. As well as being a landlord he was a practical farmer. David

Llwyd, seventeenth in descent from Cadifor ap Dinawal, was the last of the family in the male line to live at Berllandywyll. He died without issue in 1779, and his wife in May 1788. The devolution of the estate, as directed by his will, will be considered anon.

2. Thomas Lloyd, a minor in 1731, was educated for the Church and spent his ministry in England. In August 1749 he was incumbent of the church of SS Philip and Jacob, Bristol, and in 1770 rector of Hornsey, Essex. Apart from her unusual Christian name Diones, nothing is known of his wife. They had no children. He made his will on 15 May 1773, died shortly after, and his body was brought from Hornsey and interred in the family vault in Llangathen church. In her will made on 31 October 1775, Diones described herself as of the county borough of Carmarthen, widow of Thomas Lloyd late rector of Hornsey. She also had a house in Bath, and it was there that the will was found by the executor. Desiring to be buried near her husband in Llangathen church, Diones left her freeholds to her nephew John Sibthorp, and nominated David Lloyd Newnam of Llanina, Cards., surgeon, and the Revd John Howell of Llangathen, to be trustees to hold her stock in Long Annuities worth £86 p.a., for the benefit of ten poor persons in Llangathen parish for ever ; mentioned "my aunt Chancy"; to the said D. LI. Newnam she left two bonds to secure the sums of £100 and £95 which had been entered into by David Lloyd, esq., of Berllandywyll, to her late husband, and bequeathed a further £50 to him, and "I order Samuel Newnam of Bristol, banker, my executor, to erect in Llangathen church a marble monument of the value of £100 in memory of my said late husband, to be placed near the reading pew". The will was witnessed by three Carmarthen men, and probate granted at Carmarthen to Samuel Newnam on 2 June 1777.
3. Samuel Lloyd, a minor in 1731, died young.
4. Bridget Lloyd, to whom her mother left a shilling, married Anthony Williams of Brynhafod (born on 25 September 1711) son of Anthony Williams by Elizabeth daughter of John Philipps of Tygwyn near Llandeilo, by Elizabeth Grismond his wife. She predeceased her husband who had died before 1779 having nominated his only children Alicia Gratiana and Emma Williams to be executrices. Alicia Gratiana married Richard Jones (Llwyd) of Pantglas, and Emma died unmarried about 1778-9.
5. Margaret, married between 29 April and 17 May 1727, Lewis Price of Glanyrannell in Talylychau (ex inf. D. Emrys Williams).

6. Alice Gratiana, married (marriage bond dated 1 October 1740) David Lloyd of Alltyrodyn, esquire, who had bought Castell Howell from his brother-in-law David Lloyd.
7. Mary, a minor in 1731, died young.

Of this generation only one of the children of Berllandywyll left issue, namely Bridget Lloyd by her husband Anthony Williams of Brynhafod. Thus, when David Lloyd was nearing the end of his life, his heirs-at-law were his nieces Alice Gratiana and Emma Williams. He made his will on 11 December 1778, and bequeathed a^s follows :

To his niece Alicia Gratiana Williams "who lives with me", an annuity of £40 during the lifetime of testator's wife. To his wife Magdalen he bequeathed all his estates for her life, trustees to be Richard Vaughan of Golden Grove, Admiral William Lloyd of Danyrallt, and the Revd Thomas Lewis of Gwynfe ; and after her death, to his said niece Alicia Gratiana Williams, to her sole use and not subject to any control of her husband, should she marry, for her life, remainder to Alice Gratiana's husband for life, remainder to the heirs of their bodies in tail male and female, and in default of issue, to Charles Richard Vaughan of Golden Grove, esquire, his heirs and assigns for ever : but should "any of them omit, refuse, or neglect to take on her, him, or them respectively the ancient surname of Llwyd together with her, his, or their own respective surname (except in the case of Charles Richard Vaughan who may use what name he pleases), then they are not to inherit".

As a small token of gratitude for the many acts of friendship shown to him by Richard Vaughan, and his sons John and Charles Richard Vaughan, William Lloyd of Danyrallt, Richard Jones of Pantglas, Mr. Richard Jones of Castle Yard, attorney, David Lewis of Dolhaidd, David Edwards of Llandeilo, Revd Thomas Lewis of Gwynfe, Revd Mr. Owen vicar of Llandeilo, Revd Mr. (Richard) Howell vicar of Llangathen, and Mr. Hugh Evans, attorney, five guineas each to purchase a ring as a memento.

To his niece Emma Williams he left "one shilling only which is more than she deserves".

He directed his wife to pay his debts from the personalty, and should that prove insufficient, the debts were to be charged to the realty : he left all the personalty, chaise, chaise-horses, grey mare and filly, plate, furniture, and all household goods, to his wife absolutely, and appointed her executrix.

David Llwyd's resentment towards Emma Williams was probably due, in part at least, to the fact that she had harassed him with lawsuits for moneys she claimed he owed her, claims which continued to be made on the Berllandywyll estate by Emma's executor at a later date. Emma died within a few years after her uncle David. He died soon after making the will which was proved in 1779. The beneficiaries of the realty, tenants for life, apart from one, proved short-lived. When the widow, Magdalen died in 1788, the estate passed to the next in remaindership, Alicia Gratiana Williams. Magdalen had entertained Joseph Gulston when he called at Berllandywyll in 1783, and his descriptions of eleven portraits then in the house, mainly Lloyds, have survived (see *The Carmarthen Historian*, 1968).

Alicia Gratiana Williams married at Llangathen on 26 January 1779, Richard Jones of Pantglas, illegitimate son of John Jones of that place. His putative father nominated him sole heir, and on that worthy's death in December 1760 Richard found himself owner of the Pantglas estate. Richard had been baptised at Llanfynydd in 1754, and afterwards educated for the bar (Grays Inn). He practised the law in south Wales, and in 1792 became Clerk of the Peace for Carmarthenshire. When his wife succeeded to Berllandywyll on her aunt's death in 1788, Richard took the additional surname as stipulated in David Lloyd's will, and thenceforth was known as Richard Jones Llwyd. As well as participating actively in public life, he was a progressive farmer, and one of the staunchest supporters of the county's Agricultural Society. He died without issue at Pantglas on 2 August 1799, aged 44, and by will dated 21 February 1799, left all his realty and personalty to "my ever dear and loving wife" for ever ; and to Herbert Lloyd of Carmarthen, attorney, esquire, £100 as "a token of the great esteem and friendship I have for him", desiring him to "support, comfort, and assist my wife". Probate was granted at Carmarthen on St. David's day 1803.

Inheriting property sometimes can be a mixed blessing. David Lloyd the uncle had left debts amounting to £1663.4.11J, among the creditors being Mrs. Grace Newnam of Llanina (£355.5.0), Miss Emma Williams (£100), Mr. Samuel Newnam (£70), Mr. John Thomas for funeral expenses (£113.18.42), William Wright wine-merchant (£13.6.5.), Thomas Taylor of Carmarthen, mercer (£11.7.0.), Stephen Polleti plasterer (£3.6.8.), Mr. Scott the gardener (10s), Thomas Jones the boatman of Glan y bad ferry over the Tywi near the foot of the hill below Berllandywyll (9s.), and Elizabeth David the dairymaid (3s.). The reference to Polleti is interesting. He was an Italian expert in plastering, and had been engaged in decorating numerous country houses in Carmarthenshire, notably Golden Grove.

Failure to pay these and other liabilities promptly, led to legal proceedings, which resulted in the Court of Exchequer decreeing in 1788 that the money should be raised by sale or mortgage of the Berllandywyll estate. R. J. Llwyd and his wife, being in possession, tried to postpone payment further, but in 1792 the Court ordered the estate be advertised and sold by the Deputy Remembrancer. Accordingly R. J. Llwyd proposed to John Vaughan of Golden Grove (then seized of the reversion of the Berllandywyll estate as brother and heir of C. R. Vaughan who had died on 19 August 1786, expectant on the deaths without issue of Mr. and Mrs. R. J. Llwyd) to join him in borrowing money to pay debts, legacies, and costs of suits, estimated at about £2500, and so prevent a sale of the property. It was agreed to borrow that sum upon their joint security, the principal to be repaid by Vaughan on the deaths of Mr. and Mrs. R. J. Llwyd. Accordingly they borrowed £2500 at 4% interest from Mrs. Anne Powell of Llandeilo town, widow, and by a deed made on 25 April 1792 the following properties were mortgaged—the capital messuage of Berllandywyll, the messuages of Rhiwyradar, Cwmharad, Park Cilsane, Brunant, two cottages, Melin Obeth water corn mill, an un-named messuage, dwelling house called Goytre Vach with stables, gardens, and two adjoining fields, the messuage and land called Goytre, an un-named messuage and appurtenances, a messuage called The Star, two fields called Troedyrhiw, two cottages and gardens called The Rising Sun and Bwlch y gwynt, a cottage and garden, two cottages and gardens called Gogorth, in Llangathen parish; several messuages and lands, un-named, in Llangathen and Llandybie parishes. However, the debts proved before the Deputy Remembrancer, together with the costs of suits amounted to only £1646.1.11, far below the estimated total. This was now paid out of the sum advanced by Mrs. Powell, and Mrs. Jones Llwyd retained the residue.

The Jones Llwyds lived mainly at Pantglas, and on the husband's death in 1799, that estate passed by testamentary demise to the widow with absolute power of disposal.

Mrs. Alicia Gratiana Jones Llwyd died without issue on 7 November 1806, aged 65.

By will dated 13 November 1802 she desired to be buried in a leaden coffin in Llangathen church between her husband Richard Jones Llwyd and her uncle David Llwyd, and requested Mr. Thomas Harris of Abersannan to see that the vault was "well-arched and flagged over as it will not again be wanted as I am the last of the family"; and bequeathed as follows

To her kinsman George Davies, esq., the farm of Pantyroddin for life.

Remainder of her estates to John Vaughan of Golden Grove, John George Philipps of Cwmgwili, esqrs, and Rhys Davies of Swansea, gent., trustees, to permit Nicholas Burnell Jones, esq., son of Miss Elizabeth Lewis formerly of Gwaingranod, Llanegwad parish (who married Captn Nicholas Burnell in the West Indies trade) as descendant of the family of Jones of Pantglas, to receive the rents etc., for life, then to his issue, and in default of issue to John George Philipps son of the said John George Philipps, for life, then to his issue, and in default to Grismond Philipps brother of the said J. G. Philipps the younger, then to his issue, and in default to David Arthur Saunders Davies, son of Dr. Davies of Carmarthen, and his issue for ever; on condition that all the said beneficiaries (except George Davies) took the surname Jones and resided at Pantglas house and kept it in repair. She charged "the estates that were devised to me by my late husband", with the following annuities

£40 to Mrs. Maria and Sarah Downes of Carmarthen, for lives, in survivorship. £10 to Frances Thomas wife of John Thomas who formerly lived at Blaenpant, and afterwards at Merthyr Tydfil, and afterwards to her son Richard Thomas for life. £30 to Alicia Thomas daughter of the said John and Frances, for life. £500 to "my relation" Maria Sophia Williams daughter of the late Revd John Williams of Dawnton. £20 to her servant Rachel Lewis, £10 to David Thomas William of Penypark, Llanegwad parish, and £20 to Anne Harris daughter of Mr. Thomas Harris of Abersannan, for lives.

She left personalty to the said trustees and Nicholas Burnell and Rhys Davies, to pay debts etc., with power to cut and sell timber for that purpose; and appointed Nicholas Burnell, J. G. Philipps and Rhys Davies, executors.

On 13 May 1805 she made a codicil whereby she increased the annuity of Frances Thomas to £20 for life, then to her daughter Alicia Thomas for life; in addition to the £500 she gave an annuity of £25 to Maria Sophia Williams for life; and gave annuities of £100 to each of "my relations" Lettice Llwyd and Margaret Llwyd of Llanllwni parish, daughters of Mr. Llwyd of Cwmair, for their lives. She stipulated that £100 was to be invested by the owner of Pantglas for the time being, to pay interest annually at Christmas between the poor of Llanfynydd parish who were not receiving relief from the Poor Rate; and a monument be erected in Llangathen church to the memory of "my late uncle" David Lloyd and his wife "my aunt" Magdalen Lloyd, and "my late husband, and myself", and begged that the inscription be written by the Revd Mr. Beynon to whom she bequeathed five guineas to buy a ring "as a mark of respect". Should Grismond Philipps and J. G. Philipps eldest and younger sons of J. G. Philipps die without issue, then "my relation" Thomas Lloyd son of "my kins-

man" the Revd John Lloyd of Gilfachwen, was to receive the rents for life, then to his issue, and gave the ultimate remaindership to Jenkin eldest son of Jenkin I?avies Berrington of Swansea, gent., and his heirs, for ever.

She continued to have further ideas, and on 15 October 1806 made a second codicil. She now stipulated that Nicholas Burnell was to take the name Jones in addition to, not instead of, Burnell; and left £300 to build a chapel in Llanfynydd parish agreeable to the plan made by Mr. William Jernegan, and £300 to provide a stipend for the minister there: 100 guineas to "my god-daughter" Elizabeth Catherine Garland; £200 to "my friend" Jenetta Iltuda Lucas for life, then to her children Thomas Evans Lucas and Jane Lucas "my godson and god-daughter"; £500 to "my friend" Rhys Davies, and desired him to give the said sum to his little niece Anne Davies Thomas provided she marries with his consent; £10 per annum to "my relation" Maria Sophia Williams in addition to her other legacy.

The degree of relationship of the testamentary heir to the Joneses of Pantglas is unknown, but it seems to have been through his mother. In 1756 Nicholas Burnell, gentleman, then living in Fishguard, married Elizabeth Lewis of Waungranod, Llanegwad parish, who has been described as "a remote relation" of the Pantglas family, and had two sons: Nicholas (the testamentary heir) and Richard Burnell. There were others who claimed a closer consanguinity than the Burnells, among them a yeoman family named Thomas. Indeed as we have seen, Mrs. Jones Llwyd made bequests to some of them, namely Richard and Alicia the children of John and Frances Thomas of Merthyr Tydfil, Glamorgan, but it should be noticed that testatrix studiously avoided describing them as kinsfolk of any kind. They certainly considered themselves to be such and even referred to Richard Jones Llwyd as "uncle" (although probably "Welsh uncle" was meant). My researches have failed to reveal the exact relationship, but it would appear to have been claimed through the family of Davies of Penylan. The mother of Richard Jones Llwyd the acknowledged son of John Jones of Pantglas is alleged to have been a daughter of Penylan, while a sister Elizabeth Davies married Thomas Rees of Castell Carreg Cennen, parents of Frances Rees who in 1781 married John Thomas of Maespant in Llanfynydd.

John Thomas, born in 1745, received his early education at Ystrad Meurig school. About 1786 he left Maespant for Merthyr Tydfil where he remained for fourteen years as steward and overseer of the Penydarren works under Mr. Foreman the iron-master, and then returned to Carmarthen town where he died in 1804. His wife

Frances (Rees) who had lived for some time before her marriage at Pantglas, died in 1824 aged 65.. They had two children, a son and daughter. The daughter, Alicia Gratiana Thomas born about 1786, was educated by Mrs. Walter Horton of Carmarthen, and brought up at Pantglas, whence she went to Scotland and was for twenty-four years housekeeper to Thomas Holmes, esquire, of Raith, Kirkcaldy, Fife, before she married him, and was buried on 27 December 1831 aged 45. The son, Richard Jones Thomas, was born many years after his sister, on 13 November 1799 at Merthyr Tydfil where he was baptised on 1 February 1800. He qualified as an excise officer on 14 October 1823, and sewed at Tenby (1824), Cardigan (1830) and Newcastle Emlyn (1835). He married at Newport, Pem., on 2 February 1826 Jane daughter of Thomas Nicholas of that town, by Jane Davies of Castle Green, Cardigan. He lived latterly at Castle Hill, Fishguard where he died on 26 February 1888, aged 87. From his son John Richard Thomas, M.D., M.R.C.S., a Surgeon-Major in the army, who saw service in the Crimea, there are several descendants still living.

In 1864 a Carmarthenshire antiquary wrote some articles on Llanfynydd to *The Welshman* newspaper. He was a freeholder, Henry Jones of Penrhos farm, who proposed writing a history of Llanfynydd jointly with the then vicar of the parish. Richard Jones Thomas, also interested in antiquities, noticed some inaccuracies in the articles, and consequently wrote several letters to Mr. Jones who was an old friend. They contain some remarkable passages. It must be remembered that Thomas was writing about events that had taken place well over half a century before, and was only seven years old when Mrs. Alicia Gratiana Jones Llwyd died, so that his description of the occurrences must have been obtained mainly at second-hand. It is clear that the family had felt very strongly at exclusion from the succession and his letters reveal the intense exasperation of disappointed kinsfolk, which helped to retain the memories of events connected with earlier family affairs. Indeed, in one letter he says that "now after the lapse of many years I feel the hot indignation flushing up". In a letter written in 1864, he dwells on the iniquities of Mrs. Jones Llwyd, who prevented her husband signing a will on his deathbed which would have superseded the earlier one; Mr. Burnell's mother was "something more distant than even a Welsh niece to the Joneses"; Mrs. Jones Llwyd was eccentric, among her vagaries, the keeping of from two to three dozen bulls at Pantglas, "a terror to the neighbourhood. I can recollect reckoning 25 in one field. For eight years she slept in the day and up at night leaving the stock in their pristine state to run wild over the farm, and if an attempt was made to take any to fairs she would, early in the morning, order the lot to the green

for her inspection before retiring for her rest, and in most instances order them back, recollecting that the young stock were the progeny of old favourite cows etc . . . and I can remember the enormous stock of pigs at the place, for want of food, feasting on an unhappy comrade ...", and gives other examples of her eccentricity and hostility towards the Thomas family. Aggrieved relatives tried to recover the estate, and in 1811 Alicia Thomas, Maria Sophia Williams and Anne Davies Thomas brought an action in the High Court of Chancery against Nicholas Burnell Jones, J. G. Philipps, Rhys Davies, and Charles Williams for the recovery of Pantglas, but failed in their object.

Thus Nicholas Burnell inherited Pantglas, an estate that enabled him to accept nomination for the shrievalty of Carmarthenshire, an office he filled in 1814. His stay was brief, and on 28 September 1822 he sold the property to David Jones, hanker, of Llandovery. Later the old house was pulled down and a large unattractive residence raised for its newer and more opulent owners. How he could have sold an entailed estate was still a puzzle to Richard Jones Thomas in 1864 when he asked "How any part of the Pantglas estate could be sold by Burnell Jones as Mrs. Jones Llwyd had provided in case of Mr. Burnell Jones having no legitimate issue that the estate should pass to Mr. Grismond Philipps, Mr. Saunders Davies and several others". This indeed was the case as we have seen from the will, but there were legal procedures enabling an entail to be broken, and Mr. Burnell Jones must have observed these formalities otherwise he could not have sold the property.

Other disappointed kinsfolk were concerned about the alienation of Berllandywyll although the legal formalities had been duly observed and there was no good ground for challenging the course of the devolution of that estate. As we have seen, David Llwyd by his will made in 1778 had left the property to Alicia Gratiana for life, and her heirs, and in default to Charles Richard Vaughan of Golden Grove absolutely. With the death of C. R. Vaughan in 1786, his expectancy had become vested in his brother John as next of kin. In 1804 John Vaughan died, his heir by testamentary devise being Lord Cawdor. Mrs. Jones Llwyd continued to enjoy the estate as tenant for life, and on her death in 1806, Berllandywyll passed to Lord Cawdor absolutely. His lordship also became responsible for the payment of the mortgage money, under an obligation entered into by the Vaughans in 1792. Some legal proceedings ensued, and eventually, on 28 July 1809, Lord Cawdor discharged the debt, now swollen to £2809, to the executors of Mrs. Anne Powell the mortgagee who had died in 1807.

Claims against the estate caused considerable trouble, resulting in several instances in searches having to be made for the legal representatives of those connected with persons named in David Llwyd's will, not necessarily the beneficiaries themselves, but representatives of trustees whose names had to be included in some of the suits. Thus when Admiral William Lloyd, the surviving trustee died in 1796, his sister Rachel Lloyd, Housekeeper at Kensington Palace, became his heir at law, and the lawyers had to visit the palace to obtain her consent to become party to a suit. But Rachel died in 1803, and further search revealed that her heir at law was Sir John Stepney, Bart., but he spent most of his time abroad and died on the Continent.

After Lord Cawdor inherited the estate difficulties were caused by a Mrs. Grace Newnam who described herself as "next of kin to the ancient family of Llwyd of Berllandywyll", but although I have been unable to establish the precise degree of relationship there can be no doubt of the authenticity of her assertion. From information available it would seem that the following table is correct :

Grace Lloyd	1. Samuel Newnam of Redland Hall, Bristol, banker.
	— 2. William Barnes the younger of Westbury-on-Trim.

David Lloyd Newnam — Grace dr of Edward George Lloyd Barnes of Llanina, Cards Jones of Llanina. living 1777. surgeon. d. 1777 and 2nd Dr. Dev-ercux Jones.

David Lloyd Newnam, surgeon, was executor of the will of Mrs. Diones Lloyd, and is described as nephew of the Revd Thomas Llwyd (brother of David Llwyd of Berllandywyll), which suggests that the surgeon's mother was a sister of David and Thomas Llwyd. In December 1806, Mrs. Grace Lloyd Barnes of Redland Hall near Bristol wrote to Lord Cawdor describing herself as the "only surviving heir to that old and once respectable family" of Llwyd of Berllandywyll. In reply, Lord Cawdor stated "you are undoubtedly Mr. Llwyd's heir at law, and would have become entitled to his realty had he not made the disposition he has done". The lady's importunities ceased, and Berllandywyll became an integral part of the vast Cawdor possessions.

Berllandywyll had never been a large estate, and its rental but modest. In 1778 the yearly rents totalled £284.9.0. In 1807 it yielded a rental of £493.18.4, derived from the following properties—Berllandywyll demesne, Ffoswen, Goetre, Rhiw'radar, house and garden in the village, Rhiw'r carnau, Rhiw'radar and cot, a cot and garden on Rhiw'radar, some fields, Rising Sun cot and garden, Capel Penarw cot and garden, three parts of Cwm Yngharad, Gwarfartin (all in Llangathen), Piode fach and Ysgubor wen (in Llandybie).

I mentioned earlier that David Llwyd had been a supporter of agricultural societies. Like most of the olden gentry he was engaged personally in farming, as shown by a list of his possessions made at the time of his death in 1779, which included the following items, with their valuation :

2 brown oxen, fattening, £20. A brown ox, £4.3.6. A yoke of oxen five years old, one brown, the other black, £13.13.0. A yoke of oxen, three years old, one white, the other black with white face, £11. A brindle bull, two years old, £3.15.0. A black cow called Brandy, £5.10.0. A black and white cow with Topping Horns, £5.15.0. A dark brown ditto, £6.10.0. A black cow, five years old with broad horns, £5.15.0. A brown ditto with a white head, £5. 4 heifers, £15.5.0. 3 heifers and two one-years old steers, £12. A two-years old black steer, £4. 5 calves, £6.5.0. 2 boars, £2. A pig and sow, £1.15.0. 7 young pigs, £4.4.0. 4 sows fattening, £6.6.0. 7 fat wethers, £4.11.0. A brown colt, three-years old, of the cart kind, £4. An old bay mare called Peggy, £1.5.0. A brown mare called Melon, £5.10.0. An old grey horse called Sharper, £2. A black colt called Lyon, £4.10.0. Ditto called Dick, £5. A black horse called Dragon, £4.4.0. An old bay horse, £4. A large mow of wheat, £14. 4 mows of barley, £40.19.0. 3 mows of oats, £13.6.0. Peas, £2.11.3. Part of a mow of hay, £4. A large rick of new hay, ten yards long, at 35s. per yard, £17.10.0. Wheat at Brynhafod clear of rent and expenses, £7.9.0.

Throughout the nineteenth century Berllandywyll was known as one of the most prosperous farms in the district, and continues so at the present day thanks to admirable husbandry under the direction of the occupier Mr. W. P. Thomas, to whom, and to Mrs. Thomas, I am grateful for the hospitable reception extended to me when I called there during the course of my enquiries into the history of their tree-embosomed home.

A Sample of Coercive Landlordism

By DAVID W. HOWELL, M.A., PH.D.
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THROUGHOUT the centuries of aristocratic and gentry dominance of English and Welsh society landowners looked to their tenants to support them in parliamentary elections. They felt that they were quite happy to follow their lead and when Welsh owners discovered from the middle of the nineteenth century that this assumption was certainly no longer true they experienced a deep sense of disappointment and let-down. It was held among landowning circles that landlords had a perfectly legitimate influence over their tenants and that this was merely one aspect of the ideal of a united, harmonious estate. Dr Olney in his important study of Lincolnshire politics quotes as testimony of this sentiment the contents of a letter of Sir Charles Monck, a Whig, of Belsay Castle, Northumberland, to his North Lincolnshire tenants in 1852:

"Nothing is more agreeable to the Constitution, and to all ancient usages of the Kingdom, or more advantageous to true liberty, than that landlords should endeavour by all fair means to lead their tenants. The Queen leads the Nation, and landlords in a similar manner lead their tenants. But there is a common interest between the Queen and the Nation: so also between landlords and their tenants . . . I expect of my tenants that they shall not engage their votes before they have communicated with me and come to know my wishes . . . If it shall after that appear that my wishes and yours are in contrarily there then ought to be the fullest explanation and consideration between us . . . I promise you that to the opinion of the majority I will submit. But if I am bound to set an example of submission to the majority, the minority must be bound to follow that example, that the estate might not be divided, but act with its full weight for the benefit of all."¹

On the other hand, English landowners seem to have been opposed to bringing any kind of coercion to bear on their tenantry.²

Such legitimate influence countenanced by English landowners

1. R. J. Olney, *Lincolnshire Politics 1832-1885* (Oxford, 1973), p. 35.
2. *Ibid.*, pp. 34-5.

took the form of informing tenants either directly or through an agent of the way in which their landlords desired they should vote. For Welsh landowners the matter did not rest there, however, as those few tenants who were bold enough to defy their landlords' wishes found to their discomfort. They were often evicted from their holdings. Writing to Lord Mansel in 1740, Watkin Jenkins alluded confidently to the Margam/Penrice tenants' behaviour at a forthcoming election: "all persons that holds any lands under your lordship is safe and will obey your directions for they dare do no otherwise."³ A certain landowner in north Wales wrote in the same year to the owner of Chirk Castle, John Myddelton, that although he was happy to engage his tenants in the Chirk interest he was unwilling "to give any authority for any violence towards them."^a

The possibilities for landowners' unjustified interference at elections in England and Wales increased with the enfranchisement of tenants-at-will in 1832, for such farmers were not at the same time given any protection against unwarranted landlord pressure. That a measure of coercion could be brought to bear against tenants-at-will was shown clearly in the case of the Carmarthen County election of 1837. Intimidation was not new in Welsh politics but in the "Reform" atmosphere of the 1830s the whole episode became widely discussed in political society. The passions of the radicals were roused, the press publicised the affair and it was finally brought to the notice of the House of Commons.^o

On 12 June 1838 Mr. Warburton rose in the House of Commons to draw attention to a petition from the county of Carmarthen, presented on the 29th. of May 1838, which complained of the improper interference of Lord Cawdor's steward, R. B. Williams, with the way that tenants of the Cawdor estate voted at the last election for the county. This had taken place in August 1837 when the two county seats (one had been added in 1832) had been closely contested and won by the Tory candidates, the Hon. J. R. Rice-Trevor (2,469 votes) and John Jones of Ystrad Lodge (2,155 votes), who had pushed one of the previous members for the constituency, Sir James H. Williams of Edwinsford, into third place with 2,076 votes.^o Mr. Warburton explained that as such interfering conduct by Earl Cawdor, a peer, would have been improper in a commoner he therefore felt obliged to

3. National Library of Wales (henceforward N.L.W.), Margam and Penrice MS. L. 1199.

4. *N.L.W.*, Chirk Castle, E. 4356.

5. *Parliamentary Debates*, 3rd. set, *xliii*, 12 June 1838.

6. W. R. Williams, *The Parliamentary History of the Principality of* (Brecknock, 1895), p. 49.

bring the matter before the House as a breach of the privileges of the Lower House.

He admitted from the outset that the two petitioners had been firm supporters of the defeated Sir James Williams. One was Mr. Adams, junr., the son of Edward Hamlyn Adams of Middleton Hall, who had been an M.P. for Carmarthenshire in a former Parliament, and the other was a Mr. Hall, a provincial barrister. There can be little doubt that the latter was the young, radical heir to the Cilgwyn estate, Edward Crompton Lloyd Hall.⁷ The petition alleged that misconduct had taken place in the two polling districts of Newcastle Emlyn and Llandeilo and details were provided of what had gone on in the latter. Mr. Warburton drew the attention of the House to the important fact that for the whole period of the election and of the matters complained of Earl Cawdor was absent on the Continent. The first piece of interference alleged to have occurred at Llandeilo polling district was the writing of three letters by R. B. Williams, Earl Cawdor's agent, to Thomas Tobias, William Jones and David Hopkins, tenants of the Earl. The letter to Tobias was dated the 27th July 1837 and written from Stackpole Court in south Pembrokeshire, Earl Cawdor's residence. It read: "Mr. Thomas Tobias, I shall depend upon you to plump for Colonel Trevor at the coming election, who is the only candidate supported by your landlord, and I have no doubt that you will do so. Your well wisher, R. B. Williams." The petition claimed that in consequence of this communication Tobias gave his support to Colonel Trevor alone. The two other letters were worded along similar lines.

Mr. Warburton conceded that if the interference with the tenantry of the noble Earl had rested there he was not certain whether he would have taken the matter up. But there were letters which prompted him to proceed with the affair, one of which was a letter written by R. B. Williams to one Thomas Evans. He was a tenant of the father of Mr. Adams, junior, one of the petitioners, for his land, and of Earl Cawdor for his house. It appears that he had built an inn on the lands of Earl Cawdor, and relying on the good reputation which the Earl had in the area as landlord he had not bothered to take a lease of the land concerned. Adams, the petitioner, had canvassed Evans to vote for Sir James Williams and had been told by Evans that he had been directed by R. B. Williams to plump for Colonel Trevor. Nevertheless, Evans did assure Adams that he would write to R. B. Williams asking permission to split his vote between Colonel Trevor and Sir James Williams. R. B. Williams had replied to

7. For details of the life of F. C. Lloyd Hall see D. Williams, *The Rebecca Riots* (Cardiff, 1955), pp. 14-15.

this request as follows : "Sir, Your noble landlord's interest is given to Colonel Trevor, and all support has been withdrawn from Sir James Williams ; so I cannot comply with your request, and I shall hope to find that you shall have plumped for the Colonel. Your well wisher, R. B. Williams." Mr. Warburton asked the House to accept that such a letter revealed the kind of influence which Williams, as agent, exercised over at least one tenant of Earl Cawdor.

The next piece of evidence which Mr. Warburton presented concerned the joint behaviour of Daniel Rees, a sub-agent or under-steward of Earl Cawdor, and R. B. Williams. The petition complained that Rees had been extremely busy on behalf of Colonel Trevor at one of the polling stations. Thus he had made various applications to Earl Cawdor's tenants to plump for the Colonel. Furthermore, at a meeting of the Earl's tenants at an inn in Llandilo on the first day of the poll he called for four of the tenants into a private room and read out to them a letter from R. B. Williams. The letter was written from Stackpole Court on the 2nd August 1837 and read as follows: "Mr. Daniel Rees, You had better see Evan Evans, of Llandybie Mill, David Stephen, smith, Stephen Griffith, of Bryngwynne, and William Morris, of Abertrinant, and tell them, that as they are so very independent, and so very ungrateful for the indulgence and favour shown to 'them by their landlord, that I hope to receive their rents to Lady-day last on my return to Llandilo, and then I shall see what further is to be done in the matter. I am glad that the other parties are safe, and I am very much pleased with Mr. Daniel Thomas's exertions, who can tell the parson that he had better attend to his own concerns, and leave the Earl's tenants alone. We wish every man to plump for Colonel Trevor ... Be sharp and very careful on the days of the polling. In haste, Your well wisher, R. B. Williams.

The foregoing instances of interference formed the basis of the petition against Earl Cawdor as a peer. Mr. Warburton concluded his address to the House by stating that the only effectual remedy against such malpractice as this on the part of a landowner lay in the protection of the ballot. The 1830s had witnessed a growing campaign in Britain for the ballot system of voting, a development which was wholly understandable given the bitterness of feeling which divided politicians over issues like Nonconformist disabilities. A Carmarthenshire landowner, Mr. Abadam, who confessed himself "a loyal reformer and a friend to the Nonconformist and farmer", thus issued in 1835 a Welsh address advocating the ballot^s. It is clear that the misconduct of Earl Cawdor and his agent in Carmarthenshire in 1837

8. *Report of the Land Commission on Wales and Monmouthshire*, 1896, Parliamentary Papers, xxxiv (1896), p. 162.

did much to underline the case of the protagonists. This was so not only from the standpoint of what actually happened but also from the claims of those who rallied to Earl Cawdor's defence in the House.

Sir James Graham, M.P. for Pembroke (1838-41) rose in the House to defend Earl Cawdor against the charges. He claimed that the "immediate promoter" of the petition was Sir James Williams. Earl Cawdor had supported Sir James in the 1835 election upon receiving assurances from him that he would not require vote by ballot nor an extension of the election franchise and that he was ready to maintain the Church as a national establishment in opposition to the voluntary principle. With Earl Cawdor's support, Sir James Williams had been elected in 1835 but his conduct following that election in supporting the voluntary principle so upset the Earl that he personally informed Sir James before the 1837 election that he could never again support him for the County of Carmarthen. Earl Cawdor had thereupon instructed his tenants to plump for one of the opposing candidates in order to secure the defeat of Sir James Williams. Sir James Graham informed the House that Earl Cawdor had directed him to state that at the time he desired that his tenants should know that he had ceased to support Sir James Williams and that "every influence which he could consistently with his character exercise with his tenantry" should be employed to help towards the defeat of Sir James Williams. Sir James Graham went on to state that the Earl, having given instructions to his agent how to act, went abroad. However, the Earl wished it to be stressed that he "by no means withdrew himself from the responsibility of any act on the part of the agent which might not have been in strict accordance with those instructions." Sir James Graham proceeded to assert that he himself defended the idea that landlords might appropriately guide the judgement of their tenants. Such express recognition of the legitimacy of landlord influence at elections was fodder indeed for the cause of the secret ballot. The ticklish problem of the letter of the 2nd. August was dealt with by Sir James Graham in his stating that it contained "expressions of a very unguarded nature It alluded to a threat respecting rent ; but .. Lord Cawdor was not in England at the time. Besides, most improper means had been resorted to, to swerve the judgment of Lord Cawdor's tenantry, and it became indispensably necessary, in order to counteract that interference, to take steps of a stronger nature than were usually resorted to. But what had been the result? Had any parties suffered? It was admitted that the tenants were in arrears of rent ; they continued so still ; they were tenants at will. Had they been ejected? No such thing. One of them had not only been deprived of what he possessed, but had

been successful in acquiring what, at the period of the election, he was not led to expect. He had been made an officer of excise in a neighbouring town." Lord Erbington, who followed Sir James Graham, again asserted that there was a "certain legitimate influence attached to property" but that landowners should not abuse their position by unjust interference, by threats or intimidations. He, too, admitted that the letter of 2nd. August was "most improper and unjustifiable" but suggested that Earl Cawdor would not have sanctioned it had he been consulted on the subject.

Mr. Warburton finally withdrew his motion, but, as Lord John Russell pointed out, he had achieved his aim in getting the letter avowed, in Earl Cawdor's acknowledgement of the acts of his agent and in the admission of the fact of the universality of the practice of peers and other landowners interfering in elections. Nevertheless, it was made clear by members that Cawdor's agent had overstepped the mark. There was innuendo in Sir James Graham's report that Earl Cawdor wished it to be known that he "by no means withdrew himself from the responsibility of any act on the part of the agent which might not have been in strict accordance with those instructions." Was the agent unilaterally going too far as was here being suggested, I think, or was it a case that Earl Cawdor was determined to line his tenants up into voting against Sir James Williams? There were precedents for this brand of coercive interference within the Welsh context.

It is also interesting to note that in the letter to Daniel Rees on 2nd. August R. B. Williams mentioned his particular satisfaction at Daniel Thomas' telling the nonconformist parson to mind his own business as to the way that tenants voted in elections. The rapid spread of nonconformity in this area as well as elsewhere in Wales at this time was the vital force straining the old harmony of Welsh rural society. Landlords and their sympathisers were sure by the late 1830s and the early 1840s that nonconformist chapels were the breeding grounds of political radicalism and social disquiet.

By the late 1830s, however, resentment towards the landowners as the 'natural' political leaders of Welsh society was mainly confined to the nonconformist leaders of the community as the preachers and the journalists writing in the pages of the nonconformist press. One suspects that down to the 1840s tenants took very little active interest in politics and were prepared to follow their landlords' lead. They were certainly prepared to take their farms on the understanding that they voted in the landlord's interest. There are thus extant a number of letters in the Chirk Castle papers which contain guarantees given by applicants for farms in the early eighteenth century that they would

vote in the landlord's interest.⁹ The writer in *Ye Efanglyydd* in 1832 was drawing attention to this state of affairs when he stated: "In the past there have been instances of electors giving their votes away on the condition of having farms for their children, and consequently honest and thrifty tenants with families have been turned away, and their means of livelihood ruined by this cursed trafficking in voting".¹⁰ Nor, seemingly, did tenants in general object to the actual pressures brought to bear on them at election times. Rather than feeling resentment at any infringement of their liberties they were ready enough—perhaps eager—in most instances to respond to the known wishes of their landlords.

By the 1850s the reasonable harmony hitherto prevailing was visibly breaking down. For by the middle of the century the Welsh nonconformist press and pulpit and the work of the Liberation Society were fast channelling traditional nonconformist grievances into a radical and distinctly Welsh political programme.¹¹ It was now that strife between Nonconformist, Welsh-speaking tenants and their English-speaking, Tory, Anglican landlords became unavoidable. Landlords, to counter the Nonconformist influence on tenants, resolved to make crude use of coercion which had hitherto been necessary in a few isolated instances only. E. C. L. Fitzwilliams of Cilgwyn wrote with feeling to Lord Emlyn in 1852 concerning the parliamentary election for the Cardigan Boroughs: "Mr, Richard Jenkins, writes me that the preaching influence was exerted to the utmost at every place. If all Landlords do not unite as one man to repel the invasion in these Counties, by making their displeasure felt in the unmistakable way of putting a termination to the connexion of landlord and tenant . . . and dealing only with (i.e. supporting) those tradesmen who will support the landlords and their interest, they will be acting with great folly from a present feeling as to what is the natural course of proceeding for self preservation."¹²

The 1868 evictions of tenants from their holdings in Carmarthenshire and elsewhere in Wales were the inevitable outcome of such an attitude.

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9. N.L.W., Chirk Castle, E. 663, E. 1510, E. 865, E. 4356.
 10. Quoted in the *Report of the Land Commission on Wales and Mmr mouthshire*, 1896, p. 162.
 11. I. G. Jones, 'The Liberation Society and Welsh Politics, 1844 to 1868', *The Welsh History Review*, vol. i, no. 2 (1961), pp. 193-224.
 12. N.L.W., Cilgwyn MS. 34 quoted in D. W. Howell, *Land and People in Nineteenth-Century Wales* (London, 1978), p. 64.

Sin-eating in the Amman Valley

By HUW WALTERS, *Buts.*

A biography which recently proved to be of considerable interest to me was that written by Paxton Hood on the life and times of that fiery Welsh preacher, Christmas Evans'. In the first chapter of the work, the author deals with the characteristics of Welsh preaching during the period 1750-1850, and also deals in a somewhat romantic manner with the Welsh language and its speakers' superstitions. Whilst dealing in detail with some of these superstitions, he says :

No doubt the proclamation of the Gospel and the elevated faith which its great truths bring in its train, broke the fascination, the charm and power of many of these superstitions, but they lingered even until the last forty or fifty years—indeed the superstition of the sin-eater is said to linger even now in the secluded vale of Cwmaman in Carmarthenshire . . ."²

Being a native of the Amman Valley, my interest and curiosity in the sin-eater were naturally aroused. Subsequent research revealed that the duty of the sin-cater was to take upon himself the sins of a deceased person. Upon the death of an inhabitant of a locality, the sin-eater would be summoned and would place a plateful of salt covered with a slice of bread upon the breast of the deceased. After the recitation of appropriate charms over the body, the sin-eater would then proceed to eat both bread and salt, and wash them down with a tankard of beer. It was generally believed that the sins of the deceased were transferred to the unfortunate wretch through his consumption of the salt and bread. A paltry sum of sixpence or a shilling would then be paid to him before he was driven over the threshold to the sound of oaths, and threats never to return again.

It would appear that the first to describe the ritual was the English antiquary and biographer, John Aubrey (1626-1697), writing in a manuscript—'Remaines of Gentilisme and Judaisme'—which is now deposited in the British Library. Though a native of Wiltshire, Aubrey was of Welsh descent, his great-grandfather being William Awbrey (1529-1595), of Cantref, Breconshire, who was in turn, according

1. *Christmas Evans, the Preacher of Wild Wales*, London, 1881.
2. *ibid.*, p. 23.

to Aubrey, related to the Puritan martyr, John Penry.^s Here is Aubrey's description of the ritual in Herefordshire :

In the County of Hereford was an old Custome at funeralls to hire poor people, who were to take upon them all the sinnes of the party deceased. One of them, I remember, lived in a Cottage on Ross-high way. (He was a long, leane, ugly, lamentable poor raskal.) The manner was that when the Corps was brought out of the house and layd on the Biere ; a Loafe of Breade was brought out, and delivered to the Sinne-eater over the Corps, as also a Mazar-bowle of maple (Gossips bowie) full of beer, which he was to drinke up, and sixpence in money, in consideration whereof he tooke upon him (*ipso facto*) all the Sinnes of the Defunct, and freed him (or her) from walking after they were dead ... The like was donne at ye City of Hereford in these times, when a woman kept many yeares before her death a Mazar-bowle for the Sinne-cater ; and the like in other places in this Countie ; as also in Brecon, e.g. at Llangors, where Mr Gwin the minister about 1640 could no hinder ye performing of this ancient custome. I believe this custome was heretofore used over all Wales . . ."⁴

Aubrey compares the sin-eater to the "scape-goat" as referred to in Judaic legal codes and quoted in Leviticus XVI, 20-22 :

. . . When Aaron has finished making expiation for the sanctuary, for the Tent of the Presence, and for the altar, he shall bring forward the live goat. He shall lay both his hands on its head and confess over it all the iniquities of the Israelites and all their acts of rebellion, that is all their sins ; he shall lay them on the head of the goat and send it away into the wilderness in charge of a man who is waiting ready. The goat shall carry all their iniquities upon itself into some barren waste and the man shall let it go, there in the wilderness . . .

Specialists in folklore also began to search for similarities in other

3. See 'The life and times of John Aubrey' in Oliver Lawson DICK *Aubrey's Brief Lives*, London, 1975, p. lxxxviii, where the author quotes from one of Aubrey's manuscripts : . . . In Queen Elizabeth's time, one Penry of Wales, wrote a book called *Martin-Mar-pretate*. He was hanged for it. He was kin to my great-grandfather .
4. *Remaines of Gentilisme and yudaisme*, John Aubrey, London Folklore Society, 1881, pp. 35-36.

countries. Sidney Hartland came across such practices in Germany, Ireland, Scotland, and even amongst an Indian tribe in the Valley of Uapes in South America^s J. G. Frazer also mentions similar rituals practised by native tribes in Uganda, Travancore and Tahiti.^o

What then of the practice in the Amman Valley? It is highly probable that Paxton Flood had seen references to the custom in the minutes of the Cambrian Archaeological Association. Here mention was made of the practice of sin-eating, in a meeting of the Association on 28th August, 1852 by a certain Mathew Moggridge. Particularly worthy of notice is this passage:

. . . In Carmarthenshire, not far from Llandeibie, was a mountain valley, where, up to the commencement of the present century, the people were of a very lawless character. There the practice (of sin-eating) was said to have prevailed to a recent period, and going thence to those parts of the country where, from the establishment of works, and from other causes, the people had more early become enlightened, he found the more absurd portions of the custom had become abandoned, while some still remained . . .

In the wake of Moggridge's comments, another member of the society, Jelinger C. Symonds, declared that it was a complete farce to send missionaries to evangelize amongst pagans in darkest Africa whilst such practices were still evident amongst the Welsh.^s

As the Rev. Gomer M. Roberts has shown, large areas of the Amman Valley lie within the parish boundary of Llandybie, and it is highly probable that it was to the valley that Moggridge referred in his comments.^o There is no doubt at all however about the fact that the inhabitants of the area were "of a very lawless character", for Dr. John Thomas and Dr. Thomas Rees refer in a chapter written by them on the history of Ebenezer chapel, Swansea, to the riotous and drunken butchers of the Amman valley and the neighbouring parish of Llan-giwg, who kept stalls at Swansea market during the first half of the last century :

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5. 'The Sin-Eater', E. Sidney Hartland, *Folk-Lo'e*, Vol. III, 1892, pp. 145-147.
 6. *The Golden Bough, The Scapegoat*, J. G. Frazer, London, 1913, pp. 42-47.
 7. *Archaeologia Caernbrensis*, 2nd series, Vol. III, pp. 330-332.
 8. *ibid.*, p. 331.
 9. *Hanes Plwyf Llandybie*, Gomer M. Roberts, Cardiff, 1939, p. 271.

... Some of them on a Saturday night, after selling their meat, would drink until the following Sunday morning. Many of the older people swore that one endangered one's life by venturing out onto the streets on a Saturday paying out night, when the butchers had closed their stalls, for there would be many drunken and malicious louts always ready to set upon anybody who went too close to them, both in the town and the outlying villages . . . TO

Indeed, so unruly were the inhabitants of the Amman Valley at this time, that someone composed the following verse as a testimony to their behaviour :

All men in Cwmamman born,
You are each one the Devil's spawn.
Repent most quickly you must do
Or he will take you, two by two)^I

When Paxton Hood's biography of Christmas Evans was published in 1881, the reference to the existence of the sin-eater in 'the Amman Valley caused considerable excitement in the community. There was much enthusiastic letter-writing in the press, and the inhabitants of the valley did their utmost to convince the public at large that the whole question was without substance. The Reverend Jonah Morgan of Cwm-bach, Aberdare, wrote to *Y Tyst* ; he was a native of the valley, and he claimed that he had never heard of such a practice. His opinion was reinforced in a letter written by Dr Thomas Rees, Swansea, to *Y Dysgedydd*. Thomas Rees, a distinguished historian and author of *The History of Protestant Nonconformity in Wales*, had been brought up in Capel Isaac, some ten miles from the Amman Valley, and he had a not inconsiderable knowledge of the folk customs of the surrounding district.

The Reverend Watkin Hezekiah Williams, more popularly known by his bardic appellation—Walcyn Wyn, also mentions the sin-eater

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10. . . 13yddai rhai ohonynt bob nos Sadwrn ar dl gorffen gwerthu cu cig, yn mynd i'r tafardai, ac yn yfed yno hyd forc'r Saboth. Tystiaid amryw hen bobl oedd yn ddiweddar yn fyw, ei bod yn berygl hywyd i gerdded ystrydoedd y dref a'r pentrefr cyfagos ar nos Sadwrn y cyfrif, am y hyddai hcidiau o ddihirodd meddw a chreulon vn wastad yn hared i ymosod ar y neb a ^{si}i yn ages atynt. *Hanes Eglwsi Annibynnol Cynnym*, J. Thomas, & T. Rees, Liverpool, 1872, Vol. II, p. 40.
 11. Gwyr Cwmaman oil ac un / Y diawl a'ch pia bob yr un. / Os na mneweh droi, a throi yn glau./Fe ddaw i'ch ho] chwi—hoh vn ddau!" *Y The/au Annibymol*, ed, L. D. Jones (Liew Tegid), Caernarfon, 1900, Vol. H, p. 33.

in his writings, though the reference is, as usual, somewhat superficial, and he advises that the whole affair be taken with a pinch of salt! ¹² The Reverend Gomer M. Roberts noted an article in *The Herald of Wales* by one who called himself 'Ioan Aman', referring to the practice of sin-eating at Brynamman; this is believed to be the only reference to the custom in that part of the valley. ¹³ However in November 1924, the late Rev. Dr. D. Tegf an Davies, minister of the Christian Temple Congregationalist chapel, Ammanford, lectured on local customs and traditions at Llandybie, and he was convinced that the practice thrived in the Amman Valley during the first half of the nineteenth century. ¹⁴ Unfortunately, it is not known upon what evidence Dr. Davies made these comments.

In November 1875, Canon Silvan Evans, the rector of Llany-mawddwy, Merioneth, and a lexicographer of wide repute, wrote a letter to a London weekly magazine referring to an article he had read in *Blackwood's Magazine* entitled 'Legends and Folklore of North Wales'. This article asserted that the practice of sin-eating remained common in both North and South Wales during the latter half of the nineteenth century, but Canon Evans declared that he had never heard of the practice, even though he had been born and brought up in Cardiganshire, and had lived in North Wales for a considerable period of time. Furthermore he says:

" . . . My profession often brings me into contact with funerals but I have never found a trace of such a custom, and I have but little hesitation in saying that it is altogether unknown in the principality. If the writer of the article will give me the name of any locality where the superstition flourishes, I will at once visit the place and institute enquiries on the spot . . ." ¹⁵

In a note written by John Rowlands (*Giraldus*; 1833-1891), it is mentioned that Canon Silvan Evans visited the parish of Llandybie, ¹⁶ but failed completely to come across any mention of the custom, John Rowlands himself had lived in the parish for some years, being the first schoolmaster of Llandybie Church School. He later became personal secretary to the eminent antiquarian and book collector, Sir

Thomas Phillipps of Thirlstaine House, Cheltenham. Rowlands declared positively that he had never heard of the practice of sin-eating in any part of the parish of Llandybie. ¹⁷

Wirt Sikes knew nothing of the custom, ¹⁸ and Professor T. Gwynn Jones failed completely to come across any reference to sin-eating in Welsh. ¹⁹ Is there however any significance in the fact that H. Elwyn Thomas gives a vivid description of sin-eating in his novels? The following passage for example, occurs in his *The Forerunner*, Port Talbot, nd., (c. 1911), p. 292:

Roberts was talking in a low, earnest manner to a small audience of farmers and country labourers one Sunday afternoon outside the gate of Llandeilo church . . . Suddenly the speaker's eye caught sight of a strange figure approaching the congregation at a slow measured pace, as if the elements of time and distance had never entered any of his calculations. Hywel thought, as he observed his shuffling gait, he had never, even among the veriest rustics, and groundlings of the most untamed communities, seen such a tatterdemalion. His face was not only dirty, but grimy, and his hair seemed matted together with dry mud . . . when he was within a few yards of the small crowd, someone looked back and recognised him, and he had no sooner done so than he took to his heels as if he had just caught sight of the most dreaded object in the world, shouting wildly as he ran, "The Sin-Eater! The Sin-Eater!" In half a minute every man, woman and child had vanished . . ." ²⁰

Elwyn Thomas was after all, a native of Llandybie, and as the Rev. Gomer M. Roberts notes, ²¹ he knew a great deal about the traditions of his native district. Many of his novels are based around Llandeilo and Llandybie, his characters are drawn from the area, and it is the dialect of the district that they speak. Watcyn Wyn also mentions in his article that it was once a custom in Carmarthenshire

12. 'Hen Arferion Dyffryn Aman', Watcyn Wyn, *Y Geninez*, Vol. XX, 1902, pp. 142-143.
 13. 'Colofn Hanes a Hynaflaeth', cd Gomer M. Roberts, *Amman Valley Chronicle*, October 31, 1940.
 14. 'The Omnibus', *ibid.*, November 27, 1924.
 15. *The Academy*, November 13, 1875.
 16. *Carmarthenshire Notes*, ed. Arthur Mee, Llanelli, 1890, Vol. I. p. 100.

17. *Western Mail*, September 16, 1875. Quoted in *Welsh Folk Customs*, Trefor M. Owen, Cardiff, 1968, p. 184.
 18. *British Goblins*, Wirt Sikes, London, 1880, pp. 325-327.
 19. *Welsh Folklore and Folk Custom*, T. Gwynn Jones, London, 1929, p. 214.
 20. A similar passage occurs in a Welsh language novel by the same author, *If or Dwain; Nola am Cymru yn Amser Cromwell*, Wrexham, 1911, p. 129.
 21. *op. cit.*, p. 241.

to place a plateful of salt upon the breast of a dead person in order that the air might be kept fresh.²² He adds that this might well be the practice from which the whole question of sin-eating later evolved. George Eyre Evans also records a recollection of his father's about sin-eating at a Llanybydder funeral in 1823.²³

To prove or disprove conclusively the custom of sin-eating in the Amman Valley would be a difficult task. It should be remembered at the same time that the valley was a wild and inaccessible area before the sinking of coal pits and the development of industry, and as Dyfnallt, one who knew the district well, said: ". . . It was a lonely area, cut off from the outside world, and such areas are the strongholds of legend, superstition, ancient practices and long-held customs. The imagination is nourished by old superstitions, and old customs die hard in areas where the ancient fabric of society remains undisturbed . . ." ²⁴

This article first appeared in the Welsh language quarterly *Y Genhinen*. I wish to thank the editor, the Rev. Rhys Nicholas for allowing me to have the article translated, and to my friend Mr. David Jenkins, B.A., of Tregynon, Powys, for providing the translation.—H.W.

22. Cf. Sidney Hartland, *op. cit.*, p. 152.

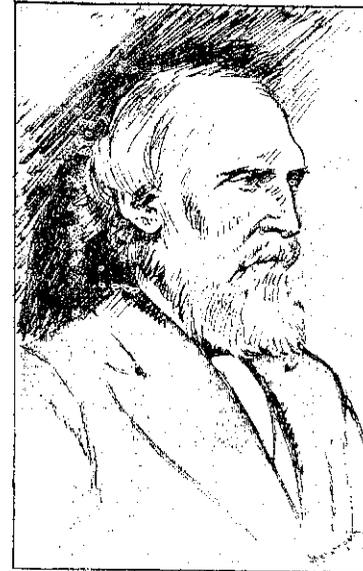
23. *Transactions of the Carmarthenshire Antiquarian Society*, Vol. 20, p. 85.

24. "Ardal unig, pelf o'r byd ydoedd, ac ardalocdd o'r fath *yw* cynefin chwedl, coel, arfer a thraddodiad hen. Porthir dychymyg gan hen goelion, a glyn arferion yo hir lle ni hyddo ancsmwytho ar hen fywyd cymdeithasol ardal". *Rhamant a Rhyddid*, J. Dyfnallt Owen, Aberystwyth, 1952, pp. 10-11.

William Spurrell, 1813-89

WILLIAM Spurrell, the third son of Richard and Elizabeth Spurrell was born at 13, Quay Street,¹ Carmarthen on 30th July 1813. The father, a former malster, became clerk to the justices of the Carmarthen division of the county, an appointment he held until his death. The family settled in Carmarthen about two hundred years ago, when John Spurrell, an auctioneer left Bath to live in Lower

Market Street (now Hall Street) and became estate agent for one of the Mansels. Their son, the aforementioned Richard, married Margaretta, daughter of Thomas Thomas, Frowen, about two miles north-west of Llanboidy. George, younger brother of William, liked to claim that the Spurrells were an ancient family descended from a Roman invader called Spurilius, a name which occurs in Livy, but no one could be sure whether he was meant to be taken seriously.



William Spurrell

William Spurrell attended the Queen Elizabeth Grammar School in his native town until he was about sixteen, when he was apprenticed to John Powell Davies, a councillor and leading citizen of Carmarthen, who had a printing establishment at 58, King Street. After five years, young Spurrell left for London to work in the *office* of Bradbury and Evans, printers and publishers, where he had the experience of working from the manuscripts of Dickens (*Pickwick Papers* and *Nicholas Nickleby*) and Disraeli (*Henrietta Temple*).

1. No. 13, demolished when Coracle Way was constructed, is one of the central pair of houses in the group of buildings in the foreground on the right of the cover illustration of this volume.

He returned to Carmarthen in 1839 and on 18th August 1840 a certificate of registration was issued to him to establish a printing press in the Borough. His first printing office was in Spurrell's Court, Lower Market Street, so-called because the family had property there. The following year he moved his business to 37 King Street, where he also opened a stationery shop. In these premises the business remained for the rest of its time in Spurrell hands. In the early days, all the printing was done in one room at street level and upstairs there was a book-binding room, but as business grew so the office was extended. Printing was done on hand presses— for more than thirty years until about 1872, when the first printing machine, driven by a primitive gas engine, was installed.

In time William Spurrell acquired for himself an enviable reputation as a printer and publisher and many important works issued from his premises. But he was, too, an author who published his own work. The first edition of his Welsh-English Dictionary he issued in 1848, his English-Welsh Dictionary appearing in 1850. Other of his works which followed were a Welsh Grammar, *Lessons in Welsh* and *English-Welsh Primer*. The dictionaries ran through a number of editions and eventually earned praise from David Lloyd George in the following terms: 'I deeply appreciate the great service which the firm of W. Spurrell & Son have rendered over a long period to the Welsh language by producing successive editions of their Welsh Dictionary. I myself have found their last edition invaluable ... Long after William Spurrell's death the dictionaries were completely revised by John and Edward Anwyl, but they still appeared under the Spurrell imprint, the Welsh-English text first in 1914 and the English-Welsh version first in 1916. But the largest work ever undertaken was the Welsh dictionary of Daniel Silvan Evans, planned on a grand scale in 1884.

In 1857 he acquired *Yr Haul*, a Church monthly, priced sixpence, which had been produced at Llandovery from its inception at the beginning of that year, and was its editor during the time he published it up to 1884. A few years later, in 1862, he brought out a cheaper monthly, *Y Cyfaill Eglwysig*, price one penny. During this period— 1860 to 1884—he also produced a small weekly pamphlet called *The Carmarthen Chronicle and Haul Advertiser*, which served as a means to publish his personal views, often of antiquarian interest, as well as local news. With his ever increasing output of printed works he built

2. The first was the little Albion Press, which was given to the old County Museum.

up a reputation as a master of the first rank who introduced technical improvements, notably in the design of the printing case. He wrote often to the *Printers' Register* and he revised the proofs of *Southward's Dictionary of Typography*.

If the dictionaries made his name a familiar one throughout Wales, it is the less ambitious *Carmarthen and Its Neighbourhood* that has endeared William Spurrell to the people of his native town and district. Although he contributed to contemporary journals, his claim to be considered as a local historian rests on this slight volume, which first appeared in 1860, an enlarged edition being brought out in 1879. It cannot in any sense be regarded as a comprehensive history—he probably never intended it to be—but it remained for long the only convenient reference source and is still frequently consulted; without it much would have been lost to memory and the recollections of The Oldest Inhabitant+ of the day left unrecorded. But inextensive as his published work is, Spurrell *was* certainly rated as an antiquarian of supreme worth in his day and evidence of the fact is that when a prize was offered for a history of Carmarthenshire at the National Eisteddfod held at Carmarthen in 1867 the adjudicator, along with Archdeacon Archard Williams, was William Spurrell. *The Welshman*, in its obituary, said: As an authority on local historical, antiquarian and topographical questions he has left no one behind who can fill his place'. The testimony to his knowledge cannot be doubted, but the belief that there was no one to follow him is surprising in view of the fact that Alcwyn Evans, who had been awarded the gold medal at the Carmarthen National Eisteddfod in 1867, survived him by thirteen years.

Even so local history was a leisure interest, as was literary criticism and, more seriously perhaps, the study of philology, which manifested itself principally in his cultivation of the Welsh language and its literature at a time when it was still unfashionable to use the vernacular. This devotion to the old language showed itself in his frequent attendance at the little School Church in Priory Street, whereto the poor Welsh-speaking folk had been banished from the elitist St. Peter's Church. He was therefore not afraid to identify himself with Welsh culture when many of his peers and most of his social superiors preferred to be Anglicised.

3 It is of interest to recall that George Eyre Evans was inclined to believe that this anonymous contributor to Spurrell's book was one John Morgan of Croesyceiliog. *Transactions of the Canathenshira Antiquarian Society*, Vol. 1, p. 102.

He was always a ready supporter of any movement which encouraged the spread of education, especially among the working classes. In 1839 he was one of thirteen who founded the Mechanics' Institute in a room above the draper's shop of C. Jones in what is now Hall Street ; soon afterwards the Institute moved to Guildhall Square, where it remained for some years before transferring to the Assembly Rooms when these opened in King Street in 1854. In the meantime it had changed its name to Carmarthen Literary and Scientific Institution, which it retained until World War II, when it became defunct.

William Spurrell was strongly patriotic and was a prime mover in the formation of the Volunteer force in the town. Although he was a staunch Conservative and Churchman, he was always well received by all sections of the community, but he never courted popularity or sought public office ; nevertheless he was made a Justice of the Peace for the Borough in 1875 and was Churchwarden of St. Peter's once or twice.

He married in 1846 and had a large family. On Easter Monday 22 April 1889 William Spurrell died in his 76th year, being survived by his wife Sarah, who died in 1911, and a number of children, one of whom, Walter, succeeded him in the business with equal distinction. He was buried in St. David's Churchyard north-east of the east window, where the grave is marked by an unusual monument about eight feet high, the lower half of which is triangular in plan and the remainder a hexagonal spire. The monument bears the inscription *Myfi yw'r edgyfodiad a'r bywyd, medd yr Arglwydd* and the epitaph : *Take heed unto the thing that is right, for that shall bring a man peace at the last.*

E.V.J.

Before It's Forgotten

Workhouse Days Remembered

(The following account of his early experience as Porter at Carmarthen Workhouse has been compiled from information provided by Mr. D. J. Evans, 17 Myrddin Crescent, Carmarthen who later became Assistant Master. He was appointed by the old Board of Guardians and commenced duties in January 1929 at an annual salary of £52, plus £5 for hair cutting and shaving and emoluments which included living-quarters, and free coal and light).

In 1929 the staff at No. 1 Penlan, Carmarthen, or the Workhouse as it was still known, comprised the Master and Matron, the Porter, a female nurse, a cook and four or five maids. This might seem a small *staff* to be in charge of about a hundred inmates as well as a hundred or so wayfarers—tramps or vagrants, as they were called—who were admitted each week to the Casual Wards, which were housed in a separate block. But it should be remembered that duty hours were very long ; furthermore, the Workhouse in those days was run by 'inmate labour', which meant that every able-bodied person had to contribute by performing various jobs, indoors and outdoors. There was always plenty of unskilled labour available, but there were skilled tailors, shoe-repairers, carpenters, masons, plasterers, bakers, boilennen and others among the inmates. Although far removed from that of Dickensian days, the regime was still strict and a far cry from conditions in today's Social Welfare *Homes*.

Cleanliness was the order of the day in respect of the person as well as the premises, bedding and clothing. In spite of primitive facilities the laundry work, done in a building behind the main block, was excellent. Sheets were pressed by using a huge box of stout timber, 7 feet long by 3 feet 6 inches wide and two feet deep, which was filled with stones. In the middle of the long side was a wheel with a handle and when this was turned it operated a cog system which moved the box to and fro upon rollers, which pressed the linen sheets. The stronger men were used for this job ; often they were of child-like mind, but gentle and well behaved.

There was a good bakehouse in the small building south-west of the main building and backing onto Brewery Road ; here all the required bread was produced by an inmate and his assistant. The bread-tins were very big, measuring 18 inches by 74 inches and 8 inches deep. The very large dining-room for the inmates had tables about 23 feet long and was in keeping with the general diet—plain and simple. For breakfast and evening meal, which were received

without complaint by those poor souls, there was usually just one slice of bread, eight ounces in weight and over an inch thick, very thinly spread with margarine, a basin of tea and sometimes a small piece of cheese. On Sundays there might be a piece of cake. Soup was the main feature of dinner. For many years the bread was sliced in a small room adjoining the main kitchen by an elderly and much be-whiskered inmate, who developed amazing accuracy in producing pieces of the right weight and thickness with a large knife having a wooden handle each end of the blade and measuring more than two feet overall.

A common sight in Carmarthen during the 'thirties was the four-wheeled wagon or truck, about 4 feet square and 3 feet deep, which was drawn by a T-handle. Loaded with bags of chopped firewood, this vehicle was hauled and pushed by three or four inmates. In charge of this enterprise was an unforgettable character with a limp, who wielded absolute authority over his mates and although he was of simple mind he never erred in rendering accounts to the Master's office at the end of the day's trading. The firewood was produced in the Woodshed, which stood in the area now used as a staff car-park. The sawing and chopping was done by tramps rather than the regular inmates. Useful in the Woodshed was a man who originally came from Tasmania and had lost an arm after falling from the rigging at sea. When he was admitted as an inmate he begged to be allowed to work in the Woodshed and when his wish was at last reluctantly allowed his skill, despite his handicap, was such that his output was anything up to twice that of others. The last slender part of the block he steadied with his foot ; this caused much alarm until it was realised how skilful he was. He never had an accident.

Inmates were used to help in the boiler-house, where steam was provided for various uses. If the regular man at this duty happened to be ill or otherwise not available almost invariably his place would be taken by trawlermen fishing out of Milford Haven, Swansea and Fleetwood ; these trawlermen travelled from port to port between jobs or in search of work. Often employment was hard to come by and some were glad to be admitted for a few days. They all complained that the cause of their insecure employment was competition from cheap foreign labour.

Other cost-saving work done by inmates was gardening. For many years there were five large gardens, which produced enough for almost the whole year. Legislation after World War II was aimed at removing the image of the Workhouse and as a result the Carmarthen institution became known as No. 1 Penlan and no inmates, now called residents, were allowed to be employed. And so the gardens

were disposed of and all the other services by inmates came to an end. The new attitude is understandable ; on the other hand purposeful occupation, sympathetically supervised, often had a therapeutic effect.

There were bright occasions even in the old Workhouse. Around Christmas it was pleasant and there were colourful decorations hung about. With Christmas dinner extra fare was provided and there was even beer—the gift of a local brewery—for those who wanted it. Occasional visits were also arranged by local organisations to provide entertainment, sweets and tobacco. Every Saturday afternoon the inmates were allowed to go out into the town, but before leaving, all in their best, their names were recorded by the Master. They also wore their best clothes for religious service in the dining room on Sunday afternoons, when only a few were reluctant to attend. Church clergy and chapel ministers took it in turn to conduct the service and the Stinky and Moody hymns were sung with joyful enthusiasm.

Conditions began to improve in the mid-thirties, by which time the new regime under the County Council's Public Assistance Committee, which had replaced the old Board of Guardians, had settled down to its administrative task.

The main block, which housed the inmates, was known as The House. The 'knights of the road' were accommodated in another block known as the Casual Ward ; otherwise it was called the Tramp Ward and to those who sought shelter there it was The Spike. This block was on the upper side of the main entrance and abutted Penlan road. The rule for casuals, or tramps as they were generally called, was two nights for one day's work, e.g. a tramp admitted on Monday night would work Tuesday and be discharged at 9 a.m. on Wednesday. But at week-ends those who were admitted on Friday night would work on Saturday and were allowed to remain until Monday morning ; whereas those who arrived on Saturday night were kept in on Sunday, made to work on Monday and discharged on Tuesday morning. Most preferred to stay one night, thereby being free to leave next morning. Sometimes tramps would arrive on Sunday night, having been turned out of their last place on Sunday morning. Discharge on Sunday morning was against the rules of the West Wales Vagrancy Board, but it was practised in some places, the excuse being excessive pressure on accommodation. Usually the number of tramps and destitute but not habitual wayfarers accommodated each week was about a hundred ; often, on Sunday night, there would be forty-five staying in the Casual Wards. When tramps failed to complete the journey between one workhouse and another in the same day they begged shelter in barns and lofts provided they undertook not to smoke.

Conditions in the Casual Wards were bad and cleanliness was not up to the standard which prevailed in the House, but there was a gradual improvement and diet got better. The wards were cramped and there were inadequate facilities for the maintenance of cleanliness. There were two day-rooms, each measuring 10 feet by 8 feet ; there was also a small open fire, which heated a copper cylinder to provide all the hot water there was. Some tramps used the open fire to cook food they had begged. An enamel bath was fixed in one of the day-rooms. Adjoining the day-rooms was a long passage, in which there were benches for use when the place was full. The passage also gave access to ten cells, which were locked at night when occupied. A wooden fold-away board about the size of a narrow door served as a bed ; this could be folded to the wall during the day. Upstairs there were small dormitories containing eight or ten beds, narrow iron frames with wire mesh to hold fibre mattresses. The help which the Porter relied on came from one of the casuals, either voluntarily or after persuasion, who was universally known as the Tramp Major. One such, although harmless, roared and cursed terribly in an effort to terrorize the others into submission, but they took little notice of him. More than a third of the casuals were Irish, many of them ex-Servicemen, who had come to seek a better life without much success. Some of them did casual work around the farms. One such Irishman had difficulty in bargaining terms with a Welsh farmer who had little English. At last the farmer managed to say, 'I give two shillings, eat yourself'. To which the Irishman replied, 'Two shillings and I eat you'.

Conditions improved in time. Shower-baths were installed and a steam disinfectant was connected to the boiler to treat clothing infested with fleas and lice. The clothing was put into a container, from which air was then drawn out before steam was injected. Anyone doing this kind of job usually daubed his own clothing with paraffin to ward off contamination. Each tramp had a bath on admission, after which he was given a night shirt of very coarse calico as well as a towel. All had to come naked for their shirts. They were also provided with slippers, but few used them on the stone-flagged floor, partly covered with coconut matting. Their clothes, which they were not allowed to take into the cells or wards, were stored away, but by some magical ingenuity some would still manage a surreptitious smoke although smoking was forbidden. The shirts were numbered to ensure that a tramp received the same garment each night of his stay. There was never any problem in accounting for night shirts when tramps were discharged, because each was required to hand in a garment with the appropriate number before he could depart. Towels were not so strictly controlled and occasionally one would be miss-

ing—usually the dishonest tramp kept his own and purloined another's to hand in. But steps were taken to stop this abuse. On discharge each tramp was given a 'bread and cheese' ticket. In those days there were casual wards in the Institutions at Llanelli, Llandeilo, Lampeter and Narberth and on each route there was an appointed shop where the ticket could be exchanged for bread and cheese. Sometimes old hands who were addicted smokers were able to persuade a sympathetic shopkeeper to supply tobacco instead.

It was common to see tramps searching the pavements and gutters for discarded cigarette ends ; the tobacco was recovered from these 'stumps' and stored in a box until there was enough to roll cigarettes with papers bought or begged. Some had an ingenious cigarette-lighter, which was made by burning a piece of linen and placing the ash carefully in an old tobacco tin ; a pencil would be split and the lead scraped to a powder over the ash. When the box was opened to the air a razor blade would be used on a Hint to cause a spark to fall into the box and produce a glow sufficient to light a cigarette. Such a device would serve for six months or more.

Many tramps were ex-Servicemen and one who was always concerned about them was Col. Lloyd of Castell Pigyn, who lost a leg in the First World War'. He used to visit the Casual Wards and do whatever he could to help in the rehabilitation of those unfortunates who had lost their self-respect. Another visitor was the Rev. Hugh Rees, the Bishop's messenger, whose unorthodox manner made him acceptable to many who would otherwise have turned away. These visits were also welcomed by the staff, whose social life was very restricted. For many years the Porter's off-duty time was one half-day every Wednesday and after the religious service on Sunday afternoon, but only once a fortnight. This was because only two men were employed—the Master and the Porter—and it was desirable that a man should be on duty to deal with unruly behaviour which sometimes, but usually unpredictably, arose. Mostly, trouble resulted from drunkenness, more often than not because of addiction to methylated spirits.

The rule in all Casual Wards was that no casual or tramp was to be admitted to the same place within a month of discharge, but sometimes the order was difficult to enforce, especially on cold or wet

This is undoubtedly a reference to Col. Audeley Lloyd of Court Henry. A severe wound in the hip left him with a limp. A kindly man who had a genuine concern for the down-and-out, he often visited the doss-houses that still existed in Carmarthen.—Editor.

nights or in the case of a person with sore feet ; in any case, the law was that nobody should be forced to sleep out because of destitution. Even so, old hands who tried to get *away* with it too often had to be dealt with firmly. Sometimes tramps would not arrive until nine o'clock at night, whereas no food or dressing for sore feet cases were provided after 8 p.m. ; in such cases it was a matter of personal judgment as to how far the rules should be stretched. As already stated, tramps and casuals were required to work for the food and shelter they received. One of the tasks was stone-breaking and for this purpose there were six cells, each with a stout wooden door and a barred peep-hole. Each cell was about 5 feet long and 3 feet 6 inches wide and had a small skylight. These cells were lined against the boundary wall adjoining Penlan road and set in this wall at a lectern angle at the end of each cell was an iron grille 2 feet 6 inches high by 2 feet 3 inches long. The grille comprised holes 1g inches in diameter, through which stone, broken with a hammer, was screened. Because of constant hammering, the centre of the grille had worn into a larger hole about three inches in diameter, so that a lot of the screened stone was larger than the prescribed size. The broken stone fell through the grille and was conveyed along a chute (one for each cell) onto the roadside, where it was collected by a council lorry for road-work. The cells were always locked while they were occupied and this ensured that stone could be disposed of only through the grille ; without this precaution, wily characters were apt to dump their unbroken stone in another cell or elsewhere while not observed. One of these grilles has been deposited at the County Museum, Abergwili, but the cells were demolished when the brick wall and railings were erected below the present caretaker's quarters.

The Porter's Lodge was on the lower side of the main entrance and consisted of two rooms, with a huge bedroom upstairs. The living-room, which had the staircase in one corner, had 12 feet head-room. There was no indoor toilet or bathroom, not even a cold water tap. The adjoining room, the parlour, had unplastered brick walls which were whitewashed, and a vaulted ceiling of brick, also whitewashed. The thick door to this room was reinforced with sheet metal, e" thick, on both sides ; the space between the saddle roof and the vaulting was filled with a conglomerate of large stones and some kind of clay. It seems that the reason for this security was that the room, in the last century, was the register office for births, marriages and deaths, and this is where civil marriages were solemnised. Next to this room was the mortuary, which had three cold, grey slabs. Inmates who died at Penlan were buried in paupers' graves at Carmarthen cemetery, where an area of land was set aside for this purpose.

Aberglasney's Catalogue of Weal

By H. J. LLOYD-JOHNES, o.B.E., F.S.A.

GOING through some old papers recently, I came across a copy of the Sale Catalogue of Surplus Household Appointments at Aberglasney Mansion, Llangathen. This old house was once the home of two well-known Carmarthenshire families—the Rudds and the Dyers. The catalogue is of special interest because it contains references to articles associated with the family of the poet John Dyer.

The auctioneers who carried out the instructions of the owner, Mrs. Mayhew, were Messrs. William & Walter James, 7 Goat Street, Swansea, who had branches at Llangadock, Llandilo and Llandovery. The sale was held on the 1st, 2nd and 3rd April 1908 and the catalogue gave details of train services from Pembroke Dock, Neyland, Carmarthen, Llandilo, Shrewsbury, Swansea and Llanelly to the nearest local station, namely Golden Grove. In a note the auctioneers warned that 'the above Train Service is not guaranteed but is believed to be correct'.

Mrs. Mayhew figures in a picture of 'Four Carmarthenshire Ladies' in riding habit in H. M. Vaughan's *South Wales Squires*. She and her husband, Col. Charles George Adams Mayhew, were fanatical teetotallers. When she inherited Aberglasney they poured the contents of a fine cellar into the River Towy.

The catalogue runs to 47 pages and is rich in items of furniture of the Chippendale and Sheraton periods, also in old Welsh oak of the 17th and 18th centuries. Items said to belong to the poet Dyer were Lot 279 'A very peculiar half-circular high-back settle', Lot 695 'Very handsome four-poster mahogany bedstead with reeded pillars and rich canopy, with tapestry, drapery and window curtains to match, etc ; the original net drapery, period about 1720 (reputed to be the Poet Dyer's own bedstead)', Lot 733 'Four massive old real Welsh oak chairs, 17th century (reputed to be the poet Dyer's)', Lot 806 'Pair of Massive real old Welsh oak chairs (reputed to be the poet Dyer's)'.

The only picture of real interest was in the hall— Lot 201 'A very large oil painting "Aaron and Hur supporting Moses' Arms in the Wilderness", 13 feet by 10 feet, with an exceptionally Massive Frame, by Brigstocke of Carmarthen'.

Thomas Brigstocke (1809-81) was chiefly distinguished as a portrait painter and a self-portrait is in the National Library of Wales, Aberystwyth ; other works are in the Guildhall, Carmarthen and the Town Hall, Llanelli. After years of study in France and Italy, he went to Egypt where he painted portraits of Viceroy Mehemet Ali and his family. He exhibited often at the Royal Academy and his work is represented at the National Portrait Gallery. The Mayhews were supporters of the Royal Institute of Painters in Water Colours and Lots 144 to 167 included the of works artists largely forgotten today.

The books, Lots 406 to 476, show only one in Welsh, the Bible published for David Humphreys at Carmarthen in 1807 ; Bibles in English are dated 1608, 1621-25, 1638 and 1766. The library was strong in novelists of the early and middle years of the nineteenth century. One very important item is Lot 493, `Rare Edition of "Dyer's Poems", with a manuscript Poem (probably an autograph poem) signed "John Dyer"".

There are twenty-one lots of rare old pewter, forty plates in all. Very little silver and plate figures in the catalogue, which is strong in items of rare china as Lots 522 to 671 show. No dates are given for the glass, Lots 935 to 1039. The house was well stocked with linen as Lots 1066 to 1154 show, many of the lots being in dozens.

In the coach-house were a small light-weight wagonette, a Victoria, in first-class condition, by Offord, a pony-trap in solid polished walnut, with plated fittings, by Roberts, Bridgewater, an excellent phaeton in first-class condition and an excellent brougham, with pole, bar and shafts complete.

M.P.'s TRIBUTE

Writing to the Editor in respect of Vol. XIV of *The Carmarthenshire Historian*, Mr. Gwynfor Evans, M.P. says :

Hoffwn yn gyntaf eich llongyfarch yn gynnes dros ben ar y cynyrchiad hwn. Mae'r rhifyn diweddaf yn arbennig o dda, a'r cyfan, gan gynnwys eich crthygl chwi, yn hynod o ddarllenadwy. Mae'n rhyfeddol eich bod yn gallu cynyrchu cylchgrawn mor swmpus am bris mor fach.

