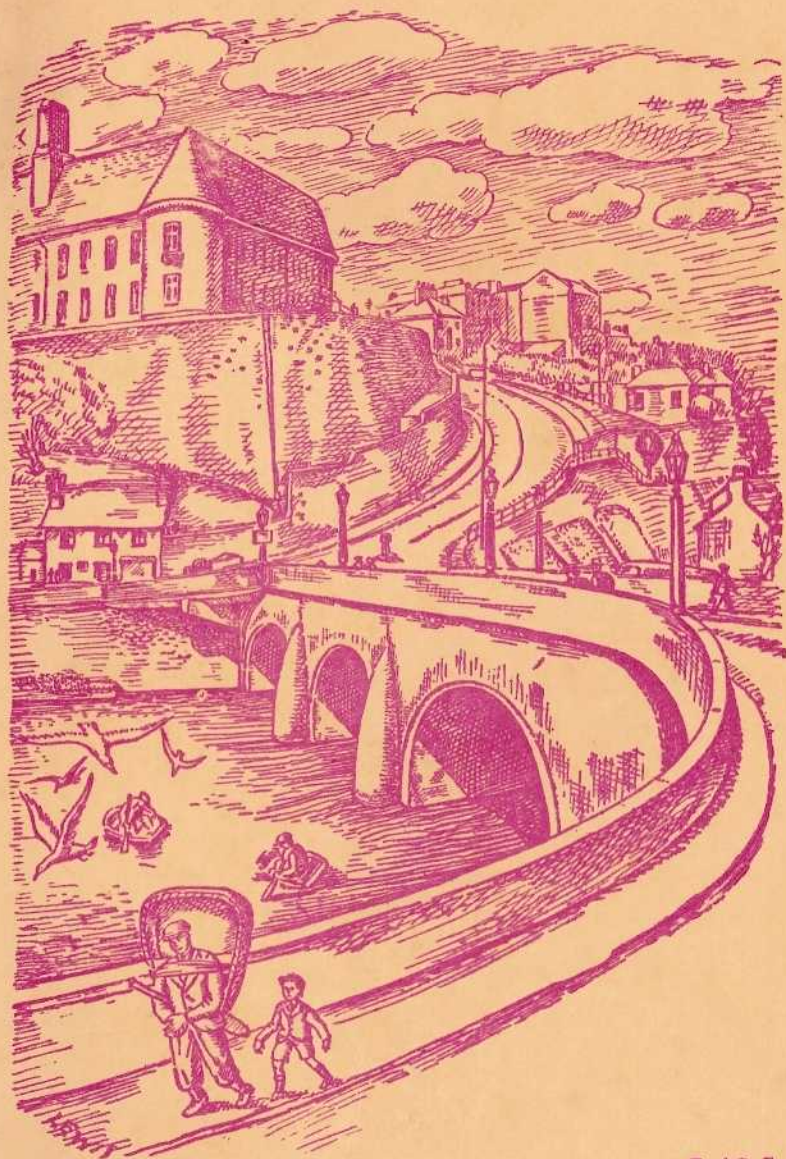


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Editorial

It is with pleasure we present the second volume of the Local History of Carmarthenshire. The main themes of this volume are the growth of Llanelly as an important trading and administrative centre, the contribution of Madam Bevan to the religious and educational developments in the 18th century and an historical survey of Carmarthen Grammar School.

The three articles written by the late Mr. Hopkin Morgan, are by no means a full account of the history of Llanelly. Mr. Morgan has written a comprehensive history of the town which his daughter, Miss M. W. Morgan, has graciously placed at the disposal of the Carmarthenshire Community Council. These articles are therefore only an introduction to an interesting subject which is closely interwoven with the history of our county. The wide knowledge of the author and the clarity of his style will make an immediate appeal to the scholar as well as to the layman interested in the significance of pre-20th century Llanelly.

The article on Madam Bevan by a former distinguished headmaster of Llanelly Grammar School, is a provocative controversial account of the part played by this illustrious lady in the educational and religious life of 18th century Carmarthenshire. Mr. Thomas strongly disagrees with Professor Cavenagh's description of Madam Bevan as a "fussy busy-body" and with Dr. R. T. Jenkins' reference to her as "menyw fflog fusneslyd." The author has neglected nothing that could illustrate the remarkable character of his heroine. This is a work of original reflection and mature judgement.

Mr. A. G. Prys-Jones needs no introduction, for readers will recall to mind his Vol. I of the History of Carmarthenshire. The most fascinating pages in his article are those on the achievements in the political, legal, educational and ecclesiastical professions of old pupils of this famous school. The work is a factual, authoritative and entertaining survey of the growth of an important educational institution.

A number of persons have made possible this publication. I am greatly indebted to Mr. Iorwerth Howells, B.A., LL.B., for his keen interest and invaluable support; to Mr. Gwyn Thomas, M.A., Deputy Director of Education, and Mr. Elwyn Samuel, J.P., Secretary of the Carmarthenshire Community Council, for the encouragement they have given me and the easy grace with which they put their materials and knowledge at my disposal.

I feel an immeasurable debt of gratitude to the authors and particularly to Miss M. W. Morgan, daughter of the late Mr. Hopkin Morgan, for her liberality in making family documents available.

Golygyddol

Mae'n hyfrydwch mawr gennym gyflwyno ail gyfrol Hanes Lleol Sir Gaerfyrddin. Prif themâu'r gyfrol yw tŵf Llanelli fel canolfan masnachol a gweinyddol pwysig, cyfraniad Madam Bevan i ddatblygiadau crefyddol ac addysgol ac arolwg hanesyddol ar Ysgol Ramadeg Caerfyrddin.

Nid yw'r tair erthygl a ysgrifennwyd gan y diweddar Mr. Hopkin Morgan yn honni bod yn adroddiad llawn o hanes Llanelli. Mae Mr. Morgan wedi ysgrifennu hanes cynhwysfawr i'r dre ac y mae ei ferch, Miss M. W. Morgan wedi ei osod, yn garedig iawn, yn nwylo Cyngor Cymdeithasol Sir Gaerfyrddin. Dim ond rhagarweiniad, felly, yw'r erthyglau hyn i destun diddorol sydd wedi ei weu yn fanwl i mewn i hanes ein sir. Mae gwybodaeth eang yr awdur a'i arddull glir yn sicr o apelio'n syth at yr ysgolhaig yn ogystal â'r llygywr sydd a diddordeb yn arwyddocâd Llanelli yn y cyfnodau cyn yr ugeinfed ganrif.

Mae'r erthygl ar Fadam Bevan gan gyn-brifathro enwog Ysgol Ramadeg Llanelli yn adroddiad cyffrous a dadleuol o'r rhan a chwaraewyd gan y ddynes hyglod hon yn hanes bywyd addysgol a chrefyddol Sir Gâr yn y ddeunawfed ganrif. Mae Mr. Thomas yn anghytuno'n ffyrnig â disgrifiad yr Athro Cavanagh o Fadam Bevan fel dynes ffyslyd fusneslyd, a chyfeiriad y Dr. R. T. Jenkins ati fel "menyw ffolog fusneslyd." Nid yw'r awdur wedi gadael dim allan a allai daflu golau ar gymeriad hynod ei arwres. Mae hon yn astudiaeth wreiddiol ac yn ffrwyth barn aeddfed.

'Does dim eisiau cyflwyno Mr. A. G. Prys-Jones i ddarllenwyr sy'n cofio ei gyfrol gyntaf o Hanes Sir Gaerfyrddin. Y tudalennau mwyaf trawiadol yn ei erthygl yw'r rhai hynny sy'n sôn am gyflawniadau hen ddisgyblion yr ysgol hon yn y meysydd politicaidd, cyfreithiol, addysgol ac eglwysig. Mae hwn yn arolwg ffeithiol, awdurdodol a diddorol o dyfiant sefydliad addysgol pwysig.

Mae nifer o bersonau wedi gwneud cyhoeddi'r llyfryn hwn yn bosibl. Rwy'n fawr yn nyled Mr. Iorwerth Howells, B.A., Ll.B., am ei ddiddordeb brwd a'i gefnogaeth werthfawr, i Mr. Gwyn Thomas, M.A., Dirprwy Gyfarwyddwr Addysg ac i Mr. Elwyn Samuel, J.P., Ysgrifennydd Cyngor Cymdeithasol Sir Gaerfyrddin am yr anogaeth a roddwyd i mi, ac i'w parodrwydd yn rhoi eu defnyddiau a'u gwybodaeth at fy ngwasanaeth.

Mae arnaf faich arbennig o ddyled i'r awduron, ac yn arbennig i Miss M. W. Morgan merch y diweddar Mr. Hopkin Morgan am ei charedigrwydd yn rhoi dogfennau teuluol at ein gwasanaeth.

Madam Bevan

1697—1779.

G. J. Thomas, M.A.

South East Carmarthenshire was a centre of educational activity during the latter part of the 17th century and the early part of the 18th. Here, at Meidrim, the Rev. Stephen Hughes, ejected from his living in 1662, continued to preach, teach, edit and publish until his death in 1688. Like him John Vaughan of Derllys had co-operated with Thomas Gouge and the Welsh Trust. Of the county's ten Trust Schools seven were in this district. Moreover it was in this area that the S.P.C.K., with the help of Sir John Philipps of Picton Castle, had set up eight of their thirteen Carmarthenshire schools. Here, too, Griffith Jones began his career.

Derllys.

It is fitting, therefore, that in this area, where schools were better known than in most parts of Wales, the parish of Llanfihangel Abercywyn should be the birthplace of Thomas Charles "o'r Bala" in 1755, the parish of Llansadurnen that of Peter Williams in 1723 and Derllys in the parish of Merthyr that of Bridget Vaughan, better known as Madam Bevan, in 1697. She was the daughter of *John Vaughan of Derllys, which had come to the Vaughan family through the marriage of John Vaughan's grandfather, Richard of Golden Grove, to Elizabeth Prydderch of Hawksbrook. The present house stands in a fold of the hills north of the road leading from Carmarthen to St. Clears. It is "modern and devoid of archaeological interest," a plain, three-storied double-fronted house facing a yard bordered by farm buildings, of which the largest and most solidly built, now used as a barn, is thought to be the house in which Richard Vaughan of Golden Grove settled and in which John Vaughan and his family lived.

Of this house Fenton, in his "Tours of Wales (1804-13)", wrote:—

"Hence to Court Derllys, the old house of the Vaughans, the same as those who went to settle at Derwydd. Of this house were Sir John Vaughan, Judge of the Carmarthen Court, and Sir Henry Vaughan, the Royalist. The house I was disappointed in, expecting to have found it larger and retaining marks of more consequence."

* He was a great grandson of Walter Vaughan of Golden Grove and a great nephew of the first Earl of Carberry.

This was doubtless the "caput" of the mediaeval Manor of Derllys and the administrative centre of the Hundred of Derllys (formed by Act of 1536) which stretched, according to Speed's Map from Amroth to Cilrhedyn, thence to Llangain and the mouth of the Towy. It was the most important Hundred in the County casting 259 votes in the election of 1754. The house was set in rural surroundings, but the many interests of John Vaughan made it a centre of religious, social, and cultural as well as administrative activity; an admirable milieu for the upbringing of his children, three girls and a boy.

Parents and Marriage.

We know little of the education of Bridget and her sisters. In those days the sons of country gentlemen were sometimes sent to English Public Schools and Universities, or, as in the case of Bridget's only brother, Richard, to one of the Inns of Court. No such opportunities were open to the daughters who were usually taught at home, perhaps as pupils of the village parson. They were therefore not subject in the same degree as their brothers to anglicising influences, and were often more proficient in their native tongue and more closely in touch with local life, which still had many features of a feudal character in Wales, where agriculture was the main occupation of the people and industrial development was in its early stages. At Derllys the daughters of John Vaughan were brought into contact with many sides of public life. Their father set them a good example of devotion to the duties which fell upon a country gentleman's family. He was a man of culture and practical capacity, with high ideals of public duty and a clear insight into the needs of the people; purposeful in character and not easily turned from his efforts to attain the objects he had in view. Bridget's mother was Elizabeth Thomas of Panthenry, a great-grand-daughter of John Prydderch, the astronomer of Hawksbrook and a member of a notable family which had intermarried with the Vaughans on several occasions. She inherited Hawksbrook in 1718 as well as property in Llangynog, Merthyr and Llanstephan.

Life in Derllys with its family traditions, its social and political contacts, its familiarity with county and local government, its preoccupation with religious and educational activities, its interest in books and its correspondence with the S.P.C.K., its visits from local clergy and gentry and its close touch with the age-old life of the countryside, could not fail to stimulate the minds of intelligent girls and broaden their outlook. Their lives were varied by visits to friends and relatives at Golden Grove, Derwydd, Danyralt, Hawksbrook

and other country houses and by social functions in Carmarthen, where many of the county families had town houses. In due course the Vaughan sisters became distinguished figures in the county's social life, interested not only in local, but also in metropolitan and political affairs through John Vaughan's brother, Richard, M.P. for Carmarthen, during an engrossing period of history.

Early Influences.

On December 30th, 1721, Bridget Vaughan was married at Merthyr to Arthur Bevan of Laugharne, a friend of Griffith Jones. On December 16th, in anticipation of the marriage, an estate at Llansadurnen of the annual value of £180 was settled on the Bevans and in augmentation of Bridget's portion, a voluntary gift of £1,000 was made by her uncle, Richard Vaughan, M.P.

Arthur Bevan, was the son of Zachary Bevan (High Sheriff in 1703) and Sarah Bayley. He was educated at Brasenose College, Oxford, and called to the Bar by the Middle Temple. He became Recorder of Carmarthen in 1722, and held the office until his dismissal in 1741. In 1727 he was elected M.P. for the Borough of Carmarthen and in 1735 was appointed Judge of Equity in South Wales. He did not seek re-election in 1741 but remained a member of the Common Council of Carmarthen until his death on March 6th, 1752 at the age of 56. He and his wife had settled at Laugharne where Mrs. Bevan lived until her death in 1779, aged 82, with intervals spent in London and Bath, moving in political, social and religious circles. In Bath she was prominent in the group around the Countess of Huntingdon.

Arthur Bevan's election to Parliament had brought the two into the social life of London where they had many family connections. Particularly important was that between Madam Bevan and the Duchess of Bolton, before her marriage Lady Anne Vaughan,* daughter of the last Earl of Carbery of Golden Grove, and a cousin of the 4th Earl of Chesterfield. After the death of John Vaughan in 1721 the affairs of the Llangynog Charity School were administered by the Bevans. This gave them valuable experience and may have stimulated Madam Bevan's interest in schools for the poor.

Among the influences affecting the early life of Bridget Vaughan we must include that of Griffith Jones. After a short curacy at Laugharne where he made a great reputation as a

*Richard and John Vaughan were trustees of the marriage settlement of Lady Anne.

preacher and taught in its S.P.C.K. School, he became in 1711 incumbent of Llandeilo Abercywyn which adjoins the Parish of Llangynog where John Vaughan had founded a school in 1705. In June, 1713, he became a member of the S.P.C.K. and in the following November, perhaps under John Vaughan's influence, he gave up the idea of going to India as a missionary and decided to devote himself to work in Wales—work in which John Vaughan himself was interested and with which Bridget Vaughan, then sixteen years of age, was destined later to be so inseparably associated. Griffith Jones, who became Rector of Llanddowror in 1716, officiated from time to time in the Churches of Merthyr and Llanllwch where the Derllys family worshipped. Deeply moved by his preaching and predisposed towards religion by her life at home, the friendship between Griffith Jones and Bridget Vaughan, begun in those early years, was to last for nearly half a century.

In "Y Trysorfa" for March 1809 Thomas Charles wrote: "Yr oedd Griffith Jones yn gweindogaethu yn achlysurol yn Llanllwch. Tan ei weindogaeth yn Llanllwch cafodd Miss Bridget Vaughan, gwedi hynny Mrs. Bevan, o Laugharne ei dwyn i ddwysfeddwl am bethau byd arall ac i ymfyn am wir grefydd. Yr oedd o deulu parchus ac yn landeg synwrol."

But Thomas Charles was only six years old when Griffith Jones died and for his article in "Y Trysorfa" he had to rely much on the memories still cherished in his time among the old inhabitants of South West Carmarthenshire. Later writers on Madam Bevan have repeated his statements about her personal attractions and the influence on her of Griffith Jones's preaching. "The Christian Guardian" for September 1809 described her as a handsome, sensible and accomplished young lady of a very respectable family, impressed by Griffith Jones at Llanllwch and, with her two sisters, universally talked of in the County for beauty and good sense. In the "Summary of the Life and Character of the Rev. Griffith Jones" published at Carmarthen in 1835 the writer remarks of her that

"She dedicated her whole life, talents and property to the service of religion. In her person were united the charms of beauty, the female accomplishments of the day, family respectability and a liberal fortune."

Her personal attractions and the impressions made on her by Griffith Jones's preaching are mentioned also by the author of "The Life of the Countess of Huntingdon" published in 1839 and by Miss Curtiss in her "Antiquities of Laugharne."

Contemporary and 20th Century Opinion

The earliest description we have of Madam Bevan, apart from references in Griffith Jones's letters, is that given by Howel Harris after his visit to Llanddowror to consult the Rector about "taking orders." In June 1736 he wrote to his brother Joseph:—

"I have been with Mr. Griffith Jones last week where I was introduced to Mr. A.—B—'s lady who entirely gives herself to do good and lays out hundreds yearly in charity."

"She distributes Welsh Bibles about, has several Charity Schools on her own foundation."

"She has (they tell me) about £500 per annum at her command (she has no children) and spends it mostly in charitable uses. I think she is the finest lady I ever saw in all respects, 'twas a taste of Heaven to be with her. She made me a present of a very fine pocket Testament and encouraged me, whatever happens, to go on with what I am doing and that I should not want a friend."

The encouragement given to Howel Harris who was not yet 23 shows the sympathy Madam Bevan had for the aspirations of youth and it must have been one of the inspiring features of her character for we see it repeated in the case of Robert Jones, of Rhos-lan some 25 years later.

The Rev. Thomas Shankland writing in "Seren Gomer" (1904) of John Vaughan as the peer of Bishop Humphreys (Bangor and Hereford) and Sir John Philipps in their services to Wales comments:

"Un o'r cymwynasau mwyaf wnaeth Vaughan a Chymru oedd rhoddi iddi Bridget ei ferch a'i aeres sydd erbyn heddyw yn fwy adnabyddus na'i thad—Bridget Vaughan, yr hon trwy briodas a ddaeth yn Fadam Bevan, noddreg Griffith Jones, Llanddowror a'i ddilyneg gyda'r Ysgolion Cylchynol a chymwynasreg fawr i addysg Cymru." This view, however, is not shared by all writers.

"Ychydig sail sydd genym," wrote Dr. R. T. Jenkins, "i ffurfio barn am Fadam Bevan. A'i fflog fusneslyd oedd fel y myn rhai neu ynte "the finest lady I ever saw in all respects?"

In justice to her this is a question that should, if possible, be answered. Material for this purpose is not scanty. Contemporaries who provide us with evidence include not only Howel

Harris but also Griffith Jones, Robert Jones of Rhos-lan, Rev. John Evans of Eglwys Cymmin, John Player, Daniel Rowlands' anonymous relative, Williams Pantycelyn, Dr. David Edwards, the surgeon who compiled "Mrs. Bevan's Dispensatory for the Poor," the writer of the "Sketch of Griffith Jones's Life," published in 1761 and 1762, Thomas Charles of Bala, the Correspondents who wrote to her when she was in charge of the schools after the death of Griffith Jones in 1761 and the witnesses examined by the Lord Chancellor's Commission of 1786. To these may be added the author of the "Life of the Countess of Huntingdon," and the Rev. H. F. Vincent, Vicar of St. Dogmaels, a Visitor of the restored schools, both of whom lived near enough to her time to record the memories of men who had known her personally. In this considerable body of contemporary and near contemporary evidence there is no adverse criticism apart from the insinuations of the Rev. John Evans and the comments of John Player, the 19 years old Quaker.

John Evans criticised the activities of Griffith Jones in a book written, as he said, at the request of the "late good and great Bishop (Gibson) of London." This was published in two parts in 1751 and 1752 under the elaborate title "Some Account of the Welsh Charity Schools and of the Rise and Progress of Methodism in Wales through the means of them, under the sole management and direction of Griffith Jones, Clerk of Llanddowror in Carmarthenshire, in a short history of the Life of that Clergyman as a Clergyman."

The book was marked by the scurrility characteristic of religious controversy at the time. Virulent and outrageous attacks were made on Methodists and religious enthusiasts in general and on Wesley, Whitefield and Griffith Jones in particular. There were also veiled attacks on Madam Bevan. She was not mentioned by name but as "Mr. Jones's friend" or as "a certain hand at Laugharne" and "He forebore to insert many stories about Mr. Jones out of pure respect to that person who is highly concerned with him in them." This is an acknowledgement of Madam Bevan's close association with Griffith Jones's work and of John Evans's grudging respect for her and her family the standing of which, well known to him, must have been some safeguard against more personal abuse.

John Player records a visit to Laugharne on his journey through Wales in 1753 with William Brown, an American Quaker.

"The morrow, being advised that there was a woman of some quality in the Town who was cried up for her piety and charitable acts to the poor and for being a zealous

Christian my companion found freedom in his mind to see her."—"We went and saw her who received us with a good deal of fashionable freedom."—"She was full of Brain knowledge being too wise to learn of Christ and a thorough bigot to the Priests, tho' at our parting she said she was obliged for the visit and esteemed it a favour."

These comments throw as much light on the Quaker views of John Player as on the conformist attitude of Madam Bevan.

Modern biographers of Griffith Jones (amongst them the Rev. David Jones, Canon Ambrose Jones and Professor Cavenagh) and historians of Welsh Education, have as a matter of course expressed their opinions of Madam Bevan. Generally these opinions have been favourable, but Professor Cavenagh's is an exception. He is critical, and in one case unjustifiably so, for he relied on inaccurate and evidently unverified quotations from Griffith Jones's letters to Madam Bevan. His description of her as a "fussy busybody" (which may perhaps be the source of Professor R. T. Jenkins's "ffolog fusneslyd") can hardly be acceptable to any careful student of the letters and of Madam Bevan's many kindnesses to Mr. and Mrs. Jones therein acknowledged.*

Weighing the evidence of her contemporaries and making every allowance for the partiality Griffith Jones may have shown, we cannot but be convinced, if words mean anything, that despite the strictures of John Evans and John Player, Madam Bevan was a woman of fine quality, steadfast in character, zealous in well-doing, sound in judgement, competent in action, a good friend and an outstanding benefactress to her country. It was not her destiny to be the mother of a family, but her maternal instincts found expression in her encouragement of youth and in her "Compassion and love for those young ones" who were pupils in the Welsh Charity Schools.* Not least is the effect produced on one's mind by her loyalty throughout a long life to the religious and educational traditions of her family, to the people and language of Wales, to Griffith Jones and the schools he founded. In all these loyalties she was modest and self-effacing, never thrusting herself forward, content to serve until circumstances compelled her to lead. It is significant that, great though her services had been to Griffith Jones and to the Schools, her name was not mentioned in "Welch Piety" until towards the end

* Vide Page 14 and Addendum.

* "One cannot help feeling that less money and more family cares would have done her no harm."—Professor Cavenagh.

of his life. (There is reason to believe that her support, coupled with that of Sir John Philipps, saved him from persecution at a critical time in his career). She had been brought up as a member of the Established Church. She was conservative in wishing to preserve the traditions of that Church, and like most cultured people of the 18th Century, including even Wesley, Watts and Doddridge, she did not approve of "enthusiasm" in religion or the irregular preaching that always accompanied it. Yet like the Evangelicals with whom she had much in common, she was broad-minded enough to welcome the help in her schools of men who stood outside her own church. The only evidence suggestive of narrow-mindedness in her religious attitude is John Player's remark that, "She was a bigot to the priests" and perhaps the Rev. Evan Davies's statement that, at Llanybri, she gave Bibles only to those who learnt Griffith Jones's Catechism. The former presumably had little love for or understanding of priests, while the latter's statement may be nothing more than evidence of her loyalty to the memory of Griffith Jones, whose "Exposition of the Church Catechism" was used in the schools even after his death.

Status of Women in the 18th Century.

Madam Bevan lived in an age when women generally were ill-educated and not expected to show an interest in matters outside the sphere of domestic life. They were "social ornaments in the upper ranks of society; household drudges in the lower". It was "genteel for a wealthy woman to have idle hands resting on her lap and all activity reduced to a clacking tongue". At the beginning of the century, "women moved eccentrically and without grace when they strove beyond the limits of domestic office." Midway through the century, women of the leisured classes sank to the lowest point of intellectual culture for hundreds of years—"They were useless, uneducated, unnatural; their morality false and their modesty false; their intellectual attainments hardly deserving of the name." Towards the end of the century it was thought by some, "Enough if women were taught to be good daughters, wives, mothers and mistresses of families, submissive in temper, gentle in demeanour, distrustful of their own judgment in the presence of men." But there were exceptions.

Madam Bevan—an exception.

Lady Huntingdon, Madam Bevan and others in their circles did not conform to the conventional pattern. They were not content to be social ornaments or mere yes-women to their

men folk. They had energy and intelligence, individuality, and initiative, opinions of their own and courage to express them. In truth they were pioneers undertaking responsibilities and persevering in the face of every obstacle. In their own way and in their own country both Lady Huntingdon and Madam Bevan showed that women could rise above the habit of graceful and rather stupid indolence which convention imposed upon them. Compared with most of her contemporaries, Madam Bevan was a woman of considerable culture, though perhaps a culture that threw back to the religiously minded 17th Century rather than forward to the era of the "Blue Stockings". She impressed John Player with her "brain knowledge"; earned the respect of many of the clergy of Wales for her "endowments of mind" and won the admiration of Lady Huntingdon's friends for the ability with which, in discussions with Chesterfield, she successfully vindicated the right of women to argue freely and on equal terms with men—a right not always recognised in the 18th Century.

Her Circle of Friends at Bath.

"At every visit of Mr. Whitefield to Bath," wrote the author of "The Life of Lady Huntingdon", "he preached at Mrs. Bevan's house. At the period of which we speak the Earls of Chesterfield and Huntingdon and Mr. Stanhope were among the distinguished auditory. Mrs. Bevan's elegant, accomplished manners attracted Lord Chesterfield's attention and, having studied the Deistical writers of the age, she was enabled to give all her eminent ability and clearness to the discussion of the topics he was fond of introducing. She easily and solidly refuted his plausible objections to revealed religion."

Chesterfield though "notoriously loose in his religious opinions", was one of the great talkers of the age and we may assume that when he was present discussions must have reached a high standard of interest and vivacity. One of the discussions between them is referred to in "Bridget Bevan's Letter to the Countess of Huntingdon."

"Lord Chesterfield's inclinations to subvert Christianity has involved me in many inconsistencies. A greater proof of his prejudices and his being reduced to the last distress in point of argument is his generous clamours and invectives against all historical evidence as absolutely uncertain; and it is not so much the corruptions of Christianity that his Lordship finds fault with as with the Christian revelation itself which he does not scruple

to represent as the product of enthusiasm or imposture. Yet, at other times he will agree with me that never were there any facts that had clearer and more convincing evidence attending them than the extraordinary and miraculous facts whereby the divine original and authority of the Christian revelation was attested and confirmed. This strange fluctuation of opinion I can account for only on this ground—that the incontrovertible and undeniable evidence of these facts has overcome the notions and prejudices with which his mind has been so strongly prepossessed; and it is this shaking of the Babel of unbelief that fills me with the hope that the great Dispenser of spiritual benefits will, of His Free Grace and mercy reveal to his Lordship's mind the grand and harmonious system of revealed truth, the several parts of which are like so many links of a beautiful chain, one part answering to another and all concurring to exhibit an admirable plan in which the wisdom and the grace and goodness and the righteousness of God most eminently shine forth. Your Ladyship's great intimacy with and friendship for Lord Chesterfield has induced me to be thus minute in what related to him. Of Lord Huntingdon I have not had such opportunity of forming an opinion; but I hear from good Lady Gertrude that Sir Charles and his Lordship are inseparable and have long and interesting discussions on the most interesting topics. He has called frequently on Mrs. Grenfield with whom he seems much pleased. Your Ladyship is well assured she will not lose a favourable opportunity of speaking a word in season."

The discussion was held presumably at the request of Lady Huntingdon and the letter is a private document written, maybe hastily for an immediate personal object, without thought that it would be published and criticised in ignorance of the circumstances in which it was written. One of the biographers of Griffith Jones, the Rev. David Jones, wrote of it:

"as the only extant production of Mrs. Bevan's pen and brings before us a person of high intellectual order, well read in the controversies of the 18th Century, profoundly loyal to the fundamental truth of Revelation and deeply anxious to rescue others from the maze of unbelief."

Another biographer, the Rev. Canon D. Ambrose Jones, referred to it as showing exceptional intelligence and strength of mind. Professor Cavenagh however, in his study of the

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"Life and Work of Griffith Jones" is less favourable and wrote

"to others it might suggest a conceited busybody, too excited by her intimacy with the great Lord Chesterfield to realise the game he was playing with her, for in spite of all her fuss, it is doubtful whether the harmony of religion was ever fully revealed to his Lordship's mind, and one cannot help feeling that less money and more family cares would have done her no harm."

This is a harsh, unchivalrous statement. The more it is examined the less just or generous it seems to be either to Madam Bevan or to Lord Chesterfield. In fairness to both we should not forget the close links between the Stanhope and Vaughan families. We should remember also the friendship between Madam Bevan, Lady Chesterfield and Lady Gertrude Hothan and the respect in which Chesterfield held Lady Huntingdon and her circle. The group which gathered in the houses of Madam Bevan and her friends met on natural and easy terms. They were accustomed to the presence of Chesterfield and the talks must have been marked rather by a spirit of friendly candour than by the unease and insincerity implied by Professor Cavenagh's unsupported words.

Appreciation of her work and contribution to religious and educational life of the 18th Century.

Madam Bevan's environment, education and experience favoured the growth of her many-sided character. Though familiar with the life of the privileged classes she also knew the life of small country towns and villages. Her share in Griffith Jones's work, the letters she received from School Correspondents and her own residence in a rural community made her, more than most of her class, familiar with the virtues, vices, hardships and needs of those who laboured on the land or in small industry. She was able to take a wide view of what could benefit Welsh people and to assess the value of a religious approach to educational and social questions. Ideas of economic and social reform, as we know them, may not have occurred to her. In her day such reform was rather the by-product of charity to the poor than the deliberate object of political policy. The century in which she lived has been described as politically inarticulate where the interests of the poor were concerned. Governments, lacking a real sense of social justice, were indifferent to the claims of those who had no votes and though the age was one of reason and common sense even reasonable men were too apt

to accept things as they were—the wealth and privileges of the few; the poverty and subordination of the many—as natural and inevitable. The benevolence of men and women like Madam Bevan helped to remove some of the disabilities which later generations have sought to remove by legislative action.

In the letters to the subscribers to his schools, published in "Welch Piety" Griffith Jones emphasised the economic as well as the spiritual importance of instruction in righteousness and the duty of the rich for their own sake to be charitable to the poor. These letters embody much of what we know to have been Madam Bevan's practice, but neither Griffith Jones nor Madam Bevan could have realised, as clearly as we do, that at the root of the need for charity lay the injustice inherent in the social system of the time, or that the greater the need for charity, the greater the need for enlightened legislation to counter the injustice. Such legislation was unlikely and charity was to remain as the chief instrument for the amelioration of social conditions.

In Griffith Jones's last five letters, written when living at Laugharne and possibly the outcome of discussion between him and Madam Bevan, emphasis was laid not only on the responsibility of wealthy people towards the poor but also on the dangers inseparable from the extravagance of the rich; the possibility that the poor and ignorant might be corrupted by their example; the duty of ministers, schoolmasters, parents and householders towards those living under their care; the connection between the religious education of the poor and young and the reformation and security of the country. "To teach and reform the ignorant was work well worthy of the care of Kings and Princes" has its implication that the great work of education should not be left entirely to private effort. It was emphasised that

"Charity was the greatest of heaven-born graces; Liberality to the poor, the safest preservative against the calamities of the world as well as the truest method of thriving in it."

that "Persons in authority and high rank can do more good than others, but those in lower stations can also do good."

that "Reformation may come from children of the poor taught Christian doctrine rather than from children of the rich not taught such doctrine but only to qualify them for the honours and lucrative employments of the world."

These are some of the principles underlying the objects of the teaching in the Welsh Circulating Charity Schools.

Her Devotion to the Circulating Schools.

After Griffith Jones's death Madam Bevan, forced to rely mainly on herself, showed admirable steadfastness of purpose in her supervision of the schools. She spent the last twenty-eight years of her life almost wholly in Wales, devoting herself laboriously to the schools and striving to maintain them efficiently in the face of many difficulties. On all sides she was recognized as their chief promoter and the letters of her correspondents show an esteem and a depth of gratitude we can neither overlook nor doubt. She was described as "A mother in Israel." "A Benefactress and Advocate of the poor," "The greatest supporter and promoter of the most excellent charity in these parts of Wales."

She was praised for "The well-known multiplicity of her pious and charitable actions," her "Active and troublesome part in conducting these truly useful seminaries, meriting the best thanks of every inhabitant of the Principality."

Such were some of the phrases used by clergymen from all parts of Wales with a sincerity that cannot reasonably be questioned. At the beginning of her administration the plea from Llandeilo Talybont was "Go on, Madam, with your wonted zeal for the Glory of God and the public good of those nations in the true faith of Christ."

On January 15th, 1777 the Rev. John Thomas, Carno near Llanidloes wrote: "To show a hearty concern for the eternal Felicity of our Fellow Creatures (as you Madam, unfeignedly and indefatigably do) will be remembered through future years with great esteem and veneration."

This letter coming from a part of Wales remote from Laugharne shows how high Madam Bevan's reputation stood in the evening of her days. She was a central figure towards whom eyes were turned from all parts of Wales; head of an organisation which served the whole country, brought people into contact with one centre and, more than any other organisation or institution then existing, gave them a sense of unity and individuality. The schools were a "comfort to many," a "boon to those who could not otherwise afford to send their children to school." They served the poor materially as well as spiritually; taught them the lessons of duty, temperance and industry and, through the use of the Welsh language created a spirit of democratic fellowship probably non-existent in the Gouge or S.P.C.K. Schools.

Apathy of the Higher Clergy.

Though worked chiefly through the Church and generally supported by the lesser clergy, it is questionable whether the Welsh Schools were encouraged by high ecclesiastical authority as the S.P.C.K. Schools had been. Throughout their existence (from 1737 to 1779) the Bishops appointed to Welsh Sees were, almost without exception, Englishmen. They were generally men of learning and character but they looked on appointments in Wales more as stepping stones to preferment in England than as fields for their life-work. They spent little time in Wales, took little interest in the spiritual welfare of the people, had little sympathy with their life or language and filled diocesan offices of importance too often with absentee Englishmen. Usually Whig in politics they were out of touch with the many Tory Squires and lower clergy in Wales. They had supported the S.P.C.K. Schools but there is little evidence that they gave support to the W.C.S. They may have been indifferent because as a rule the Schools were conducted in Welsh or, in their opinion, were being used for purposes unfavourable to the Church, and when Madam Bevan died, they did nothing to save the Schools from extinction. Who can estimate the loss to Wales that, at a critical time in her history, her Sees were filled by men who were alien in spirit from the people and ignorant of their language, culture and customs? Who can question the gain that would have accrued to Wales had those Sees been filled by patriotic Welshmen actively interested in the education and social welfare of their countrymen? Madam Bevan herself counted on the continuance of the schools, as did many others, and when she drew up her last will and testament we are justified in thinking she had in mind their establishment on a permanent basis as a national system which would have maintained the connection of the Church with education during the critical years after 1779. The collapse of the Schools on her death destroyed this prospect and leadership in the work of teaching the people passed into other hands. The Church, popular at the beginning of the 18th Century, sank into disrespect before its end.

Madam Bevan as an Organiser.

One of the distinguishing features in the story of the relations between Griffith Jones and Madam Bevan was the spirit of co-operation that existed between them. They had an understanding and a common purpose which enabled them to work together in the most friendly way. They were complementary to one another, not rivals. Madam Bevan had

some advantages over Griffith Jones. She had greater wealth, greater social experience, more important family connections. But she had some disadvantages. She could not avail herself of the pulpit to create goodwill or rouse enthusiasm as Griffith Jones could and she lived in a century which did not favour the prominence of women in public activities. She had to rely on organization, on personal influence and on a wise choice of colleagues. It must be a moot point whether she was inferior to Griffith Jones as an organizer. He himself recognized her as "the greatest mistress of contrivance in directing affairs in an easy methodical way." Many clergymen respected her for her efficiency, and the failure of the schools in parts of Wales at various times are not necessarily reflections on her capacity for administration. The striking success of the movement while Griffith Jones lived in her house at Laugharne and could consult her every day and the record created in the number of schools and scholars after his death cannot be disregarded as mere accident or coincidence.

At a time when memories of her and of the loss sustained by the suppression of the schools were still vivid the Rev. H. F. Vincent, Vicar of St. Dogmaels and a Visitor of the restored Madam Bevan Schools in 1825 wrote:—

"The education of the people is now the great question of the age in which all except a few prejudiced individuals are agreed. It was not so in Mr. Jones's time nor many generations after him. He stood almost alone and had to contend with the prejudices of those who looked upon the poor as serfs, whose only object in life was (like brut beasts) to administer to the wants and caprices of their superiors. In this respect he is from his shoulders higher than his fellows. Rowlands may vie with him in eloquence and ministerial success, but as to the education of youth, the instruction of the poor, the founding of schools, he was at least a century before his age. The public are only now beginning to discover what he saw more than a hundred years ago. Uninfluenced by example and unaided by support until Mrs. Bevan came forward, he founded schools in Wales which will be a blessing to generations yet unborn."

"It is generally stated that Mrs. Bevan left by will £10,000 to support the circulating schools, but I believe the true state of the case to be this:—Mr. Jones left, at the time of his death about £7,500 to which by will she added £2,500 to make the aggregate sum of £10,000. To the former sum she might have contributed largely and incurred considerable expense in carrying on the

schools for twenty years after Mr. Jones's death. Mrs. Bevan might be called the Lady Huntingdon of Wales. These two noble and elect ladies resembled one another in godliness, zeal and charity, and self-consecration to the work of God. They were the two luminaries of the 18th Century."

Her Place in the History of Wales.

Madam Bevan is unique in the history of Wales. For over forty years she gave her services freely and voluntarily to the cause of religious education. She met with failure at times as well as success. Supporters fell away; some of her masters were unfaithful to their charge; adverse influences were often strong but she carried on her work resolutely—work which began in the most depressing period in the history of English Christianity—and laboured whole-heartedly for her countrymen in their time of need. It is doubtful whether we can estimate accurately today the extent and value of her services. The concensus of praise given by those who knew her or knew of her was remarkable. It cannot all be flattery and unquestionably she was a woman of uncommon quality. The "Long date of years in this world for the benefit of mankind" that Owen Bowen of Llangeler prayed for on April 30th, 1772 was granted but, to the infinite loss of Wales, his other prayer that "God would guide some other person to take your place on earth" was not. The breach of continuity caused by her death was a tragedy.

Her fame has suffered because she worked on a small and comparatively obscure stage. Had she been an English-woman; had she done in England work comparable with that she did in Wales, Madam Bevan might be looked on today as one of the outstanding women of the 18th Century.

Between 14th December, 1732 and 4th March, 1738 Griffith Jones wrote 175 letters to Madam Bevan. The letters themselves have been lost, but two transcripts of them have been preserved, one in the N.L.W. and the other in the Museum of the Carmarthenshire Antiquarian Society. They deal mainly with religion, schools and health, and there are many references to Madam Bevan's kindnesses to Griffith Jones and his wife, Margaret, sister of Arabella, wife of her uncle, Richard Vaughan.

On the basis of what are described as quotations from these letters Professor Cavenagh suggests that sometimes Griffith Jones may have become weary of these kindnesses. "Even Griffith Jones," he wrote in 'The Life and Work of Griffith Jones of Llanddowror' "found her attentions burdensome at times; for though he writes to her (February 1736), 'I am obliged to you for the Physic which I take regularly' yet in October 1737 (i.e. twenty months later) he has to say 'Your wine and sugar is too fattening for me. I find plainer food the best'." Reference to the text of the transcribed letters shows these quotations to be inaccurate. They are taken from an article in the Transactions of the Carms. Antiq. Soc. (Vol. XV, Part 37.) in which many quotations are not literal extracts but seem to be impressionistic summaries of what Griffith Jones had written. In justice to Madam Bevan the quotations should have been given as they are in the transcripts. The first quotation under date 6th February, 1736, should read:

"The Physick we are obliged to you for is taken very regularly. I hope that the Lord in His tender mercy will restore her again. Both of us thank you in the heartiest manner we are able to. Praise God for the love of so valuable a friend as you."

The medicine was evidently for Mrs. Jones and not for Mr. Jones.

In view of this one may venture an opinion that Professor Cavenagh did not read the transcripts of the letters, but derived his information from the Article mentioned above.

The second quotation, under date October, 1737, is not found in any letter written in that month but on November 8th, 1737 Griffith Jones did write:

"In answer to your obliging inquiry about our health my wife is just the same you left her and I am quite well except the old complaint, have just now made use of the pleasant drink you recommend and when I do it it shall be purely in regard to your advice, being otherwise afraid of its being too feeding for one because of the wine and

Queen Elizabeth Grammar School, Carmarthen

A. G. PRYS-JONES, O.B.E., M.A.

A New Type of School.

The Tudor period saw the establishment of a new type of educational institution in Wales, the Grammar School. Though these schools were no longer controlled by the Church, a few owed their origin to some of the transferred endowments of monastic houses and collegiate churches. Among these was Christ College, Brecon (1542), founded with the endowments of the collegiate institution at Abergwili, together with some of those attached to the dissolved Priory of Brecon. Similarly Abergavenny Grammar School (1543) was endowed from the property of the local Priory.

Other Grammar Schools in Wales were founded by members of the aristocracy, distinguished clergymen or wealthy merchants. For instance, the Queen Elizabeth Grammar School, Carmarthen (1576) owed its origin to the petition of Walter Devereux, Earl of Essex, and influential local people to the Queen. Friar's School, Bangor (1561) was established by Dr. Geoffrey Glyn, a native of Anglesey; Ruthin Grammar School (1595) by Dean Gabriel Goodman, of Westminster Abbey, who was born in the town; Presteigne Grammar School (1549) by John Beddows, a local clothier; and Cowbridge Grammar School (1608) by the Glamorgan scholar and patron of learning, Sir Edward Stradling.

Centres of Anglicising Influence.

The curriculum was based mainly upon classical studies, with some training in mathematics. At that time and for nearly three centuries later, a sound knowledge of Latin and Greek was regarded as a hall-mark of an educated man. Admission to Oxford, Cambridge and the Inns of Court depended upon a reasonable classical education which secured entrance later into the learned professions, e.g. the church, law; teaching; medicine; civil service; diplomatic and magisterial appointments, all of which have attracted so many able Welshmen since Tudor times.

sugar in it, for I find my body now in a very thriving way. But what shall we do Madam that the soul may thrive also?"

The phrase "fits of melancholy often worry me" although quoted as being in the letter of October 27th, 1737, does not appear in that letter which however does contain the phrase "the leanness of my soul."

Another quotation "kitchen medicines suit me better than Bath" is a very abbreviated version of the letter written on 17th November, 1737:

"my obligations to you dear Madam do increase every day and have a great regard to your good advice but as one of my complaints is owing I think to a sharpness or acrimony in the blood, the Bath waters would increase this and I therefore incline to try kitchen medicines with stricter rules of living for some time longer. I am at present free from pain. Hot water and red wine abates it: am now to confine myself to Gill tea and few other simple things which I hope for some benefit from with respect to all my complaints and do resolve on early hours to bed."

This letter may imply that Madam Bevan had recommended a visit to Bath—visits which she probably made possible for him by her generosity. (He had visited Bath in 1735, in February and June of 1737 and again in 1739).

On June 23rd, 1737, Griffith Jones wrote:

"My own health comes on very comfortably thanks to the good God and his dear servant, whose directions about it (you may depend) shall be always of great weight with me. Good advice cannot be disregarded without great presumptuous contempt that never fails to bring forth bitter fruit whomsoever the advice is from, but when it comes from a person every way so judicious and valuable as my most kind adviser the neglect of it would be very much aggravated."

The above extracts from the transcripts of the original letters can be supplemented by many other quotations which give a more convincing impression of Griffith Jones's sincere and profound gratitude for Madam Bevan's kind concern for him and his wife than do the quotations as given and interpreted by Professor Cavenagh. In the last letter transcribed under date 4th March, 1738, Griffith Jones wrote:

"I am going on with the medicines with grateful regard for the good directions of your kind letter which I love and thank you for, and for much greater things."

This may be regarded as Griffith Jones's considered opinion.

In the English Grammar Schools while the mother-tongue was the general medium of instruction, the pupils were required to converse in Latin or Greek during school hours. In the Welsh Schools, English was also the medium of instruction but similar rules for acquiring proficiency in classics were laid down for senior scholars. Juniors were permitted to converse only in English. The use of Welsh was forbidden to all. In these circumstances the Grammar Schools of Wales became strong centres of anglicising influence, completely depriving their pupils of any training in the mother-tongue and of the study of its rich literature. On the other hand it should be stated that in these schools many sons of poor parents were taught side by side with those of the lesser gentry, local clergy, prosperous yeomen, burgesses and merchants.

Thomas Lloyd's Foundation at Carmarthen.

Though a school of some kind had probably been attached to St. Peter's Church, Carmarthen, the first Grammar School in the Borough, of which there is any record, was "The King's School of Carmarthen of Thomas Lloyd's Foundation." An annual endowment of £10 had been provided for this in 1536, but the school was not established until 1543 after a petition to Henry VIII from the Mayor and Aldermen, and an appeal to Thomas Cromwell. Its location was the dissolved Friary with some four and a half acres of gardens and closes attached, all granted to Lloyd at an annual rental of 3/-. The School, however, ceased to exist following the founder's death during the short reign of Edward VI. Lloyd had left enough property to maintain a Headmaster and an assistant. But his executors betrayed their trust, and the property passed into private hands. Legal action was taken by the Carmarthen Corporation to restore the endowment to its proper use. But the suit was unsuccessful and the school was never revived.

Queen Elizabeth Grammar School.

Associated as petitioners to the Queen with Walter Devereux, First Earl of Essex and a native of Carmarthen, were Richard Davies, Bishop of St. David's, who collaborated with William Salesbury in translating the New Testament into Welsh, two Aldermen of the Borough, Griffith Rees and Walter Vaughan, and a prominent Burgess, Robert Toy, son of the Humfrey Toy of Carmarthen referred to in a previous chapter.

The petition for a school was granted by letters patent under the Great Seal in 1576. These set out that there should be a school in the Borough to be called "The Free Grammar

School of Queen Elizabeth of the Foundation of Walter, Earl of Essex, and others." According to the original charter the school was intended "for the instruction of boys and youths in grammar and other inferior books." The staff was to consist of a Master and an assistant, with the Mayor of the Borough and nineteen others, Aldermen or Burgesses, as the governing body. With the advice and approval of the Bishop of St. David's, the governors were empowered to make fit and proper regulations for conducting the school. Later the Mayor and Corporation became the governors.

Very little is known about the history of the Grammar School during the early years of its existence. But some interesting details concerning it during the 17th century are given in letters written in 1673-4 by the Rev. Nicholas Roberts who was Headmaster at that time. This correspondence, discovered in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, by Mr. Benjamin Howell, M.A., the present Headmaster, was with Christopher Wase of Oxford University in respect of a questionnaire sent by him to the Grammar Schools of the period. Roberts' letters now form part of the Wase Collection at the Bodleian.

Information from Letters of Nicholas Roberts.

We learn from Roberts that the school premises at that time were in Priory Street on the site now occupied by the Infirmary, and had been "built at public charge about the beginning of the late rebellion" (i.e. 1642). This probably means that the new building was provided from funds raised by local subscriptions. He adds: "This School had a large library before the late Civil Wars, but not one book left, until of late I have procured of several gentlemen a considerable number of books in order to refurnish it, and a small sum of money."

Roberts also refers to the endowment made shortly before the outbreak of hostilities to provide the salary of the Headmaster. This was one of £20 per annum to be paid from the revenue of the Rectory of St. Ishmael's, together with the gift of a Headmaster's house and an acre of land attached. The benefactor was Dr. Morgan Owen, of Myddfai (1585-1645) one of the earliest pupils and Headmasters of the School. He became chaplain of New College, Oxford, chaplain to Bishop William Laud of St. David's (later Archbishop of Canterbury), and for a short time Bishop of Llandaff.

One of Roberts' letters gives a list of ten Headmasters who had preceded him since the above endowment, though he states that "many eminent persons taught here long

before." As it was customary for the Headmaster to be a clergyman, these men usually left to take up more lucrative Church or other appointments. One of the ten became Dean of Kilkenny, another was made a Fellow of Jesus College, Oxford, and Chaplain to the President of the Council of Wales, and a third was appointed Vicar and later Archdeacon of Carmarthen. The last-mentioned, Archdeacon William Jones, further endowed the school in 1676 by the gift of premises in the Borough.

The same letter mentions three "eminent personages who taught school in this county," Jeremy Taylor (who had found refuge at Golden Grove during the Civil Wars); William Nicholson, Vicar of Llandeilo, and William Thomas, Vicar of the "Percy" living of Laugharne with Llansadwrn. The last two were ejected from their livings by the Puritans. Jeremy Taylor joined Nicholson in conducting a private school at Newton, Llandeilo, and William Thomas opened a similar school at Laugharne. All three became Bishops after the Restoration.

Roberts himself was a considerable scholar. After retiring to the Rectory of Llanddewi Felfre (Pemb.) he took a keen interest in Welsh antiquities and corresponded a good deal with one of the greatest antiquaries, scholars and naturalists of the time, Edward Llyud, Keeper of the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, whose massive "Archaeologia Britannica" laid the foundations for the comparative study of the Celtic language. Roberts' letters to Llyud are also preserved in the Bodleian Library.

Some Early Pupils.

Though no definite evidence is available, it appears possible that among the earliest pupils of the School were Lewis Bayly, Bishop of Bangor (d.1631) author of the notable devotional work "The Practice of Piety"; Vicar Prichard of Llandovery (1579-1644) and Thomas Howell (1588-1646), Bishop of Bristol, a brother of James Howell, author of "Familiar Epistles" who was appointed Historiographer Royal by Charles II. Both were sons of Thomas Howell, a Rector of Cynwyl and Abernant (Carms.)

When Morgan Owen was headmaster, another future bishop, William Thomas, entered the School. His grandfather had been Recorder of the Borough. Thomas (1613-1689) was appointed a Fellow of Jesus College, Oxford, and later, Vicar of Laugharne. After the Restoration he became Precentor of St. David's, Dean of Worcester, Bishop of St. David's, and

finally, Bishop of Worcester. In his St. David's diocese he frequently preached in Welsh, and supported the efforts of the Nonconformists Thomas Gouge and Stephen Hughes to provide Wales with Bibles and devotional books in the mother tongue.

It appears probable that Stephen Hughes (1622-1688), an apostle of Nonconformity in Wales, was also an old pupil of the School, for he was born in Carmarthen, and held the Carmarthenshire living of Merthyr and afterwards that of Meidrym as a Puritan minister during the Cromwellian period. His father and brother were Mayors of the Borough in 1650 and 1659 respectively. Another "probable" old scholar, John Vaughan (1663-1722) of Derllys Court, Carmarthen, became the leading figure in the social, religious and educational life of the County during the early 18th century.

Two former pupils who attended during the late 17th century attained fame in surprisingly different directions. One was Richard Nash (Beau Nash: 1674-1761), the gay dandy and arbiter of fashion who developed Bath into a centre of elegant society. The other was the Rev. Griffith Jones (1683-1761), of Pen-boyr and Llanddowror, eloquent religious revivalist and famous educational pioneer. Another pupil became a notable Welsh scholar, writer and translator, the Rev. Moses Williams, F.R.S. (1685-1742). He served for a time as an assistant to Edward Llyud at the Ashmolean Museum, and later on the staff of the Bodleian Library. Williams edited the new impressions of the Welsh Bible and Prayer Book issued by the S.P.C.K. in 1718 and 1727. He collected many rare books and copied numerous old manuscripts relating to the history of long established Welsh families.

Notable 18th Century Pupils.

During the 18th century, the Grammar School enjoyed one of its most flourishing periods, and gained a wide reputation more especially under the headship of the Rev. W. H. Barker who held his post from 1760 to 1790. Between 1779 and 1790 the poet Dafydd Ionawr (David Richards, 1751-1827) was an assistant master under W. H. Barker. Richards was a literary disciple of Ieuan Brydydd Hir (Rev. Evan Evans 1731-1788) who became the most learned Welsh scholar of his period. Both, in turn, had been taught by Edward Richard at Ystradmeurig School where Dafydd Ionawr is said to have "excelled in mathematics and classics." Among the early pupils of the century were the Rev. John Evans (1702-1782) of Meidrym, absentee Vicar of Eglwys Gymyn; a fierce anti-Methodist and

bitter opponent of Griffith Jones, Llanddowror. Evans edited the 1769 reprint of the Welsh Bible, and was a foundation member of the Hon. Society of Cymmadorion.

Edward Richard (1714-1777), was the scholar, poet and schoolmaster who established Ystradmeurig and laid the foundations of its fame; and the Rev. Peter Williams (1723-1796) of Llandyfaelog was one of the outstanding leaders of the Methodist revival and author of the immensely popular first annotated edition of the Welsh Bible and a Biblical Concordance. Another old pupil, David Jones (1736-1810) of Llanllwni, Vicar of Llan-gan (Glam.) also became a notable figure in the Methodist movement. His eloquent preaching attracted hundreds of Glamorgan Methodists to his church services, especially to Communion.

Peter Williams' two gifted literary sons, the Rev. Eliezer Williams (1754-1820) and the Rev. Peter Bailey Williams (1763-1836) also attended the School. Both became clergymen. Eliezer Williams served as a naval chaplain, and as a tutor to the family of the Earl of Galloway, before becoming Vicar of Cynwyl Gaeo and, later, of Lampeter. While at Lampeter he conducted a very successful academy which prepared young students for Holy Orders. This institution was the forerunner of St. David's College. He also wrote a number of books and essays on various topics including the early history of Wales. Peter Bailey Williams, Rector of Llan-rug and Llanberis, took a very active part in the public life of Caernarvonshire for many years, and served as a justice of the peace for over a quarter of a century. He befriended and encouraged local poets and writers, and was a diligent collector and copyist of old manuscripts. Among his work were translations into Welsh of two of the most important books written by the saintly 17th century Puritan divine, Richard Baxter.

Two other old pupils of this period attained distinction in law and medicine respectively. The lawyer was King's Sergeant John Williams (1757-1810) born at Job's Well, Carmarthen. He was elected a Fellow of Wadham College, Oxford, at the age of 23, and was called to the Bar four years later. Though his success was remarkable, persistent ill-health deprived him of a judgeship. Nevertheless he was regarded as one of the most eminent lawyers of his time. Lord Eldon wrote of him, "No man in the profession stands higher in my regard than Williams." As an expert in the history of law, Williams assisted in editing two impressions of a standard legal text-book, Sir William Blackstone's "Commentaries on the Laws of England" and also of Sir William Saunders' "Reports of Cases" with his own valuable

additional notes. Three of his descendants achieved the legal honours denied to him. One of his sons became a High Court Judge and a Privy Councillor. A grandson was appointed a judge in the Queen's Bench and also in the Court of Appeal, and a great grandson became Recorder of Carmarthen and Recorder of Swansea.

The physician was David Daniel Davis (1777-1841) of Llandyfaelog. After his appointment as senior medical officer to Queen Charlotte's Hospital, London, Davis was selected to attend the Duchess of Kent at the birth of the future Queen Victoria in 1819. Later he became a Professor at University College Hospital, London.

Another old pupil, the Rev. W. T. Rees (1772-1855), Vicar of Casgob (Rads.), was prominent among a number of clergymen who were zealous in promoting provincial Welsh societies and local Eisteddfodau. He edited "The Book of Llandaff" and "The Lives of the Cambro-British Saints," published by his nephew William Rees of Ton, Llandoverly, whose press there became one of the most notable in Wales.

Youth Boarded and Educated.

An interesting glimpse of the School in the last quarter of the 18th century is given in a public notice of 1783. This was reproduced in "The Maridunian" (the School magazine) in 1889.

CARMARTHEN.

YOUTH BOARDED AND EDUCATED

By the Rev. W. H. BARKER, A.M.

	£	s.	d.		s.	d.
Board, per annum	15	15	0	
English and the Classics						
per quarter	10	0	entrance	10 6
Writing and Arithmetic	5	0	"	5 0
Drawing and Arithmetic	10	6	"	10 6
Dancing and Arithmetic	10	6	"	10 6
Lectures in Experimental						
Philosophy	1	1	0	
Parlour Boarders	21	0	0	

A Course of Lectures on Natural and Revealed Religion is read annually to the Divinity Class.

Hereford: Printed by C. Pugh 1783.

The distinction between ordinary boarders and "parlour" boarders is intriguing! Presumably the latter lived with the Headmaster's family and got rather better meals and accommodation than the others. Dancing and drawing, no doubt were regarded as social acquisitions. Curiously enough these cost more than English, the Classics, Writing and Arithmetic put together, probably because they were taught by visiting teachers. Lectures in "Experimental Philosophy" and on "Natural and Revealed Religion" would appear to be particularly heavy going for secondary school pupils. But the explanation is simple. At that time the Grammar School was among the schools licensed in the diocese of St. David's for the training of candidates for Holy Orders. Others were Lampeter, Brecon, Ystradmeurig and Cardigan. Pupils who hoped to be ordained were required to have spent seven years at one of these schools. The Church Union Society formed by Bishop Thomas Burgess of St. David's after his appointment to the diocese in 1803 provided financial support for such scholars at the age of fourteen. But following the opening of St. David's College, Lampeter, in 1827, pupils who had completed four years at one of these schools had to spend at least two of the other three years at the new College. From 1829 onwards all candidates for ordination who had received their early training in these licensed schools had to follow a full three years' course at Lampeter, or to have graduated at one of the Universities.

Impact of St. David's College on the School.

During the first two decades of the 19th century the School continued to flourish. With a view to augmenting the salary of the Headmaster, the Carmarthen Corporation in 1816 requested the Mayor "to communicate to the Bishop of St. David's the anxious wish of this Corporation that his Lordship be pleased to keep in abeyance one of the English livings in his gift, in order to confer it upon a person whom his Lordship should deem competent to fill the station of the Grammar School Master." It was felt that this additional inducement would attract a first-class candidate. Nothing came as a result of this appeal. In the same year, while the locality of Bishop Burgess' proposed theological college was under discussion the Mayor and Corporation of Carmarthen offered "to contribute most liberally to the establishment by consolidation if thought expedient, the Free Grammar School with the College, and by subscribing permanently towards its revenue." Bishop Burgess, however, decided in favour of Lampeter. Thus Carmarthen which would have become a cathedral city if the efforts of Bishop William Barlow and,

later, of Bishop William Thomas to remove the See there from St. David's had been successful, also lost the new foundation of St. David's College. Compensation came in 1848 when the first teachers' training college in Wales (Trinity College) was founded within the Borough boundary.

The years following the opening of St. David's College in 1827 brought a serious decline in the number of pupils attending the Grammar School, owing to the removal of senior scholars who aimed at ordination. In 1824 there were 64 pupils enrolled, but during the next ten years the numbers fell to 25.

Five "St. Peter's Boys"

During the first half of the 19th century the school continued to produce men who won distinction in later life. Among these were five "St. Peter's Boys," a description proudly claimed by men born in the Borough. The earliest was David Charles (1803-1880), son of the eminent South Wales Methodist leader and hymn-writer of the same name, and nephew of Thomas Charles who founded the Welsh Calvinistic Methodist Connexion 1811. David Charles the second, took a prominent part in the religious work of his denomination as an administrator, editor, preacher and hymn-writer. Thomas Brigstocke (1809-1881) became one of the best-known portrait painters of his period. William Spurrell (1813-1889) founded a famous printing and publishing house at Carmarthen. He owned and edited "Yr Haul" and "Y Cyfaill Eglwysig," two Church periodicals; and published many books including Welsh dictionaries, a Welsh grammar and his own history of Carmarthen and its neighbourhood. For many years he was one of the most prominent, active and respected citizens of the Borough. Henry Brinley Richards (1819-1885), the distinguished Welsh musician and composer became Director of the Royal Academy of Music. The fifth was Sir Lewis Morris (1833-1907), a popular Victorian poet and a close friend of Tennyson. He took a leading part in the movement for providing University education in Wales.

Sir Thomas Powell's Charity School.

In 1857, under a Court of Chancery Scheme, Sir Thomas Powell's School was amalgamated with the Grammar School. The former had come into existence round about 1730 as a result of a bequest made by Sir Thomas Powell (1664-1720) of Broadway, Laugharne, and Coldbrook, Monmouth. He left the rentals of three houses in the Borough for the purpose of paying a Master to instruct poor boys "in arithmetic, the art of navigation and other matters." The Corporation was

entrusted with the selection of the "Foundation Boys" whose numbers varied from about 15 to 20. In addition the Headmaster was allowed to admit as many fee-paying pupils as he could accommodate.

Powell had been attorney-general of the Carmarthen circuit. He was created a baronet in 1698, and served as M.P. for Monmouthshire from 1705-8, and for Carmarthenshire from 1710-15. His father Sir John Powell (1633-1696) of Pentre Meurig, Llanwrda, had been a pupil of Jeremy Taylor at Newton, Llandeilo. After a distinguished legal career he was appointed a Judge of the Court of Common Pleas and, a little later, a Judge of the King's Bench. He was among the judges who acquitted the seven bishops of seditious libel in the famous case of 1688. This acquittal proved to be one of the final manifestations of popular opinion which led to the downfall and flight of James II. According to the Charity Commissioners' Report, 1834, the Rev. David Peter (1765-1837) a notable minister of Lammas Street Congregational Chapel and later Principal of the Presbyterian College was appointed Headmaster of Sir Thomas Powell's School in 1792. He appears to have held these three posts until 1835. At this time the School was housed in the Lammas Street Chapel premises, but in 1846 when the "Inquiry into the State of Education in Wales" was being conducted it was located in "a detached building on the slope under the Parade," premises which were then in very poor condition. A new building was nearly ready for occupation on the old Priory Field.

The Schools Amalgamated.

The Grammar School was still on the present Infirmary site but with better premises erected at the end of the 18th century. It had accommodation for 100 pupils and possessed a library of some 500 books. The curriculum "comprised Latin and Greek, mathematics, and ancient and modern history." At the amalgamation of the two schools in 1857 the Queen Elizabeth scholars were removed to the Powell premises known locally as the "Old Grammar School" and "The Endowed Schools." Five pupils who attended the joint schools became well-known. Walter Jenkin Evans (1856-1927) classical scholar, eminent teacher and denominational historian, served for many years as Principal of the Presbyterian College, Carmarthen, and brought the College into close relationship with the University of Wales. For three years he was dean of divinity in the University. George Eyre Evans (1857-1939), Unitarian minister, antiquary and historian, served as an officer of the Royal Commission on Ancient

Monuments in Wales for 18 years, as secretary of the Carmarthenshire Antiquarian Society for 33 years, and as Deputy Scout Commissioner for Wales for several years after he had reached the age of 70. Supported by his enthusiastic colleague, Ernest Vale Collier, he was mainly responsible for the foundation of the Carmarthenshire County Museum and for collecting many of its treasures.

Another pupil of the same period was Walter Spurrell (1858-1934). He carried on the high standards of printing and publishing established by his father, William Spurrell; and took a prominent part in the affairs of the Borough and the County. During his lifetime he was elected Mayor of Carmarthen on three occasions; and was one of the founders of the Antiquarian Society.

Two very able brother pupils of Scottish birth whose parents came to reside in Carmarthen attained distinction respectively in politics and medicine. They were Sir Donald Maclean (1864-1932) and Sir Ewen John Maclean (1865-1953). The former, an ardent Liberal, served at various periods as M.P. for Bath, Peebles and North Cornwall. He became a Deputy Speaker of the House of Commons, a Privy Councillor, and for a short period before his sudden death while in office, President of the Board of Education (1931-2) with a seat in the Cabinet.

Sir Ewen John Maclean who lived throughout his professional life in Cardiff, attained wide repute as a gynaecologist and surgeon, and served in a number of official posts, including a Professorship at the Welsh National School of Medicine. He was President of the British Medical Association in 1928-9: and a Vice-President for many years. The two brothers bequeathed a legacy of £300 to the School for the purpose of founding an annual prize.

Removal to Richmond Terrace Site.

The fusion of the two Schools met with no immediate success in the direction of increasing the number of pupils, and there were several changes of Headmasters during the following two decades, four in a period of ten years. Efforts were made to attract entrants by widening the curriculum to include practical training in agricultural chemistry, and commercial and nautical subjects. Carmarthen still had a flourishing sea-trade with Bristol.

In 1884 the School was moved to its present site off Richmond Terrace. The ground was known as the "Prisoners' Field," having been left in trust for the succour of people

imprisoned for debt in Carmarthen Jail. It was bestowed for school purposes by the Charity Commissioners. The old building had by now become too dilapidated for further use.

Since 1884 a steady expansion has taken place in numbers, the curriculum, premises and general activities. From about 50 pupils in 1890 the number enrolled has now grown to 510, with a Sixth Form of over 100. Among the early scholars in the new premises was Dr. E. W. Tristram, F.S.A. (1882-1952), Professor at the Royal College of Art, London, an expert on the preservation of medieval paintings and monuments, and an exhibitor of his own work at the Royal Academy.

For a short period at the close of the 19th century rowing was included in the School's athletic activities. As one of the first schools in Wales to take up the Rugby game (others, a little earlier, were Llandoverly, Christ College, Brecon, and Swansea Grammar School), its contributions to Welsh International, University, Town Club and Welsh Secondary Schools' teams have been notable and numerous. The last survivor of the Welsh side which played the Maoris in 1890, Percy Lloyd, of Ammanford, was an old pupil. He died in 1959 at the age of 88. Two other school team players of a later date distinguished themselves as jockeys and race-horse trainers. They were the brothers Owen and Jack Anthony, of Kidwelly. The latter won the Grand National. A former school half-back and Harlequin player, the late Squadron Leader J. T. Ira Jones, D.S.O., M.C., D.F.C., M.M., of St. Clears, became an almost legendary figure as an air-ace of the first World War. The School has also established an excellent tradition in athletics.

Close Links with the Borough.

A close connection has always existed between the School and the Borough. Until the 19th century the Mayor and Corporation governed the School and appointed the Headmaster. Frequently, the Mayor is an old pupil. The annual Founder's Day Service at St. Peter's Church is normally attended by the Mayor and members of the Corporation, and it is customary for the address to be given by an old Maridunian in Holy Orders. Another annual service held at St. Peter's is the Christmas Festival of Nine Lessons and Carols. The Queen Elizabeth Grammar School, despite varying changes of fortune, has now existed in the borough for nearly four hundred years: and as has been amply shown, many of its scholars have made significant contributions to the life of Wales and England. Carmarthen and the County can well

be proud of the School's illustrious past, and of its vigorous, many-sided present-day activities. Old pupils of the 20th century have continued to attain posts of responsibility at home and abroad, in the Church and the Nonconformist ministry, the Universities, the civil service, medicine, law, commerce and industry.

Among eminent Churchmen in recent years have been a former Archbishop of Wales (Dr. D. L. Prosser of St. David's), and a former Bishop of Bangor (Dr. T. C. Jones). The present Bishop of St. Asaph (Dr. D. D. Bartlett) is an old scholar. Among University Professors are Emrys G. Bowen and P. M. Jones. A civil servant who attained fame as an amateur student of astronomy was the late Dr. H. Percy Wilkins (1898-1960). Both the Russians and the Americans had copies of his remarkably detailed map of the moon, 25 feet in diameter and the work of 14 years' observation. His charts proved of great value to Russian scientists in correlating their Lunik photographs. Dr. Wilkins was several times President of the International Lunar Society.

It is fitting at the close of this chapter to pay tribute to two former Headmasters, Mr. E. S. Allen, M.A., and Mr. Tudor Williams, O.B.E., M.A., both of whom contributed so materially to the School's development during the past 40 years.

Trade of Llanelly

Position of the Port.

Llanelly is situated on the Burry Estuary, a wide open inlet which lies on the eastern side of Carmarthen Bay, bounded on the one side by the Gower peninsula, and on the other by the shores of Carmarthenshire. The river at the Bar is ⁶⁰⁰ "3½ miles wide at high water, and extends six leagues eastward into the country, separating the counties of Glamorgan and Carmarthen. The port harbour of Llanelly is 6½ miles within the entrance on the north bank of the river, and below it on the same side at a distance of 3½ miles is the harbour of Pembrey, where the river's breadth is contracted to less than two miles at high-water mark." Along the shore of the estuary, extending from the mouth of the Loughor River, as far as Machynis is a flat marsh, a portion of which, stretching towards Machynis is below sea level and has necessitated the construction of an embankment or bulwark to keep back the tidal waters from inundating the district known as the New Dock neighbourhood. Again, from the Lighthouse, skirting the shore and extending as far as Pwll are a series of small, undulating sand mounds interspersed with intermittent tufts of coarse grass and small indigenous and marine plants, protruding on a golden background of glistening sand. At low water, the tide recedes to a long distance, leaving exposed an expanse of dry sand as a wide border to the mud flats which are an accumulation formed by the action of the rivers of the neighbourhood; these mud flats also appear at the entrances to the Docks, and alongside of Nevill's Dock stands the Ballast Bank surmounting the broad, muddy stretch with its navigable channel leading to the North Dock and adjacent antiquated wharves and Patent Slip. Within the entrance to the Estuary stands the Burry Holms, an island upon which the Llanelly Harbour Commissioners erected a lighthouse which afforded shipping an easy access to the channel leading to the Port. It is significant that the Town and Port of Llanelly lie on the southern extremity of the South Wales coalfield, while its centralised situation enabled it to become the natural outlet of the neighbourhood.

Mediaeval Trade.

In spite of these physical advantages, there are no documentary data of its active participation in maritime traffic in the Mediaeval period when one of the chief centres was Carmarthen, whose pre-eminent position as a royal administrative seat and a staple town, had contributed to its significance in the national economic life of the period. Its foreign trade with France included salt and wine as imports, with Welsh frise and hides as exports, and although there was no change in the nature of its imports, even in the 16th century, these commodities were essentially for local needs. Kidwelly was also a coasting centre during the Mediaeval period, and shared in the foreign trade with France, and in the coastwise traffic with Carmarthen, but its shipping facilities had become totally inadequate in 1566. But these conditions were gradually revolutionised towards the close of the Tudor period, when the national economic policy initiated a demand for those natural resources found in abundance in the neighbourhood. Thus, through its unassailable position, and its abundant resources, Llanelly takes precedence over Carmarthen and Kidwelly as a shipping centre, and emerges from the impenetrable gloom of the Mediaeval period as the Creek of North Burry whose spasmodic and initial exports of coal expanded in volume with the improved conditions of the passing centuries.

The Tudor Period.

While Llanelly's rise as a coal exporting port was symbolic of the maritime growth of other South Wales ports, it is evident that this development was fostered by the national economic policy of the Tudors, who attached great importance to the mineral wealth of the country, particularly to coal, iron and lead. In consequence, the character and volume of this maritime trade was determined and correlated with the development of the coal-mining industry of South Wales. The repercussions of this maritime activity were manifold, and created regular contact between the South Wales ports and Bristol, together with the establishment of commercial ties with ports in south-western and southern England. Further ramifications of this influence were illustrated in the influx of agencies into South Wales to control this trade, and in the increased interest of London merchants. Other attendant conditions were the measures undertaken for the re-organisation of the system of levying customs duty and the suppression of piracy. These changes in administration which were effected in 1559, implied the adoption of the methods pursued

in English ports. In pursuance of this plan of re-organisation, the ports of Wales were divided into three Head ports, one of which was Milford Haven whose jurisdiction extended from Worm's Head to Barmouth, with customs offices at Pembroke and Carmarthen. Again, piracy had assumed such formidable proportions and had so menaced the steadily growing commercial prosperity of the Bristol Channel ports especially, that national action for its suppression had become imperative.

Piracy was still rampant when, in November, 1565, the Queen and her advisers took a determined step by the appointment of Permanent Piracy Commissioners for each of the maritime counties of the realm. The instructions issued by the Privy Council were that they were ⁶⁰¹ "to aid in the apprehension of the offenders, and in the recovery of the goods." The Commissioners chosen for the County of Carmarthen were, the Bishop of St. David's, Thomas Vaughan and David Morgan, who in the execution of their commission record very interesting and illuminating information on Llanely. According to their investigations, Llanely is described as a village of twelve households on the creek of Burrey, whose Governor, John Vaughan was empowered to grant licences for loading and unloading; also it had one ship of eight tons named the "Jesus," which was owned by Owen ap Jenkyn, and ⁶⁰² "manned by iii mariners, whereof no fyshers." The Commissioners were assisted in their authorised survey by deputies, who, for the Burrey Creek were Ieuan Morgan John and David Griffith ap David, and they were sworn to "to apply themselves to do theyre utmost endeavour towching the execucion of the sayd comysion in all pointes so farre forth as theyr chardge belongeth." Unfortunately, the detailed facts required concerning the owners and masters were not forthcoming because "the said Owners and Masters were absent on merchant viages, some towards Fraunce, and some towards Bristowe."

It is strikingly suggestive that the emergence of Llanely (or Burry in Llanely) as a port coincides in point of time with the issuing of the document relating to the suppression of piracy. This is confirmed in the earliest extant references for the period (1566-1603) when on the 26th March, 1566, a

vessel known as "Le Julian de Ylfercomb" left Llanely with 100 Measures of Barley for Ilfracombe for Griffith Harry, a Swansea yeoman. In the following week, on the 2nd April, 1566, 2½ weys of coal were transported to Bideford in the "Le Saviour de Bydyford" for John Lake, who was also master mariner. With regard to the second consignment, it must be acknowledged that the quantity of coal was relatively small, if not negligible, but its significance must be based on the fact that it was the forerunner of the gradually increasing cargoes which were despatched periodically during the following centuries. The first reference to imports appeared on the 1st November, 1566, when "Le Lawrence de Ylfercombe" under Thomas Watson, brought in a varied cargo of 5 tons of iron, 5 doz. wood card, 1 chaldron of pitch, and 20 stone of cheeses for Evan Gwyn, a merchant of Llanely.

Of equal importance was the year 1567, during which are recorded shipments of coal to France. These foreign exports between North Burry and France established the foundation of commercial ties, which were maintained, except during the periods when England and France were at war, until the beginning of the present century. The first cargo consisting of 8 weys of coal was conveyed in "The Speedwell of Dublin" to Rochelle on the 28th February, 1567, for Richard Myll, who was also master of the ship. Further, a close scrutiny of these shipments reveals some very interesting features, since in every case but one, the master of the ship was also the merchant, the exception being "Le Nitingale de Carmarthen," which, under the mastership of John Glover, carried 12 chaldrons for merchant Richard Lewis Hopkins. Again, three of these ships undertook two voyages to France in the same year or season, since the trade at this period was seasonal. These recorded entries state that "Le Marion John de Carmarthen," under Griffith Pontan, took 9 and 8 chaldrons on the 28th February and 2nd July, respectively, "Le James de London," under Christopher Hubbard, carried 20 weys and 10 chaldrons on the 25th May and 2nd July respectively, and "Le Marten de Garnsey," under Nicholas Ashlive, carried 8 weys of coal to Guernsey for Peter Cane of Guernsey on the 25th May, 1567, while on the 5th July, the same vessel under the mastership of Jacobus Allens, conveyed 8 chaldrons to France. Slender as this evidence may appear, it is adequate to bring forth the suggestion that the basis for a regular French trade in coal was established in this year, 1567.

In reviewing the export statistics for the above and subsequent years of the 16th century, it is manifest that the local trade was controlled by small individual traders, com-

601. Welsh Port Books (1566-1603). "Document relating to Piracy. 1566."

602. Welsh Port Books (1566-1603). "Documents relating to Piracy. 1566."

posed of merchants and sailors (English and French). Of the merchants, the names of Rees Pritchard of Tenby, John Morys of Carmarthen, Henry Crave of Tenby, Richard Barrett of Tenby and William Ingelbert of London are recorded, and it is noteworthy that included with each cargo dispatched to France by the four native merchants were packets of frise or cotton, while the last named sent 24 weys of coal together with five packets of frise to London in "Le Anne Bonaventure de London" under Prosperus Newport on the 1st July, 1585. But the sailors predominated numerically among both classes of participants, whose unorganised activities involved no great outlay of capital. Although these initial exports were necessarily small, they achieved very important results, one of the most significant being the recognition, even in 1585, of North Burry as the main Carmarthenshire Creek for the transport of coal, especially to the West of England and France. The latter country had maintained commercial relations with Wales since the Middle Ages, but the gradual development of coal exports during the second half of the 16th century had effected a complete change in the character of this trade, which formerly comprised salt and wine as imports, and Welsh cloth, cottons, and frise as exports. An examination of the latter exports for this period displays a minor and an intermittent contribution from North Burry towards this trade, but in comparison with the increasing trade in coal, they were almost negligible. Thus, this overseas activity becomes of paramount importance since coal operations in East Carmarthenshire were stimulated and the position of North Burry as a port consolidated.

Beneath the foregoing descriptive analysis of North Burry's progressive growth rests the established fact that it was essentially a coal-exporting centre and representative of other South Wales ports, whose activity was stimulated by the greater emphasis attached to the commercial use of coal. Again, another important auxiliary factor was the difficulty of transport, which circumscribed the coal bearing districts to those areas contiguous to these exporting ports. Consequently there was within these operational regions the incentive for increased production, and the profits which accrued may be approximately assessed from the selling prices, which in France ranged from £2 per chaldron in 1603 to £4 per chaldron in 1630. The influence of the above causes in the enhanced overseas trade is reflected in the export figures for the local creek for 1618, when individual cargoes ranging from 3 to 30 weys were conveyed in 66 foreign shipments to France, and 105 coastal voyages, particularly to Barnstaple and West of England ports.

The 17th Century.

Of the relatively large number of vessels that frequented the Creek, there is no evidence that any of those in commission were locally owned; in fact it has been suggested that a large proportion of them were Milford boats. Such a condition of affairs within the County of Carmarthen may be verified from the report of the Justices, who ⁶⁰³ "cannot as directed send a barque of 30 tons to Portsmouth, this being an inland County with only a few creeks, in which there are no such ships, nor have we the power of furnishing her with provisions within the time limited." On the 13th September, 1626, a further reply was sent that they were unable to find a pinnace of 30 tons at Carmarthen or ⁶⁰⁴ "any of the ports adjacent." Again, there are further interesting details to this Port during the 17th century, but these have no direct bearing on its development. One of the most interesting occurred when Tenby was besieged in 1644 by the Parliamentarians during the Civil War. After one of many failures to bring relief to the besieged, some ammunition was sent from Bristol by boat which was chased by a frigate "from Swanley (Swansea) and hardly escaped, putting into a Creek at Llanelly and is safe." Again, in a shipping dispute ⁶⁰⁵ in 1652, at Carmarthen between Thomas Hobson, a merchant and David Hammond, the latter had a barque at Llanstephan which should have sailed to Burry, and taken in the residue of the goods belonging to Thomas Hobson, and afterwards, should with the first convenient wind and weather sail to Plymouth.

Again, in a letter ⁶⁰⁶ written from Swansea on the 26th January, 1676, by John Man to Sir Joseph Williamson, Secretary of State, a reference was made to the Bar of Burry, which was described as being most dangerous in the following terms, "The storms continue here . . . Last Sunday morning, a little before day, was a violent storm which forced the "Greyhound" of Bristol with linen cloth from Morlaix homeward bound, over the Bar of North Burry, about 10 miles westward of this; the master and company not knowing where they were, nor the danger they were in, for it had not been just on the height of the flood, they had doubtless all perished, it being a most dangerous bar. So soon as day appeared, a boat met them

603-604. Carmarthenshire Antiquarian Society's Journal, Vol. 28, p.73.

605. Carmarthenshire Antiquarian Society's Journal, Vol. 28, p.83.

606. Carmarthenshire Antiquarian Society's Journal, Vol. 17, p.100; also Cal. of State Papers Domestic 1675-6, p.529.

and brought them into a pool near Llanelly without much damage, and there she rides waiting for a fair wind."

During the latter half of the 17th century, the port maintained its coastwise trade with the south country ports of Barnstaple, Bideford, Plymouth and Watchet, while the returns indicate an extension of a small but regular trade with London, Yarmouth, Cardiff and Monmouthshire. Again, ports such as Milford and Tenby imported quantities of stone coal, whose specific qualities made it suitable for the drying of malt and for domestic purposes. It is evident that the quantities of this coal must have been small, because horse transport was the only means of communication between the Port and the Anthracite region in the hinterland. Its most prosperous years were between 1685-1689 when an average of 4,500 chaldrons were exported annually, but after this, its coastwise exports dropped in 1691 ⁶⁰⁷ and 1692 to 2,285 and 1,911 chaldrons respectively.

The Port continued to maintain its trade relations with France until 1689, except during the years of the constitutional struggle (1627-1648), when the returns point to the non-existence of its foreign trade. In 1684, South Burry (Burry Port) was merged with North Burry (Llanelly) to form the Port of Llanelly for the purpose of customs collections. While the foreign trade of South Burry had been directed to Ireland, the overseas traffic of North Burry was confined almost entirely to France, and its gradual increase in this direction reached its maximum figures in 1688 when over 2,000 chaldrons were exported, but the outbreak of hostilities between the two countries in 1689 terminated the French trade. But trade relations were established with Ireland, and occasional shipments were made to Lisbon, Oporto and the Channel Islands. Its foreign export figures decreased to the level of about 500 chaldrons, and this amount was further reduced with the opening of the 18th century. These exports include those of South Burry, so that the decline in foreign shipments from North Burry became more accentuated.

The 18th Century.

The coastwise trade continued throughout the 18th century, but exports to France were intermittent only, owing to hostilities between the two countries. It is recorded that 76 vessels were despatched from the port in 1707 and 64 in

1710, but there is no evidence of their destination, nor any details of their cargoes. But, the continuance of its activity is confirmed because in 1724, ⁶⁰⁸ "Llanelly drove a pretty good trade in coal," and this statement is corroborated by others in similar terms, such as ⁶⁰⁹ "Llanelly drives a considerable trade in coal," and "it is seated between a creek of the sea, and the Dulais river, which enables it to carry on a considerable trade in coal." It is not possible to supplement these generalisations with statistics of imports and exports to show the trend and direction of its trade, because there are no Port Books extant for the period, since these were destroyed in a fire.

However, interesting information on the prevailing conditions, together with statistical data of the receipts and charges for the port may be gleaned from other sources covering the major portion of the century. Between 1723-1766, the Chief Collector of Customs at Llanelly was Edward Dalton, who, in receipt of a salary of £25 per annum, and with the co-operation of three assistants, was responsible for the collection of the customs at North and South Burry. In 1737, ⁶¹⁰ the Commissioners of Customs secured from the Treasury, approval to certain proposals included in the report of Mr. Jans, Inspector, who had been appointed to inspect the ports of Milford, Llanelly and Swansea. In this report, he authorised the removal of a smack stationed at Milford for the protection of the coast from St. David's Head to Swansea, since "it has been of little service, and therefore have dismissed the Commander, Capt. Phillips, and the mate, Mark Scott." His recommendations comprised new methods for a closer scrutiny of this coast, but as he found that Milford Haven had sufficient protection, he advised "the want of a further guard at the Ports of Swansea and Llanelly, where great numbers of ships annually load coal and culm for France, Ireland, and coastways, and further run great quantities of tea, brandy, wine and other goods. I propose to discontinue the present smack as drawing too much water to be of use, and prevent the practice, and in the place of it to appoint two decked vessels of about 25 tons each with a commander and 7 hands each, one to be stationed at Whitford in Swansea for the guard of Carmarthen Bay to Tenby westward and the Mumbles eastward . . .". The recommendations included also the names of those who were to serve in the ships together with the wages they were to receive.

608. South Wales Coal Trade, p.38. Charles Wilkins.

609. Transactions of Carm. Antiq. Society, vol. 27, p.17.

610. Cal. of State Papers, 7th Feb. 1737/8.

607. Welsh Coal Trade during the Stuart Period (1603-1709).
M.A. Thesis by Bernard Evans.

An interesting feature of the foregoing report was the import of such commodities as tea, brandy, wine and other goods such as soap and candles, and although large quantities were imported to some of the South Wales ports, Llanelly's share in this traffic was comparatively small, because during the period 1741-1745, 117 gallons of brandy and rum, 63 gallons of wine, together with a quantity of soap and candles valued at £11.1.0. were brought into the port. Again, it is recorded that for the years 1759-1764, there were no imports from foreign trade, while small quantities of coal, oak bark and corn were exported. With regard to the coastwise trade, there were imports from Bristol and other English ports, and only 100 ships with a tonnage capacity of 3,000 tons left the port for the coastwise export traffic; during these years the number of foreign ships trading at the port was almost negligible, and only two vessels of 90 tons were locally owned. There can be no question that hostilities between England and France were an important contributory factor to these depressing conditions, and with this diminution in overseas trade, there was apparently no smuggling which had been on the decline for some years. In consequence, a more serious aspect of these inactive conditions was that the receipts were not sufficient to defray the expenses, and this may be verified from the comparative lists of monetary statistics for the years 1742-46

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Receipts of Ports	Cardiff			Swansea			Llanelly		
	£	s	d	£	s	d	£	s	d
Receipts Inwards	2	7	3	724	6	3½	22	1	8½
Subsidiary Outwards	—	—	—	509	17	2	119	7	7½
Coal Exports	—	—	—	89	11	11½	24	9	5½
Coal and Culm coastwise ..	27	6	11½	1319	3	5	165	15	1

KING'S SHARE OF SEIZURES OF GOODS.

Enumerated	—	17	17	10	45	18	11½
Moeity	—	12	10	3½	17	3½	

CHARGES OF SEVERAL PORTS.

Poundage and Metage on Coal and Culm:

Salaries	165	0	0	561	1	10½	95	0	0
Incidents	119	16	5½	759	16	9½	302	0	4½
Debentures and Discounts	288	9	6½	1324	17	7½	397	19	4½
Bounties on all sorts of corn							372	19	2

611. History of the Port of Swansea, p.275. W. H. James.

Again, during the second half of the 18th century, the development of the woollen industry encouraged the traffic in wool between London, Bristol and Dover and the Welsh ports. The industry flourished in the County of Carmarthen, so that it is reported that Llanelly shared in the trade in wool, but from the evidence submitted, this must have been exceedingly small. Again, there was no great improvement in the trade from the port towards the end of the century, according to the number of vessels "cleared" between 1793-1800; in fact, the highest average per week in all these years was ten.

Years ⁶¹²	Vessels	Years	Vessels
1793	478	1797	411
1794	457	1798	328
1795	509	1799	381
1796	520	1800	331

Another probable cause for this decline may have been the state of the Harbour, which was regarded as being extremely dangerous even during the first two decades of the 19th century. It has been reported that Sir Thomas Stepney after his advent to Llanelly in 1748 improved the harbour, but it is difficult to suggest the nature of these changes, except that he may have provided better berthing facilities which had been extremely primitive, and very dangerous. One of these loading sites was that known as the Flats, which had no shelter from the westerlies and the strong flow of the tide; the coal was brought down in course sacks or baskets, on the backs of horses and mules and carried into the vessel. Again, the import of iron ore was accompanied with great difficulty, since the vessels had to be discharged as quickly as possible, and all that had been left on the flats or sand, was cleared by the vehicles of neighbouring farmers; speed was the keynote of success in the conveyance of this ore, since all that was left on the sand was dispersed very widely by the strong flow of the tidal waters. Again, quantities of coal were brought down from Loughor and Llangennech in barges to the Flats for shipment, although there were sheltered loading facilities at both these places as well as at Sandy, Machynis and Pwll. In 1795, Messrs. Bowen and Roderick endeavoured to remedy these unsatisfactory conditions by building a small wharf on the site of the present Pemberton works, known as "Doc Canol"; it was connected with their Wern colliery by the canal which ran from the bottom of the Wern, through Heol Fawr to Henry Morgan's smithy, a spot adjacent almost to the open quay. Their example was followed in 1799 by Alexander Raby, who constructed the Carmarthen-

612. History of Llanelly and District, p.5. J. L. Bowen.

shire Dock, commonly called "Doc y Squire," but as the eastern quay only had been built, it was exposed to the severe buffeting storms from the west and south-west. On the transfer of the dock to the Carmarthenshire Railroad Co., who completed the undertaking in 1805, the tolls of the dock were let by auction for £200 in 1807. Again, the settlement of the copper industry in the town was followed by the construction of the Copper Works Dock in 1805, which was at first merely an open quay, but with the setting up of Dock gates in 1825, it was opened up as a wet dock. All these conditions are succinctly summed up by a gentleman who was well acquainted with the port in 1800, in the following graphic description he gave in 1813⁶¹³: "Llanelly was then little better than an estuary with a limited coal trade, and unsafe for loaded vessels exceeding 100 tons to resort to. The Harbour was completely unprotected, there were no buoys for the guidance of its trade, nor in fact any means adopted for its support more than what each individual connected with it might choose to do at his own quay, and at his own expense."

**THE LIST OF LOADING PLACES GIVEN BY JOHN INNES
IN HIS "OLD LLANELLY," p.88, are:**

1. Pwll Quay, Pwll (just outside the Commote).
2. Roderick and Bowen's Shipping Place, 1795, afterwards known as Lead Works Dock.
3. Alexander Raby's Shipping Place, afterwards Carmarthenshire Dock.
4. Copper Co's Quay, afterwards the Copper Works Dock.
5. Penrhynwen Shipping Place, Machynis.
6. The Coal Bank at Townshends Pill, Bynea.
7. Mr. Bowen's Shipping Place, Pencoed.
8. Several "Ward's Shipping Places," Pencoed and Llangennech.
9. Llangennech Dock and Shipping Place.

But the above quotation needs qualification to be accepted in its entirety, since strenuous efforts were undertaken in 1805 to diminish at least, if not to eliminate, the dangers frequently experienced from the treacherous sandbanks adjacent to the navigable channel. With a rational and realistic conception of these perils, John Rees of Kilymaenllwyd and John Wedge suggested a survey of the harbour and the placing of buoys to facilitate the navigation of the Burry

River. On the 19th September, 1805, a meeting was convened at which a plan and estimate were submitted for the construction of a capacious dock or basin on the eastern side of the present pier. The Committee recommended the adoption of this beneficial scheme to the consideration of the Carmarthenshire Railroad Co., who were already in possession of Parliamentary powers under the Act 42 Geo. III. As this recommendation did not find favour with the Company, the plan was dropped, but the scheme for laying down buoys was proceeded with, after £250 had been collected from voluntary subscriptions by the Treasurer, Charles Nevill of the Copperworks Co. But owing to the lack of a permanent source of monetary resources, there was no regular supervision of these buoys and they decayed to such an extent that two only were in position in 1807. Again, there is further evidence of attempts to ameliorate conditions with the provision in 1810 of a small skiff as Pilot boat and manned by four skilled pilots, but it is reported that "such was the antipathy of the natives to these innovations that buoy No. 1 was on the 17th June, 1811, forcibly taken from the men employed in removing the same from Whitford Sker, where it had drifted from its proper position"; it is surmised that "smuggling and wrecking had been a favourite pastime with the old people," which would probably account for their deep-rooted bitterness against these precautionary measures. Further, very serious complaints were consistently made on the necessity for greater safety at the Dock of the Carmarthenshire Railroad, because the dock entrance faced the direction of the currents during rough weather, and as a result captains of vessels were not always prepared to return after their first experience. This may be verified from the statement that⁶¹⁴ "it is useless getting coals when the ships are driven from the place. I have now near 5,000 tons ready for shipping. My son and brother have also many cargoes of culm, bricks, clay, etc., ready, and bid fare to become great customers to the Road and Dock if the same is properly executed. The persons that last year sent here for coals from Ireland are constantly writing to know if it is safe for their ships to come again."

Harbour Act, 1813, and the Expansion of the Port.

Synchronising with, and emanating from the widely scattered diffusion of the above derogatory and adverse reports on the state of the Harbour, was the first local Harbour Act of the 2nd July, 1813, for the improvement of the navigation of the Rivers Burry, Loughor and Lliedi in the Counties of

613. Book of South Wales, p.194. C. F. Cliffe.

614. Book of South Wales, p.194. C. F. Cliffe.

Carmarthen and Glamorgan. A Bill in pursuit of these powers had been contemplated the previous year, but owing to the intense opposition of interested parties, the measure had to be deferred for a year. The Act authorised the appointment of Harbour Commissioners, of whom there were sixty, including amongst others the representatives of Lords of Seigniories and Lordships, the Portreeve of the Borough of Llanelly, R. J. Nevill, F. C. Pemberton, Alexander Raby, Thomas Mansel Talbot, George Bowser, R. A. Daniel, Henry Child, Sir William Dundas, Rhys Jones, Sir William Paxton, John Rees of Kilymaenllwyd, Major-General Warde, John Roberts, Capt. Wedge and Robert Williams. A large number of these were Burgesses of the Borough, who had been given powers under the 1807 Enclosure Act to devote the residue of the moneys from the public estates to the improvement of the Town and Harbour, while some of them were interested in the industrial growth of the town. In consequence of the Act, the ballast bank that now runs to form the pier was built, and this implies that the western side of the Carmarthenshire Dock was constructed as well as the formation of a breakwater by the extension of the above western side, so that with the completion of this work which took from 12 to 15 years, the Port was now in possession of a harbour. This proved to be a most judicious undertaking and, combined with schemes for the deepening of the navigable channel, resulted in a remarkable increase in the trade of the port, which, according to the submitted evidence, had been declining towards the close of the 18th century; in fact, by 1819 Llanelly was described as being one of the most thriving ports in South Wales.

The extensive manufactures of the town had exerted great influence upon the improvement in the facilities of export and in 1830 ⁶¹⁵ there "were three excellent docks, now completed, furnished with landing stages. There is also a wet dock attached to the docks of the Copper works, having a depth of 12 feet at the lowest neap tides. The graving dock of the railway company is admirably constructed, and from the end of it a break water extends, enabling vessels to be in smooth water at all times. Each dock has a scouring reservoir attached to it, and there is besides, one reservoir of great capacity for scouring the harbour and the channel. A steam tug is in attendance to tow vessels in and out as occasion demands." From 1800, when the export trade appeared to be on the wane, there was a gradual increase in the sea traffic,

and from 1830 onwards, there were signs of increased prosperity which must be estimated from the number of vessels that paid tolls, together with the tonnage of coal despatched. In 1831, 816 vessels traded at the port, the total imports and exports dealt with being 53,844 tons, while in 1840, the number of vessels had increased to 1592 with a total tonnage of 115,792 tons. Again, in 1846, the number of vessels recorded was 2,170, with a tonnage of 166,890 tons. Sea traffic generally had increased during the century, and this was verified by Thomas Buckland, who was employed by various counties to procure statistical information on sea-borne traffic. At Llanelly, ⁶¹⁶ the increase between 1810 and 1840 was 5%, and from 1840 to 1846 it was 6½%. This proportionate increase may be attributed to the additional exports of coal, copper and lead, the imports of raw material such as copper ore, clay, etc., which were essential for the industries which had been established in the town.

Opening of the New Dock, 1834.

Further evidence of its increased prosperity was the construction of the Llangennech or New Dock, which was opened in 1834 and recognised as the first floating or public dock in South Wales. The company procured its first Act of Parliament in 1828, but even at the date of its opening, ancilliary buildings such as warehouses, &c, had not been completed by 1837, since ⁶¹⁷ "its operations were seriously hampered for want of funds, e.g., coals brought by the railway from inland collieries to the terminus at Llanelly could be shipped only with great difficulty, and for that and other reasons it was absolutely essential to the development of the traffic that warehouses and other terminal works should be constructed at Llanelly on or near to the lands in question. The pecuniary resources of the Company at that time were so limited that it was not possible for the Company to construct such works." The channel from the basin to the Flats was made bigger in 1840, and again in 1850.

The Harbour Act of 1813, which had bestowed upon the Commissioners jurisdiction over the Burry Estuary and the control of the newly-established Llanelly Harbour, was the first of a series of statutory enactments which became operative during the following hundred years. In each of these Private Statutes, the powers of the governing body had been enhanced in some degree to carry out the necessary improvements to the Harbour. Again, according to the financial provisions of

615. Transacts. of Carm. Antiq. Society, vol. 27, p.29.

616. History of the Port of Swansea, p.181. W. H. Jones.

617. Stepney v. Biddulph, 1865.

the Act, the Commissioners were empowered to levy a rate of 1d. per ton or less in quantity on goods transported over the Burry Bar, and to borrow a sum not exceeding £2,000 by mortgage on the security of the above rate. These two features of schemes for harbour improvement and the adaptation of financial arrangements for their execution, stand out as dominant factors in all these Acts. Associated with these characteristics was the far-reaching influence of the industrial changes in the construction of vessels of greater carrying capacity, and these circumstances engendered new conditions and created fresh problems for the governing body in the necessity for the provision and maintenance of a navigable channel, deep enough for this purpose. This apparently insurmountable difficulty, with its financial implications, became accentuated with the passage of time and remained the keynote of harbour policy throughout the period.

1843 Harbour Act.

On the 1st August, 1843, the Royal Assent was given to the second Harbour Act to alter and amend the 1813 Act, and to improve the Harbour of Llanelly. Powers were granted to extend and enlarge the authority vested in the Commissioners, while certain places, formerly within the jurisdiction of the Port of Swansea, were placed under the authority of local Commissioners, who were also empowered to erect embankments, locks, sluices, etc. Other measures specified in the Act included the construction of a Reservoir, which was built on the site of the present North Dock, for the purpose of scouring the harbour, the extension and improvement of the Breakwater, and also the hire and purchase of tugs, crane and weighing machines. Further, the Commissioners obtained powers to purchase, if necessary, the Dock and Reservoir belonging to the Carmarthenshire Tramroad Co., who had been given parliamentary authority over these properties in the Act of 1802. It is also very significant that this Act contained an injunction forbidding the Commissioners, in the execution of any schemes, from rendering the channels leading to the various docks, such as the dock of the Llanelly Railway and Dock Co. (the G.W.R. Dock), Nevill's Dock, Burry Port Dock and shipping places at Loughor and Penclawdd, less navigable. Again, the Commissioners were given powers to borrow £20,000. The trade of the Port continued to decrease for a few years, because in 1845, the number of vessels that frequented the port was 2,061, with a total export of 149,909 tons, while in 1848, the ships totalled 2,052 with an export tonnage of 145,777 tons.

1858 Harbour Act.

The next stage in this legislative series was the Burry Navigation and Llanelly Harbour Act, 1858, which repealed and re-enacted some of the provisions of the 1813 and 1843 Acts. The Commissioners were authorised to divert and lead the River Lliedi and the Cille stream by a cut or embankment from the Old Castle into the Carmarthenshire Dock, where sluice gates were built to retain the diverted waters which were used for the scouring of the harbour channel. They carried out also, an extension to the Breakwater embankment, and the Pier at the western approach to the harbour. There was also provision for the election of two members of the Local Board of Health as Commissioners on this "ad hoc" body. Problems arising from the depth of the channel were apparently becoming serious, because the subsequent Act of 1864 authorised the Commissioners to maintain, and further improve the Harbour of Llanelly, while they were given authority to erect and maintain two Lighthouses, one at the Harbour entrance, and the second at Whitford Point.

This Act of 1858 was a definite landmark in the history of the Port, since representation of the Local Board of Health was promoted by the restrictive financial powers and resources of the Commissioners. The important local Act of 1807 had authorised that the residue of the rents and profits from time to time arising from the Public Estates should be applied to the improvement of the Town and Port or either of them. The failure of the inept and oligarchic Trustee government to implement this section of the Act connoted that the Commissioners were deprived of a reliable and constant source of revenue, and although this allocation of the residue of rents was included in the Provisional Order of 1850, transferring local government from the Trustees to a Local Board of Health, there is no evidence that the Commissioners benefited from this source. But the inclusion of two representatives from the Local Board of Health delineated the trend of events, which foreshadow the financial dependence of the Commissioners upon the Local Board. This significant assertion is corroborated at a meeting of the Commissioners on the 2nd April, 1875, under the chairmanship of J. S. Tregoning, who advocated that "a committee be appointed to wait upon the Local Board of Health for the purpose of ascertaining whether they will be prepared to promote an amalgamation of the Town and Port so as to concentrate the two financially under one management." At the time of this recommendation, the Commissioners had bridged over temporarily their financial embarrassments, while the income of the bondholders had been guaranteed for the time being, but owing to the periodic

recurrence of these frustrating situations of impoverishment, it was felt that as the manufactures of Llanelly would increase, together with facilities for land transport, so would the difficulties of maintaining the harbour be enhanced. These concepts were tantamount to their recognition of the indivisibility of the Town and Port, since the Port was an integral and vital factor in the economic and industrial life of the town.

Llanelly Harbour Act, 1878.

These were the circumstances which culminated in the joint promotion by the Commissioners and the Local Board of Health of a Bill which became law under the title of Llanelly Harbour Act, 1878, in which a change was effected in the constitution of the governing body, whose personnel included (1) All members of the Local Board of Health; (2) The Lord of the Seignories of Gower and Kilvey; (3) The Lord of the Lordship of Kidwelly; (4) The Lord of the Manor of Pembrey; (5) The Lord of the Layer of Gower; (6) The Portreeve or one of the Aldermen of the Borough of Loughor; (7) The Resident Superintendent for the time being of the Burry Port and Gwendraeth Valley Railway Co., and (8) One person to be appointed by persons in receipt of dues on goods exported from or imported to the Copperworks Dock. This Act is very significant since it marked the transition from partial representation to complete control by the Local Board of Health, thus establishing a unity from which was initiated the financial dependence of Harbour expenses within the statutory limits upon the Local Treasury. This was lucidly defined in the clause in the Act stating "In case the funds in the hands of the Commissioners from Harbour revenue are at any time insufficient for the repayment of any monies borrowed by the Commissioners with the consent of the Local Board under the authority of this Act or for the payment of any interest or any monies so borrowed as aforesaid at such time repayable or payable, then and in every such case, the Local Board shall, after demand in writing pay to the order of the Commissioners any sum or sums so demanded out of the surplus income of the public estates for the time being in the hands of the Local Board and out of the accruing income." Accordingly, the contributions from the residue of funds from the Public Estates, which had been legally permissible since the 1807 Act but which had not been implemented had become obligatory in this Act. When the original Commissioners relinquished their duties in 1878 they had spent £49,977 14s. 10d., while their outstanding liabilities amounted to £28,260, and under the provisions of the present Act, they were empowered to borrow a sum not

exceeding £50,000, but this amount was to include the sum still owing. The amount paid as precept by the Local Board of Health under the 1878 Act to the Harbour Commissioners was £13,556 8s. 11d., which was equivalent approximately to the receipt of a sum between £500 and £600 per annum, probably the residue of the rent from the public estates. The opportune provision of these financial facilities enabled the Commissioners to consider proposals of a far-reaching character to solve the problem of harbour improvement.

The essential need was the maintenance of a deeper and wider channel from the harbour to the sea, adequate for the navigation of the larger-sized vessels frequenting the Port during the period. Towards the fulfillment of this most desired objective, Mr. Kinniple of the firm of Kinniple and Morris, Engineers of London, was instructed on the 31st December, 1880, to submit a full and comprehensive report for improving the harbour and securing a fixed channel. Owing to the entrance channel closing up with the easily-shifting silt, he reported on the 4th November, 1887 that, "as late as the autumn of 1883, it was considered dangerous for a vessel to enter the harbour drawing more than 12 or 13 feet at high water of ordinary spring tides." Subsequently, the expert advice of other eminent engineers such as Sir Alexander Rendel, Commander Jarrad, and others were sought, and of these, Commander Jarrad submitted plans for alternative schemes, one of which was estimated to cost £5,500, while his second suggestion was simpler, involving the deepening of the channel from the Lighthouse towards the sea for a distance of 600 yards at a cost of £2,000, but the Commissioners proceeded with their own independent scheme.

1896 and 1901 Harbour Acts.

Stimulated by the prospects of improved trade through the great developments in the Anthracite coalfield, and Llanelly as the nearest port not being able to cater for the increasing output owing to inadequate export equipment, the Commissioners were granted powers in 1896 to construct a Dock and other works for the improvement of the Port of Llanelly. The latter included the extension of the Training Walls constructed in the Loughor River under the Act of 1864, and the diversion of the Llanelly and Mynydd Mawr Railway to provide an appropriate entrance to the Dock. Although the project received the support of the townspeople at a well-attended public meeting, intensive opposition was encountered from the Great Western Railway representative who maintained that the project would cause not only irreparable injury to their own

Dock, but would also bring heavy financial burdens to the ratepayers. According to the terms of the bill, the Commissioners were granted powers to mortgage the harbour revenue, and as collateral security charge the monies borrowed on the income of public estates and, as a further collateral security any deficiency for the payment of interest and principal was to become a charge on the water and district rates to an extent not exceeding 1/- in the £ authorised under the Llanelly Local Board Act of 1888; this collateral security was to terminate at the end of sixty years from 1st January, 1897. As this rate implied a direct payment annually from the ratepayers in contradistinction to the indirect contribution from the income from Public Estates, it was deemed necessary to solicit their support, and at a public meeting held in September, 1895, the ratepayers favoured the proposal on condition that a further meeting was convened after the deposition of the Bill. In consequence of the rejection of the proposal at the meeting held on the 22nd January, 1896, a referendum was taken, with the result that 2,410 supported the motion and 1,605 voted against. While the indebtedness of the Commissioners amounted to £44,722 6s. 8d. in 1896, the actual amount paid as precept by the Urban Council under the 1896 Act was £10,994 13s. Under this Act, the period of compulsory purchase powers had been strictly limited to three years from the date of the Act, but owing to the long-drawn litigious dispute between the Commissioners and the Mynydd Mawr Railway Company, an extension of this period was necessary to exercise these powers. Renewed authority to borrow further sums of money on the same collateral security specified in the 1896 Act, was also necessary and these powers were granted in the 1901 Act.

The financial indebtedness of the Commissioners under the provisions of the 1878, 1896 and 1901 Harbour Acts involved a total of £225,787 10s. 7d., of which their liabilities to the Bank of England alone amounted to £220,787 10s. 7d. Although the Commissioner's Dock, or North Dock, was opened in January, 1904, the financial embarrassments of the Commissioners were such that they were not able to complete all the schemes authorised in the 1896 and 1901 Acts within the specified period ending 7th August, 1903. As their revenue was insufficient to pay interest on outstanding loans and was not adequate security for obtaining further loans, it was deemed expedient that the limit of 1/- in the £ as collateral security on the District Rate of the Urban District Council should be increased, and the period for which it was given extended. For this purpose, it was decided to promote a Bill, which was supported at two public meetings, attended approximately by 2,000 ratepayers, held on the 19th and 26th January,

1904 respectively, when it was decided that 2/- in the £ should be charged on the General District Rate as collateral security for the pursuance of the necessary schemes. But the ratepayers' approval of this Bill and the increased rate of 2/- in the £ was given on the specific condition that the constitution of the governing Harbour Authority was changed to include fifteen Trustees elected by the ratepayers. In addition, there were included (2) Lord of the Seignories of Gower and Kilvey; (3) Lord of the Lordship of Kidwelly; (4) Lord of the Manor of Pembrey; (5) Lord of the Layerage of Loughor; (6) One Trustee appointed by each of the following bodies—Great Western Railway Company, Burry Port and Gwendraeth Valley Railway Company, and the Burry Port Urban District Council, and (7) Two Trustees to be appointed by Mortgagees. All the elective Trustees of fifteen were chosen by ballot on the first day of September, 1904, and the first meeting was convened on the 12th September, 1904. All the elective Trustees went out of office on the same day at the end of three years, but all were eligible for re-election. It is noteworthy that the fundamental principle of direct representation by the Local Urban Authority on this "ad hoc" body in virtue of the latter's financial subservience to the District Council, was eliminated in the new arrangement except that the Town Clerk of the Local Authority was also Clerk to the Trust, and thus formed the liaison between the two bodies.

The Early 20th Century.

In retrospect, the Llanelly Harbour and Burry Navigation Commissioners who had contemplated the construction of the Dock and accessory works had applied to the Public Works Charity Commissioners for powers to borrow the necessary amount to launch the project, and as a result, the Bank of England had advanced over £200,000 to the Commissioners. As they were unable to meet arrears of interest owing to the belated opening of the Dock, a writ was issued by the Bank against the Commissioners, but an agreement was reached eventually between the two parties. The outcome was the Act of 1904 in which the rate of security was raised to 2/- in the £, and the responsibilities of harbour administration transferred to the newly-constituted Harbour Trust. This Act consolidated the loans and interest owing to the Bank, amounting in September 1904, to £229,610 4s. 7d., and laid down how the Harbour revenue was to be applied.

Between 1904 and 1910, the Trust was given sanction, after an official inquiry by the Board of Trade, to borrow further sums of money amounting to £12,000 for the purpose of improving the channel and constructing a spur wall, but

there is no evidence that this money had been borrowed before 1910. During the latter year, there had been such little improvement in the financial position of the Trust that they applied to the Bank of England for the renewal of the loan at the reduced rate of 3½%, but with its refusal to agree to a decrease of ½%, the Bank submitted a counter proposal of a reduction in the rate of interest to 3%, provided the Urban District Council guaranteed a payment of interest and an instalment of the principal. By the acceptance of these terms, all the conditions agreed upon by both parties were embodied in the Act of 1910, which confirmed also the indenture of agreement made on 30th June, 1900, between the Trust, the Urban District Council and the Bank of England. The liabilities of the Trust were consolidated at £236,946 12s. 2d., an amount which was to be paid in 110 half-yearly payments each of £4,411 19s. 3d. Further, the Bank accepted a new responsibility in advancing another loan of £40,000 at 4% to the Trust, while the Urban District Council pledged the District Rate without any reference to the limit, as collateral security.

The precepts paid to the Llanelly Harbour Authority under their Acts, 1878-1910 were as follows:—

1. Under the 1878 Act	...	...	£13,566	3	11
2. Under the 1896 Act	...	...	£10,994	13	0
3. Under the 1901 Act	...	...	£14,417	17	5
4. Under the 1904 and 1910 Acts:—					
1905 31st March, 1905	...	...	£5,256	6	3
1906 31st March, 1906	...	...	£8,358	3	10
1907 31st March, 1907	...	...	£8,556	2	8
1908 31st March, 1908	..	...	£8,572	13	7
1909 31st March, 1909	...	...	£9,129	14	0
1910 31st March, 1910	...	...	£8,977	1	3
1911 31st March, 1911	...	...	£7,514	0	8
1912 31st March, 1912	...	...	£7,600	0	0
1913 31st March, 1913	...	...	£8,000	0	0
1914 31st March, 1914	...	...	£8,000	0	0

A survey of the trade returns proves that the Port was essentially a coal exporting centre, but other articles of export were cast iron rolls, enamel ware, patent fuel, tin, terne and black plates, while the principal imports were pig iron, timber, scrap iron, and silica bricks, pitwood, sand, patent manures, etc. The vessels frequenting the port had been small craft but vast improvements were effected in the Harbour during the 19th century to enable vessels of greater

carrying capacity to enter the port, while great efforts have been concentrated on improving the depth of the channel leading to the various docks by dredging. In consequence of these experiments, the channel was deepened and a vessel drawing 15 feet of water, with a cargo of 1,500 tons was able to enter or leave the port without danger, except under extraordinary weather conditions. The silting of the channel, combined with the tortuous bend near the Lighthouse has proved a serious handicap to the further development of the Port, which is the natural shipping centre for a district rich in anthracite coal resources and in industrial enterprise.

The Borough of Llanelly

Its Growth and Local Government

Glyndwr Rebellion—a Turning Point.

The legacy of stagnation inherited by the Borough following the Owain Glyndwr rebellion had not only camouflaged its economic significance in the Mediaeval period, but had also eclipsed its antiquity, and consequently, the period may be regarded as a watershed separating the old order from that phase in which the town developed into a highly industrialised centre. In its emergence from its quiescent condition in a slough of inactivity, the Borough became revitalised by the irrepressible and resurgent forces of the national movement towards industrialism which had its sequel in the rapid growth of the town, whose local government exhibited such great divergencies in its evolution from a most corrupt and selfish administration to a corporate authority elected on democratic principles. Towards the attainment of this oligarchic corporation, the Court Leet had upheld and enforced privilege as the deciding factor within the fabric of local administration since acceptance by the Steward and the jurors was the dominant element in the admission of a freeholder to the status of a legal burgess. Co-existing with the Court Leet after the Enclosure Act of 1807, was the newly-constituted statutory authority of thirteen burgesses, known as Trustees, who had been delegated with well-defined and limited powers to carry on the functions of local administration. Thus, there followed some degree of overlapping in jurisdiction between these two authorities, one based on tradition and the other created by statute, but this juxtaposition was adjusted about 1813, when the jurisdictional activities of the Court Leet became concentrated on the parishes of the Hundred. Unfortunately, the Trustees abused their authority, and their maladministration evoked a scathing criticism from the Commissioner who presented a most illuminating and comprehensive report in 1835. The apathy and ineptitude of this

administrative body in a rapidly increasing industrial centre caused consternation and despair among responsible inhabitants whose grievances were ventilated at the Commission of Inquiry, 1843, although these grievances exercised no influence on the Rebecca outbreaks. An outcome of the intense dissatisfaction with local government was another inquiry by a government commissioner, and as a result, a Local Board of Health superseded the "do nothing" Trustees in 1850. The industrial prosperity of the town gathered momentum with the introduction of the tinsplate and allied industries, and accompanying these developments was the tremendous increase in the population of the town, whose administration experienced many vicissitudes, culminating in the bestowal of burghal status in 1913.

Increasing Economic Activity.

The "Borough" was of very small proportions during the Tudor period, and this testimony is maintained in a document of 1566, which refers to it as a village of twelve households, but Bromley in his Survey of 1609² gives the names of fifty-nine freeholders resident within the Borough. Unquestionably, there had been, during the 17th century, a gradual incursion of rural immigrants to the neighbourhood due to early beginnings in the working of coal, since the movement would be stimulated by the rapid growth of this economic activity. The observations of tourists who passed through the town during the 17th and 18th centuries are similar in character, and are conclusive evidence that Llanelly was a small port and market centre where a good trade in coal, cattle, etc., was carried on. Again, some significance was attached to the town's geographical position as the centre where the Court Leet for the Commote of Carnwyllion was held; this may be illustrated in the Court Leet held at the dwellinghouse of Alice Daniel on the 14th October, 1687, while another example was that convened at the dwellinghouse of John Morgan of Llanelly on the 9th May, 1701 before Griffith Lloyd and Charles Dalton, Stewards to the Right Hon. John, Earl of Carbery. Although Llanelly was described³ "as a tolerably good town" in 1727, a tourist⁴ who travelled from Pontardulais in 1795 described the "miserable village of Llanelly as being close to the coast and famous for nothing but a deserted seat of the Stepney family." But, this view is

1. The Welsh Ports, p.316. E. A. Lewis.
2. Miscellaneous Documents of D. of L. Vol. 120.
3. A New Present State of England, vol. 1, p.309. 1727. B.M.
4. Tours through Wales, Henry Scrine (Somersetshire), 1795.

diametrically opposed to the opinion expressed by another traveller in 1796, that it was ⁵ "a sea-port town with a good trade in coal . . . the coal trade makes the population increase and multiply. Old cottages have only a ground floor—many new ones that daily strewn this part of the country are built in a better manner." This year (1796) marked the beginning of great industrial changes, so that the increase in population may be confirmed by the reference that ⁶ "Llanelly House was divided into three messuages—an accommodation much wanted from the increase of population in the neighbourhood." But an eminent traveller ⁷ who passed through the town about the same time merely states, "Llanelly is a small town of 51 houses, and governed by a Portreeve," while "the parish is 7 miles long from Kaslwchwr to Pontyberem, and about 3 miles broad, from Lliedi River to Llannon." The establishment of the Copperworks in the following year (1805) initiated that industrial movement which obliterated most traces of a rural and agricultural economy within the town during the 19th century when the population had increased from 2,621 in 1821, to 23,805 in 1891, and this is corroborated by the description given in 1830, that it was ⁸ "a thriving market and Borough town—lately undergone considerable improvements, and its trade, its population, and the respectability of its ranks among commercial towns greatly augmented."

New Market Places 1828.

Due recognition of the town's traditional significance as a market centre, and of its increasing industrial importance was displayed by the Trustees when they resolved ⁹ in 1821 to erect a Town Hall for the inhabitants of the town with a lock-up house and Marketplace underneath, on a piece of ground leased from David Lewis of Stradey, for a period of 500 years at a nominal rental of 5/- per annum. The erection of this composite building was carried out in conformity with the Trusts declared by the lease, which was enrolled in Chancery. For centuries the Market had been held around the churchyard and in different parts of the town, but with the succession of William Chambers to the Stepney Estates as tenant for life after the Marquis of Cholmondeley in 1827, two other market places were set up under peculiar circumstances. William Chambers took up residence at the Mansion

House (Llanelly House), which had not been occupied by the Estate owner for thirty or forty years, but had been parcelled out into different holdings, and as shops, and otherwise, while a portion of the gardens had been occupied by Robert Rees, a butcher, as a market place which he had underlet to others engaged in the trade. Anxious to restore the Mansion House, the grounds, and the gardens to their original condition, the owner decided to build another place on the estate where people could resort to, before taking away the holding of Robert Rees, and consequently, he erected a Market place in a field adjoining the principal, and then the only street (Water Street) in the town, where ¹⁰ "the opening of this new Market place on the 2nd October, 1828, presented a scene of great mirth and festivity . . ." Robert Rees was immediately dispossessed of his holding, and ventilated his determined and embittered opposition to the above project by entering into an agreement with David Lewis of Stradey to erect a market place, opposite to the Town Hall built by the Trustees in 1821, at an outlay of £500, for which he (Robert Rees) agreed to pay 7½% per annum. These two markets were in progress simultaneously, were rival markets, and both were opened to the public on the same day; this implies that the construction of both market places was contemporaneous, and this is corroborated by the reference that, ^{10A} "a market had been erected by Mr. Chambers (who is lord of the layage of the Port of Llanelly, and a very large landed proprietor residing within the town) about the same time that the market place of Mr. Lewis was constructed."

Robert Rees lost heavily on his improvident speculation, since almost all the butchers and people showed a preference for the Market erected by William Chambers. It was feared by the Trustees of the Town that it was the intention of William Chambers to demand tolls for the use of the market, and "a conveyance was made to Mr. (David) Lewis of two pieces of land comprising about ten acres, in exchange for the market place in the town belonging to him, in order that the inhabitants might have the advantage of a market place without the payment of a toll." It has been maintained that Robert Rees, who was a Trustee of the Burgesses, had persuaded and influenced his fellow Trustees to effect this exchange so as to prevent William Chambers from receiving any remunerative return for his outlay. The imposition of tolls was apparently a very important question before this, according to a petition sent by Ebenezer Morris, Vicar of

5. Carm. Antiquarian Society Transactions, vol. 37, p.19.

6. Cambrian Newspaper, 12 May, 1804.

7. Tours in Wales (1804-1811). Richard Fenton.

8. Carm. Antiquarian Society Transactions, vol. 27, p.29.

9. "Col. Stepney's Market Rights" Document, Llanelly Town Hall.

10. Cambrian Newspaper, 18th October, 1828.

10A. Report on Municipal Corporations, 1835. Commissioner James Boorth.

Llanely, Morgan Thomas Davies, and Henry Child to the Churchwardens of Llanely Parish on the 2nd February, 1827, when the latter were requested to call a meeting of the Parishioners^{11A} "to consider the propriety of opposing a toll which has this week been imposed on corn and other commodities sold in the Market House which has recently been built by the Trustees of the Burgesses for and in the improvement of the Town and Port of Llanely." This market place had been converted into a Corn Market after the acquisition of the other market in 1829, and was free from the imposition of tolls. William Chambers had never attempted to levy tolls at his market place, but occasionally received from persons using his stalls sufficient rents to defray the expenses of keeping the market place in order and repair. These markets continued to function for some years after the radical changes in local government had been carried out in 1850.

The Court Leet.

According to a government report issued in 1835, Llanely was described as a "Borough by prescription, there is no charter in existence," while in the House of Commons on the 5th July, 1835, it was mentioned as one of the towns to be incorporated, but as the proposal did not find favour with the local burgesses, the Government was compelled to withdraw the name of Llanely before the Bill was submitted to a Committee of the House. The opposition of the Burgesses was inexplicable in view of the circumstances presented in the Report. The members of the Corporation included the Portreeve, and an undefined number of Burgesses, from whom the Jury was elected at the traditional Court Leet held twice a year, in the spring and autumn respectively, by the Steward; there is evidence that the election was carried out by ballot at some meetings. This corporation of Burgesses did not exercise any jurisdiction as a collective body; in fact, it was only those Burgesses who had been sworn and impannelled as elected members of the Jury who did so, and it was only in so far as its constitution varied from one session to another, can the Corporation be described as exercising any administrative powers within the Borough. Thus, administrative functions were discharged by the Court Leet and from an examination of the minutes of these proceedings, there is conclusive evidence that their powers were varied and fairly comprehensive.

At each of these Court Leet meetings, the jury safeguarded their privileges in the commons of the Borough by a present-

11A. Old Llanely. A Mee's Copy in Cardiff Central Library.

ment that these were "the free liberty and common pasture of the Burgesses of the Borough of Llanely and none else." It is apparent that their rights of jurisdiction over these commons were absolute since they insisted that,¹² "no consent to build, work, or make use of any part of the Rights of Common be given to rent whatsoever to any person or persons for grazing or any other waste without the same be made at the Leet Court every half yearly meeting when the Jury at such Leet shall be present." The election of officials, such as the Portreeve and Constables was carried out at the spring meeting; the duties of the Portreeve, who paid 6/6 on being sworn in at the meeting, have been described except that he was in virtue of his office a Trustee under the Enclosure Act of 1807. Apparently, there appeared to exist a great deal of apathy among the jurors towards the acceptance of this office, and the retention of the same juror as Portreeve for more than one year was a common occurrence, but a change was effected in these conditions in 1809, when it was decided that¹³ "The Portreeve be changed annually in future." Another very interesting feature of these proceedings was the admission of individuals to be freeholders at these Sessions on the payment of 2/6 to the Lord of the Manor, and were thus eligible to become Burgesses.

Other items which were illustrative of their powers of jurisdiction included presentments relating to the Stocks and the Winchester Measure belonging to the market. In October, 1801, the Stocks were reported to be out of repair, and the Churchwardens of the Parish together with the Overseers of the Poor of the Parish were authorised to renew them before the 1st December. Again, the Market's Winchester Measure was reported to be under 8 gallons,¹⁴ "which is the Statute Winton Measure, to be illegal, and that application be made by the present Portreeve for a proper stamped Winchester Measure at the expense of the Borough," but how the expense could be defrayed by the Borough is difficult to suggest. Even the "Pound," which was used in common by the Borough and Parish of Llanely was being presented as being¹⁵ "greatly out of repair and ought to be repaired by the Borough and

11. These commons were Morfa Mawr, Morfa Bach, Morfa yr Ynis, Morfa Du, Caeswddy, as well as a spot of ground opposite the Three Compasses Inn.
12. Court Leet held at the dwellinghouse of John Jenkins, Innkeeper, Tuesday, 27th October, 1801.
13. Court Leet held at Falcon Inn, 6th June, 1809.
14. Court Leet held at the dwellinghouse of J. Jenkins, Innkeeper, Tuesday, 27th October, 1801.
15. Court Leet held at the Falcon Inn, 21st October, 1807.

Parish of Llanelly, and that the same be put in proper repair within one calendar month, or be amerced in the sum of £5." Two houses adjoining the Pound were nuisances as they were in a dangerous condition and likely to fall into the Pound, so the proprietors were instructed to put them in a state of safety or "be amerced in the sum of 40/-. The Court also exercised the right of surveillance over the condition of the local roads, as is shown in the presentment that, "the Gutter before the dwellinghouse of David Rees (Mercer) to be a nuisance and that the same be drained by Mrs. Mary Ball within the space of 14 days or be amerced in the sum of 40/-." This evidence may be amplified by a presentment for the same session, in which it was necessary to appoint Scavengers for the keeping of the streets of the Town of Llanelly clean, and in consequence, William Child and William Rees, Maesarddafen were presented as ¹⁶ "Scavengers for the ensuing year, they causing the same to be done at their own expense." Unquestionably, the condition of the roads was a matter of great concern, and one such example is furnished in the case of a certain road or common King's Highway leading from the town to the seashore, which was ruinous and out of repair, and the inhabitants of the Borough were ordered to put the same in good and sufficient repair within three months or be amerced in the sum of £10. Another bridge crossing from Llanelly Mill to the Wern coal works on the road leading from Llanelly to Swansea was stated to be in a dangerous state, and instructions were issued to Messrs. Daniell and Co., (Copperworks), that they should enlarge the same and put it in a proper state of repair, or be amerced in the sum of £20. This same company was also presented at the same sessions of the Court because, ¹⁷ "the smoke issuing from the Copper Works has materially affected the vegetation of a considerable part of Morfa Bychan."

Functions of Trustees.

These traditional functions were duplicated with the statutory creation of the Trustees as an administrative body, endowed with defined powers and authorised to carry out the provisions of the Act in 1807. They were given the right to appoint a clerk and treasurer, and to keep a record of their Acts, orders and proceedings. In addition to the revenue received from rents after enclosure, money which was to be judiciously and honourably expended in the improvement of the town and harbour of Llanelly, they were given limited powers to borrow money for the same purpose and any residue after

the payment of interest, expenses, and expenditure in improvements was to be equally shared among the burgesses on the 25th December, probably as compensation for the loss of their customary rights in the commons. It is manifest from the evidence already presented that there would be a certain degree of overlapping in the functions of the Court Leet and the Trustees, since in the presentments after 1807, the Court Leet presented ¹⁸ "Morfa Mawr, Morfa Bach, Morfa Du, Morfa yr Ynis, and Gwern Caeswddy except such parts as have been lately sold by the Commissioners under the Act for inclosing lands, etc. to be the free liberty of the Burgesses of Llanelly and none else." They also presented the Dock lately constructed by Messrs. Bowen and Roderick as an encroachment on that part of the Burgesses' property called Morfa Du by about 30 yards in length, and that ¹⁹ "the representative of Messrs. Roderick and Bowen be served with notice to pay 15/- a year for the same." Again it is apparent that the Court Leet endeavoured to claim authority in precedence of the Trustees because they presented ²⁰ "the new cut for carrying the River Dafen through Morfa Mawr to be too shallow whereby the water flows over the said cut and lodges on the neighbouring lands, and thereby prove a great nuisance and detriment to the adjoining farmers and overflow their lands and thereby injure their grass and herbage and that the evil be remedied by Mr. Neville who undertook the cut for the Commissioners under the Llanelly Enclosure Act within the space of one month, otherwise we amerce such person in the sum of £50." Again, this may be corroborated from another presentment in which it is claimed that ²¹ "the waters of the River Lliedi diverted from its old course across the Turnpike road to the Wern and Copperworks Dock to be an encroachment upon the rights of the Burgesses and the Inhabitants of the said Borough, and that the same ought to be turned to its old course, which course runs through the Town of Llanelly." There appear to be no further records available of Court Leet presentments for the Borough after 1813, so that it is feasible to suggest that the anomalous position created by the duplication of administrative functions had terminated at this date or shortly afterwards, thus leaving the Trustees as the sole authority responsible for the administration of Llanelly. This arrangement was inevitable owing to the inherent weakness of a system where representation for the two bodies was drawn from the same source. Therefore, the independence of Llanelly from the Lordship

16. Court Leet—Falcon Inn—21st October, 1807.

17. Court Leet, 19th October, 1810.

18. Court Leet, Saturday, 14th May, 1808.

19. Court Leet, Saturday, 14th May, 1808.

20. Court Leet, 27th October, 1809.

21. Court Leet, 6th May, 1813.

of Kidwelly, which had been initiated with the Enclosure Act, 1807, was virtually complete, and the town may be said to function administratively as a separate territorial entity shortly after 1813.

The Burgesses.

The privileges of the Burgesses had been enhanced by the Enclosure Act, 1807, and their complement of 156 in the latter year had decreased to 34 in 1835. It is obvious that the number of admissions to their ranks had been considerably curtailed; in fact only selections were made between 1807 and 1832, viz. 2 in 1817, 2 in 1821, and 1 in 1831, thereby reversing the policy of generous admissions in previous years. The reason for this diminution was the unwillingness of the Steward to admit any new burgesses, and he was probably influenced by the greater financial benefits accruing from the distribution of the residue among a reduced number of burgesses. It is recorded that²² in 1827, £100 had been distributed between 50 burgesses; in 828, £192 between 48 burgesses; in 1829, £138 between 46 burgesses; in 1830, £220 between 44 burgesses; in 1831, £220 10s. between 42 burgesses, and in 1832, £222 between 37 burgesses. According to the instructions in the 1807 Act, the Accounts were to be placed before the Trustees on the first Thursday in July annually, or at the first meeting of the Trustees next following "in order that they may be audited, and passed if approved of." But the Accounts appeared to be very irregularly kept; in fact, "they have never been balanced since the appointment of the present Clerk to the Trustees, which took place about six years ago (1826)." It was stated to be the practice on the occasion of the annual distribution among the burgesses to have about £100 in the hands of the bankers, and to divide what appeared to be the balance in hand after making provision for all the current engagements of the year. This was stated to be done on a rough estimate, and without any settlement of accounts. No accounts were ever produced to the burgesses. The financial position in 1832 may be gathered from the following:—

²³ Annual Rent of Land	...	...	...	...	£425	11	8
Cash in Hand of Treasurer	...	...	...	...	£144	0	0
Due for arrears of Rent	...	...	...	...	£300	0	0
					(Approx.)		
Due for Llanelly Dock and Railways	...	...	...	...	£100	0	0
Due from other quarters	...	...	...	...	£100	0	0
					(Approx.)		
Mortgage owing by Trustees	...	...	...	...	£500	0	0
					at 5%		

22. Report on Municipal Corporations, 1835.

23. The Trustees were not satisfied with the amount they received, and from 1835, they decided upon letting the lands for a longer period than one year.

Expenditure in 1832:—

Dinners at Court Leet	...	...	...	...	£35	0	0
Contribution to Board of Health for prevention of Cholera	...	...	...	...	£10	10	0
Repair of Embankment	...	...	...	...	£52	0	0
Repair and fittings of Town Hall, and in other repairs and expenses of a public nature	...	...	...	...	£52	0	0

The residue of £222 was shared between the 32 burgesses.

According to the evidence of the 1835 Report, it was stated that the number of houses in 1830 with a rateable value of £10 and over, but under £20 was 48, and those at £20 and over 8. Again, under the Highway Act, 5 and 6 William IV, Cap.50 (1835-36), a Highway Board of twelve members was elected annually for the Borough Hamlet, while a serjeant and two policemen as part of the County police were resident in town. The town's political association with Carmarthen after a severance of over three hundred years, was renewed under the Reform Act of 1832, when both Boroughs returned one Member of Parliament between them, the population of Llanelly at the time being registered as 4,250 and Carmarthen 9,955. It was also in 1835 that an Act for lighting the town and neighbourhood came into operation. This project had been under consideration since 1833, as well as plans for paving the town and providing it with sufficient water since it was developing at a rapid rate in wealth and population. The promoter of the Gas Company, incorporated by private Act (5 William IV, 1835) was William Chambers, who was instrumental in promoting the scheme after arrangements had been completed with the Trustees.

Local Government continued in the hands of Trustees until 1850, when, owing to the new conditions created by industrial developments, the inhabitants urged upon them the necessity for having a plentiful supply of water and an efficient drainage. Their efforts failed to move the effete governing body, who continued to share the rents, except for a small payment for gas lighting. Written notices were served upon the Trustees, who were informed that in the event of their refusal to comply with the request of the inhabitants, an application was to be made to the Court of Chancery on the grounds of abuse of their trust. This had the effect of terminating the annual distribution of the residue of rents, but no immediate improvements were undertaken, because the money was spent in the payment of tavern bills. Their maladministration had incurred the bitter opposition of the Chamber of Commerce and had created such intense resent-

ment and abhorrent antipathy amongst the inhabitants of the town that it became the subject of a serious complaint before the Commission of Inquiry in 1843. But the real significance of this action must be assessed from the fact that it provided a channel for the ventilation and vindication of an injustice towards society. One of the witnesses maintained that,²⁴ "there is another grievance in this town—can it be called Municipal when there is no Corporation; it is a town of great importance, 10,000 population in the town and immediate neighbourhood, it is a contributory Borough of Carmarthen, and the property of the town is vested in the hands of Trustees under an Act of Parliament, 1807. There is no local government, the Port has a Portreeve, but he is not a magistrate. There are five magistrates within a radius of five miles. Petty Sessions are held once a week on Saturday—the Magistrates deserve credit for regularity of attendance." The second witness²⁵ continued in a similar strain: "The property vested in the Trustees brings in £500 a year. A large portion of the Trustees have died off, they divide the money among themselves, and we see a great deal of drunkenness in our streets as the result of it. They are allowed to do so—divide the property among themselves. The property is vested for improving the town and it is not so applied. They are their own auditors." The number of burgesses had been reduced from 156 in 1807 to 25 in 1849, when²⁶ "the population had increased from under 2,000 to 8,187, and the value of the property within the Borough in nearly as great a proportion." The Trustees were elected for life, their only qualification was that of being burgesses, for which pecuniary circumstances were not a condition. While the majority of the 25 burgesses were resident ratepayers, others were residents, but excused rates, and the remainder were neither residents nor ratepayers. In applying this classification to the 13 Trustees, it was learnt that 8 were ratepayers, residing in the Borough, 2 were resident but excused rates, and the remaining three were neither residents nor ratepayers.

The Inquiry of 1849.

In response to a petition from the inhabitants of Llanely, the General Board of Health directed G. T. Clarke, a Superin-

24. Evidence of John Thomas, Llanely before Commission of Inquiry, 1843.
25. Evidence of Mr. Buckley, Llanely, before Commission of Inquiry, 1843.
26. Report of the Inquiry by G. T. Clark, 1849.

tending Inspector to visit the town, and examine witnesses as to sewerage, drainage and water supply etc. The Inquiry was held at the Town Hall, Hall Street, Llanely, on the forenoons of the 7th, 8th and 9th November, 1849, when the Inspector was supported by R. J. Nevill and C. W. Nevill, proprietors of the Copperworks; William Chambers; G. Harris, Surveyor to the Highway Board; Dr. Benjamin Thomas, Surgeon to the Union; D. A. Davies, Registrar of Burials; F. L. Brown; Rhys Jones, Secretary to the Chamber of Commerce; R. T. Howell and B. Jones, Clerk to the Harbour Commissioners. Also actively interested in the Inquiry was the Chamber of Commerce, a voluntary organisation, which,²⁷ "in the absence of an efficient local government, has been supported by the community, upon which in turn, it has conferred essential benefits." This organisation had contributed to the amenities of the town through its support of a Reading Room and the Mechanic's Institute, and in promoting an improvement in the sanitary arrangements of the town, while on the outbreak of cholera, they printed a valuable report and took successful steps in minimising the virulence of the disease. The general scope of the Inquiry may be gleaned from a summary of the statement, submitted by F. L. Brown, on behalf of several influential inhabitants, complaining of:—

1. The misappropriation of the Trust Fund.
2. The inadequacy of expenditure for the benefit of the town.
3. The necessity for a plentiful supply of water.
4. The need for an efficient drainage, as well as the provision of better facilities for the health and comfort of the inhabitants.

Further information is available in the Report on the rateable value of property in the Borough Hamlet in October, 1848, when it was assessed at £11,209, while the only rates were the Highway Rate at 1/- in the £ producing £546, and a Poor Rate yielding £1,829. The latter included a County Rate of 6½d. in the £, and a Police Rate of 2½d. in the £, so that the whole burden falling on the ratepayers was an annual rate of 4/3 in the £, returning £2,375, and²⁸ "if the trust had been properly administered, its funds amounting to about £500 per annum, ought to have been applied in reduction of

27. Report of the Inquiry, G. T. Clarke, 1849.
28. Report of the Inquiry by G. T. Clarke, 1849.

the preceding amount." There was included also the following details with regard to houses.

According to the Rate Book:—

The No. of houses in the Town proper	...	...	652
The No. of houses on the Seaside	...	...	452
The No. of houses on the Wern	...	...	448
		Total	1552

These were rated as follows:—

Above £10 per annum	...	...	...	143
At £10 and above £5 per annum	...	...	...	152
At or below £5	...	...	...	1239
Vacant	...	...	...	18
		Total		1552

There were also in the Borough 64 Alehouses and 25 Beer-shops, making a total of 89.

As a contrast, the number of houses in 1831	...	...	802
No. of inhabited houses in 1841	...	1358	
No. of empty houses in 1841	...	67	
			1425

This Inquiry disclosed the beneficent influence of the Chamber of Commerce in the town. In its endeavours to promote the well-being of the inhabitants, a committee of five medical practitioners were appointed to prepare a report on the unsatisfactory condition of local sanitation, and their observations were presented to magistrates in 1847, just prior to a fresh outbreak of cholera. These comments referred to the neglected state of the town's drains, the complete absence of house drainage, the quantities of putrefying matter lying openly exposed in various parts of the district, and the large number of pools of stagnant water and open gutters, evils which were deleterious to health. They deprecated, ²⁹ "the offensive custom of holding a pig market in the centre of the town, as well as the obnoxious and injurious custom of permitting the washing of putrid skins in different parts of the town—to the rendering of tallow and the existence of tan-pits amidst the dwellings." Although this Committee refrained from recommending any specific remedies, they expressed a hope that, ³⁰ "the poorer part of the inhabitants should be made aware of the importance of individual cleanliness in their own persons and the interior of their homes." Again, in 1849, Benjamin Thomas, Medical Officer of the district was deputed by the Chamber of Commerce to investigate the sanitary conditions, and his report was submitted to the Inspector on 9th November, 1849.

He maintained that these conditions were extremely bad in Llanelly, although its geographical situation rendered it ³¹ "capable of becoming a healthy and salubrious residence, under proper sanitary surveillance." But to the south and south-east were marshy lands which were not drained, and as these ³² "suffered from a constant decomposition of humus," the winds from such directions were responsible for the prevalence of diseases; in fact, ³³ "the cholera, which broke out here on the 20th August last, was accompanied by these winds which continued to prevail during the prevalence of cholera." Again, while the suburbs suffered very much from "intermittent fevers," the town experienced ³⁴ "remittent and continued fevers of a low or mild typhoid type"; the mortality from these fevers is slight, but the miasma producing them must have a depressing effect upon the general health." Other sources, to which the Medical Officer attributed ill-health were ³⁵ "the existence of several ponds of stagnant water, two skinner's yards, a tan yard, several slaughterhouses, or rather slaughter stables, a numerous array of pigsties, the insufficiency of the street paving, or street drainage and of scavenging operations." He complained also that houses and public buildings, which were built without regard to ventilation, were wet and damp, while the roads had been badly constructed and lacked a solid foundation. In addition to inadequate supplies, the water was not really suitable for drinking or domestic needs, and for these purposes had to be carried considerable distances or purchased from water carriers at a halfpenny per jug of two gallons.

Further evidence of the strict vigilance exercised by the Chamber of Commerce was exhibited in a report prepared by a committee of the foregoing body, who gave an illuminating description of the various streets or groups of houses in the three main divisions in the town. In view of the significance of this report, the Inspector carried out an inspection of the town, and was accompanied by William Chambers, F. L. Brown, Rhys Jones and numerous other inhabitants. The inclusion of some excerpts from the detailed account corroborates and justifies the scathing criticism of the sanitary arrangements in the two previous reports:—

1. "The lane leading from Hall Street to Vauxhall Road is in a very dirty state, with heaps of filth along side of it . . . at the Forge and Caemain, the cottages are very dirty . . .

The Forge is a group of 40 to 50 cottages on the south-west suburb of the town. Their rents are from 9d. to 1/- a

(c) The third division was the **Loughor District**, which consisted of the Borough and Parish of Loughor in Glamorgan, and the Parish of Llangennech with the hamlet of Berwick. The principal places were Loughor and Gowerton in Glamorgan and Llangennech, Llwynhendy, Cwmfelin and Dafen within the Hundred of Carnwyllion and the County of Carmarthen. In the Report of 1890, the Medical Officer gives the following account of the latter villages:—

“**Llangennech** is situated chiefly in a low lying marshy district. There are about 1,500 inhabitants. Water supply is obtained from pumps, springs and wells. Much was done during the year to improve the water supply at this place. Drainage is bad, and there are numerous nuisances. At Allt most of the cottages are badly constructed, built in excavated ground, and many without through ventilation.”

“**Llwynhendy** is a growing place. Houses are scattered over a considerable area on both sides of the main road from Halfway to Cwmfelin. Many of the older houses are defective in their sanitary arrangements. Water supply is fair and derived chiefly from wells.”

“**Cwmfelin** is situated on low, marshy ground. There is no proper drainage. Good supply of water is conveyed from Penderry to the village. It has a population of about 600.”

“**Dafen**—a part of this village is in the Llanelly sub-rural District. It has a population of about 800. The water supply is excellent. There is no drainage system and most of the houses are fairly good. Pigstye nuisances are common.”

(d) In the fourth division were the parishes of **Pembrey and Kidwelly**, both of which were outside the boundary of the Commote of Carnwyllion. Again it should be stated that the above four divisions did not correspond exactly with the Parish boundaries.

It is evident from the foregoing descriptions that the Rural Sanitary Authority had encountered serious difficulties in the provision of adequate supplies of water, which was a fundamental sanitary necessity. The whole District was so scattered and thinly populated that a central supply was

deemed out of the question at this period, and consequently the Authority was compelled to proceed piecemeal with its schemes. Even in 1888 much attention was given to improving the Lliedi and Trebeddod watersheds, and nearly all the wells, as sources of supply, were covered in and made to deliver by spout. Although valuable work had been carried out with supplies from the various wells, houses were often too far removed from these sources. Again neighbourhoods such as Llangennech, Felinfoel, Pontyberem and Cwmfelin had a fair claim to be better furnished with a constant supply of drinking water, and for this purpose several schemes were promoted for the provision of these facilities in 1891. At Pontyberem, a line of pipes was laid to convey water from a reservoir to several parts of the district. In Tumble nearly 200 houses were provided with water, while in Felinfoel tanks were constructed with pipes leading from them to convey the water. At the Forest Road, a new tank had been erected in connection with a good well. In the following year several wells were built and protected, and additional supplies were contemplated. It was also proposed to carry out a scheme to supply Pemberton, Cefncaeau, Llwynhendy, Cwmfelin and Bynea but Llangennech and Hendy were still dependent on wells and springs and there was great scarcity in both places. Owing to an exceptionally dry summer in 1894, the water supply of Felinfoel was augmented by conveying from Tanlan through pipes to the village.

The above summary is indicative of the slow progress in the provision of water for the various parishes of the Hundred by the Rural Sanitary Authority who in 1891 initiated a system of scavenging in the larger villages, where it had been productive of much good. Administration by the Rural Sanitary Authority continued in operation until 1894, when changes of a far reaching character were introduced through the important Local Government Act of that year. This second stage in the history of Local Government Administration terminated when the Llanelly Rural Sanitary Authority held its last monthly meeting on the 8th November, 1894.

Statute of 1894—Formation of Parish Councils.

By virtue of this Statute of 1894, the Guardians ceased to be Sanitary Authorities, and separate Rural District Councils became the general local authorities for rural districts; for this purpose a General Order was issued to County Councils, Rural Parishes and Boards of Guardians in October, setting forth the rules as to nomination and election of Parish and District Councillors. With regard to Parish Councils, the Act provided that there should be a Parish Council for every

rural parish with a population of 300 and upwards, while every parish in a Rural Sanitary District was to be a rural parish for the purposes of the Act. The Parish Council for the Rural parish was to be elected from among the parochial electors of the parish, or persons who had for the whole of the twelve months preceding the election resided in the parish or within three miles of it. The number of Councillors for each parish was to be fixed by the County Council, and was to be not less than five, and not more than fifteen.

Powers for enforcing the Statute locally were vested in the Carmarthenshire County Council, which issued a General Order in November, 1894, to the Guardians of the Llanelly Poor Law Union, and to the Overseers of each of the four parishes of Llanelly, Llannon, Llangennech and Llanedy, together with those of Pembrey Parish fixing the number of Parish Councillors and Rural District Councillors for each rural parish. The allocation for the various Parishes were as follows:—

LLANELLY UNION.

Parish	Parish Councillors	District Councillors
1. Llanedy	5	1
2. Llanelly Rural (Berwick)	5)	1)
(Hengoed)	5)	1)
(Westfa)	3)	1)
(Glyn)	2)15	1)4
3. Llangennech	15	2
4. Llannon	15	2
5. Pembrey, Ward 1	3)	1)
Ward 2	6)	2)
Ward 3	2)	1)
Ward 4	4)15	1)5

With regard to the allocation of 15 Parish Councillors for the Llanelly Rural Parish, a meeting of the Parish was held on the 30th October, 1894, to decide on the number for each Division. This was decided on the numerical basis of the electorate, and the result of the meeting was as follows:—

Division	Electors	Population	No. of Members
1. Berwick	... 551	2873	5
2. Hengoed	... 510	2395	5
3. Westfa	... 391	1157	3
4. Glyn	... 215	992	2

Although Westfa was smaller than Berwick, it had quite as much variety of interests to be represented. The upper part consisted of farmers and in the lower part was a straggling population; it was stated on the 23rd August, 1859, that Felinfoel had from 700 to 800 people, nearly all colliers. In the Berwick ward there was a densely populated part between Llwynhendy and Bynea, while Llangennech had an increasing population of colliers. On the other hand Llanedy with only five representatives on its Parish Council was very thinly populated.

The elections of representatives for the Parish Councils, and for the Rural District Councils, for which the Clerk to the Board of Guardians was responsible, were held on Monday, the 17th December, 1894, and the Rural District Council held its first meeting at the Union Workhouse on Thursday morning, the 3rd January, 1895. Those present included Messrs. T. Seymour (Chairman), O. Bonville, D. L. Rees, W. Llewellyn, J. L. Thomas, John Davies, Daniel Davies, W. Y. Nevill, Samuel Thomas, the Revs. Henry Evans, D. Davies, and W. Glasnant Jones, together with D. C. Edwards (Clerk), J. H. Blake (Deputy Clerk), and Dr. Evans. It was agreed that the Council should meet once a month, and that the first business meeting should take place on the 17th January, 1895. It should be noted that the Rural District Councillors were also to act as Guardians, that is, as representatives of the constituent Parishes of Llanelly, Llangennech, Llanedy, Llannon, Burry Port and Pembrey, on the Board of Guardians' Union.

Functions of R.D.C.

The newly elected Rural District Council was confronted with the old problem of providing adequate water supplies, and for a few years adhered to the perfunctionary policy of their predecessors. But a more rational conception for a partial solution of this urgent necessity was displayed in 1898 when arrangements were made with the Llanelly Urban District Council to supply Halfway, Cefncaeau, Llwynhendy, Cwmfelin and Bynea with water from the Lliedi Reservoir for drinking and domestic purposes. Apparently, there followed an improvement in conditions since in 1902, "it was claimed that the whole district was supplied with wholesome water," except for two places including Llangennech, where supplies were obtained by means of Abyssinian pumps placed along the main road and the lower part of the village, and from shallow wells in the immediate neighbourhood. But with the industrial development of the villages which were increasing at a rapid rate, the need for greater supplies was felt more urgently

each year; in fact during dry weather, supplies from wells became diminished, and owing to pollution, some inhabitants were compelled to use ditch water for drinking purposes. Under these depressing conditions, parliamentary powers were sought in 1907 to supply the whole neighbourhood with water from Llyn y Van but, owing to the opposition of the Carmarthenshire County Council, who had promised to proceed with a larger scheme for this and adjacent districts, sanction was refused. However, the County Council decided by a small majority not to proceed with these schemes. Consequently, it was manifest that a large and comprehensive scheme was absolutely necessary, and parliamentary powers were granted in the Water Supply Acts of 1912 to construct at Llyn y Van Fach in the Parish of Llanddeusant, a reservoir which yielded an almost unlimited supply to the rural districts except Felinfoel, Dafen and Llwynhendy, still supplied by the Llanelly Corporation.

The functions of the Rural District Council, which had been gradually increasing with the passing years were confined to two categories; the first of these, which were obligatory, included Public Health, viz. Nuisances, Sewerage, Infectious Diseases, Dairies, Water, Housing and Roads while the second comprised permissive functions, e.g. Removal of House Refuse. Collaterally, each Parish Council exercised administrative control within its area through its own officials, and possessed powers of expenditure, but its rate-levying powers were strictly limited. Through this dual control, there followed considerable overlapping and complication between the Rural District Council, and each Parish Council, and in consequence, the provision of proper sanitary facilities and improvement in the general amenities of the District had been greatly retarded. The expenses of the Rural Council were met out of a General Rate chargeable on all the Parishes, together with a special expenses Rate on separate parishes for any particular services rendered.

Changes in Administration.

Changes have been carried out in the territorial composition of the Rural District since the inception of the Rural District Council in 1894. The first change occurred with the granting of powers of urbanisation to Burry Port in 1903, and the second in 1918 with the formation of Pontyberem Parish and its inclusion within the administrative scope of the Council. This Parish was constituted by the amalgamation of Pontyberem and a portion of Llangendeirne Parish, since Pontyberem was partly in Llanelly Parish, and partly in Llangendeirne. Under this arrangement the area of each

component Parish was: Llanelly Rural, 15,060 acres; Llangennech, 2,386 acres; Llanedy, 5,680 acres; Llannon, 10,612 acres; Pembrey, 14,778 acres; and Pontyberem, 2,851 acres, making a total of 51,367 acres.

As almost the whole of the area of the District was on the Coal Measures, the impact of the industrial development of the 19th century was reflected in the growth of some of the villages (previously described) into townships which were situated in groups along the boundaries of the Hundred. One group situated in the south-east included the townships of Llwynhendy, Bynea and Bryn; the second located on the eastern boundary and to the north of the last group comprised Llangennech and Hendy; the third found to the north included Tumble and Crosshands; and the fourth group developed along the western boundary in the townships of Pontyberem and Pontyates. It is very significant that the highways through each of these townships converge at Llanelly. Railway services were provided by the Great Western Main and Branch lines, and the eastern boundary was served by the London, Midland and Scottish Railway, although this was outside the limits of the Hundred. Since its inception, the Rural District Council has endeavoured to carry out the requirements of its constantly increasing population and has provided the neighbourhood with the essential public health and other necessary services.

In assuming local government over the rural communities of the Hundred, which comprised the major portion of its jurisdiction area, the Rural District Council was maintaining the traditional significance of this historic unit. But the powers of the Council were strictly limited in the face of the rapid development exhibited in the growing urban and industrial character of the district; this weakness in its authority was especially marked in such circumstances, as interests common to all parishes, where the services needed that co-ordination which could only be achieved by vesting power in a central authority. Through the acquisition of greater powers, the cost of special services could be more equitably distributed over the whole district, and with a view of securing this economy in administration, the Council decided to seek wider powers. The Act of 1894 authorised Parish Councils to apply for Urban powers by a petition to the County Council, but these powers were not forthcoming until 1931, when the Rural District became the Rural Urban District Council.

Thus the whole area of the Commote of Carnwylion has become subject to the jurisdiction of two local authorities, the Llanelly Corporation and the Llanelly Rural Urban District

Council, and the dual character of this government stands out as a lucid reflection of the mediaeval Englishry and Welshry. Although the roots of the present system are deeply embedded in the dim past, development within the areas of both authorities has caused an intriguing situation. Since the acreage of Llanely is diminutive in comparison with that of the Rural Urban District Council, the Borough has reached the peak of its growth, and further expansion within its present limits is entirely precluded. Again, the development of the townships, contiguous to the Borough, has eliminated completely the line of demarcation between them, so that the provisions of further services for the Borough inhabitants, such as housing, has been rendered possible only within the rural area and through the co-operation of the Rural Authority. It is evident that this condition will become aggravated still further with the passage of time, particularly with future industrial expansion, so that the present position has become anomalous and untenable, and a revision in the existing Borough boundaries through extension is apparently the sole solution to this extremely difficult problem.

**Population Returns for the Rural Communities of the
Hundred of Carnwyllion.**

Area	1881	1891	1901	1911
1. Llanely Sub-Rural Dist.	8019	8097	8954	11,673
(a) Westfa & Hengoed	4173	4232	4509	5,790
(b) Berwick	2878	2873	3044	4,080
(c) Glyn	968	992	1311	1,803
2. Llannon Sub-District	5936	6795	7746	11,207
(a) Llannon	1648	2104	2633	4,687
(b) Llanedy	2317	2576	2889	3,901
(c) Llangennech	1971	2115	2224	2,619

1. Letter of C. W. Nevill to H. Fleming, Poor Law Board, London, 28th September, 1866.
2. Letter of C. W. Nevill to the Superior, St. Margaret's, East Grinstead, Sussex, 9th August, 1866.