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COVER. The illustration shows Carmarthen County Gaol, demolished in 1938, as it appeared after alterations, which included the blocking up of the pedestrian entrance, replaced by a window, under the central arch and the formation of a new access to the right. The building, as originally designed by John Nash, is shown on page 28.

Betsey Thompson Comes to Carmarthen

By *A. B. RANDALL*, B.SC.(ECON.), M.R.T.P.I.

IN the summer of 1834, twenty-five year old Betsey Thompson left her home Doric House, Woodbridge eight miles north-east of Ipswich in Suffolk to visit her friend Mrs. Gibbins in London. She did not realise then that more than twelve months would pass before her return, and that would only be for a brief visit. In the meantime Betsey would accept a teaching appointment at Miss Woozencroft's School and set up home in Carmarthen. The story of her trip to London, her holiday there and the long coach journey to Wales is told in a letter to her friend Lucy, written at Carmarthen in 1835. It was the result of a promise Betsey made her "to relate everything of note", and to Lucy's "partiality for a long letter".

Before presenting the contents of this letter, it is of interest to relate something of Betsey's background. She was the fourth of seven children born to George and Elizabeth Thompson. She seems to have come from a prosperous middle-class background. George Thompson had worked as a builder in partnership with his father; he later styled himself architect and surveyor, and his obituary notice refers to him as county surveyor. With a local chemist, he was a founder member of the Doric Lodge of Freemasons, Woodbridge. The lodge history describes both as tradesmen of good standing, and "dominant men for whom the Woodbridge masons had been waiting". They were "men of ability and character", so much so that within one month George became Senior Warden.

Betsey's brother Francis, became a well known railway architect, successfully cooperating with Robert Stephenson. He joined the North Midland Railway in 1835 and designed twenty-six stations between Derby and Leeds, two of the earliest railway hotels at Derby and Normanton and two locomotive round houses. Francis Thompson's Derby Trijunct Station has been described as the "first really great Victorian Station". In 1846 he became architect to the Chester and Holyhead Railway and was responsible for the masonry on two of the most notable features on the route—the Conway and Britannia tubular bridges designed by Robert Stephenson.

Betsey's home, Doric House, was a substantial property, described in an 1862 sale catalogue as a "genteel" residence in a "pleasant and



Betsey Thompson aged 18 years (copied from an original by Sarah Anne Richards neé White 1974).

secluded situation, adjacent to the principal thoroughfare” of Woodbridge. This “capital residence” also contained a masonic lodge room. In addition the family owned adjacent properties including several cottages.

By Sea to London

“I shall now commence, from the period I left Doric House to this time. If you remember I set off at five o’clock in the morning, accompanied by the Misses Goodwyn, and Mr E Goodwyn for our coachman, I did not then know I should have seen another country, as I only left home, with the intention of paying my kind friend Mrs Gibbins, a visit. We had a pleasant ride to Ipswich, and on our arrival, after walking about half an hour, we perceived the Boat of the Steam Packet coming close to the Quay, as the depth of the water at low tide prevents the Packet from coming close to the shore, it was some little distance down the river, ourselves, and luggage, were soon safely bestowed on board the Boat assisted by our polite coachman, who bade us adieu, wishing us a pleasant and safe voyage. In about half an hour we distinguished, the misty smoke slowly rising from the chimney of the Steamer, our rowers redoubled their exertions, and in a few minutes saw us safe on Board the “Ipswich”, everything was very new to me as you may imagine, having never before been in a steam vessel”. So wrote Betsey to Lucy.

The *Ipswich* in which she travelled, was, according to the *Mariners Mirror*, Vol. 51, No. 2 (1965), an early steamship built in 1825 and was one of two steamers which were the first to be launched at Ipswich. After surviving a severe gale, in which she had been feared lost, she acquired a reputation as a reliable vessel and plied a twice-weekly packet service between Ipswich and London. She was ultimately sold into the Carribean trade and operated from Jamaica.

“Our party consisted of I should think from 60 to 80 or thereabouts, amongst whom were Mr Alexander and his daughters, also the Rev’d Chissold, his wife and two of the most interesting little boys I ever beheld We had likewise five or six convicts, who were going on Board the Hulks lying at Woolwich. I was shocked to see the carelessness, and hard heartedness of these wretched men, so it is, crime begets crime and soon hardens the human heart, and deadens it to every good feeling, I hope however the time will arrive, when they may be led to see their wickedness, and ask forgiveness of that Saviour, who has promised that, tho’ our ‘sins be as scarlet, they shall be white as snow’”

“. . . . We had much fun, in noticing the behaviour of several love sick couples, who were to all appearance, very happy in each others

society, such sights, as these to two idle girls you may conjecture was quite a treat”.

“I cannot say I felt very well during the day, still I was not sea sick, only a little qualmish”.

“The views obtained down the Orwell, were exceedingly pretty, many gentlemen’s seats dispersed here and there, which added to the beauty of the scenery. We soon passed Harwich on the Essex coast, Sandguard Fort, Tratton in the Nazes etc. etc. but as some time has elapsed since, my memory, will not permit me to tell you all the places I passed before I reached the Thames”

“ The sea during the day was quite calm but we were longer than usually on the passage, as the wind was contrary, we passed the Nore Lights, which are floating lights for the benefit of vessels passing, warning them I suppose to steer clear of dangerous rocks or shoals near; we had a view of Sheerness, and Lurfleet, also Tilbury Fort I was sorry, I had not a better view, as we entered the Thames, but the shades of evening, were gathering so fast around us, that we had but very imperfect views of the surrounding objects, I could however distinguish the Dock yards of Woolwich, and also the hulks, as they are termed, which are I understand the bodies of Men of War’s Ships, now grown old, and unable to carry those brave Tars, who fearlessly fight their countries’ battles.

“At this place, we got rid of our convicts, a boat was sent from one of the hulks to fetch them, every eye was now turned with eager gaze to that side of the vessel, from where the men were let down, and I can assure you the rattling of their chains, as they were lowered into the boat, was anything but pleasing to our ears, but they seemed to show no regret for their past conduct, nor sorrow for their present situation, they entered the boat and bade their fellow voyagers adieu, as if nothing could affect them”.

“By the time we reached Gravesend (which I ought to have mentioned before, as it is some miles before Woolwich) we passed several large Steamers, filled with gay company, who like us, were going on pleasure, the Bands of Music, which accompanied them, together with the appearance of so numerous an assembly of peoples, rendered the sights very attractive; soon after we passed Woolwich, we came in sight of Greenwich, where you know an Hospital is founded for wounded and infirm seamen, an Institution worthy of its founder”

“ After leaving Greenwich, darkness was streaking over us, with rapid steps, a lantern was now hoisted to the mast head, and by the aid of that light our Captain soon guided us safely amongst

the numerous shipping in the London Docks, and we arrived very closely to the Quay, which I was very glad of, tho’ during the last few hours, I had enjoyed myself more than any part of the day; but here an obstacle prevented our landing for a time, as the Comet, a fine Margate or Ramsgate Packet was in the advance of us, and had not finished emptying herself of her life cargo, these few minutes, were the most unpleasant and anxious to me, of any I had spent since I entered the Packet, as the bustle of the passengers, the fuss of removing luggage etc. etc. almost terrified me, together with the noise caused by the evaporation of the steam from the two Packets, we were at last obliged to go from our vessel, to the Comet, before we were able to land, and after all the necessary trouble incurred to travellers, we were once more on Terra Firma, with the task of getting a coach, this was soon accomplished, and after all our adventures, we were comfortably seated in the City of London, over a cup of good tea, and nice bread and butter, which latter article, we had taken with us, from the country, and after half an hours chat, and projected arrangements for the ensuing day, we cheerfully resigned ourselves to the arms of Somnus and slept very soundly as you may suppose, for we had been on our journey from five in the morning till past eleven at night, and now I know you will wish me to rest quiet in my bed. I will therefore lay aside my pen and fancy myself, in that same little white bed, and persue my theme”

Sights of London

Having arrived at London Betsey and her friends spent some time sightseeing. Her observations on the main attractions are all recorded, with several pages of her diary devoted to the ‘Colosseum’, which clearly fascinated and surprised her.

“ We were too anxious to enjoy the novel sights of the Great Metroplis We first bent our way towards the fashionable part (as you will say of course). I mean the West End, on our way we went into Guildhall, . . . Castle Cheapside, and St. Paul’s Cathedral”

“ When we reached Oxford Street, we were not a little surprised to see the great number of carriages, omnibusses, Hackney coaches, Cabriolets etc. etc. which were continually passing and repassing us, and here I cannot help remarking the great convenience derived from the Omnibusses, you are enabled to ride a distance of five or six miles for the trifling sum of 6d, this you may suppose is a great accommodation to the weary pedestrian”

“ Continuing our way up Oxford Street soon brought us to that new Exhibition, so lately opened to the Public, termed the Pantheon Bazaar, I had many times visited the Soho Bazaar, which

had always amused and gratified me, but since beholding the splendid Pantheon, I must regard it, as greatly inferior, I will endeavour to give you a slight sketch of it. It is, I should think situated about the centre of Oxford Street, with a handsome Portico, at the entrance, on ascending a flight of stone steps, you enter a spacious Hall, in the centre of which is an immense Vase, or Basin, filled with water, on the surface of which, are lilies growing, giving the whole a very pretty and rather romantic effect, there is also a large statue of a Lion, and several other pieces of Sculpture after passing through the hall, you suddenly find yourself in a large room most tastefully and elegantly fitted up We proceeded above stairs and here a new sight was presented to our view . . . beheld the walls covered with pictures of every description, from the most humble plants of the field, to the stately and majestic Lion . . . it was also very pretty to view the gay company walking underneath us as busy as Bees . . .”

“ A large apartment filled with pictures, was next presented for our admiration We next went to another large room, nicely fitted up, with counters, containing everything that could be desired, a well filled purse seemed the only requisite. I could hardly withstand the temptation of purchasing many things tho’ I felt greatly inclined to procure a caricature of Morrison’s Vegetable Pills, to send to my mother, it was so laughable, however on further deliberation, I thought I had better not, as my mother would not approve of it I was greatly astonished at the style of a young Lady’s hair, who just stepped from a carriage, the colour of her locks, was a bright dazzling red, it was long behind, and plaited down the back, so as to form two long tails, which were tastefully ornamented by being tied with smart bows of Blue ribbon, this you may know was a perfect contrast to the golden locks, and might by some be thought exceedingly pretty, but I confess my taste somewhat differed, in this respect, since that period the fashion of dressing hair that way, is very generally adopted and I now look on a head so tailed with perfect indifference.

“Bidding adieu to the fashion of tails, we entered another room in the centre of which, was a confectioner’s shop, with every delicacy that could have been desired We did not return the way we had entered, but descended a few steps, which brought us into a beautiful conservatory, filled with plants of every description, the sudden change, from a crowded room, to the calm and quiet of the cool conservatory, produced an indescribable sensation, for it came on us, so unexpectedly, there was also a fountain playing in the centre, the spray from which so cooled the air, that we seemed transported, as if by enchantment to another zone, the doors were of Plate Glass, which of course exhibited all the company, at the

other end of the room, our passing thro’ these doors, we came into a small circular room, round which was a seat of Crimson, and very nicely carpetted for the accommodation of that part of the company who were favoured with riding in their carriages, here they waited till such time, as their carriage was announced, but as I and my companions had no other, than that which nature provided, we did not venture to take a seat, as a notice was there, specifying “These seats are exclusively for Ladies waiting for their carriages”

“ I called at my Brother-in-law elect, but he was from home, my companions after tea went to the theatre, and I sat all the evening expecting Peter to call on me, however I was disappointed and after sitting for hours in my bedroom almost melancholy, I went to bed rather vexed, and a little angry, but as it transpired he did not understand my note, when I had the pleasure of seeing him, I excused the honourable gentleman.

“The succeeding day we had fixed for seeing the Zoological Gardens in Regents Park I was very much surprised to see the great change and improvements which had taken place, since I had last seen the Park, at that period there was scarcely a building further than the Diorama, and now they are innumerable we passed by the Diorama, without condescending to honour it, with our company so eager were we to see the Colosseum, I had seen the Diorama before and must confess. I was as much pleased with it as anything I saw in London, all that time, the novelty of the room revolving, was to me a source of surprise”

“ We soon arrived there (the Colosseum) and were first shown into a large room full of statuary I know I felt excessively hot and tired, and gladly availed myself of a seat of Indian rubber, on spring cushions, which are nicely fitted round the room we were presented with a ticket, and then commenced our journey upstairs, as we had a great number of steps to ascend before we could obtain a view of the Great city, at last a glimpse of the picture came in sight, and we were very soon on a landing place, with a Balcony around it, and now we had a fine view of London, and its hundreds of streets, and houses without number it is really a most surprising and ingenious contrivance On several parts of the Balcony at equal distances, were small telescopes fixed, to enable us to obtain a nearer view of the Drawing we were asked whether we choose to pay an extra 6d, and enter the ascending Gallery we gladly and willingly parted with another sixpence as we had a great desire to learn a new method of going upstairs without the trouble of walking we went into a small circular room, sufficiently capacious to contain a party of twenty, we were no sooner comfortably seated, than by means of machinery, we felt ourselves with the room rapidly rising, the sen-

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sation was odd, as you may fancy . . . in a space of less than five minutes, a jar or sudden jerk in our drawing room announced to us our journey was finished . . . we had another and much higher view of London, this Balcony was considerably smaller than the other tho' fitted up with Telescopes in the same way . . ."

" . . . We left the Colosseum, passing through a grotto . . . we came to a conservatory and here the scene amply compensated for the last, there was also a fine aviary of birds, whose beautiful plumage was reflected in the water which played from the fountain. The last object for our inspection was the Swiss Cottage . . ."

"We now bade adieu to the Colosseum with all its wonders and were greatly delighted with everything we had there seen . . ."

"I went to see a drop of water magnified which astonished me as much as anything, I saw the thousands of insects running after and devouring each other, it was very suprising . . . very pretty panoramic views of Virginia Water . . ."

"I think now my dear Lucy I will conclude my description of the busy and vast metropolis . . ."

Betsey's friends, the Misses Goodwyn, left shortly for Woodbridge. She confided to Lucy "be not surprised if I say my heart was with them on their way to dear home". Betsey herself prepared to visit Rathbone Place, where she was to stay for nearly a month before leaving for Carmarthen. Her reason for going was to take up a teaching postion at Miss Woozencroft's School, though we learn nothing from the letter why she took up that appointment when her original objective had only been to visit her friend in London.

Coach Travel

Betsey had very little option but to use the stage coach on her long journey to Carmarthen. Until put out of business by the development of the railway, the stage coach remained the principal form of long distance public transport as it was not until 1852 that the South Wales Railway reached Carmarthen. It may have been possible for Betsey to have travelled by sea, though as far as "conveyance by water" was concerned vessels from Carmarthen to London operated only about once a month.¹

Coaching had received its main impetus with the building of the mail roads. This followed a government decision in 1784 to send letters by means of specially designed coaches. Wales quickly benefited in view of the importance of the Irish connection. Both the

1. Pigot and Co's Direstory, 1835.

Milford Mail and Holyhead Mail began running the following year.² As Dodd notes, the adoption of stage coaches for the Royal Mails "by stimulating road improvements everywhere . . . brought about a revolution in social life. Soon all the main roads were aswarm with coaches, 'fly-wagons' and post chaises, and even people below the range of 'carriage folk' could depend on regular transport and postal deliveries".³

There was a choice of two principal routes from London to South Wales. The "lower road" through Bristol, New Passage (ferry) Cardiff and Swansea was about 14 miles shorter than the 'upper road' travelled by Betsey Thompson. This passed through Oxford, Gloucester, Monmouth, Abergavenny and Brecon. A third route in use was that via Gloucester, Hereford, Hay and Brecon. It was the "upper road" however (now the A40) that was to prove most popular, not the least because of its scenic quality, vividly described by Betsey.

It is of interest to note that Betsey travelled by stage coach and not in the more expensive Mail Coach. As she notes in her letter the coach was the *Paul Pry*. This operated from the Ivy Bush Hotel, Carmarthen. Indeed an advertisement in the *Carmarthen Journal* in June 1834, by George Davies and Co. of the Ivy Bush Hotel, boasted "Superior travelling from Carmarthen to Cheltenham in 14 hours ! ! !" and that "the public are respectfully informed that the *Paul Pry* 4 Inside-Post Coach leaves the Ivy Bush Hotel every Morning at 5, (Sundays excepted) and arrives at the Royal Hotel, Cheltenham, at 7 the same Evening when passengers may either proceed to London immediately (where they arrive at 6 the following morning) or remain the night in Cheltenham, and proceed at 8 the next morning". The advertisement also points out that the *Paul Pry* was the only post coach from Carmarthen to Monmouth, Ross, Gloucester and Cheltenham. The Royal Mail from Milford Haven to London also called every morning at the Ivy Bush Hotel and followed the same route.

In August 1834 readers of the *Carmarthen Journal* were informed of 'a desirable coaching arrangement' and that the "spirited proprietor of the Red Rover Coach has completed an arrangement so that in the course of a week the said coach will leave Carmarthen at 4 o'clock in the afternoon to proceed direct to London as a night coach arriving the following evening in London at nine o'clock by the Rapid". The route passed through Hereford, Ross, Gloucester and Cheltenham.

2. H. Williams, *Stage Coaches in Wales* (Stewart Williams, 1977).

3. A. H. Dodd, *Life in Wales* (Batsford, 1972).

In those days the Innkeeper often performed a dual function, not only providing accommodation for travellers but usually owning the stage coaches as well. This was true of the Ivy Bush, one of the grand old Inns of the coaching age. Williams has tried to capture something of the spirit of the Ivy Bush at that time. "Standing on the summit of the medieval town walls, with the fertile Vale of Towy stretching away to the rear, it was the epitome of comfort for man and beast alike. Porters clumped across the cobbled yard with heavy baggage as the travellers stretched and yawned, and the succulent smell of roast beef drifted out to give a new edge to their appetites. The stables held 80 horses, cared for by ostlers who took a pride in their craft, and from the haughty head waiter down to the humble boots, the staff scurried to attend to the needs of well-heeled gentlemen whom they hoped would reward them with a glistening half-sovereign".²

In 1834 the Ivy Bush Hotel operated several other coaches. Amongst the services advertised for the summer season were the *Picton* to Swansea, the *Regulator* to Tenby and Haverfordwest, and the *Collegian*, serving both the Lampeter and Aberystwyth route and the Brecon, Hereford and Worcester route.

Betsey's journey was clearly an exacting one, both physically and mentally. The horses were changed every seven or eight miles, and there were also changes of coachman and guard, but the passenger faced days of travel confined to a small coach often with uncongenial company. The *Red Rover* coach for example took twenty-nine hours to get from Carmarthen to London. This 'up' journey however took longer because of the unfavourable gradients. Betsey Thompson's route was a little different but nevertheless took at least 26 hours, as she left London on the evening coach, arriving in Carmarthen at 10.00 o'clock the following night.

Betsey's letter provides an interesting record of her doubts and worries about coming to Carmarthen; of the various people who accompanied her; descriptions of scenery and of towns; her amusement at hearing the Welsh language spoken for the first time and of her moral and philosophical views.

We can now join Betsey at the 'Boat and Castle' in London where she went on the evening of August 8th 1834, accompanied by her friend Mr Gibbins, to await the *Paul Pry*.

London to Oxford

"I had to wait there more than half an hour, as the coach was not arrived from the city, during that period it rained in torrents. I beguiled the time by looking at the Cabriolets, coaches etc. etc.

which were now very busily employed in consequence of the wet weather. When the *Paul Pry* came it was very full outside and three ladies within, I made the fourth, and bidding adieu to my kind friend, I quietly seated myself in the vacant seat and was rapidly leaving behind me all I knew, to seek a temporary situation amongst strangers, who I must say were extremely kind and friendly to me.

"We stopped several times, before we finally quitted London . . . I began to put down all the places where we stopped to change horses but soon the shades of night prevented me . . . My companions were not very talkative, and I felt more inclined to think than chatter . . ."

". . . To the Country we passed Paddington, Fulham, Hanwell and I do not know how many places, my memory fails me to numerate. The largest places I now remember were, Uxbridge, Brentford, Witney where blankets are manufactured, High Wycombe . . . I very much regretted as we drew near Oxford, that the night seemed much darker than it had done, but it was morning and not night when we reached the celebrated city. I think it was about one o'clock when our Guard sounded our approach.

"By the aid of the Lamps, I could distinguish the Turrets of the Universities, and certainly thought them very pretty . . . I will leave the colleges and conduct you to the Inn, where we alighted and with my companions partook of a cup of tea, some cold lamb, which greatly refreshed us. There were two or three gentlemen from the outside, who I must say were very attentive during our repast—a few minutes were only allowed us, and our coachman presented himself to receive his fee; which after paying him and two shillings and sixpence for our supper, we were once more seated quite snugly for the remainder of the night. I had no inclination to slumber, but my fellow travellers were soon fast asleep.

Oxford to Gloucester

"I sat busy enough reflecting and wondering in my mind, what sort of place I should find Carmarthen, and how should I be received there. Still all the time, I felt in very good spirits, and thought well all is for the best. Between four and five in the morning, the sun arose, I think I never before saw so grand a scene, all the heavens seemed to be tinged with gold, and presented a very imposing appearance, we were now fast drawing near Cheltenham".

"The general aspect of the country here was very flat, and the earth was much whiter than any I have ever seen".

"The hedges which divided the fields were walls built of stones placed one upon another, greatly inferior in my opinion to the pretty

green hedges variegated with wild roses and honeysuckle that separate our cornfields of Suffolk”.

“We arrived in Cheltenham about seven o’clock, not at all sorry that this far my journey was completed. Here I lost my companions, the Ladies went onto Worcester, and I after seeing my luggage put on another coach jumped inside, and with the exception of a gentleman, I was quite alone, indeed I might as well have been alone for the honorable gentleman did not condescend to open his lips, therefore ten miles were passed in silence and I was not at all sorry when he left me to myself. I could not see much of Cheltenham as the shops were not opened for business, it being too early. I thought it a very clean town, but I had better opportunity of seeing it on my home journey. We reached there about seven in the evening, and I was quite astonished at the size of the place. My being inside (the coach) before prevented my seeing it to advantage. I can only compare it to the most fashionable part of London. I mean as to the style of houses and gay promenades, the streets were very gay at this hour. It being the season for invalids and others to resort there to drink the waters, afforded me the opportunity of seeing Cheltenham at the best time”.

“Now to return to my narrative, you left me alone in the coach where I tried to sleep for a few minutes, but sleep had quite deserted me and not till I arrived at my place of destination did ‘Natures sweet restorer balmy sleep’ visit my eyelids. The next town we came to was Gloucester, from which I could see of it appears to be a very ancient looking town, situated on a hill from whence several good streets branched off, there was also a Cathedral but I cannot give you a perfect view of the town as I merely passed through, and consequently only the principal features presented themselves to describe a place minutely one should be able to pass sometime in it”.

“. . . We stopped at a large Hotel, and took up a Lord and his son, as the day was remarkably fine all were anxious to obtain an outside place, I should have preferred outside myself, but having taken my place, and the coach being full all the day, I had no opportunity of changing my place. An old woman, and the servant of the Lord were put inside, so that there might be room for the Lord and his son outside, so you may imagine my companions were anything but agreeable. I wished myself twenty times somewhere that I might have a better view of the surrounding objects than I could have shut up inside. I now and then asked a few questions, but the valet had never travelled the road before, he was as much unacquainted as I was with the places we passed, he was going with his master to Glamorganshire, they intended going as far as Abergavenny and the carriage was to be there in readiness to convey them to their place

of destination, this much I learned, and this was all the conversation I had with the gentleman’s man, who quietly resigned himself to one corner of the coach and read a novel which his master had given him to take care of, they being too much occupied with beholding the lovely face of Nature, to think of reading a mere description of it, which must necessarily fall short of the reality”.

Ross and Monmouth

“On leaving Gloucester, we passed through a small portion of the chief town thro’ which we went, it is famous giving birth to John Kyrle, the man of Ross of whom we read. I noticed a large Inn named after him, no doubt he is still remembered with feelings of gratitude, and respect by the inhabitants of Ross, who are proud of being natives of this spot which was the scene of so many good actions of so worthy a man, would there were more to be found like him ! There was a small river quietly gliding along, which I suppose was a branch of the Wye. I did not perceive any shipping, but conjectured the stream was too inconsiderable to afford any navigable trade to be carried on”.

“A few miles ride, brought us to the County of Monmouthshire, and to its Capital Monmouth, it was a much larger town than Ross, and from its appearance I thought it a good place of trade, there was a large meat market held in the centre of the town, which made me fancy I was amongst the Batchelor’s Chambers of White Chapel. There was also a good building for the convenience of a corn market but we merely stayed a sufficient time to change horses and we were off again”.

Abergavenny and Crickhowell

“We did not make any particular stay until we reached Abergavenny also in Monmouthshire what I remembered of the place, I considered it a pretty neat town, but did not observe anything of importance to fix my attention. On our arrival at the Hotel or Inn, we all alighted and my companion, the valet, with his Master proceeded on their way to Glamorganshire. Here it was usual for the passengers to dine, but as I had no one to join me, I partook of some biscuits, and again took my seat in the Coach, accompanied by a Lady going as far as Crickhowell, a distance of ten or twelve miles from Abergavenny, the ride from here was extremely beautiful, the scenery was now beginning to assume a different aspect, the Wye was slowly meandering by rising hills and beautiful trees in all the glory of their summer foliage, perhaps I was more sensible of the scene as I had a companion who made herself very agreeable and kindly pointed out to me everything worthy of remark, which she could

easily do as the views were all familiar to her and no doubt she was pleased to be able to show such fine views as they presented themselves to a stranger. I much regretted her absence for she soon parted from me as we arrived at Crickhowell. I thought it the shortest twelve miles I had rode during the day, so gratifying it is to have a pleasant and social companion, but these pleasures are but transient—Human life might aptly be compared to a Stage Coach, we take our places here for a short time, all intent on some particular business or great event, we witness many changes, and meet with characters as varied as an April day, and after a few delays and stoppages, we arrive at our journey end, wearied of the time that has passed and repeating that we had not employed it better, happy would it be for us if we thought more of how we should be received at the end of our journey and only busy ourselves by endeavouring to obtain a favourable reception, instead of employing ourselves so carefully about temporary concerns”.

Brecon—‘Another Country’

“Soon after I parted with my companion at Crickhowell, I entered Brecknockshire and now the contrast to my own County was extreme, the landscape around here was exceedingly beautiful, high mountains some thickly studded with trees, rose majestically to views, which together with the neat little white washed cottages interspersed here and there at the foot of the mountains or amidst a group of trees, rendered the scene one of particular beauty and interest. One might imagine that all was happiness and content in the humble cottage of the Welsh peasant, so peaceful and calm did their habitations appear”.

“It was not until I entered Brecon, that I began to fancy myself in another country, and then for a while my thoughts were of a melancholy turn, but I did not long suffer them to remain so, for when the coach stopped to change horses, I had much to see and observe, novelty often disperses melancholy reflections and chases them away at least for a time, as I had nothing to vex at particularly, I soon recovered my accustomed composure, and did not feel inclined to despond again No! not even when I reached Carmarthen. I now perceived a great difference in the appearance of the inhabitants of this town, to any other I had seen, it was market day, I therefore had a good opportunity of seeing the bustle of the place. I was greatly astonished to see females riding to market, dressed in a style widely different from any I had seen, but peculiar to the Welsh with round beaver hats. I am told the women are as au fait at buying and selling as the men, and not infrequently sell and buy corn”.

“I was greatly amused to hear the language, it seemed a most singular jargon to my ears—indeed I had not once thought of another language, tho’ I was aware such was the case, but I had forgotten it quite ’till it sounded on my ears”.

“Now to say a few words of the town, it is large and well populated. I believe there are a number of poorer class, who are employed in the mines or Iron works adjacent. To keep them in order, a regiment is stationed, who have a very good barracks for their accommodation. I saw two or three officers, and private men as we stopped at the Inn. There is also a fine large goal—I believe it is a Borough town, and assizes are held there. I had the honour of the Governer of the jail’s escort from London, as he was outside the coach—so you see I was in good keeping”.

“The next town we came to was Treacastle, we merely stayed to change horses—I was not particularly struck with the town, which I should conjecture is somewhat in size like Wickham Market, perhaps a little larger. There was a very good Inn called the Camden Arms, but nothing else of importance to strike the traveller”.

Llandovery to Carmarthen

“A few miles from Treacastle stands the town of Llandovery, here I observed the ruins of an ancient castle, but I was soon prevented from making further observations, by the darkness of the evening”.

Denied by failing light, Betsey was obliged to await another occasion before savouring the charms of the remainder of the journey; that she was enchanted is demonstrated by her assertion “that Towy’s Vale was and even must be the theme of admiration and delight to the lover of Nature, and teach him to look through Nature to Nature’s God”. On that other occasion she saw the journey thus:

“The continuation of my journey I must give you, as I saw it on my return home. I will therefore fancy myself at Carmarthen, and ride as far as Llandovery, it will only be reversing the scene. The day was exceedingly fine when I started, and I quite enjoyed the ride, as you may imagine, after being confined to scholastic duties for nearly twelve months. I had a fine view of the country around, and my companions pointed out Grongar Hill, which Dyer has so well represented in his poem, we passed no town of importance until we reached Llandeilo, but the scenery down the Vale of the Towy is beyond all description, I many times wished I could have taken a view of it, I am sure it is worth the pencil of any artist. I thought I should have had much pleasure in taking young Rowe,

who went to London with us, and placing him on some eminence that he might suddenly open his eyes to behold the beautiful views”.

“As I have stayed at Llandeilo I can describe it a little, you enter the town by a neat bridge built across the Towy, the entrance is rather hilly, and what I am sure will appear very strange is that the road lies through the churchyard at first you would scarcely perceive it, but on looking more around you, you might observe the church on one side with a tolerable piece of ground, and on the opposite side more land appropriated for the repose of the silent dead”.

“There is a very good market at Llandeilo, corn and meat etc. a town hall where all public business is transacted and two churches, the one I have before mentioned, and the other called Llandiviceal [Llandyfeisant], situated in the most romantic spot. I even beheld a lowly [?] dell by the side of an extensive Park, the property of Lord Dynevor, who resides in a mansion erected there. This is a very fashionable promenade for the inhabitants of Llandilo, as the owner has given permission for free access there—Llandilo is greatly inferior in size and in many other respects to Carmarthen, but still its Parks render it of some importance”.

“The next small town is Llangaddock, I merely remember it as a collection of houses. After leaving Llangaddock we passed no town till we arrived at Llandovery, where I left off before I reversed the scene, and now as I have endeavoured to describe a little of all the places I saw it is getting high time to draw my narrative to a conclusion which I will haste to do, but I must first convey you to Brecon, where you may remember I was beginning to feel a little melancholy after we had changed horses. Two outside passengers got inside the coach, and after a few minutes conversation, to my surprise they proved to be Suffolk men, from the vicinity of Hadleigh and were well acquainted with Ipswich and Hadleigh. Had there been a cat or dog from Suffolk, I think I should have been delighted, how much more then when I met two creatures able to converse, and tell me a little of the Welsh customs and manners. I really began to feel my heart much lighter, and did not fear my arrival at Carmarthen”.

“The elder brother soon composed him to sleep, while the other endeavoured to make himself very agreeable, but you well know he failed to do so, as I have before transcribed all the particulars of those two hours, it would be tedious for me to repeat it here. I will therefore bid Mr E——— K adieu, and wish him a good wife”.

“I reached Carmarthen about ten o'clock and was conducted by the porter of the Inn to Miss Wozencroft's who resided in Spilman

Street, I was received very kindly by her, and after partaking of tea and ham, I retired to rest, not without having a glass of brandy and water, which I certainly needed not to make me sleep, for I had not slept since I left London. I was therefore no sooner in bed, than without feeling the least unhappy or uncomfortable at my situation, I fell asleep and soon forgot all the novelties I had seen during my journey”.

Carmarthen

On Carmarthen itself Betsey has little to say, though she describes the Gaol, St. Peter's Church and the Market. Nevertheless a picture of the town in Betsey's time can be built up from her observations and other contemporary descriptions.

When looking back nearly one hundred and fifty years it is all too easy to forget how important Carmarthen was and to dismiss it as a small provincial town. Quite the reverse is true, indeed, throughout its history it had always been one of the most important towns in Wales. This was still the case in 1834; the great changes



A view of Carmarthen from the south-west, from a drawing by Betsey Thompson circa 1839.

and rapid population growth associated with the industrial revolution were still to come. In 1831 Carmarthen was the fourth largest town in Wales with a population of 9,955, behind Merthyr (22,982), Swansea (13,694) and Newport (10,815). In terms of its facilities and services Carter⁴ ranked it as very much more important than Merthyr. It was a major regional trade and administrative centre serving a rich agricultural hinterland; a social centre and main port; and the ultimate capital of an area roughly corresponding to the present county of Dyfed.

The general setting of the town had a marked impact on Betsey as it did on most travellers. One recorded that the town, "with its castle and bridge, the vessels in the river, and the bold and diversified character of the hills by which it is terminated, is strikingly beautiful".⁵ Its elevated position, "a circumstance which imparts to it a striking appearance when viewed from a distance", gave Carmarthen a "commanding prospect of some of the finest parts of the scenery of this delightful vale"⁶. The Corporation had capitalised on such views by building "at the upper end of the town, . . . a beautiful walk called the Parade".¹

The period before Betsey Thompson's arrival—1801 to 1831—saw an 80% growth in Carmarthen's population to close on 10,000. It was to fluctuate around this figure for the next hundred years or so. The built up area of the town in 1834 remained the walled area of the former Norman town, though the Lammas Street and Water Street areas also had heavy concentrations of population. The town however stretched for about a mile in length with houses strung along the Pembroke road almost reaching Picton's monument and from there up to the top of Priory Street. It was half a mile wide from the toll gate near the junction of Glannant Road and Water Street, to the river.

The town was described as containing ten principal streets, the two main roads meeting near the centre at what is now Nott Square. They were well paved and lit with gas which had "superseded the old and ineffectual illumination from oil"⁷ and were noted for being kept clean. There was some conflict of opinion over the quality of the townscape. "Some tourists have remarked, that the interior of the place does not realise the expectations excited by the distant view. But this must greatly depend on the imagination of the party . . . the sober traveller will find much to please him in the general aspect of the buildings".⁶

4. H. Carter, *The Towns of Wales* (University of Wales Press 1966).

5. S. Lewis, *A Topographical Dictionary of Wales*, 1833.

6. *South Wales Illustrated in a Series of Views*, 1st published 1830, Republished by E. P. Publishing Ltd. 1976.

The main streets contained a "large proportion of good houses and though they are not perfectly regular their general aspect is that of comfort and respectability".¹ There were many excellent shops, and in the minor streets there were several buildings of "respectable character". Indeed considerable improvements had occurred in the town with the "modernisation of old buildings and erecting new ones in a style of comfort and taste suited to the improvement of modern times; among the latter are Picton Terrace . . . and Waterloo Place".⁵

The narrowness of some of the streets brought criticism; they were "inconveniently narrow", especially in the "middle of the town, where a part of the principal thoroughfare, besides being very steep, is narrow; and from the situation of the town hall at the bottom of the hill, no beneficial alteration is to be expected".⁶ The problem of narrow streets was compounded by the difficulty the passenger had to encounter "when wending his way along the pathways of this town". They had to run a gauntlet of "earthenware, hampers, cobblestones, drapersgoods and open trap doors".⁷

"To return then to the town, as I have before remarked it is a corporation, and returns one member of Parliament, the office of Mayor at present is held by D. Davies, Esq. now residing at Green Hill, a pleasant mansion delightfully situated at a convenient distance from the town, the Mayor with his retinue attend church on particular days in their robes of office, and also go to meet the judge, sheriffs during the time of the assizes, and escort them to the Town Hall, a fine old building commodiously situated in the centre of the town, called the Square". Thus reported Betsey.

It was this Corporation that faced accusations of misappropriation of funds received from sales of corporation land. Indeed Professor Glyn Roberts⁸ believes that the record of Carmarthen Borough during this period presented "an example of turbulence and vicious corruption which can hardly be paralleled in the history of any borough in the whole country".

Yet this same Corporation was proud of its achievements. It could boast to the Commissioners of Enquiry into the affairs of the corporation of an impressive list of borough improvements.⁹ These included the opening of Dark Gate and of the entrance to the meat market; town gaol, Poor House, Parade public walk, wet and dry dock; "quay extended to twice its former size", "water pipes laid down", water works and conduits, Fish Market and Butter Market.

7. *Carmarthen Journal*, May 15th, 1834.

8. Quoted by A. G. Prys Jones, *The Story of Carmarthenshire*, Vol. 2 (Christopher Davies 1972).

9. *Carmarthen Journal*, October 11th, 1833.

"There is at present but one church", wrote Betsey, oblivious of several chapels, "it is dedicated to St. Peter and is an ancient looking building, tho' far inferior to ours, I cannot say much in praise of the cleanliness of the interior, it being kept very dirty. There is only one Gallery, part of which is appropriated to the soldiers of the Carmarthenshire Militia, and the other occupied by the organ, which is played by Mr Richards [Henry Richards, father of Brinley Richards, the composer] and occasionally his daughter, a young lady whose musical talents are very great, and she will probably be one day classed amongst the Professors of that delightful and difficult science.

"The minister who officiates is the Reverend Archdeacon Bevan, a man who ranks high in the opinion of his parishioners. Welsh service is also performed twice during Sunday by the Reverend M. Morgan, curate of St. Peters for many of the inhabitants do not understand the English Language—Prayers are read in the church on Fridays, and there is likewise an evening lecture on Wednesday, which I cannot forbear observing is very thinly attended, people I suppose being too much occupied with the perishing things of this world"

"I will therefore now turn your attention to the jail, which is an imposing object that must not be overlooked, when traversing the town of Carmarthen. It is situated in Spiiman Street, and built partly from the ruins of an ancient castle, some of whose walls are now standing luxurantly covered with ivy, whose thick foliage convinces the spectator, that it has stood through many ages and defied the iron hands of time.

"The present Governor is Mr Burnhill, a man I dare say well qualified to fulfil the responsible task required of him. Prayers are read to the prisoners every morning, as is customary in jails. I think the clergyman who performs the duty is Rev Jones, now resident in Carmarthen. There is also another jail for the Borough, the one I have been first describing is appropriated for the County.

"There is also a treadmill, that ingenious piece of machinery invented by Mr Cubitt, a well known Engineer. I believe the first set up was at Brixton, to the great discomfiture of the thieves and vagabonds who were lodged in that large jail, but they are now become very general.

"I observed lately in a newspaper, that in some prison in London or its environs, a new method was introduced, called the Silent System, by which means perfect silence was strictly enforced, while the prisoners were on the wheel, so rigid are they in their observance of the plan, that even the malifactors themselves, are obliged to be a check on each other, if the rules are in any way broken, they are

further punished by solitary confinement, and a short allowance of their accustomed food granted them. The paper further observes, so great a dread have they of solitary confinement, that strange to say, even the females are taught to keep that unruly member, the tongue under subjection—what do you think of this remark upon our sex, but so it is, we females ever have the character of great talkers, and I suppose nothing now would convince the world to the contrary, so we must be contented to bear the odium bestowed on us".

From the 'Baronial pomp' of the castle and gaol down to the bridge, "an elegant stone structure of seven arches surmounted by an iron balustrade",⁵ the road was "inconveniently narrow and precipitous". The river still played an important part in the economic life of the town. The port could accommodate ships of up to 350 tons and there was a large and convenient quay extending "several hundred yards along the north-western bank of the river". Fifty-one vessels were registered in 1831 as belonging to the port. In the year ending 1831 thirteen foreign vessels and 420 coasting vessels entered Carmarthen; there were strong trading links particularly with Bristol. Principal exports included timber, marble, slate, bricks, lead ore, manufactured goods, grain, butter and eggs with exports of foreign timber, pitch, rosin, tallow coal, culm and manufactured goods.

The Towy was celebrated for its salmon and sewin, with fishing providing an important income for the poorer classes. In his evidence to the Poor Law Commissioners in 1835 Davies, the ex-mayor, reported that fishermen earned a guinea a week in the summer, but were on the parish during the winter and that "their earnings all go to the beer-shops".¹⁰ Although the fishing rights belonged to the Corporation, George Clive, the Assistant Poor Law Commissioner, stated that "they are afraid to exercise their right, and a fearful catalogue of evils, such as cattle houghed, ricks burnt, etc., was given to me as the certain consequence of interfering with them".

Though the town was predominantly a service and administrative centre, about half of the families were according to the 1831 Census "chiefly employed in Trade, Manufactures, and Handicraft". The town had an extensive tinworks, but this had closed about 1824 and would not reopen until April 1836, after refurbishment. There were two iron foundries and in addition Pigot records "Flannel is manufactured here to some extent; the trade in corn and malt is respectable, and the tanning and currying of leather, and rope-making, form the occupation of several individuals".

10. *Second Annual Report of the Poor Law Commissioners*, London 1836.

Carmarthen was a principal market centre with three weekly markets. The Wednesday market sold meat, poultry, butter and vegetables; Friday's was almost disused except for fish, and Saturdays was abundantly supplied with corn and "every article of consumption".

The Corn Market was held beneath the Guildhall. On market days Guildhall Square was occupied by temporary booths selling hats, shoes, hardware and other articles. The market for cheese and meat and poultry had been built in Red Street in 1801. This was "an excellent market-place . . . built by the corporation, which with great propriety, they placed out of town, in a situation where it was likely not to interfere with the public convenience".⁶ It was a quadrangular shape, with covered shambles around the side and a range down the centre.

The fish and butter markets, "over which is the town fire bell" were located where the present Nott monument stands, whilst the market for cattle and pigs was in Lammas Street.

Betsey described the markets as follows: "In Carmarthen, the markets are held on Saturdays and Wednesdays and are well supplied with meat, poultry, fruit, vegetables, in a word with every necessary for the convenience and comfort of the inhabitants. Fish I think is supplied almost daily, there is a very nice fish called sewin peculiar to the river, it is somewhat in appearance to a salmon, tho' much smaller. Cockles are very generally eaten here, and may be obtained at a very cheap rate any evening from the women who stand near the Cross, an old erection at the bottom of King Street. Meat is much more reasonable in price than in England. The mutton is far preferable to that in our English markets, but the beef and veal bear no comparison to that exhibited in our Country. Poultry is very low, you may purchase a good pair of fowls at 2s or 1s.8d and a goose for 2s or 2s.6d. Turkeys proportionally cheap, but I do not think the poultry so fine and plump as our Counties Suffolk and Essex produce".

Social Life

There were sharp contrasts between the social classes in Carmarthen. Stacey criticised the fishermen and shoemakers in particular as constantly applying for poor relief, the problem was such that there was a standing order not to apprentice any child to a shoemaker. He regarded the lower classes as "immoral and idle to the last degree. Any Saturday evening, between six and seven o'clock, I can find a dozen paupers drunk in the Street".¹⁰

The poor law system was continually abused, the poorhouse badly managed, the rules not enforced. Not only was the poorhouse

being used as a lodging house but "twelve months ago it was used as a brothel by the prostitutes of the town".¹⁰

At the other end of the scale all the great families had town residences. It was the social centre of the district and its trade and administrative functions "created in the town a characteristic middle class". Carter has described this urban life as one that "aped in a limited, provincial bourgeois way the Bath of Beau Nash . . . and Regency London".⁴

Amongst the trappings was a theatre, albeit an old mean-looking building like "in appearance a stable".¹¹ This was open in November and December, when dramatic pieces were performed every evening. Concerts and balls were occasionally held at the principal inns.

The races too, were popular. They took place annually in September and continued for two days, the first for the Carmarthen stakes, the second for the Dynevor Stakes. The race course "which is well adapted to the purpose, is about four miles distant from the town, higher up the vale".⁷

Private Adventure Schools

Miss Woozencroft's school where Betsey taught, was a ladies' boarding school, no doubt typical of those that developed in the town during that century to teach the growing middle class of tradesman and professional. It was one of "the many ephemeral 'private adventure' schools, ranging from the expensive 'academy for sons of gentlemen' to the humbler 'dame school' charging only a few pence; some were conducted by dedicated spirits who made a real impact, some by the 'throw-outs' of society. None had any permanent buildings, staff or endowment; all depended on individuals who came and went".³

The school was already established in 1830, when Margaret Woozencroft asked for the support of her friends and the public for her sister Ann, who was taking over the school, and for Miss Thomas "Whom she can confidently recommend as being fully competent to complete the education of young ladies in every useful and ornamental branch. Miss Thomas will instruct in Music, Drawing, French, Italian etc." Miss Thomas's talents undoubtedly give an idea of the attributes expected of Betsey, who may well have taken her place.

There was competition too from similar establishments. Miss Margaret Price's Ladies Boarding School recorded in Priory Street

11. 'Carmarthen in 1829', *Transactions of Carmarthenshire Antiquarian Society*, Volume 1.

in 1830 had moved to Spilman Street by 1835. Mrs Charlotte Smith's English and French Establishment for Young Ladies had been operating from Carmarthen House in Spilman Street in 1828. In July 1835 it was located at Furnace Lodge, offering English, French, Drawing, Music and Dancing "with every other essential, necessary to form a genteel and useful education".

Mrs Smith took up to ten young ladies "to educate with her own daughters". Fees were two guineas per quarter. An indication of the competence of Mrs Smith's daughter as a dancing teacher is contained in a report of a Juvenile Ball held in December 1834. The young ladies of the school impressed their friends and relatives with the "ease gracefulness and complexity of their movements in the various mazy dances, which were given. They danced several quadrilles, gavots, minuets etc in a manner which reflects infinite credit on their preceptress Miss Smith . . ." The school closed in 1836 when John Smith "who was leaving Carmarthen" announced a sale of furniture and pianoforte at Furnace Lodge on 22nd/23rd March 1836.

Private Adventure Schools also catered for the males, though these schools were a very mixed collection, teaching a broad range of subjects in a variety of styles. A few examples serve to illustrate. Mr James Brown operated a Mathematical and Commercial school in King Street, providing an education adapted to business. He was listed as a school teacher in Pigot's Directory for 1822. In 1828 he was "about to decline the Tallow—Chandlery Business, having for many years employed himself in the duties of a school-master, . . . begs most respectfully to inform his friends and the public that he intends to recommence his School on Monday 23 June 1828". The advertisement continued: "any person wishing to engage in the Tallow Chandlery Business may be supplied with a large Iron Boiler, Mould and other articles . . ." ¹² The syllabus included Merchants Accounts, Navigation, Land Surveying and Mapping Estates. The School was still in operation in 1844.

On 28 July 1834 Mr William Young Torckler opened his "select and genteel academy" at a house formerly occupied by the Rev. James Griffiths in Church Street. His aim was to provide the rudiments of a sound classical and commercial education "by an agreeable, mild and conciliatory mode of treatment, exempt as much as possible from all coercion or corporal discipline and founded upon the Hamiltonian System of Instruction". Young gentlemen boarders paid between 20 and 25 guineas per annum. Lessons in French were offered to young ladies by Mrs Torckler.

12. G. Eyre Evans 'Carmarthen Schools AD1828—1835', *T.C.A.S.* Vol. XXII, Pt. 53.

J. P. Brodribb, who came to Carmarthen from Bristol in 1828, first kept school in Union Street, but moved to a variety of addresses in Queen Street, Quay Street, Bridge Street and finally to the top of Lammas Street. His daughter Olivia Rosa Brodribb recalled¹³ that "many of the sons of prominent men of the town received their education at my father's school. I can well remember general Nott's grandson as one of my father's pupils, and also how my father used to give private lessons in Navigation to Captain Edwards of Rhydygors. The pupils were instructed, amongst other things, in English Grammar, in Latin and in Greek . . ." Mr Brodribb's approach induced "habits of attention, perseverance and self inquiry" and was intended to "establish a lasting impression on the minds of the pupils".

Postscript

Whilst teaching at Mrs Woozencroft's school Betsey met her future husband and was married on 26 November 1840 by the Rev. Henry Harding M.A. at Woodbridge. Her husband, a 30 year old Carmarthen man, George White White, was the son of John White, a schoolmaster, and Hannah White. George was one of seven sons, and with his brother Isaac worked in the family printing business run by his mother.

Betsey and George White White returned from Woodbridge to set up home at 35 King Street, Carmarthen. They had five children. Betsey died in 1872. George, a churchman and staunch conservative, died in March 1888. He is commemorated by a stained glass window, erected by two of his children, Georgiana and Henry, in St. Peter's church, where he had served faithfully.

Their only surviving son, Henry Brunel White, became Mayor and later Town Clerk of Carmarthen. This position was later occupied by Betsey's grandson Howard B. White, M.C., until his retirement in 1948. Both men were distinguished servants of the town, and honoured by being made Freemen of Carmarthen.

The extracts from Betsey Thompson's manuscript have been taken from a transcript by Mrs Sylvia White and are reproduced by permission of Mr David White, Carmarthen, son of the late Howard B. White, who also provided valuable background information about the Thompson and White families.

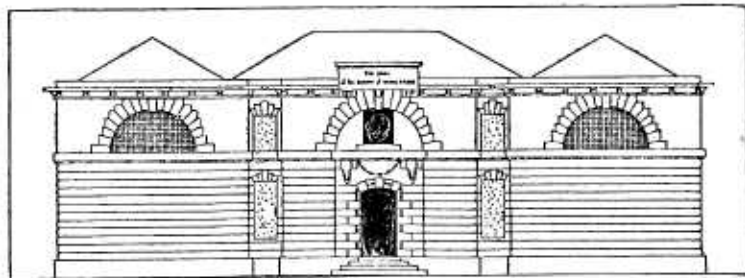
13. 'Reminiscences of Miss Brodribb', *Carmarthen Journal* April 22nd, 1910.

Twelve Months in a Victorian Gaol

By E. VERNON JONES

OFFICIAL records are often tantalizingly brief and, what is more, notorious for what they neglect to say. Yet they manage to provide a wealth of historical information that might otherwise be lost. Stored in the County Archivist's Department at Carmarthen is the Gaoler's Journal (CRO 4916) which presents a picture, albeit seen through a glass darkly, of life in Carmarthen County Gaol during the early years of Queen Victoria's reign. Typical are twelve months in the years 1845-6, arbitrarily chosen only because the Governor, Henry Westlake, was obliged to start a new report book on 22 September 1845.

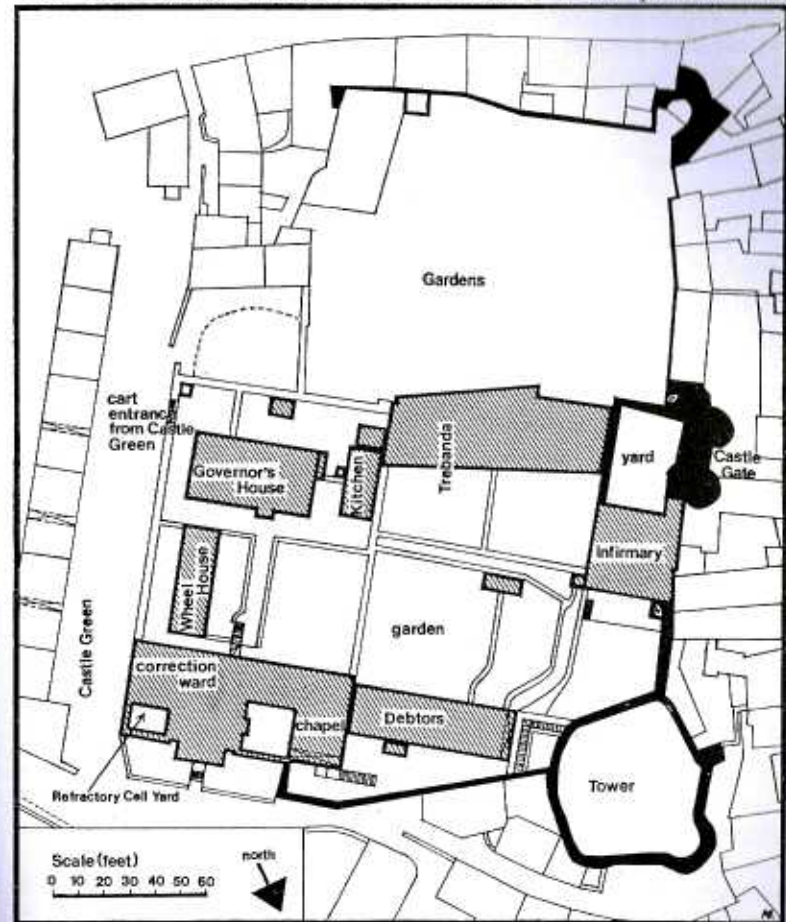
Because the daily entries are largely repetitious only the more interesting information is reproduced in the abstract that appears hereafter, but in the interests of authenticity the culled material is preserved in the Governor's own language, quaint if not wholly literate, which is not altogether surprising when it is realised that it was still a time when illiteracy was widespread, when a prisoner who could 'read and write perfect' was a noteworthy inmate. Yet, as a result of the daily schooling which was part of the prison regime, many prisoners ended their incarceration more literate than they were before.



The County Gaol as originally designed by John Nash.

We are accustomed to charges of Victorian hypocrisy, but even in the gaolhouse there is glimmering evidence that not all her majesty's subjects were without compassion. Prisons, too, were not what they had been—filthy and verminous abodes of degradation. Administered by magistrates in Quarter Sessions, they had, since 1835, been subject to inspection by the state, which took over total

responsibility for them in 1877. Periodical inspection by visiting magistrates ensured something approaching clinical cleanliness, enhanced by the liberal use of white lime to cover walls. Idle prisoners abandoned almost to oblivion belonged to the past; reform, which had ushered in new prisons (Millbank in London was the first of the new model gaols), ordained that work was to be the punitive rule.



The Gaol Precinct based on Mus. 5027, Carmarthen Record Office.

A means of creating work under the new order was the tread-wheel, which was also meant to introduce a deterrent influence. Sometimes the tread-wheels performed a useful purpose, such as grinding corn

or pumping water, but usually they were useless and were abolished as instruments of punishment late in the nineteenth century. It is probable that the wheel at Carmarthen's County Gaol was used to raise water from the well, as there are references to a pump in the Governor's reports, but it cannot have been an indispensable machine in the daily running of the gaol's economy, as evidenced by the magistrates' order in February 1846 to stop the wheel and put the prisoners to work at picking oakum and other tasks.

Nineteenth century prisons were still comprised of the common gaol and the house of correction. Houses of correction were established in the reign of Elizabeth I and were administered by the Justices of the Peace. Their aim was to prevent able-bodied vagrants from obtaining outdoor relief; instead such idlers were put to work and paid for their labour. By the eighteenth century, however, they had become much the same as common gaols and an Act of 1720 allowed magistrates to commit vagrants to either. Though it survived well into the nineteenth century, the distinction between the two became little more than artificial.

The house of correction and the prison chapel were accommodated in the gaol which had been built by John Nash to face Spilman Street. Adjoining were the debtor's cells. What rigours the inmates suffered is not apparent from the Gaoler's reports, but it is evident that they were tender enough at Christmastide to allow the 'poor debtors' within to celebrate tipsily at the expense of the pecuniary sympathy of well-wishers without. Except in certain cases, such as debt against the Crown, imprisonment for debt was abolished by the Debtors Act 1869.

Puzzling is that part of the gaol known as the Trebanda, which occupied the central area. Evidently, this was the prison or common gaol, but the significance of the name is elusive. There was an upper and a lower Trebanda, which seem to have housed the prisoners, females included, but how the sexes were separated is not clear; the adjoining open space on the north side was probably the exercise yard. A separate prison for females was later built in the gardens on the south side of the Trebanda. The gardens within the perimeter walls probably supplied the gaol needs as far as practicable, but victuals were also supplied by town purveyors. The entrance for wheeled traffic was through the east wall from Castle Green, a throughfare which ran from Spilman Street past the treadmill house to Bridge Street. This way was closed in 1868, when the Gaol was extended and a high wall erected around the boundary facing the river Towy. On the west side there was a pedestrian entrance, which still exists, through the Castle Gate past the prison infirmary.

* * *

EXTRACTS FROM THE GAOLER'S REPORTS

1845

Monday 22 September. Captain D. Davies called and I Brought John Smith a Prisoner before his worship Respecting the order on the Back of his commitment that he was to have the money stoped from him for his maintenance and I Received orders from his worship to Deduct what it cost for his maintenance out of his money which was £2-11s-4d. . . . John Smith Discharged having served his Imprisonment crime a Suspected Thief.

Tuesday 23 September. John Smith and James Goulding came To custody committed by G. Davies Mayor Borough Prisoners Crime Rogues and Vagabonds [Under the Vagrant Act 1824 'idle and disorderly persons' offending a second time were classified as 'rogues and vagabonds'; on further conviction they became 'incorrigible rogues'.] the former was discharged from this Gaol yesterday for similar offence David Lewis came to custody committed by J. E. Saunders Esqr. crime Assault the Prisoner his [sic] Insane for I was obliged to put the straight Jacket on him and then to put him in Irons and I employed a man to stop in his cell for the Night with him. Humphry Polkinghorn Soldier of the 6th Dragoons Discharged he having served his Imprisonment Crime Drunkenness, the Prisoners attended chapel and school and the Remainder of the Day employed at the wheel [Chapel, school and tread-wheel labour was a regular part of the daily routine].

Saturday 27 September. Mr. Jones assistant Surgeon called and he ordered John Lewis to be put in the Itch ward he having the Itch [This was a frequent complaint].

Sunday 28 September. The Prisoners attended Divine service twice and school once . . . [No wheel labour is recorded on Sunday].

Monday 29 September . . . I took the irons of [sic] D. Lewis in consequence of his being a great deal better than when he was committed here.

Tuesday 30 September. John Rees in the refractory cell for having a lighted rag in his pocket when going to bed and i searched him and found a pipe in his pocket likewise [The refractory cell was a dark chamber].

Wednesday 1 October. David Morgan a deserter from the 75th Regt. Discharged and handed over to escort of 37th Regt. to procede to Ireland. John Rees forgiving [sic] at 6 o'clock P.M. from the refractory cell after been two days in the cell.

Tuesday 14 October . . . Mr. Jones Assistant Surgeon called to visit the sick prisoners and ordered Henry Evans from the Infirmary and to be put on the wheel, the prisoners attended

chapel and school, and the remainder of the day employed in removing the stores and scouring the Irons and white washing the day Room in the Trebando [sic].

Thursday 23 October I took the prisoners of the wheel at 3 o'clock P.M. to weigh and wheel coals and mix clay, David Davies in the refractory cell for sculking [sic] on the wheel.

Friday 24 October. The prisoners attended chapel and school and the remainder of the forenoon mixing clay

Saturday 25 October. Wanted for the Gaol a letter Book and two dozen small tooth combs for the prisoners

Sunday 26 October William Jones came to custody committed by J. Maxwell and J. Lewis and D. Prothero Esqrs. crime Vagrancy.

Monday 27 October. William Thomson a Borough Prisoner came to custody committed by G. Davies Mayor crime Refusing to work at the Union [the Workhouse] I discovered a paper of tobacco thrown over the wall at the back of the wheel which it lodged on the top of the wheel.

Tuesday 28 October I have this day lead [sic] a pipe from the back of wheel across to the main pipe which supply the debtors with water and the two Trebando and the pipe Room and the gaoler Kitchen and the excise debtor yard.

Thursday 30 October. John Smith put in the refractory cell upon Bread and water diet for tearing out a leaf of a hymn book and writing a note to be concealed out of the gaol unknown to me to be sent out by Thomas Morris a discharged Prisoner, which it appears that he has some stolcing property at the Blue Boar in Water Street, Carmarthen.

Friday 31 October. Thomas Evans came to custody committed by J. G. Harris Esqr. one of Her Majestys commissioners of Insolvent Debtors crime contempt of court David Roberts a debtor came To custody by order of G. Harris Esqr. Commissioner David Hughes and David Lloyd debtors discharged by order of J. G. Harris Esqr. Commissioner, John Smith in the refractory cell for destroying a Hymn Book of the gaol

Saturday 1 November John Smith forgiven in the refractory cell at eleven o'clock A.M. in consequence of is promising to behave self for the future.

Monday 3 November. J. Jenkins surgeon called to examine David Lewis a Insane prisoner that committed a Assault upon Alexander Gregory a fellow prisoner, I called on Mr J. John Relieving officer of Llandafilog for the cost of one week maintenance for David Lewis a Insane Prisoner according to the orders of the Visiting Magistrates but the said John Jones refused to pay me the above four shilling and a penny.

Wednesday 5 November. John Rees a Borough prisoner discharged crime leaving his wife and family chargeable to the parish [Such offenders were included among those classified as 'idle and disorderly persons'], William Thomson and William Jones Borough Prisoners came To custody committed by G. Davies Mayor crime refusing to break stones at the Union

Friday 7 November. John Carroll a soldier of the 6th Dragoons discharged he having served his imprisonment crime Insubordination.

Saturday 8 November. Thos Jones M.D. and H. Lawrence M.D. and J. Jenkins surgeon of the Gaol called To examine David Lewis a Insane prisoner has to is Insanity William Thomas a Borough prisoner discharged one day before is time expired in consequence of it Being Sunday the following Day.

Monday 10 November the prisoners attended chapel and school, the wheel was not worked until after dinner in consequence of cleaning and white washing the Itch ward

Tuesday 11 November. I left this morning for Briton ferry with David Lewis a Insane prisoner and delivered him safe to Mr Leech the Master of the Asylum but he did give me a receipt for is Body Dd. Jones Assistant surgeon called to visit Rachel Phillips has she appeared to be not of a sound mind, Charles Mackintosh [admitted the same day for refusing to break stones at the Workhouse] exempted from the wheel in consequence of a rupture by order of the surgeon.

Thursday 13 November H. Lawrence M.D. called and visited the wheel and house of correction.

Friday 14 November. James Carter a soldier of the 6th Dragoons came To custody committed by W. Arwright Capt. of the 6th Dragoons crime absent from stables and found drinking and disorderly in a public house sentence 4 days solitary confinement

Saturday 14 November at 7 o'clock P.M. a Corporal of the 6th Dragoons Brought a Drunking Soldier of the same Regiment to this Gaol without any commitment for me to keep until he was sober which I informed the Corporal that I could not Admit him in this Gaol but to take him to the police station in the Borough.

Monday 17 November William Jones a Borough Prisoner sent to bed without is supper for misbehaviour on the wheel, the conduct of the prisoners at large has been very bad since the Silent system has been put in force and I have to state that it is Impossible to carry out the discipline of the Gaol and house of Correction according to the rules laid down by Sir J. Graham secretary of state, with one Turnkey for his duty is required to

be constantly at the entrance of the Gaol . . . [See 11 March].

Tuesday 18 November . . . John Smith a Borough Prisoner a reputed thief put in the refractory cell on bread and water for highly Insubordinate conduct to me and when ordered to be silent he would not . . .

Monday 24 November . . . J. E. Saunders Esqr. sent a written order to me to put David Davies on has Turnkey at the rate of 9s. [45 pence] per week untill I can suit myself with a better one . . . the remainder of day employed at the wheel with the exception of 2 Vagrants washing their clothes . . .

Wednesday 26 November . . . David Jones put in Solitary cell for Neglecting to work the wheel in his turn and calling George Gilbert a blind eye has he had lost a eye.

Thursday 27 November . . . David Jones forgiven from the refractory cell he having promised to me that he would never do the like again.

Friday 28 November. John Daniel a Borough Prisoner discharged he having served is imprisonment, crime Refusing to Break stones in the Union which the prisoner Broke stones in this Gaol according to my orders. J. Jenkins surgeon called and ordered me to purchase a few earthen whare dishes for the prisoners that had sore eyes to Bathe there eyes Night and morning with lukewarm water and each man to use is on [sic] dish . . .

Saturday 29 November . . . Robert Jones exempted from the wheel in consequence of sore eyes and old age . . . I called on Capt. D. Davies this evening and informed him that the young man whom I had written for at cardiff to be has a under turnkey had arrived by the Mail . . .

Monday 1 December . . . Capt Davies called and ordered me to put George Davies on has under Turnkey and to discharge David Davies and that he was to receive the same wages has the Last Turnkey that Dd. Prytherch Esq. put on that was 16s. [80 pence] p. week . . . Capt. D. Davies gave me an order to discharge John Smith a Borough Prisoner and that i was to give him over to the Borough Police on Tuesday 2nd of december and was to se him on board of the Pheonix packer and deliver the 12/- of John Smith to the steward for he to keep untill they arrive at Bristol and then to give John Smith is money after paying is fare.

Thursday 4 December . . . William Smith a Borough Prisoner is meat dish taken from him to day for misbehaviour in chapel.

Saturday 6 December . . . George Gilbert put into the Refractory cell for talking in the wheel.

Saturday 6 December. David Thomas came To custody committed by Richard Stevenson commissioner for thirty days for not appearing at the Bristol court according to the Summons served on him on the eleventh day of November. George Jones came to custody committed by D. Davies and E. H. Stacey Esqr. crime leaving his Service a Borough Prisoner.

Sunday 7 December . . . this morning at 12 oclock I forgave George Gilbert from the refractory cell has he promised he would behave himself for the future.

Monday 8 December. Rachel Phillips excise debtor discharged . . . Mrs Williams wife of Wm. Williams Turnkey Died this forenoon in the Turnkey Lodge, W. Williams excused from Duty.

Wednesday 10 December . . . D. Jones Assistant surgeon called and ordered a blister to be put on Henry Evans chest . . .

Thursday 11 December the prisoners attended chapel and school and the remainder of the day employed at the wheel with the exception of one hour in the afternoon that I stopped the wheel during the time of Mrs Williams going to be buried, D. Jones Assistant surgeon called and ordered extra diet for Henry Evans a sick Felon prisoner . . .

Friday 12 December . . . Wm. Williams Turnkey Joined his duty.

Saturday 13 December. George Jones a Borough prisoner discharged by order of David Davies Esqr. crime leaving his service . . . D. Jones Assistant surgeon called and ordered Henry Evans to be placed in the Infirmary, David Croley a Borough Prisoner came To custody committed by T. C. Morris and E. H. Stacey Esqrs. crime Assault on the Police . . .

Sunday 14 December . . . Wm. Williams Turnkey with Liberty for the Day.

Tuesday 15 December. Alexander Gregory a convicted Felon discharged he having served his imprisonment his conduct during is imprisonment was bad . . . Denis Daley a soldier of the 37 Regt. of foot came To custody committed by a court Martial signed by Major Skelly of the 37 Regt. of foot crime Breaking out of Barracks.

Saturday 20 December . . . T. C. Morris Esqr. called with a return to be filled up relating to John Thomas that was Transported at the spring Assizes 1844 which the late Gaoler [John Burnhill] did not leave is old commitment book with me when he was discharged which I have no other guidance than the calendar when he was Tried it does not mention in the Gaoler report when the prisoner left this Gaol for Millbank Penitentiory [John Thomas was one of seven men, mostly from the Llanllawddog area, who had been sentenced to ten years transportation for riot and robbery, but one, David Thomas, perhaps the ring-

leader, received a twenty-year sentence].

Sunday 21 December Rees Lloyd put in the refractory cell for refusing to wash himself When ordered by G. Davies Turnkey.

Monday 22 December Rees Lloyd forgiving is punishment in the refractory cell he having promised to obey the Turnkey in future, John Smith put in the refractory cell for Being Idle and disorderly on the wheel I received orders from J. E. Saunders Esqr. not to distribute the money that is given [by sympathetic gentry at Christmastide] to the debtors this year until i receive further Instructions from the Visiting Magistrates.

Tuesday 23 December Thomas Davies a Borough Prisoner came To custody committed by E. H. Stacey and G. Davies, Esqrs. crime leaving is wife and family chargeable to the parish, D. Davies Esqr. called and Inspected two of the prisoners in the wheel.

Wednesday 24 December D. Jones Assistant surgeon called and ordered Henry Evans extra Diet to be discontinued, Dd. Prytherch Esqr. called with Mr Jones the chaplain to hear the prisoners read and spell that could not when they came To custody, Dd. Prytherch was much pleased with their improvement received three pounds from the Lord Bishop of St. Davids [Bishop Thirlwall] for the poor Debtors, I gave five shillings to each Debtor that was in Gaol this Day five in number £1-5-0 remaining £1-15-0 of the Lord Bishop's money.

Thursday 25 December the prisoners attended Divine service twice and school once received three pounds from Earl Cawdor for the poor Debtors, George Davies Assistant Turnkey with liberty for the Day [Excusal of wheel labour and George Davies' day off are the only indications of Christmas Day].

Friday 26 December I Received an order from D. Davies Esqr. to write to the Governor of the cardiff county Gaol for a copy of his dietry for the prisoners also the cost per head a week . . .

Saturday 27 December J. E. Saunders and Capt. D. Davies Esqrs. called and a gentleman in company with them, and they gave me orders to give the Debtors named one pound each, Viz David Evans £1-0-0 Thos. Evans Do and Charles Vaughan Do and also that I was to purchase two tons of coal and a Load of clay and 5/- [25 pence] worth of Brooms for them

Wednesday 31 December D. Jones Assistant surgeon called none in the sick report. [This was not a rare entry, but usually there was somebody who needed medical attention].

1846

Thursday 1 January Charles Vaughan a Debtor put in to the refractory cell for two hours for being drunk and making use

of highly Insubortinate Language to me in the execution of my duty which I consider there must be Neglect of duty towards Wm. Williams Turnkey in allowing the drink to pass in to the Gaol against is rules laid down for his guidance John Wilson came To custody committed by E. P. Lloyd Esqr. crime Felony for Trial at the quarter Sessions the prisoner is blind of both Eyes.

Saturday 3 January I attended the Finance committee this day which J. Saunders Esqr. proposed a motion that if the prisoners were reduced to the number of ten that they [sic] under Turnkey was to be discharged forthwith Sir J. Mansell Bart seconded the motion Hannah Davies [a fifteen-year-old illiterate farm servant] came to custody [for stealing clothes] committed by Thos. Jones M.D. for futher examination on Monday the fifth of January 1846.

Monday 5 January Hannah Davies fully committed for the next quarter Sessions Mary Davies came To custody committed by W. Chambers crime leaving to [sic] children chargeable to the parish. I Received four pounds from D. Davies M.P. for the debtors or any other poor prisoner that they [sic] Visiting Magistrates think fit to give I Left for Haverfordwest this evening to Identify Josiah Hurcombe.

Tuesday 6 January. Mary Davies discharged the prisoner was brought in a mistake Mary Davies came To custody committed by W. Chambers Esqr. crime leaving two children chargeable to Llanelly Parish, Received £1-10-0 for the poor debtors from W. Chambers Esqr.

Friday 9 January. Christmas Quarter Sessions held this day at Llandilo Hannah Davies [sentenced to] fourteen days hard labour.

Saturday 10 January. Received from P.C. Joseph Hobson the sum of £14-9-6 the property of John Willson a convicted prisoner at Llandilo which I Received orders from D. Pugh chairman to Inform the Visiting Magistrates what money I had in my possession of the prisoner John Willson that was convicted at the quarter Sessions. John Willson [sentenced to] Twelve calendar months hard labour the prisoner is blind [His felony is not specified in the Felon's Register, where he is described as a tea-dealer, aged 33].

Tuesday 13 January D. Jones Assistant surgeon called and he considered it was to could [sic] for John Willson a blind prisoner to remain on the wheel during the hours the wheel was at work, which I informed Dd. Prytherch Esqr. of it the prisoner was sentenced to twelve calendar months hard Labour by the court of quarter sessions, which I placed him in one division

of the wheel and their [sic] is sufficient Room for him to walk about.

- Saturday 17 January* . . . John Davies came To custody committed by J. E. Saunders and Dd. Prytherch Esqrs. crime destroying game, the prisoner paid the find [sic] £5-0-0 and he was discharged, Mr. G. Spurrell Received the 5-0-0 and given a receipt on the Back of the commitment, I received a written order from the Visiting Magistrates to give Nathaniel Graham a discharged prisoner one pound out of the money that D. Davies, M.P. Given to the poor prisoners, the Revd. Thos Bevan Esqr. called and Inspected the different parts of the Gaol. . . .
- Sunday 18 January* . . . John Davies put into the Refractory cell for three hours for calling John R. Reese out of his name he begged John R. Reese pardon and I forgave him.
- Monday 19 January* . . . Henry Jenkins fully committed for one month in the house of correction by Capt. D. Davies crime leaving his wife chargeable to the parish of Llanstephan.
- Wednesday 21 January* . . . Elizabeth Morris came To custody committed by R. G. Thomas Esqr. crime stealing clothes from the Union at new castle emlyn.
- Thursday 22 January.* Hannah Davies discharged crime Felony . . .
- Saturday 24 January.* David Pendry a Debtor came To custody at the suit of James Thomas of Llandilo Debt £214-11-4.
- Monday 26 January* . . . Benjamin Davies came To custody committed by W. Chambers and J. H. Rees Esqrs. crime fraudulently and clandestinely removed and conveyed away his goods and chattels from a dwelling house at Llanelly the property of G. Baile Esqr.
- Monday 26 January.* Rees Thomas came To custody at twenty minutes after eleven oclock P.M. in state of Intoxication and the Police officer John Griffiths was in liquor when he had the prisoner in charge also John Griffiths P.C. acknowledged that the prisoner had some drink at the Red Lion in Priory Street previous to his coming to Gaol also drink at the Stag and Pheasant, I have to Inform your worships that the police officers are in the habit of telling the prisoners not to take any money in the Gaol with them for that the Gaoler always searches them and take it from them, some of the prisoners not knowing whether the money is returned to them when discharged
- Tuesday 27 January.* I Issued an order to the turnkeys not to allow any Tobacco to be passed to the debtors until I received further Instructions from the Visiting Magistrates In consequence of my detecting one of the convicted Felons given a allowance of bread for Tobacco to Charles Vaughan a debtor over the wall . . .
- Wednesday 28 January* . . . Catherine Jones a Borough prisoner

- came to custody committed by T. C. Morris and J. G. Phillipps Esqr crime Idle and disorderly person.
- Saturday 31 January* . . . Thos. Jones M.D. and J. G. Phillipps Esqrs called and written an order for six Bed Gowns and six petticots and six aprons for the female prisoners.
- Monday 2 February* . . . John Rogers came To custody committed by W. Chambers and R. J. Nevill Esqrs crime a Rape [A 22 year old engine driver. At his trial the Bill of Indictment was ignored]
- Tuesday 3 February* . . . at the Adjourned quarter sessions held this day at Carmarthen I was ordered by the court to pay M. Popkin solicitor two pounds out of the money which I have of John Willion a convicted prisoner for defending him at the court of quarter sessions at Llandilo, also that the court did consider that David Evans should receive the 2/ weekly pay from the County has he was in here for contempt of court Thomas Howell and John Price two Excise debtors came To custody fined £50-0-0 each
- Wednesday 4 February* . . . Morris Davies and Thomas Adams and William Jones came To custody for further examination on Thursday 5th of February crime taken fish with lights at Night in the river.
- Friday 6 February* Bought from R. Stacey 1cwt. 3qrs. 7lbs of old Rope for Prisoners to pick oakham [sic] Paid for the Rope £0-17-4 and carriage /3d.
- Saturday 7 February* . . . P. G. Jones Esqr under Sherrif called and called the names of all the prisoners in the house of correction and common Gaol.
- Monday 9 February.* I did not work the wheel before breakfast in consequence of emptying the ash pits David Anthony Fully committed by J. E. Saunders Esqr crime Bastardy
- Tuesday 10 February* Wm. Chambers Esqr called and gave me a written Order to discharge Benjamin Davies by him paying the cost and expences of £1-5-6 Catherine Jones a Borough prisoner discharged, crime drunk and disorderly
- Thursday 12 February* the prisoners employed wheeling ashes out and the remainder of the Day picking Oakham
- Friday 13 February* . . . four soldiers picking Oakham in solitary confinement.
- Saturday 14 February* . . . David Anthony was taken To the Town Hall for further examination for Bastardy and sentenced three months in the house of correction I Received a written order from the Visiting Justice to allow Charles Vaughan solicitor two pounds of the donations for the debtors to assist him at the next court of insolvent that will be on the second of March 1846.

Thursday 19 February the prisoners attended chapel and school and the remainder of the day picking oakham and making clogs and wooden spoons

Saturday 21 February I received orders from the Bench of Magistrates not to work the wheel until further orders, but to employ the Prisoners picking oakham, and at their different trades, one prisoner picking oakham and two making clogs for shoes and one cleaning the machinery of the pump [Wheel labour was resumed on 18 March].

Thursday 26 February David Anthony and John Hamilton put in to the refractory cells for fighting in the upper Trebanda while employed picking oakham.

Thursday 5 March. Mary Davies Discharged crime refusing to maintain her two Bastard children the prisoner was very large in the family way when discharged which the surgeon of the Gaol gave me orders to obtain a cart to convey her to Llanelly which I did so and paid 2/6 for her conveyance

Saturday 7 March I attended the Insolvent [court] with Thomas Evans a Debtor and he was ordered back to the Gaol and to [be] brought up at the next Circuit.

Wednesday 11 March General Orders for the Turnkeys that in future every man and boy, in the house of correction and common gaol shall have a number and that the Turnkeys when they have occasion to call on any prisoner or to give him any order address him by his number and not by his name and that no conversation be allowed between the prisoners nor between them and the Turnkeys but that the silent system be adopted as far as practicable*

Friday 20 March In consequence of the weather being so cold and freezing I forgave James Francis a Borough prisoner its punishment from the refractory cell [where he was committed the previous day for disorderly conduct at the wheel] at 2 oclock P.M.

Saturday 21 March. Thomas Morgans and John Morgans came To custody committed by J. E. Saunders Esqr crime stealing potatoes

Saturday 28 March I Received orders from J. E. Saunders and D. Davies and J. G. Phillipps Esqrs. to discharge any of the Vagrants that wished to Inlist in the army which I discharged George Brown and Thos. Jenkins and they Inlisted in the 37 Foot

* See page 22 *supra* for a contemporary reference to the Silent System by Betsy Thompson.

Thursday 2 April I Received orders from the Bench of Magistrates to do duty with one Turnkey and discharge George Davies the Assistant Turnkey the Bench of Magistrates ordered in future that the prisoners Dietary to be altered and they was not to have any meat Diet

Thursday 9 April it was ordered by the court [Quarter Sessions] that Mrs Westlake to Receive the sum of fifteen pounds Annually has Matron of the Gaol and House of correction.

Saturday 11 April at the spring quarter sessions held this day John Jones Acquitted, having received information from John Jones a untried prisoner that Thomas Thomas a prisoner for Trial at the Assizes for Burglary did Break a stone seat in the privy of the Trebanda to effect is escape between three and four oclock yesterday afternoon and I questioned the prisoner how he came to do so and he told me that he was tired of the gaol and he whent down in the privy but he could not go far for their where Iron Bars to prevent person goeing any further, he was committed for the Assizes for Breaking a certain part of the Gaol and endeavouring to make his escape out of the Gaol.

Friday 17 April the surgeon ordered John Wilson Milk Diet untill further orders

Saturday 18 April I Received an order from the Treasury Chambers to pay over to Mr Morgan Grocer of King Street the sum of £7-0-0 also the sum of £7-9-6 to the sheriff of the money which belong to John Wilson a convicted prisoner

Wednesday 22 April Hannah Morris came To custody committed by J. E. Saunders and Dd. Prytherch Esqrs. crime selling beer without a License one month common gaol.

Monday 27 April D. Davies Esqr called and ordered the Books that the chaplain ordered from Mr. White to be returned immediately has their was sufficient Books in the gaol for the prisoners

Friday 1 May Mary A. Awbery [committed for assault] had fits today

Monday 4 May Allen Brigs and Thomas Morgan put in the refractory cell for disorderly conduct on the wheel in kicking each other when at work James Griffiths smith called and repaired two locks in the Trebanda and one in the house of correction

Tuesday 5 May I attended at the adjourned quarter sessions and I was ordered to point a second Turnkey

Saturday 9 May Nicholas Hegan a Soldier put in to the refractory cell for Sculking on the wheel at 3 P.M. . . . the prisoner sent for me at 7 P.M. and asked me to forgive him which I told

him I could not think of releasing him as it was only yesterday I forgave him for Refusing to work the wheel.

Monday 11 May . . . I released Nicholas Hegan from the refractory cell he Being in their forty three hours and he promised not to [do] so again . . . John Francis appointed porter at the entrance of the Gaol and William Williams head Turnkey to take charge of the prisoners at the wheel until further orders . . .

Tuesday 13 May . . . Mary Awbery put in to the refractory cell for ten minutes for Highly Insubordinate conduct after Being locked for the Night but In consequence of her Being subject to fits I released and sent her to bed the prisoner his a most Vile creature.

Thursday 14 May . . . John Jones put in the refractory cell for giving a piece of spun yarn out of the oakum cell to Gabriel Davies borough prisoner . . .

Friday 15 May . . . John Buckland and John Martin and Daniel Lewis three Borough prisoners came To custody . . . crimes the former a Vagrant and the latter two Trespass and playing at pitch and Tos of a Sunday . . .

Saturday 16 May . . . I Received orders from J. E. Saunders Esqr that John Francis the assistant Turnkey was not to receive more than nine shilling per week.

Sunday 17 May . . . John Francis with leave for the Day . . .

Monday 18 May . . . John Francis Assistant Turnkey discharged at 7 P.M. with his on [sic] request in consequence of the wages being so low has 9s. per week.

Tuesday 19 May . . . Hannah Morris discharged crime selling beer with out a licence . . .

Wednesday 20 May . . . D. Jones assistant surgeon called and discharged John Willson from the sick report and altered his diet, John Evans and John Howells ordered from the wheel to pick oakum has they where taken medicen.

Thursday 21 May . . . John Buckland and John Martin and Daniel Lewis discharged . . . they having served their imprisonment . . . the former a Vagrant the latter two Trespass and playing pitch and Tos on a Sunday . . .

Friday 22 May . . . David Davies joined the duty has Assistant Turnkey to do duty at the entrance of the Gaol untill further orders . . . Mr Parry called and asked John Evans to come with him has a farm servant but he declined the offer, D. Jones Assistant surgeon called, John Evans and David W. Joshua on extra Diet ordered by the surgeon from yesterday 21st.

Tuesday 26 May . . . Captain D. Davies called and I made a complaint against Daniel Jones a prisoner with forming a plan and to assist other prisoners to break the cogs of the wheel so has the wheel should not work, Esther Joseph and Elizabeth

Howells and Elizabeth Davies and Elizabeth Thomas and Phoebe Jenkins came To custody . . . crime refusing to wash clothes in the union, I received an order . . . to put the female prisoners in a separate cell each and to discharge them at 6 oclock P.M.

Wednesday 27 May. Wanted for the use of the house of correction 1 Dozen of sheet Tin and one sawdery Iron and two pounds of Iron whire and two pounds of puter for repairing the water cans and Mess Tins.

Sunday 31 May . . . his worship also ordered that Thomas Evans a debtor should have ten shillings giveing him to enable him to have a little porter in the Day has he is in a very weak state of health, out of the money which is in my possession that was giveing to the poor prisoners from the gentlemen of the county . . .

Monday 1 June . . . the prisoners employed at corking and Taring the shed of the wheel . . .

Tuesday 2 June . . . Thomas Evans a debtor in the sick report and ordered wine and gruel to be continued twice a day.

Thursday 4 June . . . Thomas Rushworth Soldier of the 1st Dragoon Guards came To custody committed by Lieut. Tuthill of the 1st Dragoons crime Drunk and absent, 7 days solitary.

Friday 5 June . . . I Received a written order to discharge John Evans . . . in consequence of Bad health which I booked him by Mail for Llandilo and saw him of . . .

Saturday 6 June . . . D. Jones assistant surgeon called and Visited Henry Evans in the Infirmary and ordered him a tipped Bath, I ordered the wheel to stop at 3 oclock P.M. for the prisoners to Bathe themselves in the Bath in the Infirmary.

Sunday 7 June . . . Mary Ann Awbery had three fits during the day which I sent for the surgeon at 9 oclock P.M. To Visit her . . .

Tuesday 9 June . . . Mary Ann Awbery had a fit at 9 oclock A.M. and two at 8 P.M. . . . I sent for the surgeon at 9 oclock P.M. to Visit Mary Ann Awbery she had two fits During the Night, I ordered Sarah Mathias to sit up for the Night to mind her and gave her candles to burn.

Wednesday 10 June . . . William Jenkins and Thomas Thomas and John G. Thomas and Joseph Becket four untried prisoners did this day Voluntered thier service to Bail the water out of the well and to sink it deeper if possible . . . Mary Ann Awbery discharged . . . and sent to the union by the police . . .

Friday 12 June the prisoners . . . employed emptying the well and white limeing the cells of the Trebanda . . .

Monday 15 June . . . J. Jenkins called and ordered the Itch Ward to be fumigated . . .

Thursday 18 June Francis [sic] Jones had three fits to day and she was dangerous Ill at 11 oclock pm which I went for J. Jenkins surgeon to come and Visit her which he did so and ordered her to be removed to the Infirmary forthwith and Bathe her feet in hot water and apply hot Bricks to her feet. I had occasion to open the Gaol doors at 12 oclock at Night to admit D. Jones assistant surgeon with medicen for Francis Jones.

Friday 19 June In consequence of the whether been so hot and the female department being so small and close confined I ordered the females to sleep at Night in the Infirmary to preserve health, I received an order from J. Jenkins surgeon of the prison to furnish the Infirmary with a night chair for the use of the sick prisoners.

Tuesday 23 June David Davies put in the refractory cell for making a false charge against David Pendry a debtor in stating that he received a paper of Tobacco from him which I found in is pocket which was false by is acknowledging that a woman drop it in the lodge for a nother prisoner when Visiting him on Friday last

Wednesday 24 June Ordered that the Chaplain provide the following Books for the use of the Prisoners in the School viz. $\frac{1}{2}$ doz Welsh Testaments, $\frac{1}{2}$ doz English Testaments, 1 doz Reading made easy's, $\frac{1}{2}$ doz Welsh do

Thursday 25 June I attended the Finance committee to pass the Bills of the Gaol which J. E. Saunders Esqr found fault with me in making a way with the county money in giveing a shirt to a poor prisoner when discharged he having is old coat destroyed in Gaol in consequence of the filthy state when admitted to the Gaol which I was obliged to give him a shirt to cover his Knakedness which I only charged 2/ for the shirt.

Tuesday 30 June Benjamin Howells to sleep in the refractory after the wheel hours for attempting to throw a bout 2lb of oakum down in the water closet.

Saturday 4 July Ann Awbrey Discharged a Borough prisoner.

Tuesday 7 July Rees Morgan came To custody for Trial at the Assizes crime, charged with having feloniously wilfully and unlawfully slain one Daniel Price [At his trial the Bill of Indictment was ignored]

Wednesday 8 July Mary Ann Awbrey came To custody crime a rogue and Vagabond

Thursday 9 July Mary Ann Awbrey refused to pick oakum and Barracaded her door so has to prevent any one to enter by placing her Bed stead at the Back of the door which I ordered to be burst open and put two other females in the room with her to sleep.

Friday 10 July at 8 A.M. Mary Ann Awbrey put in the refractory cell for refusing to pick oakum when ordered by me and throwing a chamber utensil and a Jug at my head and destroying the county property In consequence of her mutines conduct I was obliged to put her in Irons which I reported the case To D. Prytherch Esqr.

Saturday 11 July Mary Ann Awbrey in the refractory cell I took the Irons of her at 9 A.M. the prisoner refused to make use of the Bread and water Diet and she threw the Bread out of her window in the Trebanda Thos Jones M.D. Esqr called and Inspected the Gaol and the prisoner meat.

Monday 13 July. The Assizes commenced this day Thomas Thomas Transported be yond the seas for ten years [According to the Felons' Book, Entry 124, Thomas a collier aged 17, of Cwmtwrch, was convicted for burglary and left for Millbank Penitentiary on 5 August 1846. Transportation of convicts was abandoned in 1868]. . . . Mary Ann Awbrey completed her three days solitary confinement at 9 oclock A.M. . . .

Tuesday 14 July J. Jenkins surgeon called and inspected Thomas Thomas a convict

Thursday 16 July Charles Hunt and Robert Jones and William Jenkins and George Williams and John Smith and Thomas Harries the three former convicted felons and the latter Vagrants came To me and made a complaint of the allowance of meat which they did not consider was twelve ounces of meat without Bone, which I told them that they was not allowed that compliment it was twelve ounces of meat with Bone and I went out in Town to look for a Visiting Magistrate to come and Inspect the allowance of meat which he did so and Thos Jones M.D. Esqr saw the meat weighed which was eight ounce of meat with out Bone, which Thos Jones M.D. Esqr gave me orders to give them there [sic] meat to day and he would report the case to remainder of the Visiting Magistrates on Saturday next, it specify in the Local Rules that the prisoners shall have twelve ounces of meat twice a week but it does not mention with or without Bone.

Friday 17 July. D. Prytherch and Thos Jones M.D. and John Davies Esqr called and Investigated in to the report of the six prisoners which was not satisfied yesterday but the Visiting Justices gave them to understand that there allowance of meat each day for the two days in the week was twelve ounces of row [sic] meat with Bone each day

Tuesday 21 July at the adjournment of the quarter sessions held this day it was ordered that the assistant Turnkey salary to

be reduced from sixteen shilling per week to twelve shillings per week untill further notice, D. Prytherch Esqr gave H. Westlake Governor leave for the day.

Saturday 25 July . . . Henry James and Henry Harries came To custody . . . crime riding on a cart.

Sunday 26 July . . . the prisoners had new potatoes for dinner this Day being the first time this summer [But on 8th October following they were to have boiled rice, as potatoes were scarce and bad].

Wednesday 29 July . . . having Inspected the Lock and Bolts of the lower Trebanda I found that Thomas Thomas a Transport had being trying to make is escape by endeavouring to uncrew [sic] screws which fastened the lock of is cell door in making a search I found a piece of old Knife in a hole where a Brick had being takeing out and a small nail sharpened on a stone which I put him in Irons Immediately to prevent him from making his escape . . . [Thomas had earlier tried to escape through the Trebanda privy].

Wednesday 29 July . . . William Gwirey and Jerimiah Mahony two Soldiers of 37 Regt. of foot came To custody committed by court Martial . . . Jerimiah Mahony made use of very a busefull language to the hair cutter crimes Drunkness the two prisoners are most notorious characters.

Thursday 30 July . . . J. Jenkins Surgeon called and gave me orders to allow Thos Daniel mother to attend on him has a nurse during is illness also to provide Charles Hunt two flannel waistcot has he have been in the habit of wearing of flannels, David Davies the under Turnkey came to me this day and informed me that in consequence of the wages being reduced to 12s per week he should resign is situation . . .

Friday 31 July . . . David Davies the under Turnkey . . . Informed me of is intention to remain has under Turnkey at the salary of 12s per week . . .

Saturday 1 August . . . Mary A. Awbrey put in the refractory cell at 10 oclock P.M. for mutiones [mutinous] conduct at 3 oclock I was obliged to put her in Irons and at 6 oclock I Visited her with the female Turnkey and I ordered the Irons to be taken of if she would go to bed quiet which she defied me or any of the officers which I kept the Irons on . . . her conduct up to 9 oclock P.M. was very bad.

Sunday 2 August . . . I Visited Mary Ann Awbery at 10 oclock A.M. in the refractory cell and I ordered the female Turnkey to take her Irons of in doing so she took old of the Tin jug and thro it at me and then her allowance of Bread also, which I ordered her to be put in Irons a gain, I ordered the Irons to be taken

of . . . at 4 oclock P.M. her conduct up to 9 oclock P.M. was very bad particularly on a Sunday the Inhabitants could here her singing and making such a noise in Spilman street and likewise in Bridge Street . . .

Monday 3 August . . . I forgave Mary Ann Awbery of the refractory cell . . . I was obliged to put Mary Ann Awbery in the upper Trebanda in consequence of her Bad behaviour towards the other female prisoners.

Tuesday 4 August . . . David Evans a debtor discharged after two years and six months Imprisonment . . . I Received an order from the secretary of state of the removal of Thos Thomas a Transport to Mill Bank Penitentiary . . .

Wednesday 5 August. I left for Milbank Penitentiary [sic] with Thos Thomas a convict [sentenced to transportation] . . .

Friday 7 August . . . Mary Ann Awbery . . . discharged . . .

Saturday 8 August. Eugen Buckley came To custody . . . crime assault with intent to rob on the highway [At his trial the Bill of Indictment was ignored].

Tuesday 11 August. I Returned from Mill Bank Penitentiary after giving up Thomas Thomas a convict, Eugen Buckley put in Irons for the night for riotus conduct.

Wednesday 12 August . . . D. Davies Turnkey with Sick Leave he having ague.

Friday 14 August . . . I Visited Eugen Buckley a untried prisoner in the lower Trebanda and I found him dirtying the day room which I asked him what he was doing it for is answer was that his head was bad which I sent for the surgeon of the gaol immedietly and he Inspected the prisoner and sent two pills for him to be taken immedietly and he refused to take them which I sent them back to the surgeon and he sent some powders to him he also refused to take them . . .

Tuesday 18 August. Euge Buckley put in the refractory cell for destroying a mess Tin . . . also striking John Thomas a fellow prisoner and picking the curb stones up to do some Bodly arm for he said that he would take some one live if he could but git some weapon . . . Thomas Jones MD Esqr called and I brought Charles Hunt and Robert Jones two convicted felons be fore his worship has they had a complaint to make in consequence of their hair being cut yesterday it was requested to be cut for cleanliness has it was two long and two thick they are two dissatisfied characters, and they wanted to write to the secretary of state which I informed them they could not write a letter untill they had been three months in the Gaol . . . but they should see a Visiting Justice if they pleased [According to prison rules hair was cut short but locks were left at the sides and

front of the head].

Thursday 20 August . . . Euge Buckley put in to the refractory cell for disorderly conduct last night in placing is Bed up a gainst the wall of is cell and dabbing the walls with the lamb [sic] black that he rubbed of the Bottom part of is cell, one of the rural police brought Mary Ann Awbrey here at 10 oclock P.M. without a warrant or commitment which I refused to admit her [Ann Awbrey must have been the prime nuisance of her time, but she got herself into the local newspapers as well as the gaol and thereby escaped the oblivion that swallowed up most of her contemporaries].

Saturday 22 August . . . Euge Buckley third day in solitary I was obliged to put him in Irons In consequence of destroying the county property in Breaking a chamber utensil and threatening to throw some of the shords [shards] at the Turnkey head . . . William Trecharne came To custody . . . crime stealing apples . . .

Monday 24 August . . . Jerimiah Mahony and William Gwiry two soldiers of the 37 Regt. of foot discharged they having served their imprisonment . . . William Trecharne discharged he haveing paid the fine and cost £1-7-6 . . . David Davies assistant Turnkey joined his duty at the wheel . . .

Thursday 27 August . . . John Wilson put in to the refractory cell for Insubordinate conduct, the prisoner is Blind but is conduct sinse I detected him faining, sick and deceving the surgeon has been very bad he made use of very bad language, to the chaplain yesterday . . . [Wilson had been 'in the sick report' for most of his time in gaol].

Friday 28 August . . . Charles Davies put in to the refractory cell after the wheel hours for disorderly conduct which I ordered him to work at the wheel by day and to sleep in the refractory cell at night has it was no punishment in the refractory cell this warm wether they preferred the Refractory cell than work the wheel.

Monday 31 August. Charles Vaughan a debtor prisoner sent me a most disrespectfull letter respecting the money received from the gentleman [sic] of the county last Christmas to be distributed amongst the prisoners whom the Visiting Magistrates may think fit which I Visited Charles Vaughan in is department and asked him the reason of sending such a letter which he Informed me that the Visiting Magistrates had nothing to do with the money that the gentleman sent here to the debtors which I Informed him that I had nothing to do with the money only according to the Visiting Justices orders and that in writing.

Tuesday 1 September . . . D. Prytherch Esqr. called and examined Charles Vaughan . . . respecting the Insolent letter which he

sent me yesterday respecting the money . . . from several gentlemen of the county which he could not answer is worship in so doing.

Wednesday 2 September . . . Hannah Harris [alias Davies] discharged crime Riot and Assault [she had been 'in the sick report' for the whole of her sentence of two months hard labour] . . . David Thomas put in the refractory cell after the wheel hours for destroying a shirt of the county property which he was wearing.

Friday 4 September . . . I received an order from J. Jenkins surgeon to furnish Charles Hunt a convicted fellow with to flannel waist-cots [the surgeon reported that Hunt 'being tender chested wears flannel next to his skin—has no change which is absolutely necessary'. In the Felons' Register, Entry 127, Hunt a 31 year old labourer was said to be able to 'Read and write Perfect'].

Saturday 5 September . . . I received an order from the court of Insolvent to discharge Thomas Daniel a Debtor on Bail but in consequence of the Llanelly coach had left town he asked me to remain in Gaol untill to morrow which I did particularly has he was under medical treatment and could not walk To Llanelly.

Monday 7 September . . . Charles Hunt . . . made a complaint to me that he considered that he should have two pints of soup according to the diet Table of prisoners . . . the surgeon of the Gaol . . . Tasted the soup and said it was excellent soup and plenty of it for any working man, and I weighed the soup in the presence of the head Turnkey which was 2lbs and ten ounces with out the Mess Tin. J. Jenkins surgeon of the Gaol ordered Charles Hunt . . . to pull up the legs of his Trowsers to examine is shin Bone in consequence of it Being sore short time since he refused so to do and said he was quite well . . . I ordered him to the refractory cell on Bred and water diet for three days for disobedient of orders from the surgeon and myself . . .

Tuesday 8 September . . . I searched John Wilson in the Trebanda and found a piece of chees in is pocket which he refused to tell me how he came of it . . .

Monday 14 September . . . Henry Evans a convicted felon discharged he having been two years in this Gaol, is conduct since Trial was good, the prisoner could not speak english and did not know a word in the Book when he was committed but since that he has learned to speak english and read the bible and repeat chapters of the Testament out of the Book which I gave him two shillings when discharged for is good conduct. [According to the Felons' Register, Entry 62, Evans, an eighteen year old farm servant, 'repeated the 3 Chapter of Mathew out

of the Book this morning before he was discharged?].

Tuesday 15 September Euge Buckley a untried prisoner put in Irons at 5 o'clock a.m. for making a noise in his cell and disturbing the old [sic] Gaol from three o'clock a.m. by knocking his Bedstead against the walls of his cell

Wednesday 16 September the Carmarthen Journal and Welshman reporters and the Cambrian do called and I gave the particulars respecting Mary Ryves [an Idle and disorderly person taken into custody on 7 September] which I consider she is an imposture according to the papers which she has in her possession and she has been travelling the country so long to obtain sufficient money to carry her to New South Wales to her husband as she call him, but as fast as she gets it she spends it in drink for she acknowledge in this Gaol that she received a bout seven pounds between this and Merthyr and she came here without a shilling in her pocket, H. Lawrence Esq. M.D. called and examined Mary Ryves and his worship was the same opinion as myself respecting her which I informed his worship that I reported it to the Welshman and the Journal and the Cambrian Reporters to endeavour to put a stop to her.

Saturday 19 September Euge Buckley a untried prisoner refused to make use of his Gruel at supper this evening.

Sunday 20 September Charles Davies and David Thomas put into the refractory cell on Bread and water for fighting on the Sabbath day

Diaries of a Doctor's Wife

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

FEW sources bring more satisfaction to the historian, particularly one engaged in compiling family and social chronicles, than diaries and journals of bygone days. In essence they were private records, often containing memoranda, verdicts, and observations, not intended for public consumption, and would have been withheld or couched in more diplomatic and discreet language if delivered before an audience. Not that all such records are characterized by refreshing or explosive frankness. Indeed most are little more than prosaic day-to-day reports presented in abridged or precised form acquainting the reader with the diarist's progress through life. Whatever the contents, all are welcome for they provide us with useful revealing information, confirming, modifying, or contradicting preconceived views and prejudices we may have held on certain subjects. All is grist to the historian's mill. Robert Browning neatly summed up what our attitude should be to such evidences, when he wrote:

"Every joy is gain,
And gain is gain, however small".

Among diaries preserved in the Dyfed Record Office at Carmarthen are two for the periods 1807-09 and 1818 compiled by the English wife of a Welsh doctor who, by a turn of fortune's wheel found himself, midway through his career, transformed into a country gentleman presiding over a fair estate. Somewhat tattered and in parts not easily deciphered, the volumes are the sole survivors of a series, and it is regrettable that more have not come to light. Not that the diaries are spectacular, indeed they are sober records couched in a minor key, seemingly trivial to us today, yet they expand our knowledge of the daily life of a class that formed at one time a significant segment of the Welsh community.

The diarist came to Carmarthenshire by marriage to a man who bore two surnames. He was Evan Jones, descended from a land-owning family seated at Penyrallt in Llangoedmor near Cardigan. The father, David Jones, High Sheriff of his native county in 1748, had died in 1763, aged 49, leaving eight sons and five daughters, and it is the seventh son, Evan, born in 1758, who now commands our attention. Educated for the medical profession, Evan Jones qualified as a doctor in the early 1780s and is described in contemporary papers as "M.D. and surgeon". He settled in the county

town of Carmarthen, soon acquired a high reputation, and is often mentioned in the muniments of West Wales county families. What is important to note is that Evan's sister, Elizabeth Jones, born in 1736, had married one Evan Protheroe owner of the Dolwilym estate in Llanglydwen parish in west Carmarthenshire.

I now turn to the doctor's brother-in-law Evan Protheroe, squire of Dolwilym, an estate owned by the family since Elizabethan days. His father, James Protheroe of Llwyn Huke farm, a younger son, succeeded to Dolwilym when his elder brother John died unmarried in 1720. But James only lived to enjoy the estate for ten years and was buried at Llanglydwen in 1730, leaving by his wife Rebecca Eynon of Llandisilio, an only child, Evan, who found himself owner of Dolwilym. Born in 1715 Evan Protheroe married at the age of 32 to Mary Griffith of Llangolman in north Pembrokeshire. She died in 1765 and in the following year the widower married Elizabeth Jones of Penyrallt, an elder sister of the doctor. Much older than either of his wives, Evan Protheroe took a prominent part in public life, was a Commissioner of Taxes, a Justice of the Peace, and in 1779 High Sheriff of Carmarthenshire. On 17 December 1795, then in his 80th year, he died and was buried with his forebears in Llanglydwen church. And so with his death, the main male line at Dolwilym became extinct.

Evan Protheroe left no issue, and although he had several first-cousins (children of his father's sisters, viz. the Lewises of Fron in Llanddewi Velfrey and the Lewises of Cilhernin in Llanboidy), he devised the Dolwilym estate by will dated 16 November 1795, to his wife Elizabeth for life, afterwards to her brother Dr Evan Jones and his heirs for ever, provided that the doctor and his heirs resided at Dolwilym and took "the surname Protheroe and called themselves by no other surname". The widow remained at Dolwilym until her death on 16 July 1813 when in her 77th year, and then her brother Dr Evan Jones became Dr Evan Protheroe as inheritor of the estate.

As in many cases of this nature, speculation arose concerning reasons for the disposal of the estate away from those who had every right to consider themselves to be testator's heirs at law. However, there can be no doubt that Evan Protheroe had every right to dispose of the property in any manner he thought fit. The Lewises considered themselves unfairly disinherited and held the views that Evan's second wife's family had influenced him to bequeath the property to them, and had even persuaded the lawyers to withhold deeds and legal documents from scrutiny by the claimants. A note in the *Carmarthenshire Antiquarian Transactions*, vol. IV (1908-9), p. 85, contains some local gossip inspired by the subject, and the

reason for the testamentary arrangement as follows—one of the Lewises having heard that old Evan had died, sent out invitations to friends to attend a feast and dance to celebrate his succession to Dolwilym as heir and next of kin; whereas in fact Evan was still very much alive and, hearing of the intending celebrations, felt so deeply incensed that he left the property to a member of his wife's family.

In 1797 Dr Jones as he then was, married a widow Mrs Emma Garrick, daughter and coheiress of Perceval Hart, a wealthy malt-distiller of Brentford, Middlesex. She had married in 1778 David Garrick captain of the 1st Dragoon Guards, who lived at Hampton, descendant of a Huguenot who had found refuge in London during the late seventeenth century. His father, George Garrick was brother to the distinguished actor David Garrick (1717—1779) for whom he worked as business manager in Drury Lane, and remembered largely for fighting a duel in Hyde Park in March 1770; his mother was Elizabeth daughter of Nathaniel Carrington, King's Messenger, who lived in Somerset House off The Strand. The captain of dragoons died in 1795 without surviving issue, and two years later the widowed Emma married Dr Jones, and thus commenced the Garrick connection with west Wales. Not that all the Garrick visitations were as felicitous, for when Emma's cousin, Nathaniel Garrick, who bore a striking resemblance to a foreign potentate then hostile to England, came on a sightseeing trip in 1803, he was arrested in Pembrokeshire under the belief that he was none less than Napoleon Buonaparte in disguise, and was only allowed to return to England by way of Tenby under a pass from the Mayor of Haverfordwest, having been vouched for by Dr Jones and Emma.

After the wedding they lived for a little while as tenants at Westmead a large old residence near Pendine, and about 1800 they secured a lease of Gellidywyll, a hill-top mansion in the parish of Cenarth, near Newcastle Emlyn, a property owned by the Brigstocke family whose main residence was then at Blaenpant in south Cardiganshire. On 26 March 1808 Dr Jones obtained a renewal of the lease for a further five years. By her Welsh husband Emma had two children—Evan Jones born on 1 June 1800, died on 1 November following and buried at Churchill, Somerset, and Emma Hart Jones born on 26 April 1802, privately baptised at Gellidywyll on 9 July following by her father's brother the Revd David Jones of Bath. They remained at Gellidywyll until 1813 when, on the death of Mrs Elizabeth Protheroe of Dolwilym, the family moved to dwell at that house, and thereafter the doctor and his wife and daughter were known by the surname Protheroe. In contrast with their former home, a hilltop Pharos, the house of Dolwilym stands in a green glade deep in the valley bottom, on the banks of the river

Taf, sheltered by steep wooded hillsides, a sylvan hermitage aptly christened "The Happy Valley" by its new mistress.

The earliest of her surviving journals, covering the period 1807-09 was written when she was Mrs Jones of Gellidywyll, and the later, for 1818, when she was Mrs Protheroe of Dolwilym. Ill-health clouded her later years, and the diaries contain several references to her sufferings, such as the entry of 1st May 1818 which shows she had been confined to the house for seven months, and the *cri de cour* of the following 30th August, "I have been a sad cripple for 2 years and 1 month to this day". Particularly pious, her journals bear ample witness to her religious attachments, as well as containing worldly information about social conditions and fashions of the time. She died on 5 February 1826, aged 64, and Dr Protheroe on 22 February 1841, aged 83. Both were buried at Llanglydwen.

Both parents were devoted to their only child, Emma Hart Protheroe. She received her early education in Mrs Thomas's boarding school for young ladies at Haverfordwest. On 3 June 1819 when only 17 years of age she married the 34-years old Captain William Garrick Brydges Schaw of the 46th Regiment, second son of Colonel Frederick Brydges Schaw of Weston Park, Surrey, by Arabella Garrick sister of the aforementioned Captain David Garrick of the 1st Dragoon Guards. Schaw, who had seen foreign service, returned to England in January 1818, and came to Dolwilym for the first time on 10 June of that year. From entries in the diary the captain and young Emma spent much time together, and it is clear that her mother, delighted by the turn of events, was not to be disappointed by the result.

On their marriage Captain Schaw took the surname Protheroe, and with his wife settled at Colby Lodge, a neat Georgian residence near Amroth, but by 1839 they had moved to a small country house belonging to the Dolwilym estate, called Glyntaf, pleasantly situated on the breast of a hill above Dolwilym, where they continued until Dr Protheroe's death in 1841 when they moved to their final home in the sheltered vale below. It was their great-grandson, the late Mr. G. J. Protheroe-Beynon, O.B.E., of Trewern, afterwards of Hurst House, Laugharne, who placed the family archives in the Carmarthen Record Office, among them the diaries which we shall now examine.

Commencing on 25 September 1807, ending on 27 September 1809, the first volume concerns life at Gellidywyll, events in north-west Carmarthenshire and the Tivyside generally; the other volume, written when Mrs Protheroe was in ill-health and more or less con-

finied to the house, includes the whole year 1818 and describes life at Dolwilym and the surrounding district.

A perusal of the journals provide revealing, if fleeting, glimpses of Welsh country life during the early nineteenth century. One is impressed by the large number of callers (including some casual "droppers-in") and the frequency of visits. Guests were entertained to dinner—as many as 18 sat around the Dolwilym dining table, most were lodged overnight, some stayed for several days. Family friends came to indulge in fishing, shooting, coursing, particularly fox-hunting, often attended by their own servants, some even brought their own packs of hounds, all of whom were accommodated with food and lodging, so that the mansion, stables, and kennels were as full as one of David Garrick's "first nights" at Drury Lane.

Visitors were by no means limited to sporting gentlemen and their wives, and we find artists like Henry Haverfield staying for several days during which he executed portraits of members of his host's family. The Protheroes were similarly entertained on return visits. Not only did carriages and horses carry guests to dinner, but even to breakfast, once a popular convention of genteel society. They included kinsfolk and local gentry as well as friends from further afield—London, Bath, Cheltenham, and the English shires, while a few arrived from France. Race-meetings, militia reviews, balls, and routs contributed to the delights of rural life. Mrs Protheroe was by no means divorced from contact with "ordinary" people, as shewn by her interest in marriage biddings of servants, while the indoor and outdoor staff and tenants were sumptuously regaled to meals at certain festivals such as Christmastide—for instance on 5 January 1818 "the poor people came for barley, and the children for Christmas gifts, and a party of about forty dined in our kitchen". This hospitality was typical of the countryside. Neither were visits confined to residences, and the diarist mentions outings to the Preseli hills, to Cardiganshire beaches, and the country fairs.

Dr Protheroe was continually on the trot viewing properties on his estate, attending meetings of the Justices of the Peace, Grand Jury Service, manorial courts leet, and as medical officer of militia attended annual camps of the local battalion—all in addition to professional visits to patients, with whom he was very popular.

Such life-style often led to mansions being enlarged and rebuilt, and we hear of rebuilding at Dolwilym in 1818. Lewis, compiler of the *Topographical Dictionary of Wales*, noted in 1835, "Dolwilym the seat of Evan Protheroe, Esq., M.D., is a handsome modernized mansion, romantically situated in a deep vale", adding that the parish church was "repaired and beautified some years

since" at the expense of the Dolwilym family. Among the first things that the doctor's daughter and her husband did on inheriting the estate in 1841, was to completely demolish the old mansion and to erect a new one on its site. Expenses of the rebuilding from February 1842 to 1845 amounted to £3,861 14 1½ which included the cost of laying out the grounds, gardens, etc., the mansion itself costing over £2,500, while additional furniture bought during that period came to £216 14 9. A view of this mansion occurs in Thomas Nicholas's *County Families*, i, 221 (1872) from a photograph taken by C. S. Allen of Tenby (circa 1870). A tablet in an outhouse stating it was built by Evan Protheroe in 1788 is the only relic of the original Protheroes; and another stone is inscribed "This house was built by W. G. B. Protheroe in 1843". About 1908 the second mansion was burnt down and a third mansion was rebuilt, but the family abandoned it and moved to nearby Glyntaf. Dinners for tenants were sometimes held there afterwards. During the First World War the mansion was occupied by German prisoners of war. After this it deteriorated and by today is a complete ruin, roofless, with skeletal grey walls, reminding us of Byron's melancholy line in *Childe Harold*—"Man marks the earth with ruin".

The diaries are charged with instances of the giving and receiving of presents which brought pleasure into people's lives. But what happened to all these presents? Doubtless the great majority were enjoyed by those for which they were intended. Mrs Jones, as she then was, allows us to peer through a little gap in the curtain on 14 May 1809 (q.v.) and the revelation may not surprise everyone. Letter-writing was almost an employment. Local letters were often delivered by friends and callers, the parson, the butcher, servants, on foot and on horseback, while letters directed to English relations and friends usually went by way of the National Post Service. The countryside was never so isolated in bygone days as we are sometimes led to believe. Whatever the distances, people were constantly "in touch".

Jollifications dictated by conventions of the time reveal only one facet of her behaviour. Emma was deeply pious as revealed by numerous references to her religious attachments and observances which form a notable feature of the entries. Services for the family and household staff, usually conducted by herself, were held in the home on the Sabbath, occasionally helped by clergymen such as the Revd Mr Morse (who also ran a small "prep" school in Clydey parish). When her health permitted she attended the parish church, was on friendly terms with parsons, and with evangelically-inclined neighbours such as the Lloyds of Bronwydd and Bowns of Llwyngwair whose parlours often resounded with Biblical verse,

prayer, and hymn. Among her correspondents was the famed religious writer Hannah More, a close friend of the Garricks, especially of the illustrious actor whose death in 1779 deeply affected her. To miss Sunday observance whether at home or church was an unhappy experience for the diarist as her entry on Sunday 11 October 1807 reveals—"A Blank Day as it was not spent in the service of the Lord". At the end of a year she rounded off her diary with fervent thanks to the Lord for His manifold blessings.

Mrs Protheroe was not wholly divorced from worldly vanities by any means, and like other English ladies who had found partners in the west, succumbed to the seductions of the Welsh penchant for genealogy, to become enmeshed in the spidery webs that connected her new-found relations not only to Cadwaladr and Cunedda, but beyond them to the heroes of the Mabinogi and the warlike kings of the mountain crags. Although her researches were not as ambitious or as spectacular, nevertheless they were of the true stuff of genealogy as shown by her entry of 13 March 1809 (q.v.).

We now turn to the diaries, the first written when the author was known as Mrs Jones of Gellidywyll, the second when she was Mrs Protheroe of Dolwilym. True to the polite disciplines of the day, she refers to her husband as "Mr Jones" and as "Mr Protheroe". In this selection I have omitted entries concerning the weather, several other items of little or no interest either to the historian or to the general reader.

* * *

September 1807. *Gellidywyll.*

25th. Fri. We went to Llangoedmore and staid there all night. Mr and Mrs Leslie and Mr Jones and his two sisters din'd and sup'd there.

26th. Sat. Went to Cardigan, called at the Priory, came home to Gellydowill to dinner.

27th. Sunday. Mr Woodbridge and myself went to Newcastle church, call'd afterwards at Mr Brigstocke of the Cottage, and at Cilgwyn. I wrote to Miss Lloyd of Bronwidd.

28th. Colonel, Mrs and Miss Brigstocke, Miss Fanny Hughes, Miss E Griffiths, came here, din'd and staid all night. Mr Jenkins of Kilabronie [Cilbronnau] and Mr John Jones the clergyman din'd here.

29th. The Blaenpant family left us after breakfast. Mr Woodbridge has two little girls. Miss Budd and her man and maid left us and went to Carmarthen where they intend staying some months.

30th. Nanny and Sam's Bidding Day at Kenartia. Sent little Emma down with 4 guineas to give them. I wrote a letter to my Aunt Garrick to go by Colonel Brigstocke of Blaenpant.

October 1807.

3rd. Received a note from Mrs Millingchamp who sent the car here for Miss Price and Emma to go to Llangoedmore to stay there during our absence at Carmarthen. My husband rode down to his farm. Sir Hugh Owen [of Orielton] and Mr Lewis of Clynfew called.

4th. Sunday. I was very poorly. Read the Church Service to the Family.

5th. Mr Jones and myself went to Carmarthen, arrived there at half past five o'clock; found Mrs Woodbridge and her two daughters and Miss Budd at Mr Perkins where they din'd with us, and also Mr Philipps of Llanrwn.

6th. Mr Jones had the gout in his foot. We din'd, also Mr Thomas, at Mrs Woodbridge's lodgings. Mr Rees there. We sup'd there.

8th. I wrote to Mrs Roberts, Mrs Shepherd's mother, also to Edward Nevinson; paid several morning visits. Mr and Mrs Morgan, Miss Mary Anne Jones, and Mr David Morris [the banker] din'd and supped with us.

9th. Mr Jones went down to St Clears to see poor Mrs Thomas, Jenkins and Mr Thomas attended him. He returned back to dine with Mrs Lloyd of Abertrinant where Mrs Woodbridge and myself joined him. We all supped there.

11th. Sunday. A Blank Day as it was not spent in the service of the Lord. We dined and supped at Mr. Thomas Morris's [the banker].

12th. Mrs Shepherd, Mr Jones, and myself left Carmarthen and arrived at Gellydowill about 6 o'clock. Found Miss Price and my dear Emma at home. Received a letter from Mrs Watlington and a note from Mrs Millingchamp.

13th. Received my piano forté from London.

14th. Mr Lloyd of Bronwidd called. Mr Jones received a letter from St Clears. He sent back some wine to Mrs Thomas.

18th. Sunday. Read the Church Service to the family. Mr Lewis of Clynfew called in the morning.

19th. Mr Jones went to Justice Meeting. Mrs Brigstocke and her daughters and Lady Mansel and her two daughters with Captain Brigstocke called.

20th. Mr Jones went down to Dolwilim and stayed all night. I wrote a note to Mrs Lewis of Clynfew.

24th. Wrote to Mrs Nailor and Mrs Watlington. Mr Jones went a-coursing with Mr Rogers.

25th. Sunday. Read the Church Service to the family. Mr Evans of Kenen [? Fenen] came and staid all night.

27th. Mr Jones went down to Kenarth to hear a Mr Jones of North Wales preach. I was poorly with the pain in my knee. Mr Rogers drank tea here.

28th. Colonel and Captain Brigstocke and Mr Hughes of Tregyb called. Mr Lewis of Clynfew dined here.

29th. Mr Jones dined at Captain Vaughan's.

31st. Mr Jones rode up to Bronwidd and dined there. Received a letter from Wheeler, and Mr Jones had one from his brother at Swansea.

November 1807.

1st. Sunday. Read the Church Service to the family. Mr Mitchell and Miss Makeig dined here.

3rd. Colonel and Mrs Lewis Lloyd and the little girl dined and supped and stayed all night. I answered Mrs Woodbridge's letter and wrote to Miss Fanny Hughes.

4th. Mr Rogers called. Colonel and Mrs Lloyd and the little girl went home after breakfast.

5th. Mrs Brigstocke of Blaenpant brought Miss Ann Brigstocke to stay here a few days.

6th. We took a walk in the morning. Miss Fanny Hughes came here to stay.

8th. Sunday. Fine morning, wet evening. Read the Church Service to the family. Captain Vaughan [Brynog] and Miss Leslie called here. Mr Jenkins and Mr Thomas came here to dinner and stayed all night.

9th. Received a letter from Mrs Price of Pigeonsford to say they want to come here on Thursday if fine. Mr Jenkins and Mr Thomas went back to Carmarthen after breakfast.

10th. A heavy snow and a very high wind at night.

11th. Wed. Colonel and Captain Brigstocke called, also Miss E Bowen. Received a letter from Mrs Lloyd of Bronwidd.

12th. Colonel and Mrs Price of Pigeonsford and Miss E Bowen came here and stayed all night.

13th. Colonel and Mrs Price and Miss E Bowen went home. Captain Vaughan dined and slept here.

14th. Miss Ann Brigstocke and Miss F Hughes went home. Mr John Jones the clergyman dined here.

17th. Colonel and Captain Brigstocke breakfasted here, and brought me a note from Miss A. Brigstocke. I wrote an answer, also wrote to Mrs Lloyd of Dolehaidd and dear Mrs Lloyd of Bronwidd, and to sister Payne.

18th. Mr Jones went down to Dolewilim. I wrote a letter to Miss Morris. Received a letter from Mrs Lloyd of Bronwidd.

19th. Heavy fall of snow.

20th. Mr Jones detained at Dolwilim by the weather. Received a letter from Mrs Price, another from Mrs Woodbridge and two from Mr Watlington.

21st. More snow but not quite so cold. Mr Jones returned from Dolwilim.

22nd. Sunday. Read the Church Service to the family.

23rd. A great deal of rain all day and very cold. Mr Jones wrote to Mr Watlington. I wrote to Mrs Woodbridge.

24th. Mr Jones taken very poorly with a rheumatic pain in his back. Mr Leslie called.

25th. Mr Jones very poorly. I wrote to Mrs Lloyd of Dolehaidd and Mrs Lloyd of Bronwidd to excuse ourselves from waiting on them. Mr Williams called. Received a letter from Charlotte Thomas to say her mother was dying.

26th. Received a letter from Mrs Lloyd of Bronwidd with a present of pickled oysters and woodcocks. Wrote an answer. Mr Williams of Newcastle dined here. Dear husband very poorly. Received a letter from my niece Miss Blunt.

28th. Mr Jones better. He paid Colonel Brigstocke's rent. I wrote to Mr Watlington. Received a letter from Mr Edward Nevinsion and Miss Bonney.

29th. Sunday. Read the Church Service to the family. I wrote to Miss Bonney.

30th. Captain Lewis of Clynfew called. Mr and Mrs Leslie called. Mr Turner of Wervilbrook and his nephew Mr Jones called. We went to Dolehaidd to pass two days.

December 1807.

1st. Mrs Shepherd and I called at Llysnewidd to see Mrs Lewis [Lewes]. The party yesterday at Dolehaidd—Mrs Bowen of Cardigan and Mrs Jane (? Nott) both left that place today. Mr Lloyd of Bronwidd called.

2nd. Left Dolehaidd at one o'clock and went to Bronwidd. Dear Mrs Lloyd well in health and her spirits composed.

4th. Left Bronwidd at 2 o'clock, came to Mr Lloyd Williams' at Gwernan where we dined, supped, and slept.

5th. Left Gwernan after our breakfast, came home to Gellydowill. Heard Capt Lewis of Clynfew had a son born on the 3rd of December. I wrote a note of congratulations to him.

6th. Sunday. Read the Church Service to the family. Mr Morse with 4 of his young scholars came over to dinner. Mr Morse performed for us the Evening Service. He returned home and the children stayed all night. Mr Jenkins came to dinner and stayed all night.

10th. Wrote a letter to Mrs Price. Mr Jones wrote to Licut. Garrick.

12th. Two baskets of mutton, game, etc, sent from Carmarthen to Aunt Garrick and Mrs Watlington.

13th. Sunday. Read the Church Service to the family.

14th. Received a letter from Jenkins. Wrote an answer. Sent letters up to Bronwidd, also to the Post to Mrs Mansfield and Mrs Gentree. Wrote a note to Mrs Lewis of Clynfew. Received a letter from Bronwidd. Mr Jones went to the Justice meeting at Newcastle.

15th. Mrs Hammet called. Mrs Lloyd of Bronwidd and Mr Williams of Newcastle dined here.

16th. Received a letter from Jenkins. Miss S Brigstocke and Mrs John Brigstocke called. Mr Jones went to call at Stradmore.

18th. Mrs Shepheard left us and went to Carmarthen after being with us ten weeks. Miss Lloyd of Bronwidd came to us.

19th. Miss Lloyd went home to Bronwidd. Heard from Jenkins in the evening that poor Griffith Philipps (Cwmgwili) was dead.

20th. Sunday. Read the Church Service to the family. Doctor Howells came in after dinner from Carmarthen, and went on that night to Cardigan. Heard by a note from Miss E Griffiths that Mrs Bowen of the Priory was ill. I received a letter last night from Mrs Williams of Penycoed.

21st. John Evans of Kenen (? Fenen) called. I wrote to Mrs Woodbridge, Mrs Williams, Mrs Shepheard, and to Jenkins. Doctor Howells came to dinner, and told us the melancholy news of the death of Mrs Bowen of the Priory.

22nd. Mr Jones went down to the farm. I wrote to Miss E Bowen at Cardigan to enquire after poor Mr Bowen, also to Mrs Millingchamp and Miss Makeig. Received answers. Mr Lewis of Clynfew called. Mrs Leslie called.

23rd. I wrote to Mrs Lloyd of Bronwidd, Mr Watlington, and Aunt Garrick. We killed an ox yesterday and a pig. Received a letter from Bronwidd with two turkeys.

25th. Christmas Day. Damp and wet. Mr Jones and I went to Newcastle Church, took the Sacrament. A large party dined in our kitchen.

26th. Mr Jones attended poor Mrs Bowen's funeral to Troedroyre church. Dr Howells called. I wrote to Mrs Price of Pigeonsford.

28th. Dr Howells came to breakfast. Mr James and Jenkins could not return to Carmarthen but Dr Howells ventured.

29th. Jenkins and Mr James went back to Carmarthen. Mr Jones, myself, Miss Price and Emma went to Blaenpant to spend some days. We called at Llwynduris.

30th. I was very poorly with a most violent pain in my head. Miss Fanny Hughes came to Blaenpant.

31st. Sent Miss Price and my Emma to Llangoedmore. The end of the year 1807, through which the Lord's gracious goodness has safely preserved me and my family. May He by his divine Grace enable us to spend the remainder of our days to His Honor and Glory. Emma Jones.

January 1808

1st. Jan. Left Blaenpant after breakfast for home. Paid a morning visit to Mrs Hammet, and another at Llwyndyrus. Found letters at home from Mr Watlington and my brother Payne with an account of the sudden death of his aunt Miss Randall. Oh! Lord, preserved by thy power and goodness I and mine are still in health and safety and surrounded with so many blessings. Give to us grateful hearts and may we henceforth live to thy Honor and Glory. We had a large party of farmers and their wives in the kitchen.

3rd. Sunday. Read the Church Service to the family. Mr Williams of Newcastle and his son came in to dinner.

4th. We went to Mrs Leslie's at Stradmorc, met there Colonel and Mrs Lewis Lloyd of Dolehaidd, Mrs Hammet [of Castle Malgwyn], Mr Lewis of Clynfyw, Miss Howell, Miss C Turner, Miss E Griffith, Mr Beynon, and little Anna Lloyd. We slept there.

5th. Mr Jones went off early in the morning for Dolwilim. I went after breakfast to Llangoedmore and stayed there all night.

6th. Left Mr and Mrs Millingchamp after breakfast. Brought Jane Price to Blaenpant and brought my dear little Emma home to Gellydowill. Mr Jones returned from Dolwilim.

8th. Jane Price came home early in the morning and brought

Miss E Griffith and Miss C Turner with her. Colonel and Mrs Brigstocke, Major Brigstoke, Fanny Hughes, the three Miss Brigstockes, and two more sons, came to dinner, and stayed all night.

9th. The Blaenpant family went home after breakfast. Misses Griffiths and Turner stayed here.

11th. Mr. Jones went to Justice meeting. Mr John and A Brigstoke breakfasted here. I wrote a letter to Miss Birkett, also to Hardwick and sent the amount of his bill by Mr John Brigstocke to London. Wrote letters to Mrs Shepherd and Miss Thomas of St Clears. Received a letter from my niece Miss Blunt. Misses E Griffiths and C Turner left this morning.

12th. Mr Jones went down to Dolwilim and means to go on tomorrow to Carmarthen. I wrote all the morning. Read in the evening to Miss Price.

13th. Miss Price, Emma and myself went to Newcastle to spend two days with Mrs Brigstocke. Wrote to my aunt Garrick. Received a letter from Mrs Lloyd.

14th. We were still at Emlyn Cottage with Mrs Brigstocke. Received a note from Mrs Lloyd of Dolehaidd.

15th. Left Mrs Brigstocke's of the Cottage after breakfast, came to Gellydowill, found Rev Mr Evans of Kenen (? Frowen) here. Mrs Hammet and Mrs Lloyd of Coedmore called soon after we came home. Mr Jones came back from Carmarthen to dinner.

17th. Sunday. Read the Church Service to the family. Mr Morse came to dinner, he gave us a sermon in the afternoon.

20th. Mr Edwardes of Job's Well [Carmarthen] breakfasted here in his way to Carmarthen. Mr Rogers and Miss Susan Jones called.

21st. Husband went to Dolewilim and stayed all night. I wrote to Mrs Millingchamp.

22nd. Mr Jones returned from Dolewilim. Mr Rogers, Mr Williams of Newcastle, his son in law, Mr Bartand, Miss Susan Jones, and Mr John Williams, dined here.

23rd. Mr Jones rode up to Bronwidd and dined there. Lord and Lady Kensington there. Received a note from Mrs Hammet with an invitation to dinner.

24th. Sunday. Read the Church Service to the family. We passed the day alone in reading as we ever wish to do (on) the blessed day of the Lord.

25th. Mr Jones rode to Blaenpant. I wrote to Jenkins and to Mrs Lloyd of Bronwidd. Received an answer from Mrs Lloyd. Mr Jones had a short letter from Watlington.

29th. Colonel Brigstocke and Miss S Brigstocke called. Also Mr Lewis of Clynfew. Received a note from Lady Kensington.

February 1808.

1st. Mr Jones went out shooting. Mr. Lewis of Clynfew poorly.

3rd. Revd John Jones dined here. Heard that Mrs Lloyd of Bronwidd and her daughter were gone to the Ferry Side.

10th. Lord and Lady Kensington and Colonel Brigstocke dined and slept here. Received a letter from Miss Thomas of St Clears with a present of a worked muslin habit skirt.

11th. Colonel Brigstocke left after breakfast. Lord and Lady Kensington and ourselves went to Dolehaidd and stayed all night. Heard my niece Blunt was to be married to my nephew Captain Garrick.

12th. Lord and Lady Kensington left Dolehaidd after breakfast. Colonel and Mrs Lloyd would not suffer us to go home.

13th. Home to Gellydowill. Letter from sister Payne with an account of the death of Mrs Carrington Garrick.

24th. Mr. Jones dined at Clynfew. I wrote to Mrs Hannah More and to Miss Hawker.

25th. Miss Thomas sent some fish from Laugharne.

26th. The 6th anniversary of Emma's birthday and the 11th of our wedding day. Mrs Hammet, Mr and Mrs Leslie, Mr Lewis of Clynfew, Miss Caroline Brigstocke, etc, here to dinner and stayed overnight.

March 1808.

2nd. Miss E Bowen called. Mr Jones returned from Dolwilim.

4th. Heard of the death of old Mrs Price of Pigeonsford.

5th. Wrote to Mrs Lloyd of Dolchaidd and sent them a small pot of Laver.

8th. Mr Jones walked over to Clynfyw. Heard of the death of Mr John Morgan of Carmarthen.

12th. Mr Jones walked to Clynfyw. Dr Howell we heard was married lately.

17th. Heard from my sister Payne with an account of the marriage of my niece Emma Maria Blunt to my nephew Nathan Egerton Garrick on last Sunday at Petersham church by the Revd Mr Delaforce. The young couple set off for Tunbridge.

20th. Sunday. Read Church Service to the family. Revd Mr Morse dined here, and gave us the Church Service in the afternoon.

26th. Mr Jones rode to Blaenpant and agreed with Colonel Brigstocke for five years more of this Place [Gellidywyll].

27th. Sunday. Read the Church Service to the family both morning and evening. Passed the Day alone as I would ever wish to do holy Sabbath of the Lord.

28th. Mr Jones rode down to his farm and returned to dinner.

30th. Mr Jones rode to Clynfyw and to Mr Jones of Cilwendeg.

April 1808.

1st. Mr and Mrs James Lloyd of Dolehaidd and myself rode to Llangoedmore to see Mr and Mrs Millingchamp. Called at Stradmore on way back. Mr Lewis of Clynfyw dined with us.

4th. Mr Jones went to Justices Meeting at Newcastle, and to dine with Mr Beynon [the attorney].

7th. Received a letter from Mrs Hannah More.

12th. Mr Jones went to Pantgwyn on the Inspection of the Regiment (militia).

13th. Mrs Leslie mentioned her History to the two Miss Lloyds.

14th. We signed the lease of 14 years of the Brentford malthouse at Dolhaidd. Colonel Lloyd and his son witnessed it.

20th. Mrs Leslie, myself, and little Emma rode to Clynfyw and to Kilrhuc. The two little boys, Mrs Jenkins, Miss Turner, and Miss Price walked to Clynfyw.

25th. Mr Lloyd of Coedmore called.

May 1808.

1st. Sunday. Mr Jones and I went to Llandevrillog (? Llandefriog) church. Mr John Philipps of Cwmgwily came here and stayed all night.

9th. Miss Price and Emma drank tea at Penygraig.

11th. Mr Jones went to Newcastle, and brought here Mr Brown of Carmarthen and Mr Griffith to sleep.

15th. Sunday. Read the Church Service to the family in the morning and evening. Blessed be the Lord, we passed the Day alone.

16th. Dear Husband left me to go to Cardigan with the Volunteers for fourteen days.

17th. Wrote a letter to Mr Jones. Went with Mrs Leslie, Miss Price, and Emma to Stradmore.

24th. Miss Price, Emma and myself went to Dolhaidd to stay a few days.

25th. Went with Mrs Lloyd of Dolehaidd in her carriage to Llysnewidd, and to Alderbrook Hall, Mrs Lloyd Williams's, and returned to Dolhaidd to dinner.

June 1808.

6th. Took Miss Price and Emma to the Inspection of the Clarence Volunteers.

9th. Mr Jones received a present of books.

10th. Mr and Mrs Lewis of Clynfew and Miss Betsy Bowen drank tea here.

13th. Mr Jones had the front of the house [Gellydowill] coloured.

23rd. At Bronwidd. Mr Evans of Tremain, Revd Mr Jones of Llangan, and Mr Lloyd of Gilvachwen dined at Bronwidd. Heard Mr Jones of Llangan preach in the evening at Mr Lloyd's chapel; received the Sacrament.

28th. Our culm came home (Gellydowill).

July 1808.

5th. Went with Mr and Mrs Rogers of Penygraig, the Stradmore family, Miss E Griffith, and Mr Williams of Newcastle, to dine on the rocks at Traithsaith.

6th. I had a severe fall. Mr Morgan Jones came here after dinner and stayed.

9th. Louisa Parry went home to Penygraig.

11th. Mrs Shephard and I went after breakfast to call at Blaenpant, Penlan, The Castle (Cardigan), and Llwyndurris.

13th. The ever excellent Colonel Lloyd of Bronwidd dead to this world one year this day. May our blessed Lord comfort the heart of his dear widow.

14th. Mr Jones, Mrs Shephard, and myself went to Bronwidd. Heard a Mr Harries preach at the Chapel. We dined and slept at Bronwidd.

22nd. Mr Leslie of Stradmore called and took his leave of us previous to his leaving England for the West Indies.

27th. Wed. Went down to Kenarth to hear Mr Griffiths of Nevern and other clargymen preach.

28th. Drank tea at Penygraig (Rogers).

31st. Mr Morris of Carmarthen brought his daughter to stay with us. Miss Turner came in the afternoon.

August 1808.

1st. Heavy rain. A large party were to have gone with us to Kilgerran Castle, but the morning proving wet they all dined with us at Gellydowill. We sat down seventeen to dinner.

4th. Fine. We got our last field of hay in.

5th. Mr and Mrs Lewis of Llysnewidd and their son, Mr and Mrs Lloyd Williams, their two daughters and governess, Mr and Mrs S Jones, etc, dined here.

9th. Mrs Shephard, Mr Jones, Miss Morris, Jane Price and Emma went and dined at Llwyndyrus. Mrs Rogers and Louisa Parry drank tea with me.

10th. We all dined at Colonel Brigstocke's, Blaenpant.

11th. We all dined at The Castle, with a large party at Mrs Hammett's.

13th. Heard Mr Tudor Brigstocke was dead.

17th. Mrs Shephard, Miss Morris, Dr Jones, Jane Price, Emma, and myself dined at Clynfew. Met Mr and Mrs Bowen of the Priory. I called on Mrs Davies of Pentry (Pentre).

23rd. Mr Jones rode to Castle Malgwyne. He wrote to Dr Harries. Mrs Davies of Pentry and her family called here.

26th. Mr Jones went to Carmarthen on the Grand Jury.

September 1808.

1st. Dr and Mrs Davies, the two Miss Lewises of Barnsfield, Miss Davies, Mrs and Miss Saunders, Mr Lloyd of Bronwidd, Mr J and A Brigstocke, dined with us.

4th. Sunday. Read the Church Service to the family. Colonel Lawrence, Miss Makeig, Mr Bowen of the Priory and Mr William Bowen of Bath, dined here. Mr John Brigstocke and Mr William Lewis called.

6th. Mr Jones went to Cardigan to meet the Judges. Thomas Lewis of Llandilo came here in the evening and stayed all night. [this was Thos. Lewis, ancestor of the Mansel-Lewis family of Stradcy Castle].

7th. Mr Jones and Mr Lewis of Llandilo went to Cardigan.

9th. Mr Essex Bowen, Mr John and Mr A Brigstocke, breakfasted here. Mr Lewis of Llandilo [and of Stradcy] came to dinner and stayed all night.

11th. Sunday. At Bronwidd. Mrs Lloyd read the Church Service in the morning. We went to her chapel in the afternoon.

12th. Left Bronwidd after breakfast, went to Wervilbrook to Mr Turner. We dined and slept here. Colonel and Mrs Price, Miss Jordan, Miss Lewis, and Canon Williams dined there.

13th. We went to Pigeonsford to stay a day. Mr and Mrs Turner with their cousin Mr Jones, went with us.

14th and 15th. Ill and confined to bed at Pigeonsford.

16th. We left Pigeonsford and came home to dinner. Found that Mrs Hammet and Sir Ralph Woodford had been during my absence.

20th. Mr Jones rode with Mr Lewis of Clynfew to Newcastle fair.

21st. Mr Jones of Wervilbrook came here to breakfast. Mr Rogers dined here and went out a-coursing with my husband.

October 1808.

3rd. Mr Jones, myself, and Miss Jane Morris, set off for Carmarthen, and got there about 4 o'clock in the afternoon.

(remained at Carmarthen until 11 October)

5th. Dined and supped at Mr Morris's in King Street.

6th. Mr Woodbridge and family, Mrs Edwards of Rhydigorse, dined with us at Mr Jenkins's. We all, except Mrs Edwards, supped with a large party at Dr Howell's.

7th. Dined and supped with a large party at Miss Lewis's of Barnfield. I received a letter from Lady Kensington to say they expected us on Monday at Westmead.

8th. Mrs Woodbridge and family, Mr Edwards, Mr Lloyd of Laques, etc, called on us. I called at Dr Davies, etc. We went down to St Clears. Mr Thomas went with us, dined with a large party at Miss Thomas's.

9th. Sunday. We heard poor Lady Kensington had been overturned in her carriage, and broke her arm, and one of her little sons much hurt. Mr Jones wrote to enquire. Mr Jones and Mr Thomas went to hear Welch Service at St. Clears.

10th. St Clears fair. Mr Jones rode to Westmead to see Lady Kensington who was as well as could be expected. Miss Thomas and I rode to Penicoed, Mr Williams's, and returned to look at the fair. I saw Captain Starke, Mr and Mrs Lord etc. Lord Kensington called upon me.

11th. Returned to Gellidowyll.

13th. Call'd at Mr Bowen's of the Priory but was not let in.

19th. Mr Jones dined at Newcastle at the Court Leet. Mr Tasker came in the evening to tune the instrument.

24th. We went to Alderbrook Hall, Mr Lloyd Williams's, and slept there.

November 1808.

2nd. Mrs Lloyd and Mr Jones marked out the intended new approach to Bronwidd.

19th. Lord Cawdor, Colonel Brigstocke, and Colonel Lewis Lloyd of Dolehaidd called here.

22nd. Lord Cawdor and Colonel Brigstocke came a-shooting, Mr Jones went with them.

23rd. Mr Howell of Pennar came here and stayed the night.

December 1808.

2nd. Mr Jones went out a-shooting with Mr Rogers. I wrote a letter to Mrs Thomas's school at Haverfordwest.

6th. My dear Mr Jones set off for Carmarthen in order to take that day's mail for London.

12th. I received a letter from London from my Mr Jones.

13th. Killed a fat cow.

20th. I wrote a letter to Mr Thomas Jenkins of Trevigin.

22nd. Mr Rogers took Miss Price to Llwyndyris in order to go to the ball at Cardigan.

23rd. Mr Jones returned home after an absence of nearly three weeks, and brought with him Mr Thomas Morris junior.

24th. Mr Jones and Mr Morris walked to Penygraig.

25th. Christmas Day. Mr Jones and Mr Thomas Morris walked to Newcastle church. I read the morning and evening service to the family.

27th. Mr Jones had the gout in his foot. The labourers, etc, dined here.

30th. Went to Blaenpant.

31st. The gentlemen went out a-hunting. I walked in the garden in the morning. The end of the year 1808—through which by divine mercy I and mine have been preserved and enjoyed innumerable comforts (followed by a number of more general religious sentiments).

January 1809.

1st. Left Blaenpant and came to Llandugwidd church. Taken ill during service, had to leave and go to Gellydowill.

3rd. A large party of farmers and their wives in the kitchen.

5th. Mr Jones, myself, and Emma went to pass a few days at Bronwidd.

6th. Miss Lloyd went to Newcastle to fetch Miss F Brigstocke of the Cottage.

9th. Returned to Gellydowill.

February 1809.

5th. Sunday. Read morning and evening service to the family. But alas! how poor and unworthy we are in all our attempts to honour the Creator! Lord do thou guide in our eternal passage.

7th. Went to Cardigan, called on Mr and Mrs Bowen, Mrs Evan Davies, Mrs Lewes Evans, etc, etc.

8th. The fast day. Mr Jones and I went to Newcastle church.

17th. Heard poor Jessy Lloyd was dead.

23rd. Went down with our dear child to Haverfordwest to place her at Mr Thomas's school. I pray the Lord to bless this our intention to her good, and to preserve her in safety. She slept at the school that night and we left her very happy.

24th. At Haverfordwest. Called on Miss Harries, our friend Captain Harries's sister, also at Dr John Philipp's, who were very politely attentive to us. Also at another Miss Harries's, Mr Evans's, and at Mrs George Philipps's. Mr Ben Jones called on us.

25th. Returned to Gellydowill.

26th. Our dear child seven years old.

27th. Heard Drury Lane Theatre was burnt to the ground.

28th. Mr Jones and I went to Dolewilim, arrived there about 4 o'clock. Mr Rogers so kind as to lend us his little chaise to go down in.

March 1809.

1st. Dolwilim. Mr Jones began planting the hill at Pontpantren.

5th. Sunday. Dolwilim. Read the Church Service morning and evening to Mrs Protheroe and the family.

13th. Left Dolwilim and came back to Gellydowill; obliged to walk the mare home as she had hurt her leg in the stable—we were five hours in coming home and starved with cold.

Mrs Protheroe says that Doctor John Jones of Haverfordwest and Mr David Jones of Penrallt were two sisters' children, so that Mrs Lloyd of Bronwidd and my husband are second cousins. Also that Mr James Lewis of Dolehaidd (father of the present Colonel Lloyd of Dolehaidd) and Mr Jones of Penrallt were second cousins. Miss

Hensley of Panteague who married Captain Alleyne of Cresselly and in the parish of Llangoedmore was made in the house at Penrallt, were second cousins. Miss Gwynne now Doctor John Philipps's lady, Mr Protheroe of Dolewilim, and Miss Philpin were second cousins. All the Respectable Families of Llandisilio and Narberth were related about sixty years since and from which Mr Jones of Penrallt and Mr Protheroe sprang. The first cup of tea ever made in the parish of Llangoedmore was made in the house at Penrallt".

15th. Mr Jones walked over to Clynfew to congratulate Mr Lewis on the birth of his second little boy.

April 1809.

6th. Mary Anne Makeig and Mrs Jones of St Dogmaels came and stayed the night.

May 1809.

2nd. Mr and Mrs Griffith Jones (on a visit from London) left us after breakfast to go to Cardigan on a visit of some days to Mr and Mrs Bowen (of Castle Green) before they take possession of their house, the Priory.

7th. Mr Jones's birthday, aged 52.

14th. Mr Lloyd of Bronwidd sent us a turbot, which we sent on to Clynfew. I wrote to thank Mr Lloyd.

16th. Mr Thomas the clergyman of Kenarth was thrown from his horse. Mr Jones went and bled him. Mr Morgan the surgeon called here late in the evening.

27th. Mr John Jones of Kilwendeg dined here. We drank tea at Clynfew.

June 1809.

1st. Received a letter from sister Schaw with an account of the wedding of Mr Christopher Garrick and Miss Louisa Wylde.

14th. Mr Vaughan of Green Grove dined here. Heard of the death of David Millingchamp.

19th. Went to Haverfordwest, found dear Emma well, thank the goodness of the Lord. We supped at our inn, Captain Harries with us.

20th. We dined at Miss Harries's with her three brothers, niece and nephew, and Miss Jane Jordan. Called to thank several of the Families who had been kind to Emma.

21st. Returned to Gellydowill with our dear child.

28th. Miss Vaughan of Green Grove came to stay a day or two.

July 1809.

- 15th. Heard my niece Mrs N. E. Garrick had got a son.
31st. Went to Bronwidd. Heard Mr Jones preach at the chapel and took the service.

August 1809.

- 1st. Mr Griffiths of Llwyndyrus and his two eldest daughters, with Mr and Mrs. Thomas Griffiths, Mr Morgan Jones, Mr and Mrs Rogers, dined here.
3rd. Mrs Protheroe and her two children came to us to stay.
6th. Sunday. Went down to Kenarth church in the afternoon to hear Mr Griffith of Nevern preach, he returned and drank tea with us.
8th. Mr Tasker came and tuned the Instrument.
10th. Heard of the death of Sir H Owen (of Orielton).
21st. Mr Jones, Mr Morris, and Jenkins rode to Kilgerran fair.
23rd. Our darling child went back to school at Haverfordwest.
25th. Mr Jones went to a Commissioners Meeting at Newcastle.
29th. Eighteen sat down to dinner at Gellidowill.

September 1809.

- 6th. Dined at Mr Morgan Jones of Penlan, sat down 16 to dinner.
20th. Mr Jones went to the fair at Newcastle. We dined with a large party at Penygraig. In coming home poor Williams was thrown off the carriage but Providentially was not materially hurt tho' the wheels went over his body. Received gloves and ribbon from Mr (William) Mitchell on his marriage which took place last Sunday with Mrs (Elizabeth) Gower of Kilgerran.
27th. Mr Lewis of Clynfew and Mr Rogers dined here. Mr Jones and Mr Rogers went out a-coursing. [*This is the last entry, the remainder of the year being missing*].

* * *

THE SECOND JOURNAL 1818

With the death of the widow Mrs Protheroe in 1813, the Dolwilym estate passed to Doctor Evan Jones. Under the terms of the inheritance he moved to live at Dolwilym mansion and took the surname Protheroe in lieu of his own. So it is as Dr Protheroe that he appears thenceforth in his wife's diaries.

January 1818 *Dolwilym*.

- 1st. Thurs. Another new years Day added to my life ! May my soul praise the Lord, and all that is within me adore his holy name, and tho' having suffered much the last year from long painful and protracted disease I am still permitted to live ! May I beg the holy Spirit's influence, dedicate myself more closely to God and live to the next world upon the verge of which I stand, that when the time of my departure draws near and Death finally separates my soul from the body, I may be found in Christ my Saviour. Grant, oh most blessed Lord thy divine spirit to my husband, my child and my family, that we may live as becomes the name of Christians, so that Christ may receive us *all* at the great day of account. Received letters from Jenkins. Mr and Mrs Griffiths of Llandwr dined here. Emma and Sophia Thomas walked in the morning to Llanboidy.
3rd. Received a Box and a letter from Miss Griffith of Llwyndyrus.
4th. Sunday. Mr Protheroe, Mr Jenkins, Sophia Thomas, and Emma are gone with the servants to evening church. Mr Foley dined here.
5th. The poor people came for barley, and the children for Christmas gifts, and a party of about forty dined in our kitchen.
6th. Mr Protheroe went to the Justice Meeting at Llanboidy. Dr Howill came back with him in the evening and slept here.
14th. Mr Morgan of Lampeter (Velfrey) came here and stayed all night.
17th. I wrote to Kitty Thomas, to Rees Thomas to congratulate him on his marriage, to Mr Jenkins, and to Miss Blome of Carmarthen.
20th. Mr Thomas Thomas, Sophia's brother, from Laugharne came to see us. Mr Tom Morris also came to stay with us.
21st. I wrote to Miss Lloyd of Bronwidd.
22nd. I had leeches put on my back and which bled for many hours extremely.

24th. Tom Morris went a-coursing.

25th. We heard that our poor cousin Mr Griffith Jones was called upon to give in his account before the Throne of God on Thursday the 15th of this month. He has soon followed his poor wife to the silent tomb.

February 1818

2nd. Dr Bowen and Mr Jenkins came from Carmarthen to see me. Our good friend Dr Harries could not come as his poor brother William was suddenly taken with an attack of the palsey.

3rd. Our good friend Dr Harries sent us some oranges.

5th. Had a letter from dear sister Schaw with the most delightful information that her son William Schaw Captn in the 46th Regiment was returned once more to his native land and in his family and friends after an absence of six years. He left New South Wales on the 9th of April last for Batavia where he remained five months, from whence he was fifteen weeks coming to Poarthsmouth in the "Shipley", and arrived in London on the 29th of January 1818, in health and safety thanks be to our most gracious Lord!

6th. Mr Griffith of Llandwr dined here.

26th. The 21st anniversary of our marriage, and the 16th of our daughter's age. Mr Jenkins and Captain Evans of Pantycendy came here to keep this day in innocent cheerfulness.

27th. Mr Tasker brought me letters from Mr Lloyd of Bronwidd and Miss Anna Lloyd of Dolehaidd.

28th. Emma, Jane Davies, and Sophia Thomas went to Laugharne in our carriage, attended on horseback by Mr Thomas, and part of the way by Captain Evans of Pantycendy, and Mr Jenkins in his gig.

March 1818.

3rd. Mr Protheroe went to the Justice's Meeting at Llanboidy.

6th. Mr Protheroe wrote to his brother at Bath. I sent these letters by the butcher to Mr Tasker at Haverfordwest to go by that post.

10th. Sent letters to Sophia and Emma (at Laugharne) by Mr Lewis of Llanboidy who called here.

16th. Emma and her friend Jane Davies returned from Laugharne, attended by Mr Thomas, safely tho' the roads were very bad.

28th. Wrote to Mr Bukeley of Temple Druid.

April 1818.

5th. M'elle Bertrand came here to our very great surprise.

7th. Mr Thomas of Crundale called. I received a letter from India from Edward Hughes dated 1st July last; sent the letter to his sister Mrs Thomas.

8th. Mr Saunders of Penycloed called. Mr Lloyd of Glansevin came here for hunting; he dined and slept here. Mr Davies of Cardigan's car came to take Jane and Emma.

9th. Jane and Emma went to Cardigan. Mr Lloyd of Glansevin stayed here, he sent his hounds away in the afternoon.

12th. M'elle Bertrand left us early this morning.

13th. Mr Lloyd of Glansevin's hounds came here. Mr Saunders called. Mr Griffith of Glandwr came here and stayed all night.

15th. Mr Protheroe went to the Clerical Meeting at Llanboidy.

21st. Mr and Mrs Rees Thomas came here and stayed all night. The first time I ever saw Mrs Thomas who appears a genteel lady-like woman.

May 1818.

1st. I went out in the Bath chair for the first time since October last. Miss Evans of Pantycendy and her youngest brother who came here yesterday afternoon, left us this evening.

4th. M'elle Bertrand left us and went to Carmarthen intending to go to France. Miss Hetty Griffith, Miss Tripp, and Mr John Griffiths came here.

6th. Miss Griffith and Miss Tripp left us after breakfast. Mr and Mrs. Lewis of Clynfyw came and stayed all night.

17th. Old Marsden and his wife came here.

20th. Wed. The Church Meeting. Heard the most impressive sermon from the Revd Mr Griffith of Nevern (Luke 7, 47), and the Revd Mr Thomas of Begelly (Romans 8, 25). I was drawn up to the Church in the Bath chair.

22nd. Mr Essex Bowen called who was so kind to take our letters to the Post Office.

25th. Miss Howell (she lived near Meidrim) came to fetch her cousin Miss Jane Davies.

June 1818.

2nd. Received a present of a turbot from the dear Thomases of Laugharne.

4th. Mr Protheroe went to Narberth fair. Miss Jane Jones dined here.

6th. Jane Davies came back with her cousin Miss M. Howell, who dined with us.

8th. The Misses Millingchamp and Davies came in the evening.

10th. Captain (William) Schaw arrived here, via Carmarthen, with Mr Jenkins.

15th. The Honble Mr Campbell came here in the evening and stayed all night.

22nd. Emma rode with her father and cousin Schaw to Llanboidy in the morning.

24th. The workmen began to . . . (indistinct) the front of the house.

28th. My dear Emma went to the meeting at Llandwr. Kitty Thomas and Captain Schaw went to join her there after breakfast.

29th. Emma, Kitty Thomas and Captain Schaw went in the carriage to St Clears to stay a few days. Mr Griffith of Llandwr dined and slept here.

July 1818.

4th. Edward Hughes called here on his return home from India.

5th. Sun. Dr Howell came to breakfast and dined here. Service held in the house. Mr Foley dined here.

8th. Mr Jones, Emma, Rachel Thomas, and Captain Schaw dined at Lampeter (Velfrey) with Mr and Mrs Morgans, and returned in the evening.

9th. Emma went out on horseback with William Schaw. Received a box with some wedding cake from Mr Joe Fisher (of Cleve) on his marriage.

12th. Emma with Rachel Thomas and Captain Schaw went to the morning meeting at Llandwr (chapel). Mr Protheroe and Kate Thomas went to morning church at (Llanglydwen).

13th. Emma and William Schaw rode out on horseback.

15th. Heard of the death of Colonel Lewis Lloyd of Dolehaidd and of Thomas Leslie; the Colonel to be buried early on morning of 17 July.

20th. Emma and William Schaw rode to Narberth and dined at Lampeter (Velfrey) with Mr and Mrs Morgans.

21st. A fine day. Rachel Thomas, Emma, William Schaw, Jenkins, and some of the servants went to Priscilla Mountain, and dined.

28th. Emma and William Schaw walked to Llanboidy in the morning.

29th. Mr Protheroe, Emma and William Schaw rode to Llangan before dinner.

30th. Miss Thomas of Laugharne and Miss M. Thomas came here and took Emma with them to Llwynbedw.

31st. Dear William Schaw and Rachel Thomas left us; she returned home to Laugharne, and he went to Carmarthen in his way back to Somersetshire to see his mother and brother.

August 1818.

3rd. Pains in my back, had leeches put on this morning.

4th. Mr Protheroe went to the Justices Meeting at Llanboidy. Dr Howell to tea.

6th. Treharne came from Carmarthen to take the Piano to . . . (illegible).

14th. Thomas Griffith of Berllan (near Eglwysrwr), Miss Bowen of Berry (near Newport) and Mr William Bowen dined here.

22nd. Mrs Morgan of Lampeter (Velfrey) and Mr John Protheroe came here and stayed the night.

25th. Mr Protheroe and Emma rode to Llanboidy to call upon Mr and Mrs Powell (Maesgwyn).

26th. Mr, Mrs, and the Misses Powell dined here; we sent our carriage for them. Mr Griffith of Llwyndwr came to dinner and stayed the night.

28th. Emma had a letter from Captain Schaw with a present of crayons, etc. I received a present of grouse from Captain Evans of Pantykendy.

29th. Emma went off in the carriage after breakfast to Llwyndyrus to go the Cardigan Ball this next week.

30th. I have been a sad cripple for 2 years and 1 month this day.

September 1818.

2nd. Received three brace of partridges from Mr Powell.

14th. Mr Saunders of Penycoed and Mr Foley dined here yesterday.

16th. Emma came home from Pantykendy attended by Captain Evans.

17th. Henry Haverfield, Captain Evans, Mr Protheroe and Emma went out a-coursing.

19th. Henry Haverfield finished drawing Emma's picture which is extremely like her.

23rd. Henry Haverfield drew Mr Protheroe's picture.

30th. I wrote letters to Mrs Nevinson, Mr Watlington, Mrs Haverfield, Mrs Blunt, to send by Henry Haverfield to London and Bath.

October 1818.

1st. Dear Henry Haverfield left us.

12th. We began to have the floor of our hall taken up.

15th. I wrote yesterday to Miss Laugharne of Laugharne on behalf of Mr Tasker being the organist of Laugharne (church).

16th. I wrote a note to Mr Griffiths of Glandwr and sent him some wheat and wine.

17th. Received my groceries from London.

26th. The Lord has added another year to my life. Captain Evans of Pantykendy, Mr Edwards of Letterston (Sealyham), Mr Essex Bowen, and Edward Hughes dined here.

27th. Very poorly with pains, had five leeches put on my back.

29th. Mr Tom Morris of Carmarthen who has been staying at Trewern shooting with Captain Evans of Pantykendy and Mr Essex Bowen also at Trewern, returned to Carmarthen.

November 1818.

5th. Received a letter from Betsy Haverfield informing me that her brother the Major was coming here either end of this week or early in the next.

11th. Major Haverfield arrived.

17th. The Major and Mr Protheroe went a-shooting and brought back a hare.

20th. Heard of the death of our poor suffering Queen Charlotte and that she died at last of a mortification in her leg on Tuesday last the 17th.

30th. Mr Edwards and his niece Miss Bowen came here. Her horse threw her down but most fortunately she was not much hurt.

December 1818.

8th. Letter from Mrs Morgan of Carmarthen with the present of a Pyne Apple.

9th. Mr Henry Bulkeley of Temple Druid called and dined here.

14th. Major Haverfield returned home to Bath and took the Mail at St Clears. Mrs Daintry and her brother Mr Bulkeley called. Mr Protheroe wrote to his brother Mr Jones of Bath.

17th. Heard that poor Mr Tasker had lost his dear little boy James who died of cramp.

21st. Just as our dinner was going off the table dear William Schaw arrived.

25th. Christmas Day. I wrote to venerable Aunt Garrick and sent her a box of game etc.

26th. Received Letter and Boxes of lozenges and some music from Major Haverfield from Bath.

28th. Emma, Mr Protheroe, and William Schaw went off to make a morning visit to Temple Druid, Mr Bulkeley's.

29th. Kitty Thomas, Emma, and William Schaw went to take a long walk. Mr and Mrs Bushill (Coedllys) called here.

Here endeth the Journals of Emma, born Hart, became Mrs Garrick, afterwards Mrs Jones, finally Mrs Protheroe. She had lived during a period when the country houses were at their zenith in the districts through which the rivers Teifi and Taf flowed. Few rural areas offered more environmental delights, and happily the scene remains largely unchanged to our day, apart from certain features that once adorned the hillslopes and wooded vales, namely residences of the old families. They are recorded by the diarist of Gellidywyll and Dolwilym; some stand near to the meandering rivers we have mentioned, others are several miles away but well within a day's ride of her own agreeable homes. She names the following:

In Carmarthenshire. Barnsfield (Lewis). Coedllys (Bushell). Cwmgwili (Philipps). Dolhaidd (Lloyd). Dolwilym. Gellidywyll. Glan-sevin (Lloyd). Job's Well, Carmarthen (Edwards). Laques (Lloyd). Llwyn-crwn (Philipps). Llwyndwr (Griffith). Llysnewydd (Lewes). Macsgwyn (Powell). Pantycendy (Evans). Penycoed, St Clears (Williams). Penyrheol (Howell). Rhydygors, (Edwardes). Tregyb (Hughes). Westmead (Lord Kensington).

In Cardiganshire. Abertrinant (Lloyd). Alderbrook Hall and Gwernan (Lloyd Williams). Blaenpant (Brigstocke). Bronwydd (Lloyd). Brynog (Vaughan). Castle Green, Cardigan (Bowen). Cilbronnau (Jenkins). Cilgwyn (old) (Lloyd, Hall, Fitzwilliams). Coedmor (Lloyd). Emlyn Cottage, Newcastle Emlyn (on site of modern Cilgwyn, Hall, Fitzwilliams). Green Grove (Vaughan). Llangoedmor Plas (Milling-champ). Llwyndyrus (Griffith). Parc Gwyn. Pennar, Aberporth (Parry). Penlan (Jones). Penygraig (Rogers). Pigeonsford (Price).

Priory, Cardigan (Bowen). Stradmore (Leslie). Wervilbrook (Turner and Jones).

In Pembrokeshire. Berllan (Griffith). Berry (Bowen). Castle Maelgwyn (Hammett). Cilrhiwe (Lloyd). Cilwendeg (Jones). Clynfyw (Lewis). Lampeter Velfrey (Morgan). Llwynbedw (Jones). Orierton (Owen). Pentre (Davies, Saunders). Sealyham (Edwardes). Temple Druid (Bulkeley). Trevigin (Jenkins). Trewern (Beynon).

Of the above 55 gentry residences only 6 survive as such today, the others having been converted into farmhouses, hotels, clubs, hospitals, institutions, a number are in total ruin, some have been completely demolished. Most of these transformations and disasters occurred during the present century. The glory of the Tivyside now resides in the melodious cadencies of *Blodau Dyfed* and in the sprightly pages of Herbert M Vaughan's *South Wales Squires*, and the glory of the Taf in the poetry of David Griffiths and Waldo Williams.

W. Llewelyn Williams, 1867–1922

In the early 1920s Wales lost through death a clutch of worthies who, in distinguishing themselves, brought credit to the Principality. Among them was William Llewelyn Williams, lawyer, politician and historian; others were Sir Owen M. Edwards, Sir David Brynmor-Jones and Sir Henry Jones.

Llewelyn Williams was born in the parish of Llansadwrn on 10 March 1867 at Brownhill, which lies beside the A40 trunk road a little over a mile south-west of Llanwrda. He was the second son of Morgan Williams and his wife Sarah Davies, who, before moving to Brownhill, had lived at Ffrwd-wen, Capel Isaac, where the family had been prominent in the Congregational cause. The parents have been described as being of peasant stock, but they were well-off and able to send Llewelyn to Watcyn Wyn's academy and Llandoverly College.



In October 1885 he entered Brasenose College, Oxford, having won an open scholarship and was there when the Dafydd ap Gwilym Society was founded; because of his College he was known as 'the brazen nose' within the company of the society, which, at this time, included Owen M. Edwards. He acquitted himself well in the school of modern history, just missing a first class degree and the Stanhope prize; as it was, he took the Bridgeman prize.

His Oxford days completed, he might have become a parish priest had he accepted the offer of a discerning bishop, but though he had been exposed to the influence of the Anglican church during his academic career he remained true to the faith of his forbears. Instead he returned to Wales to become a journalist in the service of the Liberal press, first as editor of the *South Wales Star* at

Barry, in which capacity he soon gained a reputation as a controversialist of no mean worth. His campaign against county court Judges who were unable to speak Welsh resulted in a Mid-Wales Judge being transferred over the Border. After a spell in the editorial chair of the *South Wales Post* at Swansea, he moved to the *South Wales Daily News* at Cardiff and finally reached London to join the staff of *The Star*, being appointed chief sub-editor by the great T. P. O'Connor.

Journalism as a life-long profession failed to captivate him, however, and in less than a decade after leaving Oxford, during which time he had taken a degree in civil law, he was called to the Bar from Lincoln's Inn in January 1897. He distinguished himself as a lawyer by his powerful personality and persuasive eloquence and became leader of the South Wales circuit. He was elected a bencher of his Inn, took silk in 1912 and was appointed Recorder of Swansea (1914-15) and of Cardiff (1915-22), succeeding Sir David Brynmor-Jones in the latter appointment.

As in the case of so many lawyers, politics beckoned Williams and in 1906 he was elected Liberal member of Parliament for Carmarthen Boroughs, a constituency he represented until it was abolished in 1918. He was a Liberal of the old school and had nothing in common with any movement sympathetic towards socialism. He thus opposed land nationalisation, believing that the solution to this question lay in the spread of ownership by independent freeholders. The demand for the disestablishment of the Church in Wales found in him a ready recruit, though he justified his stand on political rather than religious grounds, believing that the Church had, historically, been closely allied with oppressive influences in his native country.

As a nationalist, he stood for home rule for Wales, but only within the framework of the United Kingdom; he was no separatist. His nationalist sympathies he extended to all other Celtic communities and also to 'little Belgium'. It was only because Germany had invaded Belgium that he reluctantly gave his support to the war of 1914-18; otherwise, he might have repeated the opposition he held against the Boer War. As the war progressed he became increasingly uneasy, opposed conscription, defended conscientious objectors and deprecated the wide-ranging powers of the Defence of the Realm Act (DORA). He finally broke with Lloyd George, but when he contested the Cardiganshire election in 1921 he was defeated by the official Liberal candidate.

Although he abandoned journalism as a profession, the urge to write never deserted him. His published work in Welsh is not extensive, yet in the popular mind he is probably now best remembered

for '*S Lawer Dydd*, relating some charming reminiscences of his childhood, which first appeared in *Y Beirniad* in 1917 before appearing in book form the following year. Other stories—*Gwilym a Beni Bach* and *Gwr y Dolau*—are of undistinguished quality.

His reputation as an historian rests upon his many articles on Welsh history, notably in the *Transactions of the Cymmrodorion Society* from 1900 onwards. Some of these were published in book form under the title *The Making of Modern Wales* (Macmillan, 1919), which the author described in a preface as an attempt to describe the transformation of medieval into modern Wales. The book is important because it led the way in the investigation of areas of Welsh history previously neglected; especially significant was his pioneer work in respect of the Roman Catholic attitude to the Reformation in Wales and his account of the Courts of the Great Sessions established by Henry VIII, exercises never before attempted. It was as a specialist in Tudor and Stuart history that he edited the Everyman edition of J. A. Froude's *History of England*, dealing with the years between the fall of Wolsey and the defeat of the Spanish Armada. For the same series he wrote an introduction to the historical works of Giraldus Cambrensis.

Almost forgotten are his historical ballads, some reminiscent of 'Chevy Chase'. These patriotic verses tell of Welsh deeds and heroes, but they never achieved the fame of recitation generation by generation as an essential part of childhood schooling. One of these, 'For Country or for King', tells of David Gam, who championed the cause of Henry V, and Owain Vaughan, supporter of Owain Glyndwr, both of whom, at last, shared death at Agincourt. Others are 'The Lay of Prince Griflith', which chants the memory of Gruffydd ap Rhys of Dinefwr, husband of Gwenllïan and father of the Lord Rhys, and 'Meilir's Lament for Gwenllïan'. Relevant in this context of hero-worship is the fact that along with Sir John Rhys and Sir T. Marchant Williams he was responsible for the final choice of the Welsh worthies whose statues stand inside the City Hall, Cardiff.

Viewed in the round, Llewelyn Williams appears as something of a paradoxical figure. He was a staunch nationalist and Eisteddfodwr, yet he wrote relatively little in his native language; a faithful Congregationalist—Independent, he preferred to say—by intellectual conviction, yet in many ways he was temperamentally attracted by the Catholic church; an advocate of home rule for Wales, but never a separatist, for he had too great a respect for what he believed to be the benefits that had accrued to Wales as a result of the Acts of Union. Even so, all his beliefs and ideals were governed by an intellectual consistency that sprang from a profound and overriding dedication to the principle of individual rights and liberty.

Llewelyn Williams was struck down, a victim of pneumonia, at an age when he might still have looked forward to many more years of great achievement, for he died on 22 April 1922, a few weeks after his fifty-fifth birthday. He left a widow, Elinor, née Jenkins, of Glan Sawdde, Llangadog.

The memory of Llewelyn Williams was honoured on 1 July 1937, when members of the Carmarthenshire Antiquarian Society visited his birthplace and his grave, an occasion during which it was recalled that he was largely instrumental in bringing about the Royal Commission on Ancient Monuments in Wales and Monmouthshire, set up in 1908. In the year following the society's visit, a commemorative plaque was unveiled at Brownhill.

E.V.J.

Canon D. Parry-Jones

The Carmarthenshire Historian deeply regrets to record the death of the Rev. Canon Daniel Parry-Jones which occurred at his home in Newport, Gwent in July 1981. Canon Parry-Jones who was 89 years of age, was the author of highly successful books which described life in the countryside of his native Carmarthenshire as he knew it around the turn of the century. Born a farmer's son near Llangeler, he was a graduate of St. David's College, Lampeter, which he once described as "not a Welsh College at all, merely a College in Wales"—by which he meant a College in the Oxford tradition.

His books, *Welsh Country Upbringing* (published in 1941), *Welsh Country Characters* (1952) and *My Own Folk*, published when he was 81, make a valuable record of rural life before the first World War. Another book was *Welsh Legends and Fairy Lore*. Readers of *The Carmarthenshire Historian* will recall his memories of Newcastle Emlyn published in Vol. IV.

In a letter accompanying his last subscription to *The Carmarthenshire Historian* he wrote: "I am afraid it will have to be the last as my eyesight is not now good enough to read the print. I value the collection very much. You have done a great service to the old county and I shall miss my annual copies". He died only months later, survived by a reputation that will shine with increasing brilliance for as long as people enjoy reading about old times in Shir Gâr.