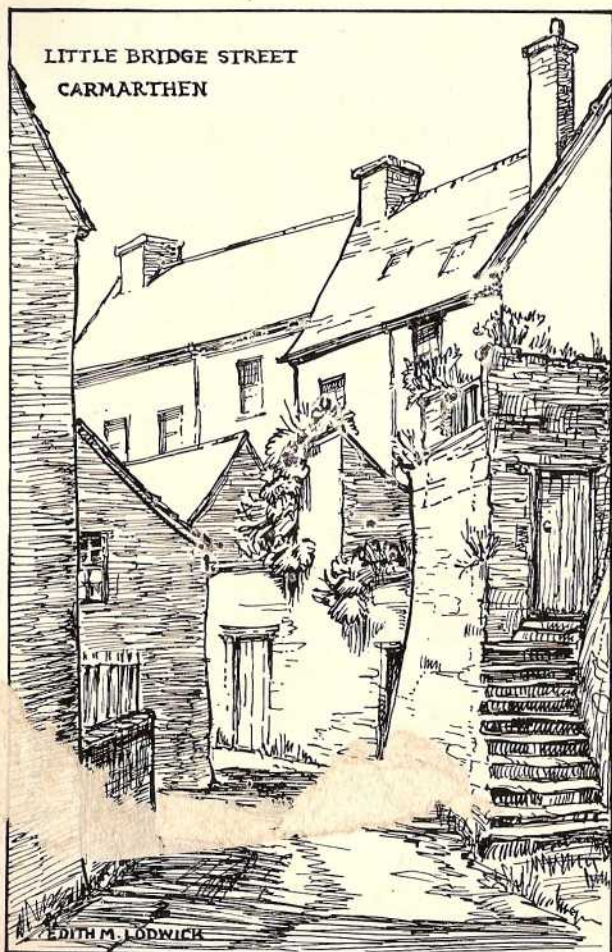


The Carmarthenshire Historian



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For permission to use the cover illustration we are indebted to Mrs. E. M. Lodwick, whose pen has preserved an impression of a piece of old Carmarthen which has now partly vanished.

Thanks are also due to Mr. H. Turner Evans, F.L.A., County Librarian, for making available the picture of Williams, Pantycelyn.

Editorial

Readers of the earlier volumes of *The Carmarthenshire Local History Magazine* who may have been deceived by the new name under which the present issue appears are assured that it continues to be the same magazine with which they have been familiar. Why the change? Because we feel that the new title will give the magazine a more positive identity and make for greater convenience in use. We hope that readers will approve.

But there are some other innovations. For the first time, there are a few modest illustrations. There is, too, an article in Welsh. Some of those who have little or no knowledge of the language may feel deprived, but others may accept a challenge to struggle through the text in the hope that they will gain some of the pleasure that those who are competent in the vernacular will derive from Mr. W. J. Harries's contribution about *Twm o'r Nant*.

From time to time, we expect to print original documents and manuscripts hitherto unpublished. Reproduced in this volume is an eighteenth century poll book which has recently come to light. We have been able to do this through the kind help of Major Francis Jones, County Archivist, who, with his assistant, Mr. Michael Evans, has provided footnotes which add to the interest of the document. Professional historians and researchers will examine it carefully, but others, too, may want to browse through it in the hope of a fortunate discovery.

A new feature is introduced under the heading *Before It's Forgotten*, which is intended to serve as a place for the publication of items about the more recent past that would otherwise go unrecorded. Generally, but not exclusively, we have in mind the more intimate things which are not so readily recorded but which help to give flesh to the dry bones of sparsely documented history. We like to think that the first contributions will urge others to make theirs. There must be many who have neither the time, nor perhaps the talent, to engage in research to produce a full-length treatise; yet they may be in possession of interesting pieces of knowledge, either from personal recollection of long ago or from tales their mothers told them. We should like to have this knowledge.

Our belief that this is an important aspect of the study of local history is supported by a plea once made by Sir Frederick Rees. "Local historians," he wrote, "have often tended in the past to be antiquarian in their interests and so to involve themselves in matters the elucidation of which requires a good deal of specialist knowledge.

The Grey Friars of Carmarthen

by Major FRANCIS JONES

Wales Herald Extraordinary.

County Archivist of Carmarthenshire.

The Coming of the Grey Friars

On the 11th of September 1224 nine penniless men landed at the port of Dover. They came from France, their passage had been paid by the monks of Fécamp, and once they reached the English shore they had nothing to sustain them except the faith and belief that God would provide for them in their dedicated task of bringing the divine message to towns, villages, and hamlets, particularly to the poor, the sick, and needy.

Founded in 1209, this band of brothers vowed to poverty, sought only opportunities for serving their fellowmen and glorifying Almighty God. Among them was Lawrence of Beauvais, a personal friend of St. Francis of Assisi, who, on his deathbed had presented him with the habit he himself had worn. They were the first of the Franciscans, named after their founder, variously known as the Mendicant or Preaching friars, or Minorites from their desire to be considered the least of the religious orders. In England they were known as Grey Friars, in Wales as Y Brodyr Llwyd, from the colour of their habit, which consisted of a coarse garment with a pointed hood of the same material, and a short cloak. They girded themselves with a knotted cord—the *cordelière*—and went barefoot.

The nine brothers were hospitably received in the Priory of the Holy Trinity at Canterbury, and soon set up a modest establishment in that town. They were not a static folk, and went forth among the people as physicians, ministers, and educators, speaking words of hope to the poorest, preaching homely, emotional sermons in language that all could understand. They were the active exponents of a social service, ministering to broken bodies as well as to faltering minds. Soon they had established many houses and gained so much of the wealth and influence that had belonged to the regular monasteries that they sometimes incurred the displeasure of their less evangelical brethren. By administering the sacrament, contrary to the canon that each communicant should receive it at the hands of his own priest, they became involved in sharp tussles with the secular clergy. Nevertheless they pushed their way past obstacles and even invoked the aid of pious fictions in the furtherance of their aims.

They produced a "miracle" which few modern propagandists can equal. They told a tale of how some grey friars bound for Oxford, when overtaken by a violent storm, turned to seek refuge in a Benedictine abbey. They were refused admittance by the abbot, whereupon a young monk out of pity gave them food and hid them in a hay-loft. The kindly monk retired to bed, and dreamt that the Lord and various saints appeared before him, severely censuring the abbot for his conduct and commanding that he should die; St. Francis also appeared and claimed the dreamer as his own. The monk awoke and hurried to tell the abbot of the vision, but found that dignitary and the rest of the monks lying strangled in their cells. The report of this prompt and apparently divine retribution circulated briskly through the land, and thenceforth the friars met with a better reception.

But the truth is more impressive than the fiction. The Grey Friars went on from strength to strength, and as their power and influence increased, they became celebrated for theological learning, and for a long time the most erudite members of the universities belonged to their Order. The Franciscans produced men of intellectual achievement like Roger Bacon, Duns Scotus, Dr. John Gwent, Occam, Lawrence Wallensis, and Roger of Conway. English kings and Welsh princes extended generous patronage to them. At the Dissolution they had about 66 houses in Britain. Generally speaking the rule of poverty was observed, they acquired no great estates like other Orders, and the commissioners of Henry VIII noted that the friary was usually the poorest of the religious houses of a town.

Periodic visitations were carried out by a superior officer of the Order, and the Grey Friars of Carmarthen and Cardiff came under the wardenship or custody of Bristol.*

Only three houses of Grey Friars were established in Wales. The first was founded at Llanfaes in Anglesey in 1237 by the Welsh prince Llewelyn the Great, in memory of his wife, Joan, who was buried there in that year. The second was founded in Cardiff in 1280; the third, and richest, at Carmarthen about two or three years later. The precise date of the foundation at Carmarthen is not known, the earliest reference to it occurs in 1284, but it would seem that the Friars were there some time prior to that date. As we shall see later the Carmarthen friary was described as "of the King's foundation," and there is little doubt that the king in question was Edward I. In 1538 when the houses were dissolved there were four friars at Llanfaes, nine at Cardiff, and fourteen at Carmarthen.

* Tanner states that Carmarthen Friary "was under the custody of Bristol."

Location of the Carmarthen House

The Grey Friars raised their house and church on a long slope on the western side of Carmarthen, outside the walled town. Agreeably situated, the lands and precincts comprised about five acres, bounded on the northern side by Lammas or Gell Street as it was variously called, on the west by a brook that ran by Heol y Morfa, on the east by another brook running through what is now Blue Street, both of which fed the river Towy that lapped the south side and provided the brothers with ample Friday fare. The main entrance was from Lammas Street, and outside the entrance, in the middle of that street, stood the friar's preaching cross, marked on Speed's map in 1610.

The buildings have vanished without trace, but from memoranda written in the late 15th and early 16th centuries we are able to recover their main outlines. These included a church some 70 to 80 feet long and 30 feet broad according to Archdeacon Yardley.* Though small, the church was impressive and contained valuable treasures, for the friars did not build a church as a private church but as a temple to the glory of God to whose service they devoted their lives. They did not regard the church as an appendage of the friary, but the friary as an appendage of the church. The other buildings included the parlour, King's chamber, three other chambers, livery, hall (refectory), kitchen, buttery, and brew house.

Hardly any relics of the friary have survived. In 1917 a writer stated that a tenant, who came to live at the Friary in 1894, had come across "a beautiful square of tessellated pavement," believed to have formed the floor of the church or the chapter house. It was again covered over and has not been located since.† A section of Early English mullion of a window built into a wall on the site, and a section of a 14th century moulding of the jamb of a doorway, were found early in this century, and are now in the Carmarthenshire County Museum.‡

The friars acquired a messuage in Quay Street, just outside the town walls, and this together with a little under 5 acres of land encompassing the Friary, seems to have been the extent of their temporal possessions in Carmarthenshire. They also owned a burgage in Bristol which they rented to a tenant.

* Notes by Yardley in **MS Gough, Wales 4**, now preserved in the Bodleian Library, Oxford.

† **Transactions Carm.** 1917-18, p 1.

‡ **ibid** 1921-22, p 48; and 1926, p 14.

The Medieval Scene

The earliest reference I have found to the Grey Friars is in 1284 when Edward I on a visit to Carmarthen, gave the friars certain rights over a watercourse that supplied a royal mill and formed part of the outer defences of the castle.* This may well have been the stream that now flows under the road in Blue Street. From the reference it is clear that the friars had already established their house at Carmarthen.

A decade later, the King granted to them a croft in Carmarthen and the right to bring a water-course across it.† Royal favour was again shown in 1329-30 when we read that the Warden and the Friars Minor were to have a grant of land in Carmarthen from the King.‡

Difficulties about water supply seems to have been a recurring item. On 28 June 1331, the King confirmed "for God" the pious gift of Mariota Molle, late wife of Thomas Warewogyl, to the Friars Minor of Kaermerdy, of a spring, or the use of the water thereof, in her park called "Walter his Waseway" on the slope of Mount Berwyn, to make an aqueduct to their use, and liberty to dig and search for the 'veins of water' of such springs, and to collect and conduct these by under-ground passages to a certain place in her land where the Friars may erect a little house of stone, either round or square, as they shall please, ten feet long and as many broad.§ To what use this "little house" was to be put can only be surmised.

In 1340 the church of the Friars became involved in an affair relating to sanctuary. Three felons, David Taverner, John Tredegolde, and Thomas Yonge had fled to the church of the Friars Minor of Carmarthen, and a thief, Thomas Sathavas, to the church of St. Peter; whereupon, Gilbert Talbot, Justiciar of South Wales, whose headquarters were in Carmarthen castle, levied a fine of £20 on the burgesses for their failure to perform custody. The burgesses hotly objected and sent a complaint to the King claiming they were liable to perform custody only within the town walls, whereas both the Grey Friars and St. Peter's lay outside them. On 4 April King Edward directed the Justiciar to make enquiry to discover whether it had been customary for the burgesses to be responsible for such

extra-mural activity.* The inquisition, held on 7 August 1340 before Talbot's deputy, Rhys ap Griffith, found that they had never been liable for such duty, and those responsible for the custody of robbers fleeing to churches outside the walls of Carmarthen town, were the communities of Elfed and Widigada who should there answer to the King for the escape of the said felons.†

As I have mentioned earlier, the friars sometimes came into collision with other religious houses and with secular clergy over pastoral matters. The question of mortuaries led to a serious quarrel between the Prior of Carmarthen and the friars. The Priory of St. John, situated at the eastern end of the town, was a much older foundation, and by virtue of a grant by Henry II in 1180, the Prior was the ruler of "Old" Carmarthen, that is the area outside the walled town. The dispute was finally settled on 1 December 1391, when Walter Taymer the Prior, John de Tyssynton, Minister of the Order of Friars Minor of Carmarthen, agreed that the remains of all parishioners of St. Peter's, dying within the parish and desiring burial by the Friars Minor (the householders and servants of the Friars, dwelling within the precincts of their monastery, excepted) should have the *ultimo vale* mass in St. Peter's church before being borne to the house of the Friars. The Prior and his convent were to have the canonical portion of the mortuaries and bequests, secret and open, made on the bodies of those desiring burial with the Friars. The bodies of all other parishioners of the Prior (those of St. Peter's parish excepted) were to be conveyed directly to the house of the Friars who were to receive the usual dues without any interference from the Prior, reserving however to the latter the canonical share of all such profits. The seals of office of the Prior and the Warden were duly attached to the instrument.‡ Despite these occasional conflicts the Grey Friars were much loved throughout the land, especially by the country clergy and lay-folk, as shown by the numerous testamentary bequests made to them, and the desire of many to be buried within the precincts of their house.

In 1394 the Friars desired to extend their "close," probably the burial ground. On 20 September of that year, Richard II gave a licence for the Warden and Friars Minor of Kermerden, "whose house is of the King's foundation," to acquire in mortmain 3 roods of land adjacent to their house and held in chief as parcel of the

* PRO. Inq. ad quod damnum, 12 Edw 1, file VII; Mon. Francis., ii.

† Inq. ad quod damnum. 23 Edw I, file xxiii, 7.

‡ Inq. ad quod damnum. 3 Edw III, file ccvii, 15.

§ Cal Patent Rolls, 4-5 Edward III.

* Misc Inquisition. Chancery File 140: 14 Edw III. (2nd nos), No. 81.

† Cal. Close Rolls, 14 Edward III., p 588.

‡ Cartulary of St. John, Cheltenham, 1865, No. 77, p 27.

town at a rent of 2s. 3d. yearly, for the purpose of enlarging their close.*

The friars were no cloistered recluses, replete with holiness and scholarship, seen only on high festivals and solemn occasions, clad in imposing vestments, and earning from congregations the awe that religious ceremonial always attracts and sometimes deserves. They were as much at home in the streets of the town as in the cottages of the countryside, in the hall of the noble as in the hovel of the peasant. They warned the haughty that a higher tribunal awaited them, before which an ermine robe was of no more account than the threadbare cloak of a pilgrim, told the burgesses of Carmarthen that the gold in their coffers was as nothing compared with the treasures laid up in Paradise, and taught husbandmen in the fields of Cantref Mawr that life was as fleeting as the crops they gathered in the autumn sunlight. If their sermons were full of admonitions, they also contained messages of hope and comfort; they succoured the infirm with comforting prayers and with healing herbs whose secrets they had mastered after long study and observation, while the final hours of repentant sinners were often solaced by a bestowal of the cowl of the Order of the saintly Francis.

A record of the early fifteenth century suggests that there were occasional lapses from those virtuous standards normally associated with the Order. In this case, however, we have only the view of the complainant. It is a remarkable story. In February 1411, the Pope issued a Mandate to the Bishop of Exeter to enquire into a petition he had received on behalf of Henry, donzel,† eldest son and heir of John Witberi of the diocese of Exeter. This petition stated that when the donzel was in his eleventh year, his father handed him against his will to the Friars Minor in the suburbs of Exeter, in order to exclude him from his paternal inheritance. Fearing his father, Henry unwittingly assumed the habit and tonsure of the friars before he had completed his eleventh year. The friars, suspecting that he intended to escape, took him about the country for over six months "like a vagabond" in order to confuse him. They took him to remote places, now secular, now belonging to the Order, through towns, cities, and castles, and devious parts of England, until at length "they brought him against his will to Wales and placed him in the Friars Minor's house at Keymerthyn in the diocese of St. Davids". "Thus amongst unknown friars, and in a foreign land,

* Cal Pat Rolls 18 Richard II, part 1. p 482 : dated at Haverfordwest.

† a page or esquire, sometimes a youth or young man.

he vainly supplicated the Warden to restore his secular garments and give him leave to return to the world, or at least permit him to depart naked," but "the Warden, a Welshman, moved with anger, caused him to be kept close," and at the end of the year urged him to make his regular profession, which he declined to do, repeating his request to be allowed to return to the world. "The Warden again refused, and threatened him with formidable punishments (cruciatibus) if he did not remain in the Order, and caused him to be kept more diligently, and strove by threats and terrors to extort by some means or other his said profession; that he handed the profession written in Latin to Henry to read, who did not understand it, and had not yet been instructed in the rule, and compelled him to read it; that the Warden and friars cunningly assuming that he had thereby made his profession, subsequently, when in his fifteenth year, by formidable threats of prison and corporal punishment, and various other penalties, compelled him to take the order of sub-deacon, and occasionally to minister therein, but he then and subsequently, as often as he dared, protested that he would not remain in the said religion and subdiaconate, but seize an opportunity to return to the world, as he had before protested; and that he did so escape, and never afterwards administered in his sub-deacon's orders." The Pope ordered the Bishop to examine the matter, and, if true, to declare that it had been lawful for Henry to return to the world, and that he could contract marriage.*

Poor donzel! What became of him I wonder. The story has a Kafkaesque quality which lends itself to dramatic conjecturings.

The religious houses were also a source of recruitment of clergymen for the various Welsh dioceses, and from time to time friars left the convent and took orders as secular priests. In 1401 the Bishop of St. Davids ordained four friars minor, David Syll, Thomas Golld, John Rok, and Richard Flory as acolytes; in 1486 William Court "of the Order of Minors, Carmarthen," was admitted by the Bishop on the title of letters by the Guardian of the Friary; in 1490 Hugh Richardes, friar "of the Order of Minors, Carmarthen" was admitted Deacon, and Priest in the following year; in 1491 Friar John Thomas "of the Order of Minors, Carmarthen," was admitted sub-deacon, and subsequently deacon; in 1496 Lewis ap Rees of the same order was admitted acolyte; in 1502 John Lewis "of the

* Cal Papal Registers, VI. 223.

Order of Friars Minor, Carmarthen," and Friar Abraham Ugge "of the Order of the Preachers of Carmarthen," were admitted preists.*

The Bishop of St. Davids held celebration of Orders in various places within his diocese, such as the cathedral of St. Davids, the chapel in Lamphey palace, Brecon Priory, Swansea, Carmarthen Priory and Friary, and occasionally in the chapel of his palace in London. For instance on 3 November 1490 in "the house of Friars Minor of Carmarthen" the Bishop collated Lewis ap Jankyn, chaplain, to the living of Aberyscir in Breconshire, and on the following day collated William Clement to Pencarreg, and Hugh ap Thomas, chaplain, to Llanybydder.†

We know little of the sources of revenue of the Friars, but it is clear that they received numerous gifts from the community among whom they laboured. They certainly derived benefit from testamentary bequests. Thus William Maliphant of Tenby, by his will dated 26 February 1344, bequeathed the sum of one shilling to the Minorite brothers of Carmarthen to pray for his soul.‡ By a codicil to his will, dated 14 June 1531, Sir Mathew Cradock of Swansea, bequeathed 20 shillings to the Grey Friars of Carmarthen. Griffith David Ddu, a West Wales priest, by his will dated 28 September 1537, proved in London 26 March 1538, made these bequests—To the grey friars of Carmarthen 20 shillings, they 'to keep my father, mother, and brother Llewys ap Reynall is obite solemphye by note the next Lent' in the presence of my friend Thomas Bruyn: and to a friar observant at Kermerdin 53 shillings and 4 pence to sing masses daily for my soul."§ This was one of the very last bequests to the house for it was surrendered in the following year.

Many distinguished men were buried in the Grey Friars church, and doubtless all of them made suitable gifts for the upkeep of the fabric and for masses for the dead. Among them we find William de Valence, son of Earl of Pembroke, slain near Llandilo on 17 July

* *Episcopal Registers of St. Davids*, i 227; ii 463, 593, 603, 733, 735, 761.

† *Ibid.*, ii, 601.

‡ Proved in London, "Rous" folio 13; see *West Wales Historical Records*, VII., 144. The Maliphants came originally from Kidwelly, and in 1530 the coat-of-arms of "Edward Malyfant in Kydwallysland" was noted in the Carmarthen Friary church.

§ *West Wales Historical Records*, VII., 155-6.

1282, and Edmund Tudor, Earl of Richmond, 'father and brother to kings' who died in November 1456, and was buried in the middle of the choir. After he ascended the Throne, Henry VII. made a grant of £8 yearly to the Carmarthen Friars for keeping a daily mass and perpetual anniversary for his father's soul, and for his own soul after death.* Also buried there were Sir Thomas Rede, knight, on the south side of the choir,† and Sir Rhys ap Griffith who died at Carmarthen on 10 May 1356.‡

Several members of the family of Sir Rhys ap Thomas, K.G., were borne to the Friary. Griffith ap Nicholas who died about 1456-8, was buried "in a Tombe of Allabastre before ye image of St. Francis;" the said Griffith's son and grandson, Rhys ap Griffith and Sir Rhys ap Thomas respectively; Sir Rhys's mother, Elizabeth, daughter and heiress of Sir John Griffith of Abermarlais; Sir Rhys himself in 1525 and his wife Janet, daughter of Thomas Mathew of Radyr in Glamorgan, who died at Picton Castle, Pembrokeshire, on 5 February 1535; and an ancestor of Sir Rhys' mother, Sir Rhys ap Griffith of Abermarlais, who died at Carmarthen on 10 May 1356.

Sir Rhys ap Thomas had a special affection for the little church within which mouldered the remains of so many of his kinsfolk. In his 70th year, stricken by a fatal illness, Sir Rhys left the pomp of his mansions and castles, and came to die in the modest abode of the sons of St. Francis. There he made his will on 3 February 1525, expressing a desire to be buried "in the chauncell of the gray freres of Kermerdyn whereas my mother lyeth, and whansoever it please God to call my wife out of this transitory lyfe my will is that she be buried by me;" and bequeathed (inter alia), £20 to the "Freres of Kermerden;" and "I will that fyve pounds of lands be surely founded to the Gray Freres of Kermerdyn for a chantry there, to fynde two priests to pray for me and my wife for ever." The first witness to the will was "Doctour David Mothvey, wardeyn of the gray freres of Kermerdyn." Sir Rhys died on Thursday, 9 February 1525, and his body lay in state until it was placed in a grave within the quire on Friday, the 24 February. He had been patron of the bard, Tudur Aled, who died at the Friary in 1526, and was buried in the churchyard in the habit of a grey friar which he had assumed on his death-bed, as described in several elegies written on him by his fellow-bards.

* *BM Harl MS 1498*, fo. 91b.

† *MS (H.8)* in the College of Arms, London, written by a herald who visited the church in 1530 and left a description of the tombs and heraldic decorations.

‡ *Ibid.*, the herald incorrectly calls him "uncle" to Sir Rhys ap Thomas, K.G.

Another bard who stayed at the Friary was William Egwad who flourished during the years 1450—1500. Probably hailing from the nearby parish of Llanegwad, he composed a poem of praise to "Cwrt y Brodyr, Caerfyrddin," from which we learn some interesting facts about the church (Appendix A below). He names a "Syr Rys Griffith" as the builder—perhaps a re-builder—of the Friars' house, maker of the chancel, and friend of St. Francis, being probably the man of that name I have mentioned above, who died in 1356 and was buried in the church. The bard also mentions "gwely Emwnt"—the tomb of Edmund Tudor.

Among the manuscript treasures of the Grey Friars was a fine vellum roll of arms compiled about 1340, now known as "Cooke's Ordinary."⁶ It is the oldest ordinary of arms in existence. In 1948 Mr. (later Sir) Anthony Wagner, bought this roll at a sale of some of the Middle Hill manuscripts. On the back of the first membrane were words written in an early 16th century hand, and I was asked to give an opinion on them. I recognized the following Welsh words "Rowch honn y gwrth brodyr Kaer Verdinn" (give this (roll) to the Court of the brothers of Carmarthen). This in itself provided a thrill for me, but there was more to come, for I found that the roll had been repaired with a piece of vellum stuck to the back, which turned out to be a fragment cut from the 15th century accounts of Villa de Drusselyn (Dryslwyn) and Villa de Kerm'd (Carmarthen), belonging to someone entitled to hold tourns and sessions in Carmarthenshire. Above the section relating to Carmarthen town are the words "Compotus Resi ap Thomas," who may have been Rhys ap Thomas of Newtown (afterwards created a Knight of the Garter) who died in 1525, or possibly the Rhys ap Thomas sheriff of the county of Carmarthen in 1413. The armorial roll had strayed far from the Friary and no doubt many other manuscripts were dispersed during the suppression of the house. Another of their literary possessions was a manuscript of the works of Grosseteste.†

The Time of Dissolution

When Henry VIII ascended the throne in 1509 no churchman had cause to think that here was other than a staunch upholder of the established religious order, and in due course the King's book refuting the doctrines of Martin Luther was to earn him the title of "Defender of the Faith" from an appreciative and grateful Pope.

* See A. R. Wagner *Catalogue of English Mediaeval Rolls of Arms*. OUP. 1950. p. 58.

† Glamour Williams, *The Welsh Church from Conquest to Reformation*, WUP. 1962, p. 29n.

He was well disposed towards the monasteries, especially the Franciscans, in whose favour he wrote to Pope Leo X in 1513 emphasising his "deep, devoted affection to them, and admiring their holiness of life, Christian poverty, sincerity, and charity; their lives are devoted to fasting, watching, praying; and they are occupied in hard toil by night and day to win sinners back to God."⁷*

The royal admiration was not to last, and the conduct of the divorce proceedings in 1532 brought matters to a head. During this affair Henry had been resolutely opposed by three friars, Peto, Elstowe, and Forest, two of whom he silenced by the simple expedient of carting them off to prison. Two years later Henry had completely broken with Rome and made himself supreme head of the Church in England. The dissolution of the religious houses, last strongholds of papal authority within the realm, followed, and early in 1540 not a single monastery remained.

As they were a preaching Order, continuously moving about the country, with scant property to lose in case of non-compliance, the Friars were considered to be more dangerous than the monastic and secular clergy. The turn of the Grey Friars of Carmarthen soon came. In 1535 they surrendered their house, and three years later all their goods were received into the King's hands and they themselves turned adrift.

The instrument of surrender dated 30 August 1538 provides us with information of the composition and contents of the Friary at that date.† The inventory "of all the stuffe of the Grey Freeris of Karmardein" delivered to the King's representative shows that the church was particularly well appointed, containing vestments and sacred vessels, while the domestic quarters were not devoid of luxury. It was certainly the richest of the three Welsh Franciscan houses. The roof of the choir and part of the church was covered with lead, also the chapel, diverse great gutters and conduits, and there was a leaded pane in a window of the cloister. The *Sacristy*‡ contained a large number of beautiful vestments, among them "a sute of blake welvit purpulleid with the apostelles on the backe," a "sute of redde welvit with redde offeras (orphreys) of flowers," and "a paule of clothe of

* British Museum, Vatican Transcripts, vol. XXXVII., p. 17.

† See Appendix B: *Letters and Papers*, Henry VIII., vol 13, pt 2, No. 229. (2) 30 Aug 1938.

‡ A room attached to the church, in which sacred vessels, vestments and other valuables were preserved; the sacristy was sometimes included within the walls of the fabric, sometimes an adjunct.

tussey for the Erle of Richemundes tumber." The *Choir** contained, among other things, mass books, crosses, candle-sticks, a "goodly peyer of orgaynis," and "a goodly tumber for Sir Ryse ap Thomas, with a grate of yron abowthe him, a stremar banner of hys armys with his cote armor and helmit," and many other items. The *Chirche* (nave) contained five altar tables of alabaster, two sacry bells,† and "a frame of iron thorow all the chirche, before the auterys for taberys (tapers)." In the steppill (steeple) was a clock and two bells.‡

The details given in the Inventory (Appendix B below) are sufficient to show that in its full glory the little church must have provided an impressive atmosphere for worship—incense clouds from swinging censers, wax tapers burning night and day before the altars throwing a flickering light on crucifixes and jewelled plate, rich vestments adorning the images of Our Lady and the saints, monuments of nobles ablaze with heraldry and panoply of knighthood, dancing colours of blue, red and gold in armorial windows, and the tinkling of the angelus bell summoning the faithful to devotional exercise at morning, noon, and sunset.

Leaving the church, we enter the domestic quarters. First, we come to the *King's Chamber* with its featherbed, bolster, blankets, sheets, and coverings, and other bedroom furniture: then the *Inner Chamber*, the *Chamber next to the "Laverys,"* and the *Chamber next to the parlour door*. These were the bedrooms, containing featherbeds and appurtenances, betokening a measure of luxury. Then came the *kitchen* with its "gret range of iron to make in fyre," the *Brewhouse*, the *Buttery*, the *Hall* (refectory) with two tables, forms, and trestles for the friars, and "a gret chayer of timber" for the Warden.

Not all the furniture and goods were in the covent. Some had been loaned to various people in the town, and among the items "abrode" were 3 brass pans and a brass pot, a coffer, while a vestment and two alter-cloths were on loan to the chapel in Carmarthen castle.

* The *Choir* or *Quire* answers to the chancel in parochial churches.

† Bells rung on the elevation of the Host.

‡ It is said that one was afterwards sold in Carmarthen for 20 shillings, and the other conveyed to Bristol—Lodwick, *History of Carmarthen*, 1953, p. 29.

Despite this apparent indication of wealth the Friary had found it difficult to make both ends meet.* The King's visitor noted that the following articles lay in pledge—the Cross (for £20), a bason, ewer, and best chalice (£14), beside other plate; and recorded a claim of 20 marks for the table of the high altar, and six copes. These the Visitor redeemed.

Nevertheless the Visitor netted a fair haul—a goodly cross "with Mary & John," two chalices all gilt, a bason and ewer, three cruets, a pax, a paten of a chalice, other pieces of a cross, a pix all gilt and with a crystal. The Friars had lost some articles through burglary, and the Visitor left a cope to satisfy the losers. The Visitor also left the food in the house and 6s. 8d. in money for a poor friar that lay sick.

The inventory was signed by the Bishop of St. Davids, Thomas Prichard, Vicar of St. Peters, and Martyn Davy, Mayor of the town. The Friars then put their names on the instrument that took from them all they had held dear—John Trahern, S.T.B., Warden, Lewis Richard, Richard Gr(iffith), Morgan David, Richard Ph(ilip), Thomas Makesyld, Res Ord, Evan Phyllyp, William David, Henry Morgan, Bernardin Blackburne, John Geffre, and John Brygon. Then the Visitor gave "every freere 12 pence & their own stuffe, & so departeid." And so the brothers were turned adrift to the mercy of the world without grant or pension, and became exiles in a land where they had long been servants of God.

The real property of the friaries was usually placed in the hands of men called firmarii (farmers) or computators, responsible for collecting rents for the Crown. Such men often held part of the property themselves. In charge of the realty of the Carmarthen house was one John Lloyd, and his accounts at the end of the year immediately following the surrender show that the tenants were all in arrears with their rents. His account for the year ending Michaelmas 1539, shows that the property was held as follows:—by himself, the site of the friary and demesne, garden, cemetery, stable, and other buildings, attached, at 5 shillings a year, the Great Park (about 3 acres), at 10 shillings, a small close called Park Cyrill† (about 1 acre) at 4 shillings, a small close called the little Park (about half an acre) at 2 shillings: by Lewis Hopkyn, a burgage in

* Compare the situation of the Grey Friars at Cardiff, which, before its surrender had been forced to pledge its sacred vessels—*Reformation in the Old Diocese of Llandaff*, pp. 68-72.

† Now called Pentre Cyrill (the vill of the hawk).

Kavstrete outside the walls of the New Town, at 5 shillings: James Williams, a tenement next to the door of the friary, at 3 shillings and 10 pence. The house of the Friars was then vacant.*

Like all religious houses, the Friary of Carmarthen had its conventual seal. It is mentioned in the agreement between the friars and the Priory in 1391 quoted on a previous page, and again in 1508-9, when the Warden and Friars Minor leased a burgage in Quay Street outside the walls of the town to Lewis Hopkin of New Carmarthen, merchant, for 99 years at a rent of 5 shillings per annum, to which was attached the conventual seal†. No matrix or impression of the seal has survived, but it may have been based on the cognisance of the Franciscan Order, namely *argent*, a cross of Calvary, traversed by two human arms in saltire (sometimes issuant from clouds in base), the one naked representing the arm of Our Lord, the other vested in the dress of St. Francis, and both hands bearing the Stigmata.‡

At the time of the Dissolution, or very soon afterwards, the remains of Sir Rhys ap Thomas and his lady were translated to the church of St. Peter, Carmarthen, and those of Edmund Tudor to St. David's Cathedral.

The tomb of Sir Rhys, despite the restorations and repairs to which it has been subjected, still retains many of its original features. There is some reason for believing that the design may have been the work of the Italian sculptor Mazzoni or perhaps Torregiano, both of whom were concerned with the design and execution of the monument of Henry VII and his Queen in Westminster Abbey. Sir Rhys' tomb was placed in the north side of the chancel of St. Peter, and remained there until 1865 when it was moved to its present site and restored at the costs of Lord Dynevor, lineal descendant and representative of the knight. On the covering slab lies the effigy of Sir Rhys, dressed in plate armour marked with his heraldic cognisance, his sword, and cloak of knighthood; above his head is the helmet and torse from which the crest has long been lost. At his side is the effigy of his lady. A number of sketches made by John Carter in 1803, and a description by Donovan in 1805, enable us to imagine what the monument had looked like in its pre-restoration days.§

* Arthur Jones, 'The Property of the Welsh Friaries at the Dissolution,' *Arch. Cam.*, 1936.

† *Records of the Court of Augmentations*, ed J. C. Davies, p 244.

‡ J. Woodward *Ecclesiastical Heraldry*, 1894, p 418.

§ See *Anc. Mon. Carm.*, pp xxvii, 255-6, illustr.

The Fate of the Friary

With the departure of the sons of the Blessed Francis, the history of the Friary enters on a new phase. Church and conventual buildings empty and forlorn, remained, and the question arose in men's minds, what should be done about them.

Bishop Barlow, who heartily disapproved of St. Davids as the seat of his see, desired to establish it in a more central spot, and saw in the Grey Friars an ideal place for the purpose. Accordingly, in 1536 he petitioned the authorities to that effect. He wrote from Carmarthen to Thoma Cromwell on 31 March 1536, praying that a grant be made to him of "the Grey Friars place at Kermerddyn," where the King's grandfather lay buried, and where the collegians and canons could be accommodated and do much more good than in "a desolate corner at St. David"; he was prepared to provide for every one of the friars competent to minister, and would settle his consistory at Carmarthen, the most frequented place in the middle of the diocese; and, further, would maintain there a free grammar school and a daily lecture of Holy Scripture "which would civilize the Welsh rudeness."*

The Bishop received no response to his plea, but the Precentor of St. Davids, although less ambitious in the scope of his desires, met with more success. This was Thomas Lloyd who deserves a few words to himself. He was a Carmarthenshire man, probably from the county town, but nothing is known of his parentage, apart from his father's Christian name, David. His parents must have been people of substance for he received a University education, entering All Souls College, Oxford, in 1510, and later admitted Bachelor of Civil Law there. It is believed that he was a Fellow of the college.† He took Holy Orders, and in 1529 attended Convocation, being then described as Precentor of the cathedral church. When he subscribed to the King's supremacy in 1534 he was also Precentor of the collegiate church of Llanddewibrefi, rector of six churches and vicar of two more. In March 1537, indicted as an accessory to acts committed by pirates, he was arrested and gaoled by Bishop Barlow, and detained under sureties. However he got

* Cf *Letters and Papers*, Henry VIII, vol XI., No. 1428, AD. 1536. 'Instructions for the Bishop of St. David's suits'—"The bishop's suit is to have the friars of Kermerddyn for the Cathedral Church, for in the same town the Chaunter hath appointed his free school; and the said bishop will find a continual lecture of divinity seeing it is situate in the best town and in the middle of the diocese, where also the King's justice is kept, by occasion whereof the gentlemen and commons of the country most resort there."

† Browne Willis, *St. Davids*, 1717, p 144: *Menevia Sacra*, pp 129-130.

over that little difficulty without prejudice to his position. He acquired a great deal of wealth, and in 1544 paid an 'aid' of £100 to Sir John Williams, Treasurer of Augmentations.* He died between 21 December 1546 and 4 September 1547, and was buried in the south aisle before the altar of the Innocents in St. David's Cathedral with a marble stone over him, as directed in his will.† His coat of arms was placed in window of that aisle, namely gyronny of eight, *argent* and *azure*, on a cross quarterly counterchanged *argent* and *azure*, five crescents *or*, but this had disappeared when Archdeacon Yardley compiled *Menevia Sacra*.

Thomas Lloyd had long considered founding a Grammar School at Carmarthen and in this received the support of the Corporation. On 18 January 1536,‡ the King by Letters Patent licensed him to proceed with his plan, the school to be known as "Thomas Lloyd his skole." However nothing seems to have been done in the matter until 1543 when supported by the Mayor and Aldermen he petitioned the King for the purchase of the dissolved Friary and its adjoining land for £40, and offered a tidy little bribe of £20 to the Lord Privy Seal for his "good mediation and travaile to bringe it to passe."

The Petition read as follows: "To the righte honourable Lorde Privie Seale. Pleaseth it your Honor to be advertised that the Cite and Mansion of the Graie Freres in the Kinges town of Caermarthen in South Wales, was of late surrendride into the Kinges handes and is and haith euer sence been voide and dessolate, runnyng dayelye in contynnuall ruyn and decaie; for there is no fote of lede upon anie part thereof, and it were pitie that suche buyldinge, in seuche a baron contric, shulde not be convaide to sume lawful and convenient use, for the maintenance of the common wealthe. Wherefore if it maye please your lordshipe to be a meane to the Kinges Majestie that the Mayre and aldermen of the said towne have and enjoye for ever, to them and theyre successors, the same Cite and Mansion with thre medoes of pasture grownde, with a grazing and orchaerde at the backside, to the same belonginge, being the annuall rent 18 shillings in the hoole, so that they may have a Grammer Scoole at the coste and charge of Mayster Thomas Lloyd, chauntier of Sainte David, there mayntyned, and otherwise the same to bestowe for the common wealthe and commoditie of the same towne; the said Mayre and Aldermen, nowe there, for the time beinge, will give his Majesties

40 pounds sterlinge for the same Cite and Mansion with the appurtenancis as is aforesaide, and to your good Lordshippe 20 pounds for your good mediation and travaile to bringe it to passe, over and besides the contynuall praier and service not only of the saide Mayre and Aldermen now beinge, but also of all the hoole inhabitants of the same towne, and the whole countrie thereabout. As knowes oure Lord God who preserve your Honor longe to his pleasure. Amen."

Accordingly the earlier Letters Patent were cancelled, and new ones granted on 30 January 1543, when the King ordained that the school was now to be known as "The King's Scole of Carmarden of Thomas Lloyd's fundacion." It was to be kept in the former house of the Friars "with its gardens, etc, closes called Great Park (3 acres), Park hill ($\frac{1}{2}$ acre),* and little Park ($\frac{1}{2}$ acre), and shops (a messuage and garden) in Kaystrete without the walls of Carmarden in tenure of Lewis Hopkyn, merchant, and the tenement of James Williams beside the gate of the same house, all which are in St. Peters parish in Carmerden, and belonged to the said late hospital or house; annual value 29 shillings 10 pence; to hold in fee simple as one-sixtieth of a knight's fee by rent of 3 shillings and 4 pence a year with the intention that the profits be applied to the use of the foresaid school."†

A master and an usher were appointed. The benefits of the school were not restricted to the town, but contributed "to the greate advancement of vertue and learning, and to the good education and erudicion of schollers and yong children in the said countye of Carmarthen and to the great convenience and comodytie of all the inhabitants of the same Towne and of the country theretoe adjoining." The school flourished until a few years after the founder's death in 1547.

Thomas Lloyd made a further endowment charged on property owned by him in the hundred of Dewslan, Pembrokeshire. By his will, dated 21 December 1546, he gave "the situation of the late Gray Fryers in the town of Carmarthen, with all lands and leases etc. in the country of Dewslan" to his executors Mr. David Howell and Thomas Howell, they "fynding the Kings Grammar Scole at the said towne of Carmarthen, namely, twenty marks to the master and twenty nobles to the usher"; and appointed the Right Worshipful Mr. Dr. Olyver, Mr. Dr. Lyson, Sir Thomas Jones, Knight (of Abermarlais) and Mr. John Philipps, esquire, to be overseers of the

* *West Wales Historical Records*, IV., p 287.

† PCC, 'Alen 51' printed in *West Wales Historical Records*, VII, pp 157-8. Thomas Lloyd's nuncupative will, dated 21 December 1546 was proved on 13 December 1547, and the inventory of his goods dated 4 September 1547.

‡ All dates are given in New Style throughout this essay.

* This name is spelled variously as Park yr hill and Park hill, the correct form being Park cyrill. It is the area around the house known today as Pentre cyrill.

† *Letters and Papers Henry VIII*, vol 14 (Pt 2), No. 787, AD 1539; vol 18 (Pt1) No. 226. AD Feb. 1543.

will. He bequeathed valuable plate to the Cathedral, and appointed two priests to pray for him at his grave for two years who were to receive £3 yearly each, and further directed that £6 be given on a like occasion at Carmarthen where the master and scholars of the school were to attend his mass.

After Lloyd's death in 1547 troubles arose. The properties that were to have supported the foundation were seized by John and William ap Harry (also described as ap Parry) and John David of Trevine in Dewsland, so that "Syth the death of the saide Thomas Lloyde there hath ben no scole kepte in the saide Towne of Carm'then to the great decaye of learning and good education of youth in the said town" contrary to the Letters Patent of Henry VIII, the last will and testament of Thomas Lloyd, and the goodwill and desire of the widow Gwenllian verch David, sister and heir of the founder. Whereupon the Mayor, aldermen, bailiffs, and commonalty of Carmarthen exhibited a Bill of Complaint, in the High Court of Chancery to enforce the provisions respecting the school.*

In their Bill the Plaintiffs recited the Letters Patent of 18 February 1543 and Thomas Lloyd's will, and prayed that a writ of summons be issued commanding the three defendants to allow the Mayor and his fellows to receive the issues provided for the school, and ordering the said defendants to appear in Court to answer to the premises. They added that Gwenllian verch David, testator's sister was "a very poore, aged, and impotent woman."

The defence was a denial of the charges. William ap Harry said that the lands in question descended to Lloyd's sister, Gwenllian, who assigned them to him so that he was now lawfully seized of them. An action respecting these lands had been brought against him in 1547-48, but the court dismissed it "to the Common Law." Acting on legal advice, and in order to avoid expence, he surrendered the premises into the hands of King Edward VI, who granted the properties to Sir Thomas Tresham, Knight, George Tresham Esq., and their heirs. The Treshams upon the suit of defendant, demised the properties to the said defendants William and John ap Harry by indenture under seal of the Court of Augmentations on 7 February 1550 for 21 years at a yearly rent of 29 shillings and 10 pence, since which time he had enjoyed them.† John ap Harry stated that the Bill had been brought against them by "malicious people" of the town, with the object of impoverishing them, and denied that he had forcibly entered the site and the late house of the Friars. John David of Trevine* also denied entering the lands

* PRO Chancery Proceedings, Ser II. Elizabeth, AD 1558-79, bundles 27, 33, 45-6, and 51.

† PRO. E315/1221, and 318/2016.

in Dewsland. This latter property has not been identified, but it had been bought by Thomas Lloyd from Griffith Broughton by way of mortgage to found a free school at Carmarthen for the education "of young men and children in Gramer," and is described as 130 acres "in the lordship of Penbedyauc," probably in Llanrhian parish. The transaction with Broughton took place in the years 1533-38.†

Evidently the Mayor failed in his object "to revive the saide free scoole of the saide Towne," for there is no further mention of the case.

A Carmarthen merchant, Humphrey Toy of St. Mary Street tried to stimulate educational interest, and by will, dated 1 March 1575, he bequeathed "Towards a free school, and for the use thereof, one yearly rent of three pounds out of the great close called the Friars Park which I stand and remain presently seized of, the yearlie rent being paid to such persons as shall happen to be founders according to the tenor of the foundation."‡ In the following year a school was founded "to be called the Free Grammar School of Queen Elizabeth of the foundation of Walter (Devereux) Earl of Essex," but its site was elsewhere than the Friary.

To the litigiousness of former burgesses, Carmarthen people must be profoundly grateful, and a Star Chamber§ action in 1598-99 provides us with some interesting details about the Friary. A Bill of Complaint exhibited by Thomas Parry of Bristol, gentleman (son and heir of old William ap Harry whose acquaintance we have already made) stated that he inherited from his father, a house being a capital messuage with certain buildings, yards, etc, adjoining, called "the Ffryers which was late the seat of Friars dissolved." On 28 October 1598, John Mores, Walter Lawrence, John Prichard, and others, numbering ten in all, envious of Parry's possessions, assembled in Carmarthen, riotously entered the yards of the Friary and assaulted one of the gates of the house "then being an utter great gate of a house of fair stone and building fortified with iron bars and fences," and with iron bars and crows, broke down and utterly defaced this gate, to the wrong of compainant and great terror of his servants. This was the old gatehouse of the Friary on the south side of Lammis Street, where the entrance to Friars Park still is.

* John David or Davies of Trevine in Llanrhian parish, died on 6 May 1568.

† Cal. Early Chancery Proceedings relating to Wales. p 48. Pebidiog is the old name for the lordship, later hundred, of Dewsland.

‡ PCC. "Pickering 22." Proved 2 May 1575.

§ PRO. Star Chamber. 5/P, 34/28.

The Star Chamber issued a writ to John Owen, William Thomas, and Ieuan Thomas to examine John Morryes in the matter, and to report back to the Court in due course.

In his answer sworn on 13 April 1599, John Morryes alleged that the Bill of Complaint was untrue, and that it had been made in order to put him to costs in law, living as he did in Carmarthen, 140 (sic) miles from London. He admitted that Thomas Parry was seized in fee of the following properties—

1. A house or stable, and garden belonging adjoining the backside of defendant's house on the north, and the site of the church, "sometime of Grey Friars" on the south. The garden measured 60 yards by 14; the stable had been lately built by, and at the cost of defendant.
2. All the old wall called "the Outward Gate" of the site of the Friary, leading from Gell Street, between defendant's house on the east, and complainant's house on the west.
3. A small parcel of void ground adjoining the said wall, 20 yards by 10 in area.

On 28 March 1591 Thomas Parry granted a lease of the above properties to John Mores, and his children, John Mores the younger, and Saige Mores, for their lives at a yearly rent, with condition that lessees should build a house on the plot of void ground by an old wall within five years of the commencement of the lease. This was done, at a cost of over £50. In the structure defendant made a great gate for complainant, his servants, and undertenants of the Friars, to pass to and from Gell Street into Grey Friars and the yards there, and also for defendant to pass from Gell Street to the said stable and garden at will.

However, Thomas Parry afterwards locked the gate built by defendant, debarring access to him and his children. He denied riotous assembly, but admitted that one of his servants, without his knowledge, opened the gate on one occasion in order to go into the stable, and that was all. He added that Rees Parry, complainant's brother, since the exhibition of the Bill, had pulled and broken down one side of the said gate and removed hooks from the stone wall that held up the gate, much to defendant's damage and loss.

Modern Times

In the early part of the seventeenth century, the property passed from the Parrys, and by 1632 belonged to a Mr. Walton. On 24 November of that year, Lewis Walton of the city of Worcester, saddler, and Anne his wife, granted to the Rt. Hon. Richard Vaughan, Knight of the Bath, Lord Vaughan, of Golden Grove, in consideration of £595, "all that the scite and precincks of the late dissolved Monastery and howse called by the name of Gray Ffryers," near Gelstreete also Gerstreete, alias Lama Streete, and all houses, edifices, buildings, orchards, gardens, barns, stables, pigeon houses, hedges, and ditches, adjoining the said premises; also that close, park, and parcell of lands called *The Greate Parke* alias *Parke y Skeebor* with a barn built thereon; and park and parcel of lands called *Park Hill* alias *Parke yr hill* a close or park called *Parke y Clomendy*; and a close, called *the Little Parke* alias *the ffryers parke*; all then in the tenure and occupation of Henry Vaughan, esquire, his assigns or undertenants.* The grantee, Lord Vaughan, succeeded his father as second Earl of Carbery in 1634. The property remained part of the vast Golden Grove estate until 1912 when it was sold to a local doctor.

From 1634 onwards the Friary had a succession of tenants. The older buildings disappeared over the years, and the dwelling house was adapted to suit changing fashions so that no features of the original structure may be recognized today.

The church was still standing in the early half of the eighteenth century, when Archdeacon Yardley commented—"to this Priory (read Friary) Church it was that Bishop Barlow attempted ye Removing ye See, tho' but a small Building of a single Isle, and without a Steeple or Pillars; it is in length about 70 or 80 feet, and in breadth 30 feet."† Thus the steeple, specifically mentioned in 1538 had been taken down by 1700 or so. Buck's view of Carmarthen from the South East, engraved in 1748, shows "Friars Park," on a long slope with some trees growing on the Lammis Street side, and some buildings, details of which are obscure. According to Spurrell, writing in 1879, the remains of the monastery "are to be seen in Friars'-park. The tower of the church was pulled down within the memory of some of the inhabitants of the town. Part of the walls are incorporated with houses in the neighbourhood."‡ The dove-cot that stood in Park y Clomendy had disappeared long since, and no tradition of it remains today.

* Carmarthen Record Office, *The Cawdor Collection*. Henry Vaughan lived at Derwydd.

† Bodleian MS. Gough, Wales 4.

‡ W. Spurrell, *Carmarthen and its Neighbourhood*, p 19.

Two plans have survived which show in detail the area occupied by the Friary. It is fortunate that the whole area has continued as an open space since medieval days, and apart from the present Friary house no new buildings have been erected on the actual site. During the Civil War, earthworks consisting of a deep ditch protected by banks, were raised to protect the western side of the town, parts of them passing the south and west of the friary. They are still to be seen, known as The Bulwarks. Towards the end of the last century a row of houses, called Morfa Lane, was built on the western fringe of the area, and in 1956, the headquarters of the Carmarthenshire and Cardiganshire Joint Police Authority were built on the field known in 1786 as Lover's Walk. Fortunately none of these intrusions interferes with the actual area of the old friary.

The burial ground was immediately to the east of the church, and occupied an area now cultivated as a garden, and part of it extended to the adjacent enclosure once used by Mr. Phelps the florist for his conservatories. Human remains are said to have been found on the site, and the spot where a Warden—alleged to have broken his neck by falling down some stairs—lies buried, is pointed out on the southwest side of the present house. Generally, there has been no significant disturbance of the area around the house, and excavation would be likely to uncover the earlier foundations and also the graveyard.

The two plans of the town mentioned above and now preserved in the County Record Office, were made in 1786 by Thomas Lewis, land surveyor, one of which shows the property of John Morgan, the other the property of John Vaughan of Golden Grove. The Morgan plan shows only the outline area of Friars Park, while the Vaughan plan contains details of the actual fields and buildings. From this latter we learn that the whole area owned by Vaughan contained 13 acres, while the land owned by the friars amounted to only some $4\frac{1}{2}$ to 5 acres in the immediate vicinity of the Friary, mainly the southern and westerly part of the sloping feature, and marked on the map by the numbers 1 (actual site of the main buildings), 2 (garden), 3 (fore-court), 4 (Park Dam Street), 5 (Park y Berllan, a square field enclosed by a brick wall), 6 (Park Cyrill), and 9, (Park y Ddeintir), plus the land and cottages formerly called Friars Court on either side of the lane leading into Lammas Street.

Friars Park House has always been a superior residence, situated in a charming spot, sheltered by good timber, and enjoying an attractive southerly prospect. Towards the end of the eighteenth century, it made a fleeting re-acquaintance with religious activity,

for when the Reverend Peter Williams, of "Bible" fame, was expelled from the Methodist Association in 1791 the Society left the Water Street chapel, and conducted its meetings in Friars Park.* In the early part of the nineteenth century it was the home of Mrs. Anne Philipps, widow of John George Philipps of Cwmgwili, sometime Member of Parliament for the borough. In 1819 the tenant was one John Edwards, the property being then assessed at £45 by the rating authority. In 1837 the tenant was William Philipps esquire, a member of the Cwmgwili family, the house and field being assessed at £37 10 0.

Towards the middle of the nineteenth century Friars Park was the home of Dr. John Morgan Hopkins, M.D. On 4 May 1894, Earl Cawdor granted a lease of The Friary with the three cottages and gardens adjoining, and also a garden and field, to Thomas Jenkins of Lammas Street a corn merchant, for 21 years. This lease was later assigned to Dr. Lloyd Middleton Bowen Jones, a medical officer of health, to whom it was sold by Lord Cawdor's executors on 24 December 1912. On the death of Dr. Jones, his executors sold the property to Mr. David Harold Lloyd, surgeon, on 1 June 1936. On 15 April 1954, Mr. Lloyd sold (following a compulsory purchase order) part of the demesne, namely the field formerly called Lovers Walk, comprising some 7 acres, to the Carmarthenshire County Council for building the Police Headquarters mentioned earlier. In 1965, Mrs. Lloyd, widow of Mr. D. H. Lloyd, sold Friars Park House and the surrounding land to the Carmarthen Corporation for £17,000, intended to be used as administrative offices.

The story of Friars Park spans more than six and a half centuries—a medieval religious house, the pangs of Dissolution, Grammar School, afterwards a private residence, which has become in our day the property of a local authority devoted to the government and good ordering of the townfolk of Carmarthen.

I am extremely grateful to my friend Lt.-Col. Kemmis Buckley, M.B.E., M.A., for reading this essay in typescript and for his valuable suggestions and advice.

* A more permanent religious feature was the Independent chapel, first erected in 1726 within the curtilage, in "the court of the Friars," and whose successor, raised in 1826, still occupies the same site.

APPENDIX A.

Cywydd i Gwrt y Brodyr, Caerfyrddin. Gan Wiliam Egwad
(British Museum, Stowe MS 959)

Alloray main, llawer myr.
Yn iaith werth u wnaeth Arthyr
Mynachlog oedd lle ddoyddynt
A lly gwyr a wellai gynt
Troi roddyon gloywon yn glos
Twysogyo (sic) tai ssy agos
Howel oray y helwryaeth
Ty Gwynn o wydd teg a wnaeth
Arglwydd Rys ar wledd wressawg
Oedd a grym yddaw ar grog
Maen kynal myny kanos
Myniw a rent mann y ros
Seiri fil ssy ar y vaeth
Ssyr Rys mynn oes rois manaeth
A mil o drefydd heb drai
Mil kestill amal y kostiau
Gryffydd goray ffydd a gwr
Y ddyw dalm oedd adailiwr
Da gwnaeth wssanaeth a ssail
Dy Ffrawnses da ffyrensail
Nenn kroyw vaistr yn win kreydd
Nod yw yr hwnn enaid rydd
Ssailio kytty ssail kattwn
Er ssailio tal y ssant hwn
Yn vriw nod y fron udoedd
A ffryns y ssain Ffrawnses oedd
Dygai rrodd deg ar wyl (sic)
Dwyn erchyll dyw ny orchwyl
Brodyr kyvan henddwyr nef
Bro'r winllan berw ar y unllaf
Pawb ar ddydd pob awr ddiddos
Pabay nef pob awr o nos
Trwy weddi dodi pob dadl
Dyhyno Duw ay hanadl
Goray rrif gwyr yw rhain
Goray kreydd kart Ruvain
Goray ffydd sydd ar i sson
Goray Lladin gwyr llwydonn
Goray kerdd gwyr yw a kan
Goray kerdd a goray organ
Goray enaid gwyr ynys
Geiriau ssy rrwym goray ssy Rys

Appendix A. continued]

Llynnoedd ystovodd ystor
Llynno kangell llawn kyngor
Llyn u wyf uy llwyn u wnaeth
Llys ynair holl wssanaeth
Trychy koed troi ywchykwr
Ty wydr adail ty brodyr
Grwndwal y gayre r un Dyw
Gwyddor dysg gweddiwyr Dyw
Klos gwerin brenin dydd brawd
Kryvydd dy kroyw wydd dawd
Grawn tes y goron hyd hwnt
Gwael amal ywch gwely Emwnt
Mynor rif ym ynor hawg
Myryay Arthyr mawr wrthiawg
Meld Nef ymweled a mi
Maels ayraid mil o ssairi
At is dwnn ystofynt
Achloi ar u gwaith ywchlaur gwynt
Mewnn dayar may naw dayad
Main o'r ayr mywn awyr iad
Klawstwr nef klos deri a naid
Cadwynes ssyn kadw enaid
Pais derw ffyrff pyst ar y ffen
Plwm hyd wybyr ple may diben
Kraig aryan kroyw ragoryaeth
Kawg vron gnot, kigfran ay gwnaeth

APPENDIX B.

KARMARDEN.

"This indenture makithe mencyon of all the stuffe of the Grey Freeris of Karmardein receyveid by the Lorde Visitor, under the Lorde Prevey Seale for the Kingis Grace, and delyvereid to my Lorde William, Bischof of Seinthe Daveis, and Thomas Prichar, vecar of Karmarden, to se and order to the Kingis use with the howse and all the appartenaunce till the Kingis plesure he further knoweing, and Mr. Meyer to have ye oversithe of the same.

THE SEXTREY.

Item, a sute of white silke, with golden vestis.
a sute of blacke welvit purpulleid with the apostelles on the backe.
a sute of redde welvit with redde offeras with floweris.
a sute of redde brancheid welvit.
a sute of white brancheid damaske with redde offeras.
a sute of red saye.
a sute of silke, wanting an albe.
ii oldd tunakilles.
x olde chesabullis.
iii alterclotheis, to hange before ye alter.
ii alterclotheis with fontletis.
vii alterclotheis for Lent.
a sorte of small clotheis to cover ymagis with.
a clothe for the sepulcre, with a fringe.
a paule of clothe of tussey, for the Erle of Richemunte's tumber.
ii oldd white copis.
a white cope, with floweris and redde offeras.
a black cope of oldd brancheid velvit, with redde offeras.
a cope of redde brancheid velvit, with good offeras.
an oldd blacke cope of brancheid velvit.
a cope of redde brancheid velvit, with good offeras.
a cope of grene velvit, with floweris.
a cope of redde velvit, with floweris and good offeras.
a litill rochet without sleveis.
iii oldd sirples.
an outherclothe of diaper, and ii towellis.
iii oldd pelowys and ii oldd pelowberis.
ii pore cotis for owre Lady.
ii oldd cuscheynis.
ii banner clotheis for ii banneris.
iii corporas, with iii corporas cases.
ii good chestis, and a broken chest.
a wine bottil, and iii cruetis of tinne.
a tabill of Mary Magdaleyne.

Appendix B. continued]

THE QUERE

ii oldd auterclotheis.
ii small candelstickis.
a crosse copper, with a staffe.
ii masse bokis.
a sacry bell.
iii gret candelstickis.
an holiwater stopper.
iiii small lecterne clotheis nowth.
ii gret candelstickis, timber.
a lecterne of iron.
a goodly peyer of orgaynis.
a blacke herse clothe, buckram.
a goodly tumber of Sir Ryse ap Thomas, with a grate of yron abowthe him.
a stremer banner of his armys with his cote armor and helmit.
a pore vestment.
a litill hanging lampe.

THE CHIRCHE

v tabillys of alabaster.
ii sacry bellis.
a frame of iron thorow all the chirche, before the auterys for taberys.

THE STEPILL

a clocke, & ii bellys.

THE KINGIS CHAMBER

a feterbede, with a bolster.
a peyer of blankitis.
a payer of schetis.
a covering.
a cownter with on leefe, with an olde carpit on yt.
a cubborde, & an oldd chayer, & a litill forme.
a cofer, & in yt no thing but oldd queyeris.
ii candelstickis, longing to ye quere.
a candelstickie for the chamber.

THE YNNER CHAMBER

a fetherbede, with a bolster.
a peyer of schetis, & a coverlete.

THE CHAMBER NEXT YE LAVERYS

a fetherbede, with a bolster.
a peyer of schetis, & a coverlete.
a litill tabill, & a chayer.
ii stolis & a forme.
an oldd cofer.
an oldd cubborde.

THE KECHIN

a gret range of iron, to make in fyer.
ii brasse pottis.
a brasse panne.
iiii plateris, pewter.
iii potingeris.
a gret chayer & ii sawcerys.
a musterd querne.

THE BREWHOUSE

a gret brasse pan in a furnas.
a masthin fatt, & an oter oldd fatte.
a syve to clense ale in.

THE HALLE

ii tabillis & ii formis with ii peyer of trossellis.
mattis at the halle ende.
a gret chayer of timber.

THE BUTTEREY

iii tabill clotheis & iii towellis.
a bason & ewer of pewter, and a woyder.
a pottell pot, pewter.
a saltt sallar of pewter.
an oldd cofer.
a tabill to lay on brede.

Md, yt beside yis stuffe within the convent receyveid ther ys receyveid yt was abrode, in brasse iii pannys & on pott brasse. Also receyveid yt was lent forthe in to ye castell, on singeill vestment & ii alterclotheis, beside yt receyveid yt was in ye towne, on cofer.

Above all yis styffe, ye Visitor hathe in his handis to the Kingis use, a goodly crosse with Mary & John, weing with ye iron in it, vxx unc & viii unc, beside ye handell yt ys moche parte iron, the which was in plege. Also ii chailes, all gilt, of the which the best laye in plege, bothe

weing iiixx unc. Item a bason & an ewar, weing liii unc, ye which lay in plege, for the which ye Visitor payed vii.

Item, iii cruetis, a paxe, a patent of a chailes, oter pesis of a crosse xlii unc.

Item, a pixte, with a cristall all gilte, weing beside the cristall, xxvii unc.

And yt ys to be rememberyd yt where the crosse laye in plege for xxti & a basen & an ewar with ye best chailes for xiiii li, the saide xiiii li ys satisfeid with ye same bason and ewar & other plate of ye howseis beside yis here expresseid, and ye best chailes saveid, as before ys writin. And for ye xx li paying, for ye which ye crosse was in plege, x li of yt ys payde with other plate receyvid in ye convent & out of the towne by the Visitor: the other x li with the clayme of xx markis for the tabill of the hei alter, and all other dettys, bachelor Traherne, lately Warden, schall discharge, and he to receyve all dettis to ye convent before yis day coming, & schall invoy all plegis, and other corne or chese, & the goodis of Thomas Tilar, paing his dettys; and so the convent to be sett clere of all dettys, and the Warden to be dischargid of all claymys yt might be made by him of the convent, or eny other having the convent, as by a bill under ye Visitores hand indentyd, yt dothe apere. And where as Mr. Chanscelar saithe yt his dore was broken up in ye Freeris, & certeyne stuffe taken owt, by whom yt can not be knowen, the Visitor hathe left a cope of ye vestre for the seide Chanscelar, sunwath to satisfey him, so yt he will be content.

Alos, the Vistor hathe yt he had owt of the towne, vi copis & hathe allowed for a freer yt lithe seke all ye corne in ye convent, the chese, salt, woode, ye which was provideid for their store, & vis viiid in money, and every freer xiid & their owne stuffe, & so departeid.

(signed) Willus Menev. Thomas Prichard. Martyn Davy.

(Copied from PRO, Chapter House Books, B 2/19, pp 99-103, by Ernest G. Atkinson of the PRO, and printed in *Carmarthenshire Notes*, vol I 1889. Llanelly 1889. ed A Mee).

Queen Elizabeth Grammar School in the Seventeenth Century

by BENJAMIN HOWELL, M.A.
the Present Headmaster

[This article is an appendix to the account of the school by A. G. Prys-Jones, O.B.E., M.A., contained in the previous number of Carmarthenshire Local History Magazine and is an expansion especially of the information to be found on p.21 of that issue.

Most of the Rev. Nicholas Roberts' correspondence related to Pembroke-shire; some of Roberts' observations—e.g., on the birds of Ramsey, the sea-weed near St. Davids from which the local people made "a sort of food called Lhavan" and the noise made by the Bosherton pool on the approach of a storm—were sent by Lhuud to the antiquarian Edmund Gibson, who included them in his 1695 edition of Camden's "Britannia".

Roberts prepared a description of Carmarthenshire for Lhuud but forbore to send it for fear it would "suell yr Book to too great a Bulk". He did, however, send a list of some of the MSS. (mainly pedigrees and genealogies) at Rhyd y Gors house (a letter dated Janury 13th 1695). B.H.]

Considerable information concerning the Queen Elizabeth Grammar School, Carmarthen, in the seventeenth century is provided by some letters written in 1673-4 by the Rev. Nicholas Roberts, the Headmaster at the time. The letters, which now form part of the Wase Collection in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, were written to a Christopher Wase, of the University of Oxford, in response to a questionnaire sent by him to the Grammar Schools of the day.

A transcript of the longest and most informative of the letters is given below; a photographic reproduction of the actual letter also appears below. This letter is a shortened version of one that went astray in the post (a reminder of the postal system of those times will be found at the end of the letter). The details supplied give a picture of the School over a period of some thirty years, beginning in the early 1640s, at the time of the Civil Wars—and the repercussions of those wars on the School's "large library" are duly noted in the letter.

The School had recently been endowed by Morgan Owen, Bishop of Llandaff, himself a former Headmaster; but Nicholas Roberts is at pains to point out that it had existed "long before" the endowment. As for the School building, which was in Priory Street, it is explained here that it was erected at public expense (doubtless from funds raised by subscription). Roberts states in another letter to Wase, however, that Owen gave a house "in Priory Street Ward to be ye Schole house (and so it is) with An Acre of Land thereto adjoining".

Concerning the endowment, to provide an annual stipend of £20 for the Schoolmaster, Roberts says elsewhere that "the Common Counsell of ye Town are ye Trustees, who may (if they shall judg fitt) dispose of ye 20*l.* to bind boyes apprentices," presumably if the School should cease to exist.

The list of Headmasters is an instructive one. It seems remarkable that there should have been so many in the short space of thirty years, but most of them, it will be noted, were men in holy orders, who, after a few years of schoolmastering, usually left to take up appointments in the Church. Of those named here the best known is Archdeacon William Jones, who was, like Owen—and indeed, many others—a generous benefactor of the School. But Nicholas Roberts himself is not without renown, especially in the field of Welsh antiquities. His estimate of the value to "the advancement of the Commonwealth of real learning" of the manuscripts and ancient documents which he mentions changed completely, because some years later—he was then incumbent of Llanddewi Velfrey in Pembroke-shire—we find him giving enthusiastic support to the antiquarian and philologist Edward Lhuud, in compiling the "Archæologia Britannica". The many letters which he wrote to Lhuud are also preserved in the Bodleian.

In the transcript which follows the spelling of the original has been modernised and the abbreviations have been extended.

Sir,—Yours of the 9th post came not to my hands until Friday last, wherein you intimate the miscarriage of a letter giving you an account of Carmarthen School, which I assure you I did send, but how it was miscarried, after so long a time, I cannot come to learn: for your so long silence gave me cause to suspect that my endeavour did not satisfy your expectation nor correspond with your design and therefore I desisted to prosecute it any further, but since I received this letter I have sect [sought] to enquire more particularly of Brecon and Devynock adjoining, whereof I shall (God willing) shortly satisfy you.

You shall herein receive a brief of what my former gave at large in relation to this School:

1. The fabric whereof was built at public charge about the beginning of the late rebellion.

2. Endowed by Morgan Owen, Bishop of Llandaff, with £20 per annum charge upon the Impropriation of St. Ishmaels in this County, payable yearly November 3rd. He in his lifetime paid it quarterly but by his will (Anno 1644) ordered it to be paid as above in one gross sum: the Schoolmaster is to be approved of by the Mayor and Common Council consisting of 22.

3. The succession of masters since the endowment (for many eminent persons taught here long before, whereof the Bishop himself was one) is as followeth :

1, Adrian Hawkins, M.A. 2, John Blencow (of St. John's College, Oxford, query whether M.A. or LL.B.). 3, Lambrock Thomas S.Th.D. (he took his degree at Franekera* where he brought his exercise printed and distributed it ; the subject was de Peccato). 4, John Parry, M.A. 5, Richard Dean, M.A., Dublin (afterwards Dean of Kilkenny, this error I desired Mr. Davis to rectify for I had sent in my former Ossory). 6, William Jones, M.A., a very worthy person and a great friend of mine (now Archdeacon of Carmarthen). 7, Rice Jones, B.A. 8, Mr. Edward Fisher (supposed to be the eldest son of Sir Edward Fisher, Worcestershire, reduced to exigence) the same as in Haverfordwest. 9, Thomas Franklyn, M.A., now Fellow of Jesus College and Chaplain domestic to the Lord President (or Marquiss of Worcester) sometime Schoolmaster of Abergavenny. 10, David Phillips, M.A., of St. John's College, afterwards of your Hall. 11, Nicholas Roberts.

4. 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.

5. MSS. Our country is barren of excepting some few antiquated Welsh pedigrees and genealogies, imperfect chronicles and unintelligible prophecies, that lie dormant in some private hands of little use (I suppose) to the advancement of the Commonwealth of real learning.

We have had several eminent personages that taught school in this Town and County, viz, Jeremy Taylor, Bishop of Down and Connor, Dr. Nicholson, late Bishop of Gloucester, and William Thomas, now Dean of Worcester, etc.

In my next I will endeavour to give you a relation of the School (once endowed though at present alienated) of Llandovery ; because I am now so straightened in time that I can only say that I shall be very ready to promote any public undertaking and design as far as my interest or knowledge will reach and that you may assure yourself of the readiest service of

Carmarthen

Your very friend and servant,

April 1st, 1674.

Nic. Roberts.

Excuse my scribbling for I knew not of the carrier's being in Town until he was ready to take horse. If in anything (either in this or any other letter of mine) you are not satisfied let me understand it and I shall endeavour to remove the scruple.

* The University of Franekera, in Friesland, Holland, existed from about 1585 until the middle of the 19th century.—B.H.

Apr. 1674

Richard

My very humble servant

Count my goodness for I have not of the Countess King in Town with it was
with a great deal of money in the way of it and I am not
not satisfied with it I have not of the Countess King in Town with it was

My dear Countess I have not of the Countess King in Town with it was
with a great deal of money in the way of it and I am not
not satisfied with it I have not of the Countess King in Town with it was

My dear Countess I have not of the Countess King in Town with it was
with a great deal of money in the way of it and I am not
not satisfied with it I have not of the Countess King in Town with it was

My dear Countess I have not of the Countess King in Town with it was
with a great deal of money in the way of it and I am not
not satisfied with it I have not of the Countess King in Town with it was

My dear Countess I have not of the Countess King in Town with it was
with a great deal of money in the way of it and I am not
not satisfied with it I have not of the Countess King in Town with it was

My dear Countess I have not of the Countess King in Town with it was
with a great deal of money in the way of it and I am not
not satisfied with it I have not of the Countess King in Town with it was

My dear Countess I have not of the Countess King in Town with it was
with a great deal of money in the way of it and I am not
not satisfied with it I have not of the Countess King in Town with it was

My dear Countess I have not of the Countess King in Town with it was
with a great deal of money in the way of it and I am not
not satisfied with it I have not of the Countess King in Town with it was

'Shakespeare y Cymry' a Chaerfyrddin

gan W. J. HARRIES, M.A.

Pennaeth yr Adran Gymraeg, Ysgol Ramadeg y Gwendraeth.

"Yr oedd yn ddyn effro ei gyneddfau wedi dyfod i'r ardal fwyaf effro ei chyneddfau yng Nghymru." Dyma frawddeg a godwyd o lyfr Bobi Jones *Pr Arch*.^{*} Cyfeirio a wna'r awdur at yr anterliwtiwr enwog Twm o'r Nant, a gafodd ei alw yn ei ddydd yn "Shakespeare y Cymry," a gwlad Fyrddin, canys bu ef yn byw yn Sir Gaerfyrddin o gwmpas y blynyddoedd 1779—1786. Ac o gofio'r dyddiadau hyn gellir deall yr hyn a olyga Bobi Jones pan ddywed "yr ardal fwyaf effro ei chyneddfau yng Nghymru." Dyma ardal ac adeg yr emynwyr mawr yn Sir Gaerfyrddin, emynwyr megis Pantycelyn (1717—1791), Dafydd Jones, Caeo (1711—77), Morgan Rhys, Cil-y-Cwm (1717—79), John Dafydd (1727—71) a Morgan Dafydd Caeo (1747—?), John Thomas Myddfai, awdur "Rhad Ras" (1730—1803), Dafydd William Llanedi (1721—1794) a Thomas Lewis y gof o Dalyllychau (1759—1842).

Cyfyd dau gwestiwn yn nawr sy'n gofyn i'w hateb. Y cyntaf ydyw "ym mha le yn Sir Gaerfyrddin y bu Twm fyw?" Yr ail ydyw "a oes hanes ar gael am ei gyfnod yng Nghaerfyrddin?" Yn ffodus gellir ateb y ddau ofyniad. Atebir y gofyniad cyntaf drwy ddweud i Dwm o'r Nant fyw yng nghyffiniau Llandeilo yn ystod y blynyddoedd 1779—1786, ac am hanes ei arhosiad yno yn ystod y blynyddoedd hynny gellir sicrhau cymorth Twm ei hun. Ceir y cymorth hwn yn ei hunangofiant a ymddangosodd yn gyntaf yng nghylchgrawn y *Greal* yn 1805, ac a gyhoeddwyd yn ddiweddar gan Wasg Prifysgol Cymru gyda Rhagymadrodd gwerthfawr gan G. M. Ashton.[†]

Fe ddichon yn aml iawn mai awydd awdur am ddiogelu coffadwriaeth iddo'i hun mewn geiriau sydd wrth wraidd ysgrifennu hunangofiant. Eto y peth pwysig i'w gofio ydyw pan gofnodir hanes bywyd unigolyn mewn hunangofiant fe achubir y bywyd hwnnw rhag syrthio i fythol anghofrwydd. Yn ffodus i ni, gwelodd Twm o'r Nant yn dda i achub ei fywyd rhag syrthio i fythol anghofrwydd drwy gofnodi ei hun yr hanes amdano.

O sylwi ar y cyfarchiad i Owain Myfyr ar ddechrau **Hunangofiant Twm o'r Nant**, ymddengys nad awydd am gael coffad iddo'i hun a barodd i Twm ysgrifennu hanes ei fywyd. Daw amcan ei

^{*} *Pr Arch* gan Bobi Jones. Llyfrau'r Dryw. (td 62).

[†] **Hunangofiant a Llythrau Twm o'r Nant**. Golygwyd gan G. M. Ashton. Gwasg Prifysgol Cymru.

gyfansoddi i'r golwg yn y geiriau canlynol :

"Yn gymaint ag i amryw ddyinion fy annog i ysgrifennu hanes fy mywyd o'm genedigaeith, neu yn hytrach o'r hyd yr wyf yn sicr o gofio, mi anturiaf osod i lawr gynifer pethau mwyaf neilltuol a glywais ac a brofais yn fy nghoffawdwriaeth amdanaf fy hun." (td 27).

Daw dau beth i'r golwg yn y geiriau uchod. Yn gyntaf, ar gais cyfeillion fe'r cyfansoddwyd. Felly nid diogelu coffadwriaeth i'r hunangofianydd oedd wrth wraidd cyfansoddi'r hunangofiant hwn. Yn ail, detholiad ydyw. Ni honnir bod yr hanes yn gyflawn. Ac yn wir byr iawn yw ei hyd. Fe'i cyhoeddwyd gyntaf nid fel llyfr annibynnol ond mewn cylchgrawn, a gellir cytuno â'r golygydd yn ei ragymadrodd pan ddywed i'r hunangofianydd hepgor "llu o bethau y carem eu gwybod" (td 1). Fodd bynnag er mai byr yw hyd yr hanes ac er mai saith mlynedd yn unig a dreuliodd yn Sir Gaerfyrddin eto rhoddodd le dyladwy i'r cyfnod hwn o'i fywyd yn ei hunangofiant. Rhaid felly fod yr arhosiad wedi gwneud argraff arno.

Thomas Edwards* oedd enw priod Twm o'r Nant ac fe'i ganed yn 1739 ym Mhenparcell Isaf, plwyf Llanefydd, Sir Ddinbych. Yn 1741 Symudodd ei rieni i'r Nant, sef tyddyn bychan yn ymyl Nantglyn, heb fod ond ychydig filltiroedd o'r lle ganed ef. Y lle hwn a roes yr enw a lynodd wrtho ar hyd ei oes. Dysgodd ddarllen pan ddaeth un o ysgolion Griffith Jones i Nantglyn, a chafodd bythefnos o ysgol yn nhref Dinbych i ddyysgu Saesneg. Dyna'r cyfan o'i addysg boreol. Ys dywed :

"Ymhen ychydig, oddeutu chwech neu saith mlwydd oedran, daeth ysgol rad i Nantglyn ; mi a gefais fyned yno i ddyysgu y llythrennau. Ond yr oedd llawer o sôn ymysg hen wragedd cyfarwydd y wlad, y byddai iddynt fyned â'r holl blant i ffwrdd pan ddelent yn fawrion, oblegid eu bod yn rhoi eu henwau i lawr ; ond peth bynnag, ni chlywais i un ohonom fyned. Ond fe aeth y frech wen â'm fi adref yn sâl ; ac ar ôl gwella o honno, yr oeddwn yn rhy gryf i allu hyfforddio colli gwaith ac amser i fyned i'r ysgol ; fe orfu i mi ddyysgu gyrru yr ychen i aredig a llafurio, yn hytrach na dysgu darllen ; ond fe fyddai fy mam yn atgofio i mi yr egwyddor yn fynych iawn.

* *Gwêl Y Bywgraffiadur Cymreig Hyd 1940*, Llundain, 1953, td 183—Golygydd.

Yr oeddwn erbyn hyn cylch wyth oed ; a'r haf hwnnw mi gefais fyned i'r ysgol drachefn am dair wythnos ; a phan gyntaf y dysgais yselio a darllen ambell air, mi a ddechreuais fyned yn awchus iawn i ysgrifennu Mi ysgrifennais lawer o gerddi, a dau lyfr **Interlute**, cyn bod yn naw oed ; ac wrth weled fy athrylith i ddysgu, fe ddaeth hwn a'r llall i edliw i'm rhieni na baent yn fy rhoi i ddysgu Saesneg ; ond wrth hir addaw, hwy a'm gadawsant i fyned i'r Dref i'r ysgol, lle bûm bythefnos yn dysgu Saesneg ; a dyna'r cwbl. Fe orfu imi ddyfod adref i wneud rhywbeth am fy mara, a thuag at gynnal y plant eraill." (td 29—30).

Yn 1763 ymbriododd â Elizabeth Hughes o Bont y Garreg, Llanfair Talhacarn ac aeth i fyw i dyddyn bychan o'r enw Y Bylchau, "ar fin y ffordd o Nantglyn i Lansannan" (td 35). Ni fu yno'n hir a symudodd lawer yn ystod y blynyddoedd 1763—1779. Enwa'r lleoedd y bu'n byw ynddynt yn ei hunangofiant. Yna yn 1779 ac yntau'n ddeugain oed ceir ef yn symud i'r De, ac ymsefydlu yn Sir Gaerfyrddin. Tua'r adeg hon aeth tad bedydd Twm sef ei ewythr a brawd ei dad i ddyled. Dywed Twm mai £30 oedd swm y ddyled. Anfonwyd yr ewythr i garchar am na allai dalu'r arian. Addawodd Twm fyned yn feichiau drosto, ond methodd yr ewythr â thalu a gorfu i Dwm ffoi i'r De o afael y gyfraith, a ffoi a wnaeth i Gaerfyrddin.

Dichon mai fel prif anterliwtiwr Cymru y cofir am Dwm o'r Nant yn bennaf. Ni cheir eglurhad symlach o'r hyn yw anterliwt na'r frawddeg ganlynol yn **Hanes Llenyddiaeth Gymraeg**.

"Math o ddrama ar fydr oedd yr anterliwt, a byddid yn ei hactio ar wagen mewn buarth ffarm, neu ar yr heol mewn marchnad a ffair, neu ar fwrdd mewn cegin tafarn." (td 208).

Honnai Dr. Thomas Parry, awdur **Hanes Llenyddiaeth Gymraeg**, fod "tua deugain anterliwt ar gael heddiw, yn gyfan neu mewn rhan, rhai ohonynt yn argraffedig a rhai mewn ysgrifen."[†] Gellir barnu oddiwrt hyn a ddywed Twm yn ei hunangofiant mai ef yw awdur y nifer mwyaf ohonynt. Wele'r cyfeiriadau canlynol:

"Mi ysgrifennais lawer o gerddi, a dau lyfr **Interlute** yn naw oed." (td 30).

* **Hanes Llenyddiaeth Gymraeg Hyd 1900**, gan Thomas Parry Gwasg Prifysgol Cymru.

† *Ibid.*, td 208.

"Minnau yn hogyn mi wneuthum **Interlute** cyn bod yn 14 oed (ar y llyfr **Priodas Ysbrydol**, gan John Bunyan)." (td 32).

"Mi wneuthum **Interlute** cyn bod yn 14 oed yn lân i ben" (td 33).

"Ac yn ôl hynny, pan oeddwn gylch 20 oed gwneuthum **Interlute** yngylch **Cain ac Abel**." (td 34).

Diau mai ymfrostio a wna Twm yn ei fedr i gyfansoddi anterliwtiau yn y cyfeiriadau uchod gan y gofala gofnodi ei oed pan gyfansodda hwynt. Y gwir yw mai saith o'i anterliwtiau a erys ac ni chyfansoddiwyd yr un o'r rhain yn ystod ei arhosiad yng Nghaerfyrddin. Perthyn pedwar ohonynt sef 'Y Farddoneg Fabilonaid,' 'Cyfoeth a Thlodi,' 'Tri Chydymaith Dyn' a 'Phedair Colofn Gwladwriaeth' i'r cyfnod cyn ei ddyfodiad i Fyrddin ac y mae'r dair drama argraffedig arall sef 'Pleser a Gofid,' 'Tri Chryfion Byd' a 'Chybydd—dod ac Oferedd' yn perthyn i'r cyfnod wedi ei ddychweliad i'r Gogledd. Y mae hyn yn rhyfedd oblegid fel y dywed Golygydd yr Hunangofiant yr oedd argraffwasg hwylus gan John Ross yng Nghaerfyrddin yr adeg hon" (sef adeg trigias Twm yn y sir), "eithr nid ymddangosodd dim o waith Twm o'i swyddfa." (td 4—5).

Fodd bynnag os mai cyfnod o segurddod anterliwtaidd fu blynyddoedd byw yng Nghaerfyrddin yr oeddynt yn flynyddoedd llawn gweithgarwch mewn cylch arall, ac ni ffurfiant gyfnod ddi-elw i'r Anterliwtiwr o bell ffordd. Cariwr coed ydoedd Twm wrth ei alwedigaeth ac wedi cyrraedd Caerfyrddin gwelodd y gallai gael gwaith yn o gario coed. Ac fel yr ymfrostioedd yn ei fedr i gyfansoddi anterliwtiau, ceir Twm yn nawr yn ei hunangofiant yn ymfrostio yn ei fedr i gario coed. Dywed nad oedd neb tebyg iddo am dorri llwythi trymion o goed a'u symud ar hyd y ffordd. Yn wir honnai fod ei orchestion yn symud a llwytho coed trymion yn olygfa ryfeddol i drigolion Caerfyrddin.

"a minnau yn cario coed mawr iawn, na welwyd ar olwynion yn y wlad honno mo'u cyffelyb, nac yn odid o wlad arall, ac a glywais i. Llauer o goed a lwythais, ac euthum i ben eu siwrnai ; rhai yn gant troedfedd, a chant a hanner a deucant, yn un darnau ; a'r mwyaf oeddynt yn ei alw brenhinbren, oedd yn ddau cant a phedair troedfedd a deugain." (td 41).

Dyry ddisgrifiad ohono yn cario pren mawr o 45 troedfedd o hyd dan 'arch' porth Heol y Brenin yng Nghaerfyrddin, ac yn y disgrifiad hwnnw cronicle pob gorchwyl a gyflawnid ganddo i gael y pren mawr yn ddiogel o'r goedwig i'r dref

"Yr oedd ef (sef y pren) 45 troedfedd o hyd, a chwedi ei ysgwario yn lân; minnau a godais y **Crean** uwchben ei flaen ef, ac fe'i cododd y ceffylau ef yn esmwyth; ac yna rhedais y pâr olaf mor belled ag y medrwn dano; ac yna symud y **Crean** at ei ben bôn, a deisyf ar y segurwyr oedd yno neidio ar y gynffon; ac yna codi'r bôn a'i lwytho ar y **wagen**; ac yna gyrru ymlaen, ac ail **setlo** yr olwynion olaf; yna myned i'r ffordd, ac i Gaerfyrddin, heb gymaint â thorri **linc** trës. Ond gwedi myned i'r Dref, at borth Heol y Brenin, a'r ceffylau yn nwbl, ac yn llonaid y porth, a thalcen y pren yn taro yn yr **arch**, dyna luoedd o bobl y farchnad yn dechrau ymgasglu o'm cwmpas, ac yn tyngu nad awn byth y ffordd honno; minnau, wedi synnu peth, a gefais gan rai oedd yno, trwy addo fyned atynt, fy helpu i facio yr olwynion yn eu holau; ac felly, trwy fod amryw yn taro llaw at y peth, mi a'i cefais hi yn ôl; a chwedi hynny, ni a aethom, dri neu bedwar, i **Yard yr Ivy Bush**, tŷ tafarn, lle yr oedd crystiau coed (**yslabs**) ac a gawsom eu benthyc, ac mi a'u gosodais hwynt o flaen yr olwynion olaf, yn glwt i godi rheini, fel y byddai i'r pen arall ostwng tan y bwa maen, ac felly y bu, a'r edrychwyr a roddasant fanllef groch wrth weled y fath beth, ac amryw ohonynt a yfodd at y llanc a minnau." (td 41—42).

Gwasanaetha'r hanes canlynol o'i eiddo yn symud llong a adeiladwyd gan **ferchant** o Abermarlais filltir a chwarter i afon Tywi fel enghraifft pellaf o'i fedr a'i allu i orchfygu rhwystrau.

"Fe ddarfu i'r **merchant** yn Abermarlais adeiladu llong fechan, a gariol gwmpas 30 neu 40, tunnell; fe'i gwnaeth hi yn y coed, cylch milltir a chwarter oddi wrth afon Tywi, pa un a fyddai yn cario llestri bychain ar lif i Gaerfyrddin. Ond hon a wnaed yn rhy drom i'w llusgo at yr afon yn y dull yr oedd y gŵr yn bwriadu, sef i bobl ei llusgo, o ran sport; Minnau a ddywedais y medrwn fyned â hi i'r afon ond cael tri neu bedwar o ddynion i'm helpu; yntau a ddywedodd y cawn y peth a fynwn, os medrwn fyned â'r llong i'r afon. A deisyf yr oedd arnaf am ddyfod y bore drannoeth, os gallwn; minnau a ddeuthum, a'r llanc, a phedwar o'r ceffylau; a mi a ddeuthumo flaen y wedd, ac a roddais y dynion ar waith, i dorri twll mewn hen wal fawr, oedd megis o flaen y llong; ac yno rhoi darn o bren ar draws y twll, y tu pellaf, i roi **chain** i fachu y tacl, sef rhaff a blociau, a bachu y pen arall wrth y llong,

a rhoi y ceffylau wrth y rhaff i dynnu. Felly hi ddaeth o'r clawdd yn lled hwylus; ac yna bachu drachefn wrth bren yn tyfu, a dyfod ymlaen felly; ond pan ddoed i dir meddal, yr oedd yn rhaid rhoi planciau tan yr olwynion o ran y pwysau, ac ar ôl tynnu i ben blaen y planciau, symud y rhai olaf ymlaen, ac felly o hyd; a lle na byddai cyffe i fachu wrth bren yn tyfu, byddai raid rhoi post yn llawr, i fachu; ac o bost i bared hi aeth i'r afon, mewn ychydig ddyddiau; ac addo i minnau gyflog da, ond ni chefais i yn y diwedd un ddim ai byth, ond addo, a'm canmol: rhai pobl a fyddai yn dyfod i edrych arnom ac yn rhoi peth arian i ni geisio cwrw, a dyna y cwbl." (td 44—46).

Y mae'n amlwg fod Twm yn cael hwyl wrth sôn am ei orchestion yn codi a chario coed, a rhestra'r mannau y bu'n torri a chario coed yng Nghaerfyrddin sef Abermarlais, Daliaris, Allt y Cadno, Cil y Cwm, Myddfai, Llangennech, a Gwal yr Hwch, Llanedi. Bu hefyd yn cario coed "o le a elwir y Ffrwd i Gaerfyrddin ac o Wempa i Gaerfyrddin." (td 46). Nid oedd ei fusnes cario coed bob tro yn lwyddiannus ac yn elw i gyd. Profodd golledion ar adegau. Daeth afiechydon ar ei geffylau. Dywed iddo gollu saith ar hugain ohonynt yn ystod ei arhosiad yn sir Gaerfyrddin.

Pan ffôdd i Gaerfyrddin o afael y Gyfraith cafodd waith cario coed o Abermarlais i'r dref. Ei daliad am wneud hyn oedd "chwech-ainiog y droedfedd." (td 40). Perchennog coed Abermarlais a sicraodd gartref i Dwm a'i deulu yn y sir.

"fe ddarfu ein meist'r, y **timber merchant**, gymryd **Gate Turnpike** am gant punt ac wyth yn y flwyddyn o rent, y ni i gael arian y **gate** at ein bywoliaeth, a **setlo** y rhent wrth gario." (td 41).

Bu Twm fyw yn y tyrpeg am dair blynedd a diddorol ydyw ei gael yn cofnodi sut y talai'r tollborth yn ystod yr amser hyn:

"**Y Gate** oedd y flwyddyn gyntaf yn lled gwla o ran **profit**; yr oedd fy merch hynaf yn rhoi y cwbl i lawr a dderbynid ynddi; ond yr ail flwyddyn, hi a dalodd yn bur dda; a'r drydedd fe godwyd arni 15 punt, ond nid drwg oedd hi yno." (td 43).

Y mae'n werth nodi am ddiffuanrwydd Twm yn sôn am ei gyfoeth a'i dlodi. A barnu wrth yr hyn a ddywaid gallasai fod yn ŵr cyfoethog. Cyn ei ddyfodiad i Gaerfyrddin yr oedd yn werth £300,

arian mawr rhyw ddwy ganrif yn ôl. Ac yn ddiweddarach pan gollodd ei gyfoeth, teg yw nodi nad ymollyngodd i chwerwi ato'i hun na chwaith at yr ewythr yr aeth yn fach drosto am £30 ac a ddechreuodd pennod gofidiau Twm.

Ffynnai cred gref mewn ofergoelion yng Nghymru'r ddeunawfed ganrif, a rhoddid pwys mawr gan y werin ar wyrthiau rhyfeddol a gwaredigaethau hynod rhag berygl a ddigwyddai i bobl, heb sôn am ymddangosiad ysbrydion, y gannwyll gorff a'r toili. Angladd yn myned heibio yn y nos ydyw toili a gwelid ef gan lawer yn y ddeunawfed a'r bedwaredd ganrif ar bymtheg. Yn Llandeilo Fawr y gwelodd Twm y toili yn myned heibio i'r Gate a gadwai ef a'i deulu, a rhydd ddisgrifiad cyflawn i ni ohono:

"Mi a welais fy hun, ryw noswaith, **hears** yn myned trwy'r **Gate**, a hithau ynghauad; gweled y ceffylau a'r harnas, a'r hogyn **postillion** a'r **coachman**, a'r siobau rhawn fydd ar dopiau yr **hears**, a'r olwynion yn pasio'r cerryg yn y ffordd fal y byddai olwynion eraill: a'r claddedi-gaethau yr un modd, mor debyg, yn elor ac yn frethyn du; neu os rhyw un ieuanc a gleddid, byddai fel cynfas wen." (td 43—44).

Gwelodd y gannwyll gorff hefyd yn yr un lle.

"Unwaith pan alwodd rhyw drafaeliwr yn y **Gate**, Edrychwch acw, ebr ef, dacw gannwyll gorff yn dyfod hyd y caeau o'r ffordd fawr gerllaw; felly ni a ddaliasom sylw arni yn dyfod, megys o'r tu arall i'r lan; weithiau yn agos i'r ffordd, waith arall ennyd yn y caeau; ac ymhen ychydig bu raid i gorff ddyfod yr un ffordd ag yr oedd y gannwyll, oblegid fod yr hen ffordd yn llawn o eira." (td 44).

Arwyddion a ragfynefa farwolaeth oedd y toili a'r gannwyll gorff. O sylwi ar bobl y toili gellid dirnad pwy yw'r sawl a fu farw gan mai'r un dyrfa sy'n gwneud y toili a geir yn yr angladd. Teithiai'r gannwyll gorff hithau lwybr y gladdedi-gaeth i'r bedd. Cychwynnai o dŷ'r un a gynrychiola a diffodd ar fan y bedd. Ni ellir bod yn sicr a gredai Twm yn yr arwyddion hyn ond rhaid nodi y ceir ef yn manylu ar hanes rhyfedd ymddangosiad ysbryd "yr hen ŵr o Gaerfyrddin" (td 44) trwy gynnwys manion ffeithiau amdano. Dywed ei fod yn arfer "cario pysgod i Aberhonddu a'r Fenni, a Monmouth ac yn dyfod â **Gloucester cheese** teneuon gantho yn ôl." Hefyd i wireddu'r achlysur dwg y fam a'r ferch i'r helynt.

"yr oedd fy mhobl i yn gwybod ei fod ef ar ei daith, ac yr oedd yr hin yn ddrycinog iawn, o wynt ac eira lluchio; a chanol y nos, fe glywai fy merched i lais yr hen ŵr yn y **Gate**, a'u mam a'u galwodd hwynt i agor ar frys, ac erchi'r hen ŵr ddyfod i'r tŷ at y tân. Codi a wnaeth y ferch; erbyn mynd allan nid oedd yno neb; a thrannoeth dyma gorff yr hen ŵr yn dyfod ar drol, gwedi marw yn yr eira ar fynydd Tre'r Castell: a dyna'r gwir am hwnnw." (td 44).

Wedi tair blynedd yn cadw tyrpeg aeth Twm i gadw tafarn yn Llandeilo Fawr ond parhaodd wrth ei orchwyl o gario coed drwy'r amser. Yna fe dorrodd ei feistr, y masnachwr coed, a bu raid i Dwm ddychwelyd i'r Gogledd, a thua diwedd 1786 ffarweliodd â sir Gaerfyrddin.

Gwaith peryglus oedd fraeo â Twm o'r Nant. Nid gwiw, oedd i neb ddamsang ar ei draed a pheri loes iddo. Medrai ysgri-fennu'n chwerw iawn am bobl felly. Yr oedd ganddo dafod llym a châi hwyl ar adegau wrth ei ddefnyddio fel offeryn talu'r pwyth yn ôl. Er enghraifft ar dud 47, wrth sôn am y "merchant" a ddygodd oddi arno £54-6/- dywed.

"Mi a gefais yr anrhydedd o'i weled ef ar geffyl yn Ninbych gyda'r beiliaid, yn myned i garchar Rhuthin, ac a ddywedais â llef uchel, mai dyna yr olwg orau a ddy-munwn weled arno, oni bai i mi gael yr olwg arno yn myned o'r gel i'r Gallegfa, lle byddid yn crogi lladron.

Ond ymhen ennyd fe gadd ef fyned yn **fancrafft**, i safio talu i neb; ac mae fe yn awr, am wn i, mewn gwlad nad oes orffen talu byth." (td 47).

Gyda'r afiaith a ddaw i'r golwg yn y geiriau "ac a ddywedais â llef uchel, mai dyna yr olwg orau a ddy-munwn weled arno," sylwer ar y coegni yn yr ymadrodd "ac mae fe yn awr am wn i mewn gwlad nad oes orffen talu byth."

Bu mewn ymladdfa fwy nag unwaith eithr nid teg casglu mai gŵr rhyfelgar ydoedd canys gwŷr y gyfraith oedd y gwrthwynebwy'r bob tro fel y gwelir ar dud 42 lle y ceir ef yn ymladd â thri o geisbyliaid Swydd Drefaldwyn yn Llandeilo Fawr. Dyma eiriau Twm:

"Peth bynnag, yn ymrafael yr aeth hi, a dechrau ffusto a wneuthum, a mi a gefais ddau i lawr, ac a ddaliais i guro."

Nid gorchwyl hawdd felly oedd curo Twm mewn brwydr.

Nid oes dim a ddwed yn well am arddull ysgrifennwr rhyddiaith na'i ddefnydd o eiriau a'i ddull o fynegi ei feddwl trwyddynt. Medrai Twm ysgrifennu rhyddiaith o'r radd flaenaf. Gwir iddo ysgrifennu ei hunangofiant yn iaith bob dydd y bobl gyffredin ond yr oedd yr iaith wledig honno yn gorfforiad o "Gymraeg rhywiog a grymus" fel y dywed golygydd y gwaith.

Cydnabyddir bellach mai Twm o'r Nant yw'r pennaf a anterliwtwyr Cymru. Yr oedd yn actor yn ogystal ag yn ddramodydd. Diau mai gormodiaith oedd ei alw yn ei ddydd gan Dr. Samwell yn "Shakespeare Cymru." Eto dylid cofio hyn—ar waethaf ei addysg brin gwnaeth ei ran i gadw'r diwylliant Cymraeg yn fyw. Ac mewn dyddiau fel y presennol tybed nad hyn yw un o'r pethau pwysicaf i'w cofio, canys cyfoethocach o lawer a fyddem fel cenedl pe bai gennym lawer mwy yn debyg iddo. Peth arall bu'n byw am ysbaid yn sir Gaerfyrddin, a rhaid fod yr arhosiad wedi dylanwadu arno. Barnai Bobi Jones fod tinc rai o emynwyr sir Gâr i'w ganfod ar y gwaith a gyfansoddodd wedi iddo ddychwelyd i'r Gogledd.* Dywedir hefyd fod yn ei waith berffeithiach darlun o'r ddeunawfed ganrif na dim arall a feddwn. Ys dywed Dr. R. T. Jenkins yn ei lyfr **Hanes Cymru yn y Ddeunawfed Ganrif** (td 104).

"yng ngweithiau'r gwerniwr garw hwn y mae darlun byw o'i gyd-genedl, yn ei nerth ac yn ei gwendid, ar ddechrau'r bedwaredd ganrif ar bymtheg—darlun llawer llawnach nag a dynnodd offeiriad dysgedig y Lasynyst ganrif o'i flaen."

Yn sicr y mae lle i Dwm o'r Nant yn hanes sir Gaerfyrddin, ac yn sicr da o beth oedd canfod myfyrwyr Coleg Hyfforddi y Drindod yn perfformio un o'i anterliwtiau a hynny ar faes yr Eisteddfod Genedlaethol pan ymwelodd hi â thref Llanelli yn 1962.

Buasai Twm ei hun yn falch o wybod i hyn ddigwydd.

* Gweler **Pr Arch** (td 62—63).

† Ellis Wyn o'r Lasynys, awdur **Gwledigaethu y Bardd Cwsc**.

Exercise in Face Saving

by D. J. PRICE, M.A.

[This contribution is an edited extract from notes left by the late Mr. D. J. Price, a native of Llanddarog and sometime Director of Education, Mountain Ash. The accompanying illustration is the familiar portrait of Williams, Pantycelyn and must therefore be the elaboration referred to in the text.—Editor].

On the northern side of the village of Llanddarog are two farms—Pantllwynswch and Tirbach—which are separated by about five fields. In one of these fields at one time stood a cottage called Y Wernogydd. Now there is no trace or remembrance of its exact situation.

Towards the middle of the 18th century there was a regular church-goer in Llanddarog of the name of David William Arthur. The same surname appears in church records, and in the churchyard, to the south of the porch, there is a small gravestone with the initials D.W.A. Somewhere around 1770 or 1780, Arthur's widow lived at Wernogydd with her three sons. One of the boys, now surnamed Williams, received a little schooling at the cottage of Groeswen below the village and later entered the service of the vicar of St. Ishmael.



Llanddarog tradition, certainly until about 1900, maintained that the boy received, as part of his wages, instruction in languages and mathematics, and during his periodical visits to his home he in turn instructed his brothers. David became a clergyman, John an exciseman at Bristol, and William, the youngest, became an interpreter in the law courts.

John came under the influence of William Williams, Pantycelyn, the noted hymn-writer. About once a month, Williams would officiate at the church of Llanlluan, on the limestone belt near Llyn Lech Owain. Around 1790, John heard Williams preach at Llanlluan and the appearance, the sincerity and the words of the minister had a deep effect upon the young man.

Many years later, at Bristol, long after the death of the hymn-writer, John was looking through a notebook in which he had written some of Pantycelyn's poems. The remembrance of the dignity and spirituality of the author caused John to set down on the notebook a rough drawing of the features of Williams as accurately as he could remember. It was from that rough drawing that the only picture in existence of Pantycelyn was elaborated.

Tumbling to a Conclusion

A puzzle that invites speculation is the origin of the name Tumble. Ready made is the solution deriving from the fact that the place lies on a hillside, an explanation advanced by Dr. Melville Richards in a series of broadcast talks on Welsh place-names in the spring of 1964. Yet doubt persists despite the potent physical evidence.

But the question might be resolved if a clue in the first issue of the *Carmarthenshire Local History Magazine* should lead to an explanation commanding general satisfaction. In his essay on *History of the Mynydd Mawr*, at page 13, Mr. Huw Owen refers to "the Tumbledown Dick, that is, the inn at Tumble". Could it be that the inn was familiarly known as The Tumble? This conjecture allowed, it becomes possible to conclude that the place, like many other villages, derived its name from the local inn.

If this is a well-founded thought, the explanation would account for the definite article in the Welsh version, Y Tymbl, used on the local road-sign. But this theory needs to fit the history of the name. How old is it? If the inn got its name from Richard Cromwell's sobriquet, the place-name could not be more than about 300 years old.

Speculation about the origin of place-names may easily encourage false assumptions and even wishful thinking, and it may be that there is no need to go beyond the obvious to discover the origin of Tumble's name. On the other hand, there comes to mind the case of Llanwrda, which at first sight suggests an allusion to some anonymous worthy. Obvious enough. But fortunately we know that the church is dedicated to St. Cawrdaf and we may conclude that Wrda is a contraction.

E. VERNON JONES.

A Home is a House is a Ruin

Pictured here is Coalbrook House, Pontyberem, a building dating from the 17th and 18th centuries, with some later alterations. At one time, it had a thatch roof, but it is now roofed with plain tile, the full-height projecting porch being covered with corrugated iron sheets. The two large chimney blocks each have four square stacks with overall moulded cap. The square-headed door has a shallow fanlight, moulded wood doorcase, flat-pointed head with carved spandrels and small rosettes above, and plain ledge hood. A moulded eaves cornice continues round the porch and across the base of the brick-faced gable.



Inside is a 17th century staircase, with heavy moulded strings and handrails, carved square-section balusters with downward taper, and tall square newels with finials. The ceiling of one ground floor room is divided by a beam with moulded plaster ornamentation; one compartment has a moulded plaster ceiling, plaster cornice and frieze with egg-and-dart and guilloche ornamentation. On each side of the Victorian firegrate is a full-height engaged column with plaster capital.

The house is now unoccupied, falling into decay and a prey to vandalism. Although it is included in the list of buildings of special architectural or historic interest, its future seems far from assured. Because its advanced deterioration would make restoration costly, demolition is threatened.

Sic transit gloria.

Before It's Forgotten

Night Out

A story my father used to tell concerned a woman known by some such nick-name as Ann the Pudding (I can't quite remember), who lived in Bridge Street, Carmarthen, the part which has now been demolished, I rather think. In my father's youth, youngsters would go to her cottage and in the front room regale themselves with a halfpenny dish of rice pudding. This would have been in the 1870s and Ann's establishment must have been something of a modest forerunner of the coffee bars which youngsters frequent nowadays.

Violent contact (not always accidental) with the stone flagged floor sometimes resulted in broken dishes and Ann was obliged to ban offenders. But, unfortunately, Ann was bested on one occasion. Having served a gang of lads whose behaviour she suspected, Ann remained in attendance while they relished her speciality. As each lad finished, he departed, respectfully handing his dish to Ann, who stood behind the door. When the last had left, the door was violently pushed in and poor Ann's dishes were scattered in pieces on the floor. Another late-night mischief of these lads was to take empty barrels which stood outside the Angel Vaults and roll them—one down St. Mary Street and another down Hall Street.

I still have my father's indenture,* dated 1872, by which he was apprenticed as a carpenter to Mary Williams, of Wood's Row (a 19th century career woman, though she was able to sign the document only with her mark!). It says that the apprentice "shall not commit fornication nor contract Matrimony shall not play at Cards or Dice Tables or any other unlawful games . . . shall not haunt Taverns or Playhouses nor absent himself from his Mistrefs service day or night unlawfully".

HAROLD HARRIES,
Morley Street, Carmarthen.

Long Haul

The site of the Royal Ordnance Factory, Pembrey (now closed) had a long association with the production of explosives. Before the extensive works were developed during the two World Wars, the old Nobel's E.C. Works were situated there.

I have recollections of speaking to a local farmer, Mr. David Griffiths, Brooks Farm, Pembrey, who related very vividly his

* Since deposited in the County Record Office, Carmarthen.—Editor.

journeys delivering explosives to North Wales in the last century. He took his loads by horse-drawn transport from the Pembrey works via Carmarthen, Lampeter, Aberystwyth, Machynlleth, Dolgellau and Maentwrog to Portmadoc and Blaenau Ffestiniog, where the explosive was used in the slate quarries of the area. Mr. Griffiths, who died in 1933, aged 78 years, made these journeys during the period 1880-90.

H. M. EDWARDS, B.Sc.,
Bronllys, Pembrey.

Watchdog

John Davies, Pantllan,* Llanddarog was called 'The Guardian'. He was the first Rural District Councillor for the Llanddarog area and as a boy I often heard his favourite expression on being pestered by importunate place-seekers or complainants—"Pop, pop, damity, damity".

D. J. PRICE, M.A.,
Mountain Ash.

Last Post

At the junction of Chapel Street and Red Street, Carmarthen there is, beside the pavement corner, a stone wheel-post that appears to be the last remaining in the town. One other that survives is sited within the Market precinct near the Mansel Street entrance, but this is not its original location; it was erected there not long ago and appears to be the stone that formerly stood at the junction of Blue Street and Dark Gate.



Older people—especially those who vaulted them as youngsters—will remember that there were many others and doubtless scratch their memories trying to recall exactly where they were. They may wonder, too, why, if wheel-posts were necessary in the days of carts, they have been dispensed with now that motor-cars have become common. Could it be that car bodies are sensitive to damage whereas cart-wheels were less so?

E.V.J.,
Carmarthen.

* Pantllan is the farm across the Carmarthen—Swansea road from Llanddarog School.—Editor.

LLANGUNNOR

by Major FRANCIS JONES

The St Cynnwr Society. Price 5s.

By a fortunate conjunction in the literary firmament of local history, there appears as we go to press a newly published essay on the history of Llangunnor parish which is a noteworthy fulfilment of the wish expressed elsewhere in this issue that material should be put on record before it is lost or forgotten. Describing his essay as a contribution which draws attention to some sources available, Major Francis Jones states his own fears and hopes that the task of compiling a full history will be undertaken "before the rapidly changing conditions of our times overshadow the older way of life".

But this contribution is more than a reference to sources; it is a literary creation in its own right, written in a style that will delight the general reader as well as the specialist whose cardinal considerations are accuracy and scholarship, though both of these are seals to this fascinating treatise. As one has learnt to expect from Major Francis Jones, it is a well constructed piece of work, assembled and fashioned with care and art.

The author has done his work diligently. In the fields of inquiry which include the records of church and chapel, school and charity, farm and mansion his deserved harvest is abundant, albeit the product of painstaking gleaning. Under his scrutiny, terse registers become books of revelation about social and economic conditions and the struggling birth of religious and scholastic institutions; wherein unfamiliar surnames betray the immigrant lead-miners and even a deleted word signifies a thwarted social aspiration in days when every man was required to know his station.

The physical parish, too, has been viewed with searching eye for traces of its forebears from primitive and Roman times down through the ages of the saint and the prince and the Norman intruder. From place-names he has extracted a story which rivals that of the parish registers, but many will share his regret over the desuetude of meaningful names, at least one of which has yielded to an uninspired replacement. To his skill as an historian the author has added his incomparable knowledge of genealogy in writing about the parish's old houses and some of the people associated with them; the result is a chapter full of interest and not a little romance in a truly historical sense, but perhaps most thrilling is the account of the author's researches concerning the vanished mansion of Cystanog, which cannot fail to excite the reader.

Altogether, this is an essay of sustained scholarship which combines fact and interpretation with eminent success, and it must surely remain not only an indispensable source reference for the later historian, but a model for those who aspire towards repeating Major Francis Jones's example elsewhere. Originally prepared for a lecture to The St Cynnwr Society, it is proper that the material should have been set down in print and the society deserve the highest commendation for undertaking the task of bringing it forth for the enjoyment of a wider public.

Editor.

The Women's Institutes and Local History

Future historians of Carmarthenshire will have good reason to be grateful to the County Federation of Women's Institutes. Some fourteen years ago the county's Institutes compiled Scrap-Books on the history of their particular districts, an extremely valuable contribution towards a chronicle of bygone Carmarthenshire. The commendable interest shown by the ladies was no transitory affair, for they have recently compiled detailed accounts of the events of the year 1965.

The importance of this undertaking lies in the fact that the material was collected by informed people living "on the spot", many of whom personally took part in the events they describe. This material often includes facets of social and economic history, and those human touches rarely to be found in the legal and more formal documents usually providing the basis of an historian's work.

The competition within the county was directed by the General Education Sub-Committee of the Carmarthenshire Federation of Women's Institutes, of which Mrs Iorwerth Howells is Chairman, and Mrs Megan Rees, Secretary. Members of the institutes set to work with that enthusiasm, thoroughness and expertise which characterise their undertakings.

Twenty-five entries were submitted by the following Institutes—Bancyfelin, Betws, Bronwydd Arms, Cilycwm, Court Henry, Cynghordy, Garnant, Johnstown, Laugharne, Llandovery, Llanddarog, Llangan, Llangyndeyrn, Llanllawddog, Llannon, Llanwrda, Myddfai, Myrddin, Pembrey, Pontyberem, Pumpsaint, Rhandirmwyn, Trapp, Tumble, and Whitland.

They were of a superior order; there was not an indifferent entry among them, not a single "also ran". Local events were efficiently described and attractively presented, accompanied by maps, plans, sketches, photographs, and newspaper cuttings. The judges derived pleasure as well as instruction when perusing them, and after careful consideration unanimously agreed that the following should be submitted for the national competition:—**English section**, Laugharne, Tumble and District, Betws and District; **Welsh section**, Llannon, Pumpsaint, Rhandirmwyn; **Bilingual section**, Myrddin.

At the final adjudication in London, the first place for Carmarthenshire was accorded to LAUGHARNE. We heartily congratulate the ladies of the ancient Township on their well-merited distinction in achieving this outstanding success in a competition characterised by such a uniformly high quality. Laugharne's work was imaginative, lively, attractive, a work of art, which reflects the highest credit on those who had contributed to its compilation.

Exigencies of space do not allow of a detailed description of the other entries. Suffice to say that they were well-planned, competently arranged, and included the significant features of 1965, so that they constitute a unique reference source for the use of future historians and students of our county.

INFORMATION WANTED

What old customs and traditions still survive in town and countryside? How many goose fairs and the like are held in Carmarthenshire nowadays? To what extent is communal activity, such as featherings, carried on in the rural areas? Is there a country craft practised by one last remaining craftsman? Where and when did the wheelwright make his last wheel, the cooper his last churn; or is there someone still at work? Are weddings, births and deaths still occasions for the observance of quaint customs in the remoter strongholds of tradition?

Information of this kind will be gladly received by the Local History Committee of the Carmarthenshire Community Council and individuals who have a story to tell or organisations who would like to co-operate in inquiring into these things are invited to get in touch with the Committee through the Secretary, Community Council, 16a Guildhall Square, Carmarthen.

ORIGINAL DOCUMENTS

Poll Book for the 1722 Parliamentary Election*

The Local History Committee hope to publish in future issues of this magazine original manuscripts relating to Carmarthenshire. Here, printed for the first time, is a Poll Book for the election of the Member of Parliament for the county seat in April 1722.

The candidates were Edward Rice of Newton† and Sir Nicholas Williams of Edwinstow.‡ The election was held at Llandeilo on Thursday, 19 April and ended on Tuesday of the following week. The total votes cast numbered 1176, 592 for Rice and 584 for Williams.§ Sir Nicholas Williams repeatedly petitioned the House of Commons against this result, alleging malpractice on the part of the sheriff and his under-sheriff. He was finally successful on 18 December 1724, when the Committee of Privileges and Elections resolved that the name of Edward Rice be erased and that of Sir Nicholas Williams be substituted.|| He held the seat until his death in 1745.

This document records the names of voters, the parish in which they were domiciled, and the parish of their freehold qualification. These details are listed under the name of the candidate of their choice, the day on which they voted and at which session of the court. All but two of the voters are recorded as having sworn their oaths. The spelling of the various personal and place names has been retained and all abbreviations extended, except for the names of counties.

* Carmarthen Record Office, **Dynevor MSS** 160/1

† son of Griffith Rice of Newton; married Lucy, daughter of John Morley Trevor of Glynde, Sussex.

‡ Eldest son of Sir Rice Williams; married Mary, daughter of Charles Cocks and niece of Lord Somers, a Lord Chancellor. High Sheriff of Carmarthenshire, 1698. Created Baronet, 30 July 1707. Chamberlain of Brecon and the counties of Brecon, Glamorgan, and Radnor, 1734. Died 19 July 1745.

§ There is a discrepancy between these figures and those quoted in the petitions presented to the House of Commons following this contest. These show that 593 votes were cast for Edward Rice and 588 for Sir Nicholas Williams, making a total of 1181 votes.

|| For fuller details on this election see Peter D. G. Thomas, "County Elections in Eighteenth century Carmarthenshire", **Carmarthen Antiquary**, 1962, pp 32-38.

Carmarthenshire

At the County Court held at the Hall of Llandilo Vawr in and for the aforesaid county on 19 April 1722 before the sheriff and the inspectors at the aforesaid court.

Candidates—Sir Nicholas Williams, Baronet

Edward Rice, Esquire

For Sir Nicholas Williams, Baronet

Freeholders Names	Parish of abode	Freehold
Thursday, 1st Court		
Griffith Jones, clerk*	Llanthowror	Llanthowror
Evan Phillipp	Llanwinio	Llanwinio
James Bevans	Llaugharne	Llaugharne
Samuel Evans	Meydrim	Llanegwaed
Thomas Williams	Meydrim	Meydrim
Lewis Howell	Llanwinio	Llangining
George David	Trelech	Trelech
Griffith Llewelin	Trelech	Trelech
Thomas William	Meydrim	Meydrim
John Griffith	Newchurch	Newchurch
John Lewis	Trelech	Trelech
James Chitterburg	Laugharne	Laugharne
David Reynolds	Laugharne	Laugharne
Francis Merick†	Llannio, Pembs	Abernant and Newchurch
George Thomas, clerk	Henllanamgoed	Llandissilio and Llangan
Thomas John	Trelech	Trelech
Thomas William	Llanvihangell	Llanvihangell
	Abercowin	Abercowin
John Lewis	Llanwinio	Llanwinio
John Thomas	Llanwinio	Llanwinio
Thomas David	Llanboydy	Llanboydy
Phillipp Mathias‡	Llandissilio	Llandissilio
John Pember, clerk	Haverfordwest	Llangan
William Jones	Trelech	Trelech
William Beynon	Llanwinio	Llanwinio
Samuel Davies	Trelech	Trelech
Reynold Davies	Llanvihangell	Meydrim
	Abercowin	
David Rees	Llanvihangell	Llangining
	Pembedw, Pembs	
William Roger	Llaugharne	Llaugharne
William Howell	Llaugharne	Llaugharne
Thomas Seire§	Llansadurnan	Llaugharne
John David	Llaugharne	Llaugharne

* Revd. Griffith Jones (1683—1761), religious reformer and educationalist.

† of Llanion near Pembroke Dock, the son of Essex Meyrick of Bush.

‡ Owned lands in the parishes of Llandissilio, Cilymaenllwyd and Llanfallteg. Will proved on 5 October 1722.

§ Thomas Saer.

Freeholders Names	Parish of abode	Freehold
Thursday, 2nd Court		
John Parry, clerk	Troedyr oer. Cards	Llangeler
Griffith Evan	Brongwyn. Cards	Llangeler
Evan David	Bettus. Cards	Llanvihangell
		Yeroth
Lewis Parry, clerk	Trodyroir. Cards	Henllanamgoed
Richard Row, esq*	Castlemartyn. Pembs	Llandawk
Thomas Phillipps	Pemboyr	Pemboyr
John Thomas, gent	Co Bor Carm	Llanvinith
Richard Lloyd, gent	Carmarthen	Llangadock
John David	Pemboyr	Pemboyr
Thomas Franklyn	Langelor	Langelor
John Griffith	Conwill	Conwill
John Dalton	St Clears	Kidwelly
William Griffith	Llanthowror	Llanthowror
Rowland Bateman	Lowston. Pembs	Llaugharne
Morgan John	Carmarthen	Abergwilly
Thomas Howells	Llampiter. Pembs	Meydrim
John Price	Bangor. Cards	Abergwilly
John Powell, esq†	Carmarthen	Abergwilly
Phillipp Jones, esq	Llanvihangell	Llanvihangell
	Yeroth	Yeroth
Rees Jones	Llandilo Abercowin	Llangunor
John Thomas‡	Llanyschir. Pembs	Newchurch
John Argust	Llanyschir. Pembs	Newchurch
David William	Llanyschir. Pembs	Conwill
Evan John	Henry's Moat (Pembs)	Llandissilio
William Norman	Devonshire	Llannelly
Thomas John	Llandissilio	Llandissilio
Francis William	Llannelly	Llannelly
John Morgan	Llangendeirne	Llangendeirne
Evan Price	Llannelly	Llannelly
David Hugh	Clydde. Pembs	Killrhedine
Thomas Walter	Llannedy	Llannedy
John David	St. Clears	St. Clears
William Lewis	St. Clears	St. Clears
Henry Rohbyne	Llandissilio	Llandissilio
Thomas Morgan	Llandevey. Pembs	Llanvaltegg
Thomas Phillip	Maen Clochogg. Pembs	Killrhedin
Thomas Rogers	Dewchurch. Pembs	Llandissilio
John Thomas	Llandissilio	Llandissilio
Evan Morris	Llandissilio	Llandissilio
John Willy	Llampiter. Pembs	Llanglidwen
Friday, 1st Court		
Edward Jones, esq	Lanyna. Cards	Llanvihangell
		Yeroth
Evan Price	Langelor	Llangeler
John Cobnen, clerk	Carmarthen Town	Llanvihangell
		Yeroth
William Lewis	Llangeler	Llangeler
Stephen Lewis, esq	Llannollmam. Pembs	Llandissilio

* of Linney, Pembs.

† of Penybanc, Abergwili parish.

‡ of Cileiffeth, Pembs.

Freeholders Names	Parish of abode	Freehold
David Roberts	Llandissilio	Llannon
Morgan Rice	Llandissilio	Llandissilio
John Gibbon	Bletherston. Pembs	Llandissilio
Reynold Morris	Llandissilio	Llandissilio
Evan Eynon	Llandissilio	Llandissilio
David Phillipp	Nerbert (Pembs)	St. Ishmael
Owen Eynon	Llandissilio	Llandissilio
Walter Popkins	Llangunnoch	Llangunnoch
Griffith Pruddero*	Egermont	Egermont
Thomas Lewis	Egermont	Egermont
Owen Evan	Killamanlloyd	Killamanlloyd
Evan Lewis	Llandewy. Pembs	Llanboydy
Lewis Thomas	Llampiter. Pembs	Llandissilio
John Lewelin	Bletherston. Pembs	Killamanlloyd
Evan Lewelin	Bletherston. Pembs	Killamanlloyd
Thomas Evan	St. Clears	St. Clears
Lewis Bowen	Llandissilio. Pembs.	Lllangan
John Pruddro†	Llanvaltegg	Llanvaltegg
John David	Llangludwen	Llangludwen
Richard Lewis‡	Llandewy. Pembs.	Llanlooney
David Bowen	Lllangan	Egermont
Thomas Henock	Ambroth. Pembs.	Laugharne
John Thomas	Bletherston. Pembs	Kennarth
James Edwards	Carmarthen	Abergwilly
Thomas Skirme, esq§	Llanhaden. Pembs	Egermont
John Howell	Abernant	Abernant
John David	Trelech	Trelech
Rees David	Llanboydy	Llanboydy
Thomas John	Llanwinio	Llanwinio
Evan Lewelin	Llanvihangell	Llanvihangell
	Yeroth	Yeroth
Robert Rees	Meydrim	Meydrim
James Phillipp, esq	Tenby. Pembs	Pembrey
Edward Dalton	Llannelly	Llannelly
John James	Henllanamgoed. Pembs	Llanboydy
Phillipp David	Llanboydy	Llanboydy
Howell William	St. Clears	Llanboydy
John Jones	Killrhedin	Killrhedin
Thomas David	Trelech	Trelech
Morris David	Llandeveylogge	Llandeveylogge
David John	Llanwinio	Llanwinio
Howell David	Killrhedin	Killrhedin
Thomas James	Killrhedin	Killrhedin
David Rees	Llanwinio	Llanwinio
David John David	Trelech	Trelech
John Howell	Killamanlloyd	Killamanlloyd
John Phillipp	Llandissilio	Llandissilio
Evan Phillipp	Killamaenlloyd	Killamanlloyd

* son of Lewis Prothero, Plas Llandre, Egermont.

† of Llanfallteg; d. October 1726.

‡ of Henllan, Pembs.

§ of Llawhaden, Pembs.

|| son of John Phillipp of Pentypark, Pembs. Alderman of Tenby. Married 1st Catherine Jones of Bonville's Court (d. 1724), 2nd Dorothy Ray of Tenby.

Freeholders Names	Parish of abode	Freehold
Thomas Griffith	Llandissilio	Llandissilio
Lewis Pruddro	Llanvaltegg	Llanvaltegg
John Beadow	Killamanlloyd	Killamanlloyd
James Pruddro	Llangludwen	Llangludwen
Richard Nicholas	St. Ishmael	St. Ishmael
James Eynon	Tenby. Pembs	Trelech
James David	Tenby. Pembs	Trelech
Evan Thomas Rees	Llannon	Llannon
Badham Thomas	Llanboydy	Llanboydy
Mathew Morgan	Llangevelach. Glam	Llanedy
John Owen	Llanboydy	Llanboydy
William Thomas	Meydrim	Meydrim
John Harris, clerk	Haverfordwest	Trelech
William Phillipp, esq*	St Brides. Pembs.	Meydrim
John Laugharne, esq†	Pontvane. Pembs	Kiffick
William Laugharne‡	Laugharne	Llaugharne
Theophilus Morris	Trelech	Trelech
David Williams	Llangunnoch	Llangunnoch
Thomas John	Trelech	Trelech
Samuel Thomas	Meydrim	Meydrim
Morgan Thomas	Llanvihangell	Llannarthney
	Abercowin	
John Morris	Llannelly	Llannelly

Friday, 2nd Court

Griffith Elliot, gent||
Henry Jones
John David
Rees Richard
Oliver Howell

In the Cart§

Tenby. Pembs
St. Ishmael
Llannelly
Llantharogge
Llanvihangell

Meydrim
St. Ishmael
Llannelly
Llantharogge
Llanvihangell

John Jones
Griffith Thomas
John Thomas
William Miles
Henry John
Lewis Evans, clerk
James Lewis
Meredith Thomas
Anthony William
Evan John
Willam Pendry
Griffith Price
Bennett Bowen

Yeroth
Llanon
Llanon
Llandewy brevi. Cards
Llantharogge
Bettus
Bolton. Oxford
Killycumb
Llanon
Landilo Vach. Glam
Llanina. Cards
Llanedy
Lougher. Glam
Swansey. Glam

Yeroth
Llanon
Llanon
Killycumb
Llantharogge
Bettus
Llanegwaed
Killycumb
Llannon
Llannelly
Pencarregg
Llanedy
Llanedy

* son of Charles Phillipp of Sandyhaven and Haythog, Pembs. High Sheriff of Pembrokeshire 1738. Married Albina, daughter of Rowland Laugharne of St Brides.

† son of Thomas Laugharne of Bangeston, Pembs. Married Anne Laugharne, heiress of Pontvane, Pembs.

‡ son of John Laugharne of Laugharne. Married Hesther Bevans of Laugharne.

§ read Court.

|| of Earweare (Amroth), Pembs.

Freeholders Names	Parish of abode	Freehold
In the Chappell the Same Evening		
Charles Richard	Co Bor Carm	Kidwelly
Thomas Davies	Laugharne	Laugharne
William Roger, clerk	Co Bor Carm	Llangeler
Owen Thomas	Newchurch	Newchurch
Edward James	Co Bor Carm	Kidwelly
William Howell	Llanboydy	Lanboydy
Richard Thomas	Llangunnoch	Llangunnoch
Benjamin Davies	Abernant	Abernant
Phillipp Francis	Llanboydy	Llanboydy
Phillipp Lewis	Llanboydy	Llanboydy
Thomas Phillipps	Llanboydy	Llangludwen
John Thomas Evan	Llangaing	Llangaing
Richard Thomas	Carmarthen	Meydrim
Lewis Thomas	Meydrim	Meydrim
Thomas Williams	Carmarthen	Llanarthney
John Lewis	Llanboydy	Llanboydy
Michael Howell	Meydrim	Trelech
John Evans	Trelech	Trelech
Rees Howell	Meydrim	Newchurch
William Williams	Meydrim	Meydrim
John Bowen	Meydrim	Meydrim
James John	Killrhedin. Pems	Pemboyr
James Howell	Henllanangoed	Henllanangoed
Evan Williams	Meydrim	Meydrim
Marmaduke Lloyd	Cayo	Cayo
Lewis Eaton	Llandowror	Llandowror
John Eaton	Llandowror	Llandowror
David Lewis	Llanboydy	Llanboydy
David Harry	Llangunnoch	Llangunnoch
David Evan	Llangunnoch	Llangunnoch
Robert Thomas	Llangunnoch	Llangunnoch
John Thomas	Llangunnoch	Llangunnoch
Walter David	Llangennech	Llangennech
Sampson Evan	Llanwinio	Llanboydy
Lewis Williams	Meydrim	Meydrim
John Rees	Llannelly	Llannelly
John Davies	Llannelly	Llannelly
David John	Llanboydy	Llangining
Evan Merick	Killrhedin	Killrhedin
Rees Beynon	Llangining	Llangining
David John	Llangunnoch	Llangunnoch
John Thomas	Meydrim	Llangunnoch
James Parry	Merthyr	Trelech
Thomas William	Killycumb	Killycumb
Jeremiah Price*	Abergwilly	Llanvihangell
		Abercowin
John Thomas	Carmarthen	Llanvihangell
		Abercowin
Thomas Lloyd†	Llanvihangell	Llanvihangell
	Abercowin	Abercowin

* of Castle Piggin, Abergwili parish.

† of Wenallt, Llanvihangel Abercowin parish. Son of John Lloyd of Mydrim (High Sheriff of Carmarthenshire, 1670) and his wife, Gwennllian Thomas of Tremoillet.

Freeholders Names	Parish of abode	Freehold
Andrew Williams	Trelech	Trelech
Morris Howell	Meydrim	Llanvihangell
		Abercowin
Thomas William	Trelech	Trelech
David Phillipp	Abernant	Abernant
Francis Thomas	Llangunnoch	Llangunnoch
Thomas Thomas	Llangunnoch	Llangunnoch
John Thomas	Llanstephan	Llanstephan
James Francis	Co Bor Carm	Llansawell
Henry John	Llanvihangell	Pencarregg
	Abercowin	
Charles Griffith	Landilo	Landilo
David Thomas	Carmarthen	Llanarthney
Percivall Morgan	Llandingato	Llandingatt
Lewis Bowen	Carmarthen	Llangunnor
Robert Griffith Harry	Llangendeirne	Llangendeirne
Lewis Morgan	Llangadock	Llangadock
William Edward	Llangunnor	Llangunnor
Griffith Howell	Llanvaltegg	Llanvaltegg
John Merick, esq	St. Marys. Pems	Abernant and Newchurch
		Llanthoysaint
Hugh Powell	Devynock. Brec	Llanboydy
William Williams	Llanboydy	
Saturday morning		
Evan Thomas	Llangeler	Llangeler
David Rees	Llanworda	Llanworda
Pendry Williams esq*	Llanpsythed. Brec	Llandingat
Rawleigh Mansell, esq	Pembrey	Pembrey
Thomas Palmer	Laugharne	Laugharne
John Thomas	Trelech	Trelech
Phillipp Jones	Llantharoggo	Llantharogg
William Howell	Llangunogge	Llangunogge
William Howell, Junior	Llangunogge	Meydrim & Llangunogge
		Cayo
John Rees William	Cayo	Lanedy
Morgan William	Lanedy	Lanedy
Morgan Davies	Brecon	Llangadock
John Price	Llangadock	Llangadock
William Dawkins, esq	Penarth. Glam	Landilo Abercowin
David William	Llannelly	Llannelly
Daniel Jones	Llanworda	Llanworda
Thomas Rees	Merthyr	Trelech
Richard Reynolds	Llansadurne	Llansadurne
Phillip Jones	Llansawell	Llansawell
Thomas Jones	Llandewy brevy. Cards	Llangeler
Thomas Phillip	Llannelly	Llannelly
Rees Lewelin	Lluel. Brecs	Mothvey
William Prutherch	Llandiloe	Llandiloe
Richard Davies	Bishopston. Glam	Llangendeirne
John Rees	Llanworda	Llanworda
Henry Harries	Llangaing	Llangaing
Jones Jones, clerk	Llandingatt	Llandingatt
Rees Jones, clerk	Devynock. Brec	Llandingatt

* of Penpont, Brec.

Freeholders Names	Parish of abode	Freehold
Lewis Powell	Llanworda	Llanworda
John Howell	Llangadock	Llangadock
Thomas Powell, clerk	Carmarthen	Llangunor
William Robert	Llantharogge	Llantharogge
John Thomas	Llanworda	Llanworda
Lewis Jones	Killycomb	Killycomb
Mathew David	Llangadock	Llangadock
Thomas Griffith David	St. Ishmael	St. Ishmael
Jacob Williams	Pencarreg	Pencarreg
John Franklyn	Llannelly	Llannelly
David John Rees	Llanycroyse	Llanycroys
John Thomas	Kellan. Cards	Pencarreg
John Jones	Llanelly. Brec	Llanthoisant
William Walter	Devynock. Brec	Llanthuisant
Thomas Griffith	Llannelly	Llannelly
David John David	Llangendeirne	Llangendeirne
John Fortescue	Llanworda	Llanworda
John David	Llannelly	Llannelly
Evan Morris	Llannelly	Llannelly
Phillip Jenkin	Mothvey	Mothvey
Evan William	Brecon	Pencarreg
Rees Powell	Brecon	Llanthoisant
John David	Lluel. Brec	Llanthoisant
Thomas Williams	Brunlisk. Brec	Llanvynith
David Davies	Llanarthney	Llanarthney
David William	St Ishmael	St Ishmael
Evan Morris	St Ishmael	St Ishmael
Thomas Bowen	Llannelly	Llannelly
William Morris	Llannelly	Llannelly
David Roger	Pembrey	Pembrey
John Jones	Llangadock	Llangadock
Eynon Thomas Rees	Newchurch	Cunwill
John Owen	Llannon	Llandiloe
Henry Lewis	Llanworda	Llanworda
William Morgan	Cayo	Cayo
William Morgan	Llansadurne	Llansadurne
Phillip Bowen	Llanedy	Llanedy
Richard John Rees	St. Clears	St. Clears
David James, esq*	Kill Cenin. Cards	Killrhedin
Anthony Morris	Llangendeirne	Llangendeirne
John Jones	Llanegwaed	Llanegwaed
Thomas John	Llanarthney	Llanarthney
William Bonvill	Pembrey	Pembrey
Thomas Jones	Llantharogge	Llantharogge
David Thomas	Llanarthney	Llanarthney
Morgan Rees	Llanon	Mothvey
Hugh David	Killycomb	Killycomb
William Gibbon	Llangadock	Llangadock
David Lewis	Llanworda	Llanworda

Saturday Evening

Francis Morris	Llannelly	Llannelly
John Rees	Llannelly	Llangendeirne

* of Ty Glyn Ucha, Cilcennin parish. Son of Mathew James of Cilfachan, Llanyhystyd. High Sheriff of Cardiganshire, 1734.

Freeholders Names	Parish of abode	Freehold
Nathaniel Morgan	Carmarthen	Newchurch
William Williams	Tenby	Abergwilly
David William	Cayo	Cayo
Christopher Voyle*	Llandebie	Llandebie
William Griffith David	Pembrey	Pembrey
Richard Powell	Llanon	Llanon
Edward Hugh	Llannelly	Llannelly
Griffith Powell	Llanedy	Llanedy
Hugh Hezekiah	Pembrey	Pembrey
Owen Evan	Llanarthney	Llanarthney
David Lewis, clerk	Landewy. Pembs	Killymaenloyd
William Harry	Llanedy	Llanedy
Thomas Gwillim	Talley	Llandiloe
William John	Bettus	Bettus
Charles Morgan	Llandingatt	Llandingatt
Griffith Rees	Llannon	Llanon
John Evan	Llanon	Llanon
William Harry	Llantharogge	Llantharogge
Charles Bradshaw	Llewenog, Cards	Llanvihangell

David Thomas	Llanvihangell	Llanvihangell
	Ros y Corn	Ros y Corn
Griffith Lloyd, gent	Llangevelach. Glam	Llandiloe
Richard Price	Llandeveylogg	Llandeveylogg
John William	Llanedy	Llanedy
Thomas Walter	Llanarthney	Llanarthney
Thomas Griffith Phillip	Llanon	Llanon
John Jenkin	Llanon	Llanvynith
Thomas Jones	Aberustwdd (Cards)	Llanvihangell

David John	Llanthoisant	Llanthoisant
David Hugh	Pencarreg	Pencarreg
John Griffith John	Llangunor	Llanvihangell

David Hezekiah	Pembrey	Llannelly
Rees Lewis	Llanthoisant	Llanthoisant
Lewellin David	Llangadock	Llangadock
Thomas Evan	Llandiloe	Llandiloe
Lewis David	Llangadock	Llangadock
William Lake	Llanvihangell	Llanvihangell
	Aberbythich	Aberbythich
William Griffith	Pencarreg	Pencarreg
Rees Price	Llanthoisant	Llanthoisant

Monday Morning

Thomas David	Llanvihangell	Llanvihangell
	Ros y Corn	Ros y Corn
Walter Hugh	Kidwelly	Kidwelly
Rowland Edmund	Llannelly	Llannelly
Owen David	Lloughor. Glam	Llannelly
Hugh David	Llannelly	Llannelly
David Prutherch	Llanon	Llannon
John Jones	Llanarthney	Llanarthney

* son of William Voyle of Gilfach y Mynydd, Llandybie parish by his wife, Jane Thomas of Tremollet.

Freeholders Names	Parish of abode	Freehold
David Rees	Llanworda	Llanworda
John Williams	Llandingatt	Llandingatt
Thomas Mathew	Llangadock	Llangadock
David Lloyd	Llandissilio. Cards	Llangeler
John Harrys	Llangadock	Llansawell
Owen Jon	Llangadock	Llangadock
John Morgan	Llangadock	Llangadock
Rees John Meredith	Llanthoisant	Llanthoisant
Thomas David Evan	Llanwrda	Llanwrda
David Evan	Pencarreg	Pencarreg
Howell Price	Llanwrda	Llanwrda
Nathan Griffiths	Llanwenog. Cards	Llanybithyr
Jenkin Griffith	Llanybithyr	Pencarreg
David Morgan	Cayo	Cayo
Daniel David	Killycomb	Killycomb
Edward Lloyd	Llanedy	Llanedy
Prutherch John Lewis	Llandiloe	Llangadock
Owen Morgan	Mothvey	Mothvey
William Thomas	Mothvey	Mothvey
Rees David	Mothvey	Mothvey
Lewis David	Llanthoisant	Llanthoisant
John Jenkin	Bettus	Bettus
Evan Rees	Pencarreg	Pencarreg
William Morris	Llandiloe	Llandiloe
Owen Owens	Llanarthney	Llanarthney
John Williams, gent	Carmarthen	Llangunnock
Griffith Rees	Carmarthen	Llangendeirne
Thomas Bowen	Carmarthen	Llangunor
David Rees	Llangendeirne	Llangendeirne
John David	Llanvihangell	Llanvihangell
	Ros y Corn	Ros y Corn
John Evan	Pencarreg	Pencarreg
Walter Lloyd	Llandiloe	Llandiloe
John Edwards	Llanycrois	Llanycrois
David Morgan	Llanycrois	Llanycrois
Lewis Lewis	Killycomb	Killycomb
Griffith Evan	Pencarreg	Pencarreg
John Morgan	Llanedy	Llanedy
Griffith Evan	Pencarreg	Pencarreg
Thomas Harry	Cayo	Cayo
John Jones	Llanlloony	Llanlloony
Nicholas Rudderch	Killycomb	Killycomb
Morgan Harry	Cayo	Cayo
Richard Allen	Killycomb	Killycomb
William Walters	Llangadok	Llangadok
William Evan	Cayo	Cayo
Richard Thomas	Carmarthen	Llangunnor
Hnry Philip	Llanwinio	Llanwinio
John Davies	Lanpiter. Cards	Talley
John William	Pencarreg	Pencarreg
Anthony John Hary	Llandilo Abercowin	Llanstephen
Hnry Lewis, clerk	St Clears	St Clears
John Thomas Philip	Pencarreg	Pencarreg
John Hary	Llanvinith	Llanvinith
John David Evan	Llanwrda	Llanwrda
David Thomas Morgan	Pencarreg	Pencarreg

Freeholders Names	Parish of abode	Freehold
James Evan	Abernant	Abernant
John Thomas Evan	Llanlloony	Llanlloony
Thomas Griffith	Pencarreg	Pencarreg
David Lewis	Llanegwad	Abergwilly
Phillip John	Llanelly	Llanelly
Monday Evening		
Richard Griffith	Llansawell	Llanegwad
John Evan Thomas	Llanboydy	Llanboydy
John David Bevan	Llanllawthog	Llanllawthog
Rees Edward	Llanllawthog	Llanllawthogg
Griffith John	Cunwill	Cunwill
David Griffith	Abernant	Abernant
Thomas Howell	Llanelly	Llanelly
Benjamin Lloyd	Llanelly	Llanelly
William Hugh	Llanelly	Llanelly
Thomas Price	Penbrey	Penbrey
Hector Rees*	Penbrey	Penbrey
Thomas Thomas	Llangunor	Llangunor
Thomas Dalton	Llanelly	Llanelly
David Philipp	Henllanamgoed	Henllanamgoed
Evan Thomas	Llanvihangell	Llanvihangell
	Yeroth	Yeroth
John Thomas	Llanllwny	Llanllwny
Evan Rees	Trelech	Trelech
Eynon Thomas	Bettus	Bettus
William Rees Prees	Killycomb	Killycomb
David Rees	Pencarreg	Pencarreg
Thomas George	Llanegwaed	Llanegwaed
John Robert	Llangunor	Llangunor
Francis Evan	Llanegwaed	Llanarthney
Thomas William	Killycomb	Killycomb
Evan David	Llangunor	Llanarthney
John Richard	Abergwilly	Abergwilly
Richard David Evor	Cayo	Cayo
Evan David	Llanvihangell	Llanvihangell
	Ros y Corn	Rose y Corn
John Williams	Llanvinith	Llanvinith
John Williams	Pencarreg	Pencarreg
Rees David	Llandissill. Cards	Llanllwny
Thomas Beynon	Llansadurne	Llansadurne
Thomas Lewis	Llanybithyr	Llanybithyr
Thomas Williams	Conwill	Conwill
David Lewis	Llanpimsaint	Llanpimsaint
John David	Abergwilly	Abergwilly
Thomas Lewis	Llansadurne	Llansadurne
William Harries	Llanvinith	Llanvinith
William Thomas	Llanvinith	Llanvinith
David Rutherch	Killycomb	Killycomb
John Lewis	Llangadock	Llangadock
John Francis	Llandiloe	Llandiloe
John Nichols	Llangathen	Llangathen

* of the Cilymaenllwyd family. Son of John Rees of Cilferi. Married Jane, daughter of Evan Price of Penylan. High Sheriff of Carmarthen-shire, 1745.

Freeholders Names	Parish of abode	Freehold
Owen Morris	Newchurch	Newchurch
John Nicholas	Killycomb	Killycomb
John Williams	Llanvinith	Llanvinith
Hopkin Morgn Lewis	Llansadurne	Llansadurne
John Lloyd	Llanllwny	Llanllwny
Henry Williams	Llanvinith	Llanvinith
David Morgan	Llandiloe	Llandiloe
Thomas David	Llanegwaed	Llanegwaed
Evan Bowen	Abergwilly	Abergwilly
David Howell	Conwill	Conwill
Lewis John	Llanvinith	Llanvinith
Henry Jones*	Llanvinith	Llanvinith
John Rees William	Llanwrda	Llanwrda
John Williams	Llanvinith	Llanvinith

Tuesday morning

Thomas Rees	Henllanamgoed	Henllanamgoed
David Lloyd	Llanvihangell	Killycomb
	Yeroth	
David Thomas	Llanegwaed	Llanegwaed
David James	Cayo	Cayo
Thomas Bowen	Newchurch	Newchurch
William Evan Morgan	Llandiloe	Llandiloe
David Thomas	Talley	Llansawell
William Thomas	Abergwilly	Abergwilly
Morgan Griffith	Pencarreg	Pencarreg
Thomas David	Llanycrois	Llanycrois
Daniel Jones, clerk	Lanedy	Bettus
John Rees	Pencarregg	Pencarregg
John Davies	Llangathen	Llanvinith
George Howell	Llanthorow	Llanthowror
Rees Eynon	Llanthorow	Llanthowror
Harry David	Llanwrda	Llanwrda
Lewis Thomas	Newchurch	Newchurch
David Davies	Abergwilly	Abergwilly
David Lewis	Talley	Llansadurne
Thomas Lewis	Llanvinith	Llanvinith
George Thomas	Llanon	Llanarthney
Thomas David	Cayo	Cayo
David Evan Rees	Llansawell	Llansawell
Thomas William John	Cayo	Cayo
David Rees	Killycumb	Killycumb
Thomas William	Cayo	Talley
David Jones	Talley	Talley
Thomas Jones	Llangathen	Llanvinith
William James	Llansawell	Llansawell
Jenkin Owen	Llanwrda	Llanwrda
Jenkin Lewis	Llangendeirne	Llantharogg
William John	Llantharogge	Llantharogg
David William	Llandiloe	Llandiloe
Daniel Evans	Llanegwaed	Llanegwaed
Edward Thomas	Llanegwaed	Llanegwaed
John Evan	Cayo	Cayo
Griffith Thomas	Llanvihangell	Killvargen
	Killyvargen	

* of Pantglas, Llanfynydd parish.

Freeholders Names	Parish of abode	Freehold
Morris Morgan	Llandiloe	Llandiloe
William Thomas		
William Phillip	Talley	Talley
Thomas Francis	Llanvinith	Llanvinith
David Rees	Cayo	Cayo
Rowland Prutherch	Llandiloe	Llandiloe
William Thomas	Talley	Talley
Thomas Morgan	Killycumb	Killycumb
Nicholas John	Killycumb	Killycumb
William James	Cayo	Cayo
John Lloyd	Cayo	Cayo
Roderick William	Llandiloe	Llandiloe
John Hugh	Llandiloe	Llandiloe
David John	Llansawell	Llanvihangell
		Rose y Corn
John James	Cayo	Cayo
William Jones	Talley	Talley
Richard Lloyd	Llandiloe	Llandiloe
Howell Thomas	Cayo	Cayo
David William	Cayo	Pencarregg
Henry Lloyd	Cayo	Cayo
Thoms David	Cayo	Cayo
Thomas Jones	Cayo	Cayo
David Evan Jenkin	Pencarreg	Pencarreg
Thomas Morgan	Cayo	Cayo
Nicholas Williams, esq	Abergwilly	Abergwilly
Roderick Morgan	Talley	Talley
James Nicholas*	Talley	Llandiloe
John Hugh	Cayo	Cayo and Llanwrda
David Rees Thomas	Cayo	Cayo
Rees David	Llansawell	Llansawell
David Harry	Cayo	Cayo
Richard Rees	Llansawell	Talley and Cayo
James Jon	Llansawell	Llansawell
Richard Edwards, gent	Cayo	Cayo
Richard Griffith	Llanegwaed	Pencarregg
Nathan Griffiths	Talley	Talley
William James, clerk	Llansawell	Llansawell
Morgan Davies	Llandiloe	Llandiloe
Thomas William	Pencarreg	Pencarreg
William Price, clerk	Cayo	Cayo
David William	Llanvinith	Llanvinith
Anthony Morgan	Llandilo	Llandiloe
Thomas David	Llansawell	Llansawell
Thomas Lewis	Llanegwaed	Llanegwaed
Richard Dawkins	Llannelly	Llannelly
John Davies	Talley	Talley

Tuesday Evening

John Jones	Liannelly	Abergwilly
Rawleigh Mansell, gent	Carmarthen	Llannelly
David Jones	Pencarreg	Pencarreg
David Lloyd, esq†	Llansawell	Llansawell

* of Liethrmawr, Llandelofawr parish.

† of Pistillgwyn, Llansawel parish.

Freeholders Names	Parish of abode	Freehold
Walter Morris	St Clears	St Clears
Nicholas Rees	Cayo	Talley and Llansadurne
David Thomas	Talley	Talley
John Price, gent	Llanllawthogg	Llanllawthogg
John William Evan	Llangathen	Llanarthney
David Thomas	Talley	Talley
Phillip Phillips	Llanon	Llannon
Samuel Jones	Cayo	Cayo
Harry Thomas	Talley	Llandiloe
John Thomas	Llanvynith	Llanegwaed
Howell Price	Talley	Talley
John Griffiths	Llansawell	Kilycumb
John Evans	Talley	Talley
David Francis	Llansawell	Llansawell
Thomas Jones	Talley	Talley
David Jones	Cayo	Cayo
William David	Cayo	Cayo
Bartholomew James	Cayo	Cayo
John Price	Llanwrda	Llanwrda
Thomas Jones	Llansawell	Llanvynith
John Herbert	Llangathen	Llangathen
William Morgan	Llandebie	Llandiloe
William Williams, esq*	Talley	Llanvynith
John Phillips, gent	Llandiloe	Llandiloe
Robert Dyer, esq†	Llangathen	Llangathen
Thomas Phillips, esq	Llanarthney	Llanarthney
Thomas Lloyd, esq‡	Llangathen	Llangathen

Examined etc.

Total 584.

* of Edwinsford, Llansawell parish.

† of Aberglasney, Llangathen parish.

‡ of Berllandywyl, Llangathen parish.

For Edward Rice, Esquire

Freeholders Names	Parish of abode	Freehold
Thursday, 1st Court		
William Lloyd	Eglwskymin	Eglwskymin
Roger Jones	Llanvihangell	Llanwinio
	Abercowin	
James Johnson, Jun	Co Bor Carm	Abergwilly
John Rogers*	Laugharne	Laugharne
Thomas Palmer	Llansadurnen	Llansadurnen
William Thomas	Llanstephan	Llanstephan
Richard Morris	Llanstephan	Llanstephan
Thomas William	Llanstephan	Llanstephan
John Morris	Llanstephan	Llanstephan
Arthur Evan	Llanstephan	Llanstephan
Francis Price	Llanstephan	Llanstephan
Thomas Jenkin	Llanstephan	Llanstephan
Thomas Phillipp	Llanstephan	Llanstephan
William Brown	Llanstephan	Llanstephan
Anthony Williams	Kidwelly	Kidwelly
Francis Morris	Llandevelop	St Ishmael
Richard Sutton	Laugharne	Laugharne and Llansadurnen
John Row†	Laugharne	Laugharne
Richard Row	Laugharne	Laugharne
Lewis Watt	Laugharne	Laugharne
Timothy Parfitt	Laugharne	Laugharne
James John Howell	Laugharne	Laugharne
Seth Phillipp	Laugharne	Laugharne
Thomas Skeel‡	Laugharne	Laugharne
David William	Laugharne	Laugharne
James Webb	Laugharne	Laugharne
William Prichard, clerk	Langevelach. Glam	Trelech
Lewis John	Laugharne	Laugharne
David Harry	Laugharne	Laugharne
Phillipp Saunders	Pendyne	Pendyne
Thomas Willy	Llanpiter, Pembs	Llanwinio
Thomas Phillipp	Kiffirk	Kiffirk
John Richard	Kiffirk	Kiffirk
Abraham Thomas	Kiffirk	Kiffirk
John Lloyd	Llanthowrer	Llangining
Lewis Watt	Llanthowrer	Laugharne
Phillipp Phillipps	Haverfordwest	Llanthowrer and Kiffirk
William Lewis	Henllanamgoed	Henllanamgoed
Samuel Morris, clerk	Llangan	Llangan
Thomas Parry	Llangan	Llangan
Thomas Howell	Llanglidwen	Llanglidwen
Griffith Twyney	Henllanamgoed	Henllanamgoed
Benjamin Twyney, clerk	Llanboydy	Henllanamgoed
David Lewis, clerk	Trelech	Trelech
William Bradber	Neath. Glam	Llangadock

* Portreeve of Laugharne, 1721.

† Portreeve of Laugharne, 1718 and 1725.

‡ Portreeve of Laugharne, 1723.

Freeholders Names	Parish of abode	Freehold
William Bonnell	Llanstephan	St Ishmael
John Davies	Llanboydy	Llanboydy
Roger Thomas	Llandissilio	Egermont
James Palmer*	Llaugharne	Llaugharne
William Morgan	St Clears	Trelech
William Thomas	Meydrim	Meydrim
Arthur Mathias	Kiffirk	Killamanlloyd
James Lewis	Llanboydy	Llanboydy
Evan Phillipp	Llanvaltegg	Llanvaltegg
Lewis William	Trelech	Trelech
Arthur Phillipps	Llandissilio	Llandissilio
Phillipp John	Llanboydy	Llanboydy
Rees Howell	Llanboydy	Llanboydy
John Lewis	Llangeler	Llangeler
James Thomas	Llangeler	Llangeler
James Thomas	Llangeler	Llangeler
David Lewis	Llangeler	Llangeler
John Evan	Llangeler	Llangeler
James David Rees	Llangeler	Llangeler
John William	Killrhedine	Killrhedine
Hercules William	Killrhedine	Killrhedine
James David	Killrhedine	Killrhedine
Owen Thomas	St Edrens. Pembs	St Clears
Evan David	Killrhedine	Killrhedine
Evan James	Killrhedine	Killrhedine
Henry James	Kennarth	Kennarth
William John Morris	Lanstephan	Lanstephan
Henry Nicholas	Kennarth	Kennarth
John Lloyd	Conwill	Conwill
Rees Prutherch, gent	Pemboyr	Penboyr
Rees Prudderch, Sen	Pemboyr	Killrhedin
David Havard	Pemboyr	Pemboyr
David Lewis, gent	Pemboyr	Pemboyr
James Lewi, gent	Kenarth	Kenarth
Thomas Phillipps, clerk	Llaugharne	Llaugharne
John Williams, gent	Carmarthen	Meyrim
Thursday, 2nd Court		
John Evan	Kenarth	Kenarth
Morris Lewis	Kenarth	Kenarth
Phillipp David	Kenarth	Kenarth
Thomas Howell	Llanboydy	Llanboydy
Thomas Phillipps	Henllanamgoed	Henllanamgoed
John Vaughan, esq†	Merthyr	Merthyr
Walter Lloyd, esq	Llangoedmawr. Cards	Llanvihangell
John Lloyd, gent	Llanderrogg. Cards	Yeroth
William Williams	Cardigan Town	Llanvihangell
Morgan Davies, esq‡	St Marys. Pembs	Yeroth
Thomas Griffith	Manedivy. Pembs	Kennarth
		Lanstephan
		Kenarth

* Portreeve of Laugharne, 1726.

† of Court Derllys, Merthyr parish.

‡ of Cwm, Llangynog parish. Son of Thomas Davies and his wife,

Elizabeth Saunders. Mayor of Carmarthen, 1720.

Freeholders Names	Parish of abode	Freehold
Richard Davies	Llainvour Trelogin. Cards	Kenarth
Nicholas Beynon	Llanvaltegg	Llanvaltegge
Mortimer Hicks	Llanboydy	Llanboydy
John Davies, gent	Llandeveylogg	Llandeveylogge
Arthur Hughes, gent	Llandeveylogg	Llandeveylogg
William Thomas	Llangan	Llangan
John Davies	Killrhedin	Conwille
William David Thomas	Penbrey	Penbrey
Thomas Davies	Neath. Glam	Llanegwaed
Daniel Jones	Llangennech	Llandeveylogg
George Morgan	Cardigan Town	Llandeveylogg
James Dalton	Penbrey	Penbrey
Edward Mathias	Llanvaltegg	Llanvaltegg
John Jones	Llangendeirne	Llangendeirne
Rees Thomas	Llanon	Llanon
John Bowen	Pembrey	Pembrey
William Hughes, gent	Pembrock Town	Llangathen
William Lewis, clerk	Killrhedin	Killrhedine
Griffith Price*	Llangevelach	Llannon
William Morgan	Llanedy	Llanedy
Richard Prichard, clerk	Carmarthen	Llanthoisant
Phillipp William	Llannelly	Llannelly
Hugh Evan	Llannelly	Llannelly
Griffith Harry	Llangunor	Llangunor
John Rees	St Ishmael	St Ishmael
John Bonnell	Pembrey	Pembrey
Hugh David	Llandeveylogg	Llanvihangell
William John	Pembrey	Rosey Corne
David Charles	Llangendeirne	Pembrey
Owen Bonnell†	Kidwelly	Llangendeirne
John Llewelin	Bettus	St Ishmael
Arthur Price‡	Llandebie	Bettus
John William	Llandeveylogge	Llandebie
John Griffith	Llandeveylogge	Llandeveylogge
Humphrey John	Llangendeirne	Llandeveylogg
Edward Mansell, esq	Kidwelly	Llangendeirne
Thomas Griffith	Abergwilly	St Ishmael
Owen Lloyd	Llangendeirne	Abergwilly
Evan Rees	Llangendeirne	Llangendeirne
David Jenkin	Llangendeirne	Llangendeirne
Robert Jordon	Llangevelach. Glam	Llandeveylogge
John Vaughan§	Llandeveylogge	Bettus
John Jenkin	Llannelly	Llandeveylogge
William Donn	Pembrey	Llannelly
Richard Herbert, esq	Kitley bebill. Glam	Pembrey
Thomas Price, Jun	Llangevelach. Glam	Llandilo Vawr
Richard Dawkins	Llandilo Talley Bont. Glam	Llannelly
David Prydderch	Devenock. Brec	Llanvihangell
		Aberbithick
		Llandilo Vawr

* of Penllergaer, Llangyfelach, Glam.

† Mayor of Kidwelly, 1701 and 1713.

‡ of Dyffryn, Llandybie parish.

§ of Plas Gwyn, Llandyfaelog parish.

Freeholders Names	Parish of abode	Freehold
David Evan	Killrhedin	Killrhedin
John Phillipps	Kenarth	Talley
Elytd Evans*	Llandebie	Bettus
Thomas Popkins	Llansamlett. Glam	Llannedy
Thomas Phillipps	Llangunnolloc. Glam	Llandissilio
David John	Llangendeirne	Llangendeirne
David Lewis	Caduxton. Glam	Llanllawthogg
Friday, 1st Court		
Griffith David	St Ishmael	St Ishmael
William Morris	St Ishmael	St Ishmael
David John David	St Ishmael	St Ishmael
Morris Owen	Llangendeirne	Llandeveylogg
William Roberts	Llandeveylogg	Llandeveylogge
Rees Williams, clerk	Llandeveylogg	Llandeveylogge
John Thomas	Llangendeirne	Llangendeirne
David John William	St Ishmael	St Ishmael
Morris Richard	St Ishmael	St Ishmael
Thomas Owen William	Llannelly	Llannelly
Rees David	Llannon	Llannon
David Harry	Kidwelly	Kidwelly
Thomas Pendry	Llangennech	Lanedy
David Morgan, clerk	St. Ishmael	St. Ishmael
David Beynon	Llandeveylogge	Llandeveylogge
John Thomas John Hugh	Llangendeirne	Abergwilly
John Thomas David	Llandeveylogge	Llangendeirne
Edward Parry	Llandeveylogge	Llandeveylogge
Robert David Owen	Pembrey	Pembrey
Hugh Lewis	Llanrhydien. Glam	Llannelly
Lewis Morgan, clerk	Killeybebill. Glam	Killycumbe
Leyslon Hopkin	Penarth. Glam	Llandebie
Thomas Griffith†	Kidwelly	Kidwelly
Phillipp White	Lanedy	Lanedy
Howell Morris	St. Ishmael	St. Ishmael
Richard Davies	St. Ishmael	St. Ishmael
Owen Morris Griffith	St. Ishmael	St. Ishmael
Edward William	St. Ishmael	Llandeveylogg
James Johnson	Carmarthen Town	Llanllawthogg
John Jones	St. Ishmael	St. Ishmael
John David	Llandeveylogg	Llandeveylogg
Richard Thomas	Llangendeirne	Abergwilly
Rees Hugh	Llangendeirne	Llangendeirne
David Hugh Smith	Llannelly	Llannelly
Thomas Davies	Nash. Pembs	Llannelly
David Badger	Llannelly	Llannelly
Jenkin Morton‡	St. Ishmael	St. Ishmael
Lewis Davies, clerk	Llanvihangell Abercowin	Meydrim
John Bevans	Merthyr	Merthyr
William Evans	Merthyr	Merthyr
Thomas Morgan	Merthyr	Laugharne

* of Aberlath, Llandybie parish.

† Mayor of Kidwelly, 1725.

‡ of Tripenhad, St. Ishmael's parish.

Freeholders Names	Parish of abode	Freehold
Griffith John	Merthyr	Merthyr
William Rees	Trelech	Trelech
David Bowen	Llandeveylogge	Llandeveylogge
Walter William	St. Ishmael	St. Ishmael
Hugh Davies	Kidwelly	Llangendeirne
David Morris	Llangunnor	Llangunnor
Evan William	St. Ishmael	St. Ishmael
Llewelin John	Llangennech	Llangennech
John Griffith John	Llannelly	Llannelly
Griffith Morton*	St. Ishmael	St. Ishmael
Evan Griffith	Llannelly	Llannelly
John Merick	Llandeveylogge	Llangendeirne
Samuel Powell	Llannon	Llannon
Richard Thomas	Llannelly	Llannelly
John Vernal	Pembrey	Llangennech
James Jones	Meydrim	Meydrim
Griffith Humphrey	Llangendeirne	Llangendeirne
William James	Henllanamgoed	Henllanamgoed
Phillipp Hugh	Pembrey	Llannelly
Aaron Rees	Kidwelly	Kidwelly
James Jones, clerk	Cund. Salop	Kidwelly
Owen Morris	Llannelly	Llannelly
John Phillipps, Jun	Carmarthen	Llangendeirne
Morris Bevan	St. Ishmael	St. Ishmael
William Rowland	Llannelly	Llannelly
Robert Hicks†	Kidwelly	St. Ishmael
John Evan	Llandarogge	Llandarogge
Robert Donn	Pembrey	Pembrey
Edward Morgan	Pembrey	Llannelly
In the Cart‡		
Henry Rogers, clerk	Ustread. Cards	Abergwilly
Thomas Thomas	Llangathen	Llangathen
John Lewis	Carmarthen	Llangeler
David Thomas	Brecon Town	Cayo
Francis Brown, gent	Llangendeirne	Llangendeirne
John Potts	Llanvair y brin	Llanvair y brine
Evan Price	Llandingatt	Llandingatt
Thomas Davies	Llandingatt	Llandingatt
Daniel Prydderch	Llanvair y brin	Llanvair y brine
Morgan Rees	Llandingatt	Llandingatt
David Richard	Llandingatt	Llandingatt
Rees Prydderch	Llanvair y brin	Llanvair y brine
Griffith Price	Llanthoysant	Llanthoysant
Rowland Prydderch	Llanvair y bryne	Llanvair y bryne
Sir Arthur Owen, Bart§	Orielton. Pembs	Llaugharne
John Warren, esq	Trewern. Pembs	Trelech
William Jones, esq	Cremena. Pembs	Egermont
John Williams	Merthyr Tivill. Glam	Cayo
Rowland Morgan	Llandingatt	Llandingatt
Morris Prichard	Landingatt	Landingatt

* of Tripenhad, St. Ishmael's parish.

† Mayor of Kidwelly, 1720.

‡ Read Court.

§ of Orielton, Pembs. M.P. for Pembrokeshire, 1695—1705 and 1715—1727 and Pembroke borough, 1708—1712.

Freeholders Names	Parish of abode	Freehold
Thomas Parry	Mothvey	Mothvey
Price Edwards	Llanthoysant	Llanthoysant
Richard David	Llandingatt	Llandingatt
William Bevan	Llandingatt	Llandingatt
William Harry	Kilycumb	Kilycumb
Rees Williams	Mothvey	Mothvey
Thomas Williams	Llanvair y bryne	Llanvair y bryne
Thomas Powell	Llandingatt	Llandingatt
John Morgan	Newchurch	Newchurch
Rees Bynon	Llandingatt	Llandingatt
Rees Thomas	Mothvey	Mothvey
Thomas Owen	Llandingatt	Llandingatt
William James	Llandingatt	Llandingatt
Thomas Pruddro	Llanvair ar brine	Llanvair ar bryne
Thomas Lloyd	Kilycumb	Landingatt
Rees Powell	Llanvair ar bryn	Llanvair ar bryne
Samuel Robert	Landingatt	Landingatt
Richard Price	Llanvair ar bryne	Llanvair ar bryne
James Thomas	Llanvair ar bryne	Llanvair ar bryne
Rutherch Thomas	Landingatt	Landingatt
Rees Griffith	Mothvey	Mothvey
Rowland Williams	Landingatt	Landingatt
Rees Thomas	Mothvey	Mothvey
David Bynon	Landingatt	Landingatt
Rees Lewis	Mothvey	Mothvey
Thomas Price	Kilycumb	Kilycumb
David John	Kilycumb	Kilycumb
William Williams	Mothvey	Mothvey
Evan Thomas	Mothvey	Mothvey
John Powell	Mothvey	Mothvey
Rees Jones	Mothvey	Mothvey
David Thomas	Llanvair y brine	Llanvair y brine
Daniel David	Llanvair y bryn	Llanvair y bryne
David Williams	Mothvey	Mothvey
Jenkin Griffith	Mothvey	Mothvey
William Jenkin	Llanvair y bryn	Llanvair y bryn
Owen Rees	Mothvey	Mothvey
Griffith Jenkin	Mothvey	Mothvey
John Williams	Landingatt	Landingatt
William Williams	Landingatt	Landingatt
Lewis Thomas	Mothvey	Mothvey
David Prudderch	Landingatt	Mothvey
Thomas Williams	Llanvair y bryn	Llanvair y bryne
Morgan William	Llanvair y bryn	Llanvair y bryne
William Walter	Landingatt	Landingatt
Lewis William	Mothvey	Mothvey
Morgan David	Mothvey	Mothvey
David Thomas	Mothvey	Mothvey
James Curtiss	Llanthoysant	Llanthoysant
William Rees	Llanvair ar bryn	Llanvair ar bryne
Lewis Price	Kilycumb	Kilycumb
Rees Price	Kilycumb	Kilycumb
William Lewis	Llanvair ar bryn	Llanvair ar bryne
William Prudderch	Kilycumb	Kilycumb
John Andrews	Mothvey	Mothvey
Lewis Powell	Mothvey	Mothvey

Freeholders Names	Parish of abode	Freehold
Roger Price	Llanvairybryn	Llanvair y brin
Howell Powell	Mothvey	Mothvey
Morgan David	Llandingatt	Landingatt
Lewis David	Mothvey	Mothvey
Lewis Thomas	Mothvey	Mothvey
Rees Lewis	Kilycumb	Kilycumb
Thomas William	Landingatt	Landingatt
John Lewis	Cunwill	Newchurch
David Lewis	Abernant	Abernant
Thomas Morgan	Llanvair ar bryne	Llanvair ar bryne
Henry Thomas	Carmarthen Town	Llanegwaed
David Lewis	Abergwilly	Abergwilly
Mugleston Allen*	Llanwrda	Kilycumb
Richard Prichard	Landingatt	Landingatt
David Jones	Llanthoysant	Llanthoysant
Phillipp Evans, clerk	Llwochor. Glam	Abernant
Owen Bowen	Mothvey	Mothvey
David Barkley†	Kilycumb	Kilycumb
William Watkin	Llanthoysant	Llanthoysant
David Rydderch	Kilycumb	Kilycumb
Rees David	Llanthoysant	Llanthoysant
Henry Morris	Llanegwaed	Llanllawthogg
William Jenkin	Llanarthney	Llanarthney
John Jones, Jun	Llanvair ar bryn	Llanvair ar bryne
Thomas Gwynn, esq‡	Llanvair ar bryne	Llanvair ar bryne
William Gwynn, gent‡	Llanvair ar bryn	Llanvair ar bryne
Edward Davies, gent	Llangathen	Llangathen
John Richard Griffith	Abergwilly	Abergwilly
James Bynon	Landingatt	Llangathen
Thomas Pruthero, clerk	Llandilo	Llangathen
William Lewis	Llanvynith	Llanvynith
Walter Morgan	Abergwilly	Abergwilly
Rees Williams	Landingatt	Llanwrda
David Williams	Kilycumb	Kilycumb
Edward Lloyd, gent	Kilycumb	Kilycumb
Rees Powell	Landingatt	Landingatt
Francis Dorsett	Llansamlett. Glam	Llantharrogge
Edward Price, esq	Llanvair ar bryn	Llanvair ar bryne
Marmaduke Gwynn, esq§	Llanlleellv. Brec	Pencarregge
John Rees	Abergwilly	Abergwilly
John David	Cunwill	Llangeller

In the Chappell the Same Evening

Richard Lewis, Sen	Newchurch	Newchurch
Rees Harrys	Carmarthen	Llangaing
Rees Morgan	Llanvynith	Llanvynith
David Jones	Llanvynith	Llanvynith
Henry David	Llanvynith	Llanvynith
James Thomas, clerk	Llanllwney	Llanllwney

* son of Richard Allen of Cilycwm parish.

† Unlike the majority of voters, David Barkley did not swear his oath, but made an affirmation.

‡ of Glanbran, Llanfair ar y bryn parish.

§ of Garth, Llanlleonfel parish, Brec.

Freeholders Names	Parish of abode	Freehold
David Jones	Llandissill, Cards	Llanvihangell Ros y Corn Llanegwaed
William David Lewis	Llanegwad	Llanbyther
Rees Jones	Llanybuther	Llanegwaed
William Davies	Llanegwaed	Llanvynith
Henry Evan David	Llanvynith	Llanvynith
George Jones, clerk	Llanvynith	Llanegwaed
Evan Williams	Abergwilly	Llanegwaed
Lewis Griffith Thomas	Llanvihangell	Llandeveylogg
David Jones	Abercowin	Abergwilly
Roger Davies	Abergwilly	Kidwelly
John Bloom	Carmarthen	Abergwilly
Francis Lloyd	Abergwilly	Lanedey
Thomas Lewis	Lanedey	Lanedey
Evan David	Abergwilly	Abergwilly
John Davies	Trelech	Trelech
Anthony Morgan, clerk	Abergwilly	Llanllawthogg
John Griffith	Llangunnor	Llangendeirne
Thomas Vaughan*	Conwill	Conwill
Francis Davies	Llangunnor	Llangunnor
James Jones	Newchurch	Newchurch
John William	Trelech	Trelech
Griffith Evan	Trelech	Trelech
Thomas William	Llanegwaed	Llanegwaed
David Thomas	Trelech	Trelech
Evan Griffith	Llanllawthogg	Llanllawthogg
David Griffith	Conwill	Conwill
Thomas Williams	Conwill	Conwill
Thomas Bevan	Conwill	Conwill
John David Rees	Abergwilly	Abergwilly
Samuel Thomas	Trelech	Trelech
Evan David	Conwill	Conwill
Howell David	Conwill	Conwill
William Lewis Bevan	Llanegwaed	Llanegwaed
William David	Abernant	Abernant
John Rees	Trelech	Trelech
Lewis Evan	Llanegwaed	Llanegwaed
John Lewis	Abernant	Trelech
Evan David	Conwill	Conwill
John Nicholas	Trelech	Trelech
Evan David	Abernant	Abernant
David Howell	Abernant	Abernant
Richard Le[w]is	Trelech	Trelech
Richard Phillipp	Trelech	Trelech
Evan John David	Trelech	Trelech
William Thomas Howell	Trelech	Trelech
David Griffith Lewis	Conwill	Conwill
Lewis Richard	Abergwilly	Abergwilly
Rees Lewelin	Abergwilly	Abergwilly
Christopher David	Llanvihangell	Llanvihangell
Thomas David	Yeroth	Yeroth
William Jenkins	Newchurch	Llandeveylogg
	Llannelly	Llandeveylogg
	Pembrey	Pembrey

* of Cystanog, Llangunnor parish.

Freeholders Names	Parish of abode	Freehold
Jacob Morgan	Kennarth	Kennarth
Saturday morning		
John Jones	Llanthoisant	Llanthoisant
Rees Price	Llanfair ar y brin	Llandingat
John Powell	Llandebye	Mothey and Llanthoisant
John Jones	Llandebye	Mothvey
Samuell Hughs, Jun*	Llandingat	Killycumb
William Thomas	Llandingat	Llanvynith
Daniel Williams	Llanfair y brin	Mothvey
David Havard, clerk	Mothvey	Mothvey
Sackvill Gwynn, esq†	Carmarthen	Abergwilly
Thomas Gwynne, esq	Llanfair y brin	Llanfair y brin
Francis Brown, esq	Llansadairn	Llansadairn
Richard Jones	Llangendeirne	Llangendeirne
John Hughes, esq	Kylycumb	Kylycumb
Richard Lewis	Llannelly	Laugharne
Rowland Lewis‡	Carmarthen	Abergwilly
Thomas Meredith	Llangendeirne	Llangendeirne
Robert Popkins, esq	Killycumb	Killycumb
Sir Edward Mansell, Bart§	Llansamlett. (Glam)	Midrim
William Lloyd	Pembrey	Llannelly
Griffith Price	Llanstephan	Llanstephan
William Lewis	Pendine	Pendine
John Morgan, esq	Mothvey	Mothvey
Owen Edwards, esq	Llandeveylogg	Abergwilly
Lewis David	Laugharn	Laugharn
Timothy Thomas	Llanthoisant	Llanthoisant
Richard Middleton, esq¶	Llangadock	Llangadock
Evan Morgan	Llanarthney	Llanarthney
John David	Llandilo	Bettus
David Evan	Llandilo	Llandilo
Timothy David	Llandilo	Llandilo
Jeffery David	Llanthoisant	Llanthoisant
William Rowland	Llansadurne	Llansadurne
David William	Llangadock	Llangadock
John David	Llansadurne	Llansadurne
Morris Lloyd	Llansadurne	Llansadurne
William Rees	Llandilo	Llandilo
Morgan Evan	Llansadurne	Llansadurne
David William	Bettus	Bettus
George Gwynne, esq	Llansadurne	Llansadurne
John Thomas Rees	Llanfair y brin	Llandingat
Lewis Howell	Bettus	Bettus
James Morgan	Llangevelach. Glam	Bettus
Richard David	Talley	Llanvynith
Roger Morgan	Llandebye	Llandebye
	Carmarthen	Llangadock

* of Llwynybrain, Llandingat parish.

† of Glanbran, Llanfair ar y brin parish.

‡ of Tor coed, Llangendeirne parish.

§ of Plas Trimsaran, Pembrey parish.

|| of The Plas, Llanstephan parish.

¶ of Middleton Hall, Llanarthney parish.

Freeholders Names	Parish of abode	Freehold
Richard David	Bettus	Bettus
Evan Hopkin Morgan	Bettus	Bettus
Lewis Morgan	Lanon	Lanon
Thomas David	Llansadurne	Llansadurne
Thomas John	Bettus	Bettus
William David	Llanvair y brin	Llanvair y brin
David Lewis	Llangadock	Llanthoisant
William Morris	Lanedy	Llandebye
Hugh John David	Bettus	Bettus
John Williams	Llanvinith	Llanvinith
John Morgan	Llanarthney	Llanarthney
Lewis David	Llanthoisant	Llanthoisant

Saturday Evening

Rutherch Nicholas	Killycomb	Killycombe
Thomas Fortescue	Llanwrda	Llanwrda
David William Thomas	Llansadurne	Llansadurne
John Davies	Llangadock	Llangadock
Thomas Morgan Rees	Llansadurne	Llansadurne
Lewelin John Thomas	Llangadock	Llangadock
John David John	Llangadock	Llangadock
Henry Jones	Llangadock	Llangadock
John Evan	Llansadurne	Llansadurne
Henry Williams	Llanvinith	Llanvinith
Rutherch Morgan	Llandilo	Llandilo
David Thomas	Llandebye	Llanvinith
William Summers	Llangadock	Llangadock
Henry Rutherch	Talley	Talley
Evan David	Llansadurne	Llansadurne
William Griffith Harry	Llansadurne	Llansadurne
William Thomas	Llanarthney	Llanarthney
Rutherch William	Llansadurne	Llansadurne
Henry Jenkin	Llanvihangell	Llanvihangell
	Aberbythich	Aberbythich
Richard Williams	Llansadurne	Llansadurne
William Jones, gent	Llannelly	Llannelly
Thomas Rees	Llandebye	Llandebye
John Hugh	Bettus	Bettus
Griffith Harry	Llanvihangell	Llanvihangell
	Aberbythich	Aberbythich
Hopkin David	Llanvihangell	Llanvihangell
	Aberbythich	Aberbythich
William David	Llandebye	Llandebye
Thomas Pendry	Llandebye	Llandebye
Thomas Howell	Llangadock	Llangadock
Thomas John	Llangadock	Llangadock
John Rees*	Llansadurne	Llansadurne
Henry William Rees	Llansadurne	Llansadurne
Rutherch Evan Howell	Llansadurne	Llansadurne
Henry Williams	Llansadurne	Llansadurne
Rees Morgan Griffith	Llandiloe	Llandiloe
Morgan Jenkin	Llangadock	Llangadock
John Rutherch	Llansadurne	Llansadurne

* Did not swear his oath, but made an affirmation.

Freeholders Names	Parish of abode	Freehold
Walter Rees	Llanthoisant	Llanthoisant
David Lewis	Llanthoisant	Llanthoisant
Rowland Prutherch, Sen*	Llandilo	Llandilo
William David William	Bettus	Bettus
David Hopkin	Bettus	Bettus
Evor John Evor	Llanwrda	Llanwrda

Monday Morning Court		
Rutherch David	Llandilo	Llandilo
John William	Mothvey	Mothvey
Evan John Evan	Llandeveyson	Llandeveyson
Lewis Rutherch Evan	Llandilo	Llandilo
Thomas Evan Phillip	Llansadurne	Llansadurne
Thomas Jones	Tralion, Brec	Llanvair y brin
Evan Davies	Llanvinith	Llanvinith
Owen Bowen, esq†	Llandiloe	Llandiloe
Jenkin John	Llanvihangell	Llanvihangell
	Aberbythich	Aberbythich
John Bowen	Llandilo	Llandilo
Arthur Lloyd	Llanarthney	Llanarthney
William Bevan	Llandilo	Bettus
Thomas Griffith John	Llanvihangell	Llanvihangell
	Aberbythich	Aberbythich
Anthony Bowen	Llanvihangell	Llanvihangell
	Aberbythich	Aberbythich
Richard Gwynne, esq‡	Llandiloe	Llandiloe
John Harry John	Llanvihangell	Llanvihangell
	Aberbythich	Aberbythich
John Rees	Llandiloe	Llandiloe
Rees Price	Mothvey	Mothvey
William Thomas	Llandebye	Llandebye
John Roberts§	Kidwelly	Kidwelly
Lewis Thomas	Llandiloe	Llangadock
James Thomas	Llansadurne	Llansadurne
Rees William	Llansadurne	Llansadurne
John Beal	Llandiloe	Llandiloe
George Walter	Bettus	Bettus
Henry Williams	Llanarthney	Llanarthney
William Thomas	Llansadurne	Llansadurne
John Jones	Bettus	Llandebye
Rowland William	Bettus	Bettus
Thomas Morgan	Llandiloe	Llandiloe
Thomas William	Llansadurne	Llansadurne
William David	Llansadurne	Llansadurne
Henry Morris	Llanvihangell	Llanvihangell
	Aberbythich	Aberbythich
John Harry Gwillim	Llandiloe	Llangadock
Christopher Trahen	Llandebye	Llandebye
Thomas Morgan	Llandebye	Llandebye

* of Glanrhyd, Llandeilo-fawr parish.

† of Gurrey, Llandeilo-fawr parish. Married Anne, daughter of Owen Brigstocke of Llandebye parish.

‡ of Taliaris, Llandeilo-fawr parish.

§ Mayor of Kidwelly, 1702, 1714 and 1729.

|| of Aberdeunant, Llansadwrn parish.

Freeholders Names	Parish of abode	Freehold
Thomas Harry	Llanvihangell Aberbythich	Llan
Rees Griffith	Llandebie	Llandebie
John Thomas	Landiloe	Landiloe
William Price*	Llanarthney	Llanarthney
Walter Williams	Llanarthney	Llanarthney
David Williams	Abergwilly	Abergwilly
Thomas Davies	Llandebie	Llandebie
Henry Morris	Llandeveylogg	Llandeveylogg
Rees Powell	Llandebye	Llandebye
Morgan David John	Landiloe	Landiloe
Griffith Griffiths	Landiloe	Landiloe
Thomas Morris, clerk	Landiloe	Landiloe
Griffith Bynon	Llansadurne	Llansadurne
David Griffith	Troed yr oir. Cards	Llanvihangell Rosey Corn.
Lewis Williams	Landiloe	Landiloe
Lewis Prees	Llanthoisant	Llanthoisant
David John	Landiloe	Landiloe
John Dyer	Landiloe	Landiloe
William Price, gent	Landiloe	Landiloe
Rees Davies	Llandiloe	Llandiloe
Samuel Hughs, esq	Carmarthen	Pencarregge
William Collins, clerk	Swanzey. Glam.	St Ishmael
David Evans, clerk	Nicholston. Glam.	Llangel
Rees Thomas	Swanzey. Glam	Llannon
George Tenbury	Swanzey. Glam	Abergwilly
David Nichols	Swanzey. Glam	Lanedy
Harry Rees	Landiloe	Landiloe
Thomas Williams	Landiloe	Landiloe
Rowland Bowen	Landiloe	Landiloe
David Griffith	Landiloe	Landiloe
William Phillipps	Landiloe	Landiloe
Morgan John	Landiloe	Landiloe
Rees John	Cayo	Cayo
Thomas Hugel	Llansadurne	Landiloe
Richard John Bevan	Pembrey	St Ishmael
David Davies	Llanvihangell Aberbythich	Landiloe
Rees Evan	Landiloe	Lan
William Rees	Landiloe	Landiloe
David Lewellin	Llandebie	Llandebie
John Bowen	Llandiloe	Llandiloe
John Colby, gent†	Killgerran. Pembs	Llanwinio
John Jones, gent‡	Llanvinith	Llanvinith
James Jones	Talley	Landiloe
Morgan William, clerk	Mothvey	Mothvey
Thomas Morgan William	Llandiloe	Llandiloe
John William Evan	Llandeveyson	Llandiloe
William Kelly§	Landiloe	Llanvinith

* of Rhydarwen, Llanarthney parish.
† of Rhosygilwen, Cilgerran parish, Pembs.
‡ of Pantglas, Llanfynydd parish.
§ a surgeon in the town of Llandeilo.

Freeholders Names	Parish of abode	Freehold
Rees Griffith	Llangathen	Llanthoisant
Morgan Evan Thomas	Lampiter. Cards	Pencarregge
Lewis Lewis, gent*	Llangadock	Llangadock
William Jenkin John	Pembrey	Pembrey
Kidwalader William	Llandebie	Llandebye
Thomas Delehay	Llannelly	Llannelly
Edward Morgan, gent	Llandeveylogge	Abergwilly
Morgan Lloyd, gent	Llangadock	Llangadock
Hugh Lloyd, gent	Carmarthen	Talley
Thomas Laugharn, gent	Laugharn
Lewellin Williams	Cardigan	Llanvihangell
Francis Cornwallis, esq†	Llansadurne	Llansadurne
Robert Warring, gent	Llansadurne	Llansadurne
Howell Price	Killycomb	Killycomb

Tuesday Evening

John Morgan	Llandingatt	Mothvey
William Griffith, clerk	Llandebie	Llanvihangell Aberbythich
William Walters	Laugharne	Laugharne
Thomas Wyett	Landiloe	Landiloe
Samuel Hughs‡	Llandingatt	Llandingatt

Examined etc.

Total 592.

* of Gwinfe, Llangadock parish. Alongside his name are the words "as to his age".

† Francis Cornwallis of Abermarlais, Llansadwrn parish.

‡ of Llwynybrain, Llandingat parish.