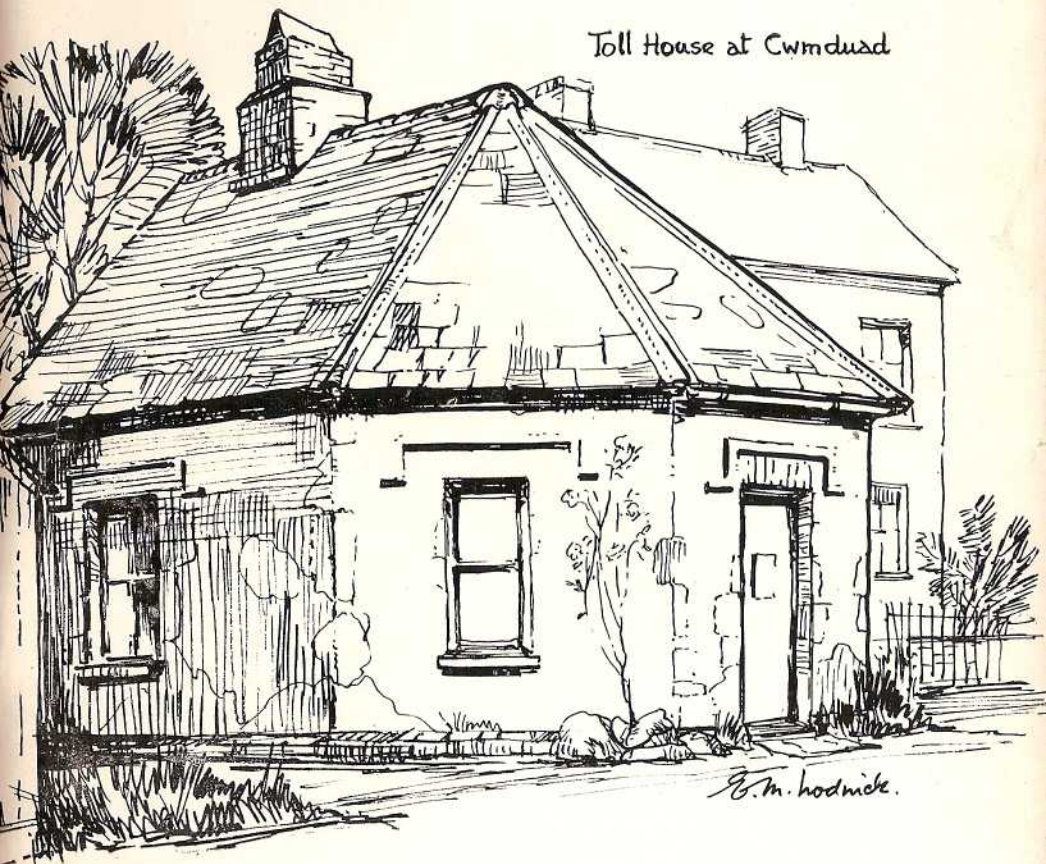


# The Carmarthenshire Historian

Toll House at Cwmdud



## Before It's Forgotten

### John Thomas His Book

In the early part of the nineteenth century, John Thomas occupied the farm of Bryndu Isaf, near Maesybont, which he rented from Lord Cawdor at £17 annually. In addition to farming, he did other kinds of work and noted down in a book the things he thought important. Fortunately, the book has survived and is now in the possession of a descendant, Mr. Tom Bodycombe of Carmel.

From it we learn that what are now two smallholdings in the Maesybont area were formerly public houses. Cwmbach was *The Croton* and Ffynnon Lwyd was *The Blue Bell*. There was also a tollhouse and gate nearly opposite *The Blue Bell*.

Among the entries are:—

Mary Walter, our maid, agreed for 6d. a day from June 3rd to Lanhollantine 1825.

Lanhollantine day, agree with Thomas David for year's lime at £1. 15. 1825.

Lanhollantine day 1827, agree with William, son of Rees David to serve me 1 year at £2.

Agree with John, son of Dd. Davies to serve me a year's lime at £3. 10. Hollantine Day 1829.

Most of the contracts referred to were at Hollantine or tide, that is Hallowe'en-tide, which was the time of the November Fair, the traditional occasion for hiring servants, etc.

Another entry refers to a bill for £2. 15. 8. presented to Lord Cawdor for work on the construction of Heol y Lord, Carmel. The entry is dated the 5th May 1820 and refers to ditching and hedging on the Great Mountain—24¾ perches at 2s. 3d. per perch.

An entry concerning an Assessed Taxes Notice for 1819 says: Taxes on Hair Powder, Mules, Servants, Carriages, Dogs, or Sale of Carriages, horse dealer, etc. or Armorial Bearings—Taxes to be left at our dwelling—Bryndu or Tyllwyd. The latter were the homes of John Thomas and John Fisher, overseers of the poor.

The book includes records of coal carried by John Thomas in 1832—2s. 6d. for a 1 horse load and 5s for a 2 horse load. There are also records of lime carried from Capel in 1838. The old lime kiln can still be seen behind Capel Mill. An item dated 1819 under the heading 'Laid out to Parish use' shows payments of 1s. 6d. per man for cutting gravel, filling and spreading, and filling ruts on Highgate Road; three carts used in the work were hired at 4s. 6d. each.

W. L. HARRIS,  
Glasbant, Gorslas.

### Roadside Chips

The photograph shows a motorised chip-cart which appeared in Carmarthen in the middle 'twenties; it was the first in Carmarthenshire, perhaps in Wales. The chassis was purchased from Bradbury Jones, Carmarthen and the body was built by Davies of Merthyr Tydfil. We had long had a horse-drawn version which served Carmarthen town, and the motorised innovation was used to go further afield to fairs, marts, eisteddfods, sporting events and the like. The vehicle came to an unfortunate end in the early 1930s, when it was burnt out on the Newchurch road beyond *The Plough and Harrow* after an all too successful effort in kindling the coal fire under the chip-pan. In the photograph I am standing in front of the vehicle, while my brothers are inside; beside the vehicle is a young customer.



I think it is true to say that the horse-drawn chip-cart was a familiar sight in Carmarthen for many years. The harness was dressed with bells, which announced our approach and summoned customers from their homes with basins and tureens in which to take away their ready-made suppers. This mobile chip shop survived until World War II. There have been many changes since. A press-button operation has eliminated the drudgery of cleaning and chipping the potatoes. The speedy skill with which potatoes were fed into the jaws of the hand-operated chipping machine, which was a familiar device on chip-shop counters, must now be a vanished one.

AMBROSE COMEY,  
Bournemouth.

## Potato Clippers

An annual experience that never fails to thrill me is the sight of the potato lorries which speed along the A40 trunk road during the weeks following late May and early June. This commerce has developed very greatly since the last war and has resulted in what must be hundreds of lorries bearing their burden of Pembrokeshire's early potatoes to the markets of the March and the Midlands, Lincolnshire and Cheshire, Lancashire and Yorkshire. As they speed by I try to catch the name of their home-town on the cab door and I am surprised how far afield the destinations often are.

These heavy vehicles, tightly packed with potatoes, remind me of the 19th century Clippers which raced under sail to be first home in the market with their argosies of wool, grain and tea from Australia and the Orient. Similarly, one feels, these potato lorries race along, clipping every minute they can off the journey and, once in the lead, never yielding to following rivals.

*CLIPPER SPOTTER,*  
Carmarthen.

## Narrowest Lane

Early this year, redevelopment in Lammas Street, Carmarthen resulted in the temporary closure of the town's narrowest lane—one might say street, for it once possessed a row of tiny cottages, which were demolished many years ago. A more permanent result will be the widening of Shaw's Lane. When rebuilding is completed on the west side, the lane will be about a foot wider. The accompanying photograph was taken from Lammas Street and shows quite clearly that two people could not pass each other along the narrowest length. But even when the lane is re-opened it might well be that it can still claim to be Carmarthen's narrowest highway.

Some may ask how the lane got its name. According to William Spurrell's *Carmarthen and its Neighbourhood*, Shaw was a cooper who lived there.



Photo by B. S. WARD, A.M.T.P.I.,

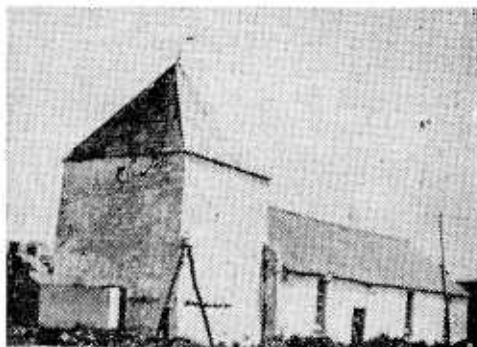
Ferryside.

## 'Change and Decay . . . .'

The old church at Llanybri, familiarly known as *Yr Hen Gapel*, is fast falling into decay and lack of money may mean that it will not survive much longer. Those who have the care of it have struggled valiantly in recent decades to keep it in repair, but it seems that the shortage of finance will inevitably defeat them. The roof is ruinous, the ceiling has collapsed, the furnishings are rotten, and the walls are crumbling. Already, it is probably beyond repair and restoration would very likely involve rebuilding, the cost of which has been estimated at several thousands of pounds.

In turn it has been a Roman Catholic church, an Anglican church and a Nonconformist chapel. The date of its erection as a

chapel-of-ease attached to Llanstephan Church is not known, but there is a record of its existence in 1388. It was dedicated to the Virgin Mary and in ancient records it is referred to as *Morbrichurche*, which name appears to have been corrupted into *Marble Church*. According to the Commissioners appointed by Edward VI to take an inventory of church possessions, it had 'a chalyce and ij belles'.



The profits of the living were alienated by the tenth earl of Northumberland to one Henry Champion of the Inner Temple, who in turn diverted it into the hands of the Nonconformists some time in the second half of the 17th century. Nonconformity in the parish dates from the time of Stephen Hughes, once vicar of Meidrim and Marble Church and one of the clergy deprived of their livings in consequence of the Act of Uniformity, 1662. The church may have come into the possession of the Independents (or Congregationalists) through his endeavours, but more probably through those of William Evans, who became the leader of Dissent after Hughes's death.

The church lost much of its ancient appearance when it was restored in 1879. The present building is long and narrow, with walls only ten feet high. At the west end there is a square tower, which has been used as a storehouse in recent times. The last religious service was held there in 1962. The winter of 1963 took severe toll of the building, which has since deteriorated rapidly. The accompanying picture was taken in 1952, or perhaps earlier.

## THE PAUL OF HAMBURG

The conspicuous black hulk fast in the sand off Towyn Point in Carmarthen Bay is that of the four-masted schooner *Paul*. She was carrying a cargo of timber from Halifax, Nova Scotia, and was bound for Milford for orders but fog put her off her course and she ran ashore on the Cefn Sidan sands in the early hours of Friday, 30th October, 1925. Eleven of her crew of sixteen, the majority of them Germans, took to a boat and were picked up by the Ferry-side life-boat, the *Richard Ashley*, which then returned to the *Paul* and took off the captain and the rest of the crew. The weather worsened and a strong tide drove her further ashore close to the remains of a much earlier wreck, the *Teviotdale*. The next day the Cardiff tug *Beaver* arrived but failed to put a line aboard owing to heavy seas. Further attempts by the *Beaver* and other tugs were unsuccessful and she drifted to her present position. During the next few months local fishermen were employed to raft her cargo ashore at the Bertwn where it was stacked and later sold. Another attempt to tow her off failed and in October of the following year Lloyd's agent reported that she had been disposed of as a wreck.

Her career had been a brief one. She was built in America in 1919 by the MacAteer Shipbuilding Company of Seattle for Norwegian owners, and named the *Mount Whitney*. She was 1,538 tons gross, 1,367 net and measured 230 feet in length, 45 feet in breadth and 18 feet 2 in. in depth. The designation of her rig was that of a four-masted, fore-and-aft schooner, a rig favoured by the Americans and Canadians who towards the end of the 1914-1918 War built a number of these vessels of wood in order to conserve stocks of steel. In 1924 she was owned by H. Sager of Flensburg and called the *Margaretha Sager*. In the following year her name was changed to *Paul*, her port of registry being Hamburg.

W. H. MORRIS, M.A.,  
Kidwelly.

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## W.I. SCRAPBOOKS

Attention is drawn to an error in the article entitled 'Women's Institutes and Local History' in the third volume of *The Carmarthen-shire Historian* where the adjudication of the scrapbook competition in respect of the Welsh Section at page 56 should have been given as follows: Pumpsaint, Llannon, Rhandirmwyn.

## Editorial

In a moment of simple faith, editorial decision decreed with arrogant ease that the cover of the present volume of *The Carmarthenshire Historian* should bear an illustration of a typical Carmarthenshire tollhouse. This, it was felt, could be quickly achieved and would also be appropriate to the contribution by Mr. Anthony Lewis concerning turnpike trusts. Choice of the best of all those quaint octagonal houses of unmistakable purpose but vaguely remembered location would be an easy task and an artist's talent would soon turn desire into fulfilment.

Came the sad realisation. All those familiar tollhouses, or most of them, were not there any more. A first list of three convenient possibilities turned out to be disappointingly unfruitful; the first site was completely barren, all trace of its tollhouse having vanished; the second was a charming country cottage, the octagonal design of which could never have been determined by the need to collect turnpike tolls; and the third, though quaint, lacked the typical shape and its authenticity was therefore suspect.

There may be more than a few surviving tollhouses, but not very many are identifiable without prior knowledge. The typical and unmistakable examples must be surprisingly small in number. One of them is the *Cwmdud tollhouse*, delightfully pictured on the cover through the ready co-operation of Mrs. E. M. Lodwick, whose artistic enthusiasm has preserved an impression of a disappearing species in the county's architecture.

But vanishing tollhouses are a tiny wrinkle in the changing faces, physical and social, of Carmarthenshire. Though the faces are still recognisable, almost no feature is quite what it was. Some of the changes in one man's lifetime are recounted by Canon D. Parry-Jones, who writes about a time he knew in Newcastle Emlyn which long ago made its last curtsy before taking leave and stepping back into history—into anonymous oblivion, had he not given his memories durable form.

In a century's turning, the rural railways have come and gone, their stations closed and replaced by roadside bus shelters. Once, the women of Llanpumpsaint, so Canon Parry-Jones tells us, were lured with free tickets into using the railway; now the country bus is forsaken by the private motorist of an affluent society. How long will it be before some future historian scours the county in search of the last surviving bus shelter, quaint and typical?

Most of Carmarthenshire's many mansions have long been deserted and, with few exceptions, those that have not been razed are ruinous. An early victim was Middleton Hall, amongst the finest of them all, which Miss P. K. Crimmin describes in her contribution concerning the work of S. P. Cockerell.

Such are some of the physical marks of more recent history which are passing from our gaze, some of the social habits of our nearer forebears which are disappearing from our experience. These and more are brought to our notice by contributors to the present volume and it is hoped that, as a result, readers will be encouraged to take part in the fascinating work of recording the fading marks of passing history. If you cannot draw, take out your camera and make a collection of all the surviving tollhouses, or smithys, or what you will. If you cannot write with ease, physically or imaginatively, no matter; scribble the facts on paper—one contributor has valiantly done that, despite a handicap left by recent illness—and others will do the rest. Thus shall we help to ensure for local posterity some flesh and breath to go with the bones of history and spare future historians some of the disappointment of Mr. Michael Evans, who, during his researches, has failed to find any trace of at least one of the county's early iron forges.

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# The Pioneers of the Carmarthenshire Iron Industry

By MICHAEL C. S. EVANS, B.A.

Assistant County Archivist for Carmarthenshire.

**I**N recent years there has been a resurgence of interest in the county's early iron industry, more particularly concerning the activities of Robert Morgan of Carmarthen in the mid-eighteenth century.\* But our knowledge of the foundation and early history of the industry is limited, owing to the past scarcity of documentary evidence. The recent discovery of some such material does contribute towards a partial reconstruction of the story and it is the intention of this article to relate the development of the industry in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries.

The ironworks of the county, according to the lists of forges and furnaces compiled in the first half of the 18th century, were at Whitland, Cwmbbran, Cwmdwyfran, Llandyfan and Kidwelly (Appendix A).† It should be noted that these lists were not complete, as the furnace at Pontheny can be added. The siting of all early ironworks was governed by two factors, the need of a regular water supply and the necessity of obtaining charcoal as cheaply as possible. Power for the bellows and the tilt hammers was provided by a water-wheel; this meant the forge or furnace had to be placed on or near the banks of a swiftly running stream, which could provide a constant and regular flow of water throughout the year. The fuel used in the smelting and refining processes was charcoal. The ironmasters, mindful of the difficulties and expense of transport, were thus forced to site their works in the well timbered parts of the county. The combination of these two factors meant that several of these industries were sited inland and in places that, today, are remote from the main centres of population and industry.

## Whitland Forge

The forge was situated in Llangan parish, some 2 miles north of the market town of Whitland. The actual site was near Whitland Abbey, at the junction of two streams, the Gronw and Nant Colomendy. All that remains today is the leat that once conveyed water

\* L. J. Williams, A Carmarthenshire Ironmaster and the Seven Years War, *Business History*, Vol. II, No. 1, December 1959, pp.32-43 and the Welsh Tinplate Trade in the mid eighteenth century, *Economic History Review*, 2nd Series, Vol. 13, 1960-1, pp.440-449.

† E. W. Hulme, Statistical History of the Iron Trade of England and Wales, 1717-1750, *Trans. Newcomen Society*, Vol.IX, 1928-9, p.30.

to the forge ponds. This plentiful supply of water and the large acreage of woodlands in the vicinity clearly prompted the foundation of the works at this spot. The main disadvantage was the need to import pig iron and limestone, items which must have caused a considerable transport problem.

Evidence for the date of the foundation of the Whitland works points to 1636. Following a petition from the Company of Mineral and Battery Works, a commission of inquiry was appointed, making its report on 10 May of that year.\* The commissioners recommended that a licence be granted to George Mynne "to erect and employ two forges and one furnace" to manufacture "osmund iron", as well as "raw iron and merchant iron".† The grant was to be for 21 years. It should be noted that no specific location of these ironworks was made by the commissioners, but Whitland was clearly in their minds, as they further recommended that Mynne be allowed to cut timber and convert it into charcoal within a 12 mile radius of Whitland Abbey.‡ The report of the commissioners was confirmed on 26 July 1636, when Letters Patent were granted by the crown.§

George Mynne of Epsom was one of the foremost industrialists of his day. He was clerk of the Hanaper and a deputy governor of the Company of Mineral and Battery Works. In 1627, Mynne and his partner, Sir Basil Brooke, obtained the valuable ironworks concessions in the Forest of Dean, despite severe opposition from several interested parties.|| Their tenure at the Forest of Dean lasted until 1636; a commission of eyre, held in that year, compelled them to relinquish their lease and pay a heavy fine. George Mynne appears to have been prepared for this eventuality, for he immediately acquired the Whitland concession. As well as his Carmarthenshire interests, he had ironworks in the Bristol area and in Monmouthshire.

Mynne's first task, after the granting of the Letters Patent, was to lease land for the construction of his works. From whom he obtained this lease is not known, though it is possible that the Brett family were in possession of the Whitland Abbey estate at this date.

\* Bodleian Library, Bankes 41/28.

† Osmund iron was a product of extremely high purity, and, as the commissioners stated in their report, was much sought after by the wire industry. Raw and merchant iron were lower grade products suitable for ordinary commercial uses.

‡ H. R. Schubert, *History of the British Iron and Steel Industry*, p 379, argues that Kidwelly was the intended site, being within the radius of 12 miles of Whitland. This conclusion is totally inaccurate. There is no evidence connecting Mynne to the Kidwelly area; on the other hand Mynne's activities at Whitland are well documented.

§ Cal. State Papers, Domestic, 1637-8, p.452.

|| G. Hammersley, *The Revival of the Forest Laws under Charles I*, *History*, Vol. XLV, 1960, p.91.



Ten years later, in 1646, their ownership of the property can be established,\* and as early as 1605 Alexander Brett had purchased part of the possessions of the dissolved abbey.† Whoever he dealt with, Mynne was clearly successful in obtaining the tenancy of the abbey. Nearby he built his ironworks.

The exact nature of the ironworks built at Whitland has yet to be ascertained. Undoubtedly a forge was built here, but was there more than one works constructed? It is noticeable that the 1636 commission of inquiry had recommended the construction of two forges and a furnace. Another source speaks of George Mynne being seized in his lifetime of "various ironworks and forges for iron in or near Whitland Abbey."‡ Yet another factor that should be considered is the two ponds which are said to have existed at the site. Although the evidence is slender, it does seem possible that Mynne's concern at Whitland did consist of more than one works.

As well as the construction of the iron works, George Mynne began to acquire and cut the numerous forests and woodlands in the district. But the zeal with which he conducted his business soon brought complaints. In May 1638, a protest was made to the Privy Council regarding the wholesale deforestation of the countryside; over half of Whitland wood, described as the stock timber of the area, had disappeared.§ Despite the request for an order of restraint, nothing appears to have been done. Mynne continued his activities, in the following year, 1639, appointing William Rutland as his agent at the works.

A Chancery lawsuit shows that Rutland managed the Whitland forge during the civil war period.|| Local tradition has always asserted that the forge produced cannonballs for Cromwell, but this is the first documentary evidence that proves conclusively that the works were in operation in the 1640s. There can surely be no doubt now, that Whitland was one of the Carmarthenshire forges and furnaces that Oliver Cromwell was referring to, when he wrote to the County Commissioners in 1648, requesting ammunition.¶

These years of civil war brought some measure of prosperity to the Whitland works, but to the owner, George Mynne, the decade brought financial loss, deprivation of personal freedom and finally death. In 1643, the crown confiscated property valued at £40,000,

\*. Cal. Comm. of Compounding, 1643-60, Pt. III, p.1645.

†. C.R.O. (Carmarthen Record Office) Trant MSS.

‡. P.R.O. C7/419/8.

§. Cal. State Papers, Domestic, 1637-8, p.452.

||. P.R.O. C7/419/8.

¶. J. E. Lloyd (ed), *A History of Carmarthenshire*, Vol. II, Cardiff, 1939, p.325.

and in the same year, wire belonging to the Mynne-Brooke partnership was seized by the Parliamentary side. Charles I imprisoned him for compliance with Parliament: Parliament declared him a delinquent and levied a fine. Mynne was caught between two fires. Even after his death, in April 1648, his estate was not free from the penalties levied earlier. Despite the losses to the crown and £16,000 advanced to the Parliamentary cause, Anne Mynne, his widow, had to beg for an abatement of the fine of delinquency in 1649.\*

George Mynne also suffered severe financial losses at the Whitland works. In 1654, his widow began an action in Chancery, alleging the embezzlement of £11,600 by William Rutland between the years 1640 and 1648.† The bill of complaint stated that Rutland's annual accounts had been inaccurate and that money was due on several other counts, including the rent of the Abbey in 1643. In his answer, Rutland admitted that there had been a deficiency over the years, but stated that all his debts had been made good and that a general acquittance had been obtained in June 1647. His answer also stated that Mynne mortgaged the premises to a Mr. Barlow and sold the iron stock at the forge to Thomas Foley of London. Although the outcome of the case is not known, several interesting points are revealed. What is surprising is that Mynne, a City merchant and an eminent industrialist, should have allowed Rutland to accumulate this huge debt. The troubled nature of the times and Mynne's personal difficulties may partly explain this. Another significant point is the large amount of capital involved in the iron business. Sums of well over £10,000 are mentioned. Rutland's debts were in this region. Mynne, in 1643, valued his Carmarthenshire property at £17,000 and his widow in 1654 stated that the works were worth £10,000 per annum.

Finally, an examination of Rutland's position in the early 1650s shows that there might well have been some truth in Anne Mynne's accusations. By 1653, he was in a position to lease part of the Whitland Abbey estate‡ and at some unspecified date had sufficient capital to engage in the construction of a new forge at Kidwelly. He was involved in financial and legal transactions with the Stepneys of Prendergast and Owen Brigstocke of Llechdwnni§ and acted as the agent for the local County Commissioners in their dealings with the Committee of Compounding in London.|| His social and financial position had advanced considerably in the decade following his appointment as agent in 1639.

\*. Cal. Comm. for the Advance of Money, 1642-56, Pt. I, pp.200-3.

†. P.R.O. C7/419/8.

‡. Cal. Comm. for Compounding, 1643-60, Pt. I, p.646.

§. C.R.O. Cawdor 1/53.

||. *Trans. Carm. Ant. Soc.*, Vol. VI, 1910-11, p.40.

From April 1647 the rents of the Whitland Abbey estate were received by the Carmarthen County Commissioners; this followed the sequestration of the lands of Robert Brett. Four years later, in 1651, Richard White appealed against this, stating that in a judgement obtained against Brett in December 1646, the site of the abbey and a moiety of the estate were conveyed to him. In October 1653, the local commissioners admitted that this was the case, but they had already contracted with William Rutland for a lease of part of the estate; in August a draft lease of lands in Llangan and Llanboidy parishes had been prepared and sent to London for approval. A reply from the Committee of Compounding, dated 11 November of that year, disallowed the contract to Rutland as "not let according to instructions."\* Whether this meant that White was granted the property is not known, but Rutland was still described as "of Whitland Abbey" a year or so later.† His continued presence at the abbey indicates his possession of the forge as well, but there is no evidence to show whether he was operating the works in the 1650s. How long he stayed at Whitland is not known, but he was still active in West Wales in 1662, being involved in a lawsuit against Arthur Owen of Oriclton in that year.‡

The Abbey Estate eventually returned to the Brett family. Robert Brett, by his will of 15 June 1689, bequeathed the property to his daughter, Margaret, who later married Charles Bludworth. The tenancy of the forge in the late seventeenth century has yet to be revealed; the papers of the Brett and Bludworth families might possibly disclose this information. In the early 1700s the forge was clearly in operation, being accredited with a production rate of approximately 80 tons in 1717 (Appendix A). Five years later, on 1 October 1722, Peter Chetle of Furnace in Llangendeirne parish obtained a lease of the property from Thomas Bludworth.§

### Cwmbran Forge

The forge called 'Combrayne' in the 1717 list of forges has been identified as an ironworks on the banks of a stream called Nant Ring in Abernant parish, half a mile south west of Clawddgoch.|| The evidence for this identification was based on 2" Ordnance Survey maps published between 1809 and 1836, the area in question being surveyed in 1811 and 1812. The relevant map shows a farm named Cwmbran on the brow of the hill overlooking the Nant Ring valley.

\*. Cal. Comm. for Compounding, 1643-60, Pt. I, pp.611, 646; Pt. III, p.1645; Pt. IV, p.3155.

†. C.R.O. Cawdor 1/53.

‡. P.R.O. E 134/14 Charles II/Michaelmas 34.

§. C.R.O. Trant MSS.

||. J. E. Lloyd, op. cit., pp.330-1.

By the time of the compilation of the tithe map of the parish in the early 1840s, this small farm had disappeared, although the field on which the farm had stood was still called Cwmbran. Today, Blaenbrann farm stands in or near the site of the old Cwmbran.

Apart from this identification, there is no other evidence to show that an ironworks was operated in this valley. The Thomas Kitchin and Emmanuel Bowen maps of Carmarthenshire, compiled in the first half of the eighteenth century, make no reference to the forge, although they show the other local ironworks. The same is true of the Ordnance Survey maps mentioned above. There is no evidence of any ruins on the banks of Nant Ring and nothing to indicate the existence of a dam, which must have been constructed there, if a forge had worked nearby. Furthermore, there is no known local tradition of an iron forge and what is most revealing, no place or field name can be found to indicate such a works. At all other forges and furnaces in Carmarthenshire, place names have survived, archaeological evidence can still be found and local people still speak of former industrial activities—but not at Cwmbran in Abernant parish. Until further evidence is forthcoming, one should treat the identification of 'Combrayne' at this particular spot with a great deal of care.

Wherever the forge was sited, it was clearly not a large undertaking. From the evidence of the lists of forges (Appendix A), which are the only known documentary proof of the existence of this works, Cwmbran was one of the smallest iron works in the United Kingdom, producing only 60 tons a year in the boom days of the mid-eighteenth century. Questions such as who owned the property, who built the forge and when, how much rent was paid and by whom, can only be answered when the manuscript material is discovered. As far as is known, the forge never became part of the network of industries in the possession of the Chetle family, and later of Robert Morgan of Carmarthen.

### Cwmdwyfran Forge

The forge was sited on the banks of the River Gwili in Newchurch parish, some 4 miles north of the town of Carmarthen. Originally, a water corn grist mill called Cribbyn Coch Mill stood here, but the availability of a good water supply and the abundance of timber in the area obviously influenced the transformation of the premises for iron production. When this occurred is not known, but the conversion had certainly been undertaken by 1717. In the mid nineteenth century the forge reverted to its original purpose, that of a corn mill. Today a small farm stands on the site, but it

is possible that some of the farm buildings were used as part of the ironworks. Other visible signs of previous industrial activity are the mill leat that still brings water some 800 yards from the River Gwili, and the tokens which are occasionally discovered at the site.

Like Cwmbran, the earliest known reference to the forge will be found in the 1717 list of forges (Appendix A). This evidence clearly refutes the suggestion that Robert Morgan of Carmarthen started the works,\* as he was only 9 years of age at this date. The freehold of the premises was presumably vested in the Lewis family of Cwmdwyfran and Barnsfield, who are known to have leased the works to Robert Morgan in the 1750s.† Any earlier tenancies have not yet been ascertained. No reference has been found to the Chetle family in connection with Cwmdwyfran, and it is not yet clear when Morgan obtained his lease. The forge like many others in Carmarthenshire and South Wales was forced to close down in the depression of the mid 1730s. This closure was merely a temporary setback; by 1750 the plant was in operation again, producing 120 tons of iron annually (Appendix A).

### Llandyfan Forge

The ruins of this forge are very similar in outline to the layout of the site in 1789,‡ and it is possible that what can be seen at Forge Llandyfan today are the remains of the original ironworks. The forge was sited on the left bank of the upper reaches of the River Loughor, about 3½ miles north east of Ammanford. As with other ironworks, the proximity of raw materials led to the location of a forge at this particular spot. Iron ore was mined on the Black Mountain, and the number of disused quarries in the vicinity testify to the amount of limestone that was found locally. Timber was in plentiful supply, especially lower down the valley. A good supply of water was obtained by the construction of a large stone structure across part of the valley and by diverting the river into the lake that formed behind the wall. A sluice gate fed water to the forge located immediately below the dam. The site is now greatly overgrown, but the ruins of the wall and of some of the buildings are still to be seen.

There is no indication that Llandyfan Forge was in operation as early as the Civil War period. A mid seventeenth century rental of the estates of the Vaughans of Golden Grove, on whose lands the

forge stood, makes no mention of the industry.\* Another rental of November 1669 again contains no reference.† But from an additional entry in this latter rental we obtain our first glimpse of Iskennen Forge, as Llandyfan was sometimes called. Unfortunately, no dates are given and there is no indication whether this marks the construction of the works.

The first known lessor of the Llandyfan Forge was William Davies of Dryslwyn, presumably taking up his lease in 1669 or soon afterwards. William Davies was a man of some considerable wealth. He held property at Dryslwyn from the Vaughan estate, leased other property in Pembrey parish and was at one time the lessor of the lordship of Vairdre. He acted as an agent for part of the Golden Grove estate and from 1669 to 1692 was tenant of Kidwelly Forge. His activities at Llandyfan are not known, beyond that he paid an annual rent of £60 and one ton of iron, and that at an unspecified date assigned the lease of the forge to a Mr Ashley or Astrey;‡ the activities of this gentleman have likewise to be discovered.

The next tenant of the ironworks was William Spencer of Carmarthen. On 23 December 1702, he leased the Forge, the Forge Mill, and other lands, now part of Llwyndewi Farm, his tenure running for 15 years from Michaelmas 1700.§ The lease shows that the works were in need of repair and that the value of the property had dropped considerably. The Earl of Carbery allowed £30 towards repairs and the agreed rent of £33 per annum was a substantial reduction on the £60 paid by the previous tenant. William Spencer remains a person of mystery. Although described as 'of Carmarthen,' no other reference to him has been found. He obtained no official position in the borough of Carmarthen and is not even described as a burgess of the corporation. The scope of his activities at Llandyfan are likewise unknown; by 1712, the premises were in the possession of Thomas Chetle of Walhouse, Worcestershire.

\*. Ibid, p.328.

†. C.R.O. Trant MSS.

‡. C.R.O. Cawdor MSS. Terrier of the Golden Grove Estate.

\*. C.R.O. Cawdor MSS. Golden Grove rental, c 1653.

†. C.R.O. Cawdor 1/22.

‡. Ibid.

§. C.R.O. Cawdor 2/10.

## Ponthenry Furnace

" Haiarnwr o Sweden a ddaeth ar anturiaeth,  
Mewn ysbryd brwdfrydig a byw am waith ha'rn,  
Ond arno'n amheus y llygadai'r gym'dogaeth,  
Nes iddi gael sylfaen i newid ei barn ;  
Yn rhoddiad bodolaeth y Ffwrnes, a'r Tawdd-dy,  
Dwfrolwyn dwy fegin, yn llanw eu lle,  
A chloddfan ar gyfoeth o fwyn wedi'i soddi—  
Y Ffwrnes gyneuodd mewn taran 'hwre'."\*

This stanza, taken from a poem published in the first decade of this century, tells of the foundation of the furnace by a Swedish ironmaster. The poet speaks of the construction of the furnace, a smelting house, a water wheel and two bellows and the sinking of an iron ore mine. He dates these events sometime in the reign of Elizabeth I. In his next stanzas, he states that the Swede built a small mansion and that his venture was a successful one, especially when the crown ordered the manufacture of cannonballs for the war against Spain. But in the midst of this prosperity the owner died and the furnace stopped production.

This is the only known reference to the foundation and early life of Ponthenry Furnace. Whether the poem was based on firm evidence or on local tradition is not known. The latter is the more likely, as very little in the poem can be verified, although a number of half truths can be discerned. In all probability the furnace was a Tudor foundation, as there is definite evidence of its existence around 1611, and it is not inconceivable that a Swedish ironmaster operated here. Continental influence was well known in the Tudor iron industry, Dutch and German workers being employed in the Glamorgan works at this time.†

The furnace was established on the left bank of the River Gwendraeth Fawr in Llangendeirne parish, to the south of the present day village of Ponthenry. The ruins of the furnace that can be seen today are not necessarily those of the original works, as there is strong evidence to suggest that the site of the first furnace was some 50 to 100 yards nearer Ponthenry bridge. The water supply used by the works came from a small stream flowing into the Gwendraeth, and not, as one might suspect, from the river itself. A leat conveyed the water from the stream at a point just below the present Red Lion Inn across a field called *Rhace* or *Tyr yr Efel*

\*. David Thomas, *Hanes Pontyates a'r Cylch*, Llanelli, p.11. The poem was written by J. Jones of Foy near Llanelli.  
†. D. J. Davies, *The Economic History of South Wales prior to 1800*, Cardiff, 1933, p.75.

to the furnace buildings; the outline of part of this leat can still be seen. Iron ore, as the poem shows, was found near the site and there was a ready supply of timber in the locality.

The poem states that a Cornish gentleman reopened the furnace some 20 years after the death of its Swedish founder. The Cornishman must be a reference to Hugh Grundy of Llangendeirne, who worked the furnace in the early seventeenth century, although nothing has been found in Tudor or early Stuart records to indicate whether he came from Cornwall. The surname Grundy occurs most commonly in Lancashire and also appears in Nottinghamshire, Lincolnshire and Herefordshire.\* Further research into the archives of these counties might well reveal more about Hugh Grundy.

The earliest reference to his Carmarthenshire activities is dated around 1611. An examination of witnesses before a Duchy of Lancaster inquiry on 23 September 1615 revealed that Grundy, three or four years previously, had purchased 200 cords of wood for his iron furnace from Lewis Morgan of Forest and had been working iron ore pits in the locality for at least 2 years.† The commission of inquiry had been ordered to investigate the franchises of the Duchy in the area, including mineral and timber rights. This led to the examination of Hugh Grundy's activities and the temporary closure of his mines and the furnace. Grundy evidently vindicated himself, as the furnace was in production again in the following decade. His industrial interests were not only confined to the production of iron. In 1620 the crown granted a patent for "charking earth fuel" to be used in the smelting of iron. The invention of this process was attributed to Hugh Grundy.‡ As well as foreseeing future developments in iron Grundy engaged himself in the small coal mining industry in the Llanelli area.§ This may have caused the antagonism that existed between him and Walter Vaughan of Llanelli, another local industrialist and coal magnate. This animosity led to the closure of the furnace yet again. Around 1629, a lawsuit between Vaughan and Grundy concerning the lands called *Rhace*, and later called *Tyr yr Efel*, went in favour of Vaughan. The leat which "went over this Ground to turne Mr. Grundy's Iron furnace . . . was then turned out by Mr. Vaughan. And the furnace wrought noe more."|| This closure of Ponthenry Furnace clearly illustrates the importance of water to the industry.

\*. Information supplied by F. Leeson, Hon. Archivist of the Surname Society.  
†. P.R.O. DL 44/983, ff 7-8.  
‡. J. U. Nef, *The Rise of the British Coal Industry*, Vol. I, London, 1932, pp.248-9.  
§. N.L.W. Derwydd 723, 252, 233, 240, 260 and 97.  
||. N.L.W. Edwinstford 3507.

The history of the furnace for the remainder of the century is rather uncertain. It is not known whether Hugh Grundy reopened the furnace; the poem implies this by stating that ammunition for Cromwell was manufactured here. Although there is no firm evidence to support this view, there is every possibility that this did occur. Both Hugh Grundy and his son, Ralph, were ardent Cromwellian supporters, though personal vendetta against the Vaughan interests in Carmarthenshire seems to have motivated their actions more than any convictions for the Parliamentary cause.\*

The furnace property eventually descended to Lucy Grundy, daughter of James Grundy and granddaughter of Hugh Grundy. She married Anthony Morgan, a descendant of the Morgans of Plas in Llandeilo Abercywyn parish.† Several references have been found to the Morgans of Furnace in the latter half of the 17th century, but nothing that definitely connects them with the production of iron. Anthony Morgan and his son, John, did however lease the lands called Rhace or Tyr yr Efel and this might well indicate their interest in the leat and the working of the furnace.‡

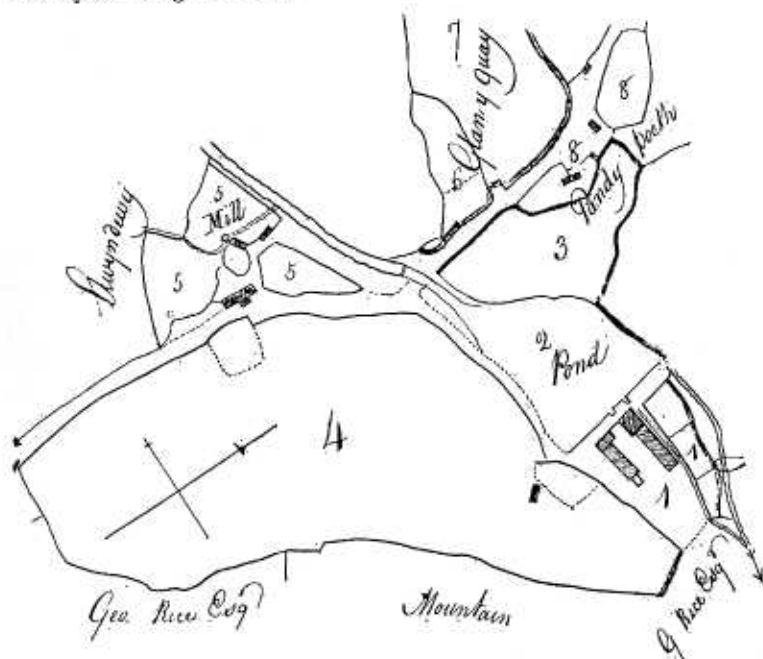
This same land with its watercourse was again in dispute at the end of the century. Elizabeth Morgan, the widow of John Morgan of Furnace, and Thomas their son were involved in a lawsuit with Margaret Vaughan, the widow of John Vaughan of Llanelli§. The case was settled out of court and an agreement was drawn up on 5 January 1697, whereby the Morgan family gave up their claim to the property and in return were granted a 99 year lease of the watercourse.|| The necessity of a regular supply of water was all the more urgent at this particular time, as a few months previously, on 10 July 1696, Thomas Morgan and his mother had leased their furnace property to Thomas Chetle.¶

### Kidwelly Forge

The site of this industry was on the east bank of the River Gwendraeth Fach, a mile and a half north east of the town of Kidwelly. The proximity of iron ore and limestone deposits on Mynydd y Garreg and timber from the woodlands of Wenallt and Coed y Brenin clearly prompted the foundation of the forge here. At a point where the river flows into a small ravine, a stone dam with two sluice gates was constructed. That there were two sluices

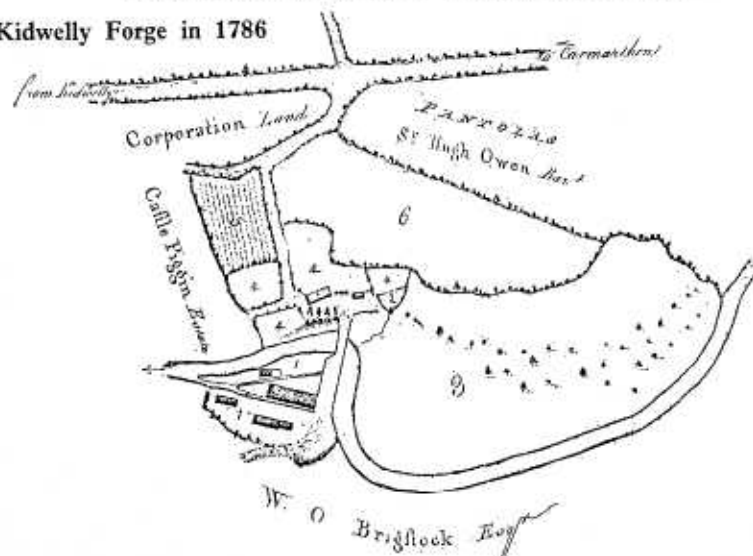
\*. J. E. Lloyd, *op cit.*, pp.134-5.  
 †. N.L.W. 12356E, f. 200.  
 ‡. N.L.W. Edwmsford 3507.  
 §. *Ibid.*  
 ||. N.L.W. Edwmsford 2640.  
 ¶. N.L.W. Cilymaenllwyd 90.

### Llandyfan Forge in 1789



Key: 1. Forge buildings; 2. The pond; 3. Cae bach; 4. Yr Erw; 5. Forge Mill; 6 & 7. Glan y quay; 8. Houses and garden.

### Kidwelly Forge in 1786



Key: 1. Forge, outbuildings; 2. Part of a Garden; 3. Llain and the pond; 4. House and 4 gardens; 5. A small close; 6. Park y barehead.

indicates the existence of two waterwheels, which would explain the description of double forge applied to this particular iron works in the seventeenth century. The forge itself lay directly beneath the dam wall and was bounded on either side by the two streams flowing from the sluice gates. A small reservoir now covers the site of the forge building, though some of the outbuildings are still to be seen.

The forge was built on part of Maes Gwenllian farm, owned by Owen Brigstocke of Llechdwnni. A lease of the property at an annual rent of £7 was made to William Rutland of Whitland Abbey.\* The tenure of the lease was for three lives, namely John Rutland, Elizabeth Rutland and another, as yet unknown, but possibly William Rutland himself. The exact date of this indenture and the subsequent construction of the works is not known, but these events probably took place sometime between 1648 and 1658.

By this latter date, William Rutland appears to have left Kidwelly. There is no actual proof of this, but a lease of the Wenallt Forest, made at Michaelmas 1658 to John Rutland and John Moorer, two ironmasters, indicates that new tenants had taken charge of the forge.† This partnership definitely held the lease of the forge in 1665; Owen Brigstocke, in that year, records the payment of the £7 rent by Rutland and Moorer, a rent which they paid regularly until Michaelmas 1669.‡

Sometime in the following 12 months, Rutland and Moorer resigned their interests at the forge. By November 1669 they had surrendered their lease of the Wenallt § and in a letter written in January 1670, John Moorer indicates his intention of leaving the district.|| The forge lease was assigned to Sir Henry Vaughan of Derwydd, but he appears to have reassigned it almost immediately.¶ A Thomas Taylour, who remains unidentified, paid the half yearly rent to Owen Brigstocke in May 1670, and William Davies of Dryslwyn paid the Michaelmas rent.\*\*

Behind these moves can be discerned the influence of the Vaughans of Golden Grove. In a rental compiled in November 1669, John Rutland and John Moorer are recorded as paying

\*. P.R.O. C8/569/40.

†. C.R.O. Cawdor 1/21/616. The Wenallt Forest, a quarter of a mile to the north of the forge, was always a major source of supply of cordwood for the works.

‡. C.R.O. Cawdor 2/81.

§. C.R.O. Cawdor 1/22.

||. N.L.W. 11020E.

¶. C.R.O. Cawdor 1/22.

\*\* C.R.O. Cawdor 2/81.

£66 13 4 for Kidwelly Double Forge\*. An earlier rental of 1665 makes no reference to such a payment† and no other evidence has been found to indicate why such a payment was made. It must be assumed that some legal transaction took place between the forgemasters and Richard Vaughan, Earl of Carbery, involving the Kidwelly iron works. What is significant is that the Golden Grove estate clearly had some measure of influence at Kidwelly Forge. This might explain the assignment of the lease to Sir Henry Vaughan of Derwydd and the eventual transfer of the property to William Davies of Dryslwyn, who at this same time was active at Llandyfan Forge, itself another example of the new found interest of the Vaughan family in the local iron industry. Undoubtedly, the high rents attracted the Golden Grove estate, but of far greater importance was the realization that timber sales held a high profit margin. The Wenallt woodlands, previously leased to the Rutland-Moorer partnership, were in 1669 retained in the hands of the estate. Presumably the cordwood was then sold direct to the Kidwelly ironmasters, as was done in the eighteenth century‡

William Davies' tenure at Kidwelly began sometime in 1670 and he held the lease until 1692, paying the Brigstocke family the annual rent of £7, as set down in the original lease to William Rutland.§ On 1 October 1692, William Davies sublet the forge to Henry Lewis of Kidwelly; this was the first action in a remarkable series of events which were to culminate in a Chancery lawsuit in 1700.|| The lease was for 21 years, dependant on the lives of John Rutland and Elizabeth Rutland, then the wife of John Skyrme, at an annual rent of £37. Henry Lewis' tenure was not a happy one; by 1697 the forge was in need of repairs and Lewis had acquired certain debts, especially for iron bought from a Gloucestershire furnace owned by Benedict Hall. In December of that year, he sought a partnership agreement in Kidwelly forge with Zachary Downing of Hales Owen, Shropshire, who at this time was operating the Pontheny works. In March of the following year agreement was reached, and £100 and 14 tons of pig iron were advanced by Downing to restart the Kidwelly concern.

Soon afterwards William Brigstocke, who had been receiving the annual rent of £7 from William Davies, came to a secret agreement with Henry Lewis for the surrender of the lease. Zachary Downing and William Davies were unaware of these activities. An ejection was served out of Great Sessions in the late summer

\*. C.R.O. Cawdor 1/22.

†. C.R.O. Cawdor 1/21/616.

‡. C.R.O. Cawdor 1/22.

§. C.R.O. Cawdor 2/81.

||. P.R.O. C8/569/40.

of 1698 and possession of the forge was granted to William Brigstocke. On 5 November a fresh lease of the Maes Gwenllian lands and the forge was granted for 21 years to Henry Owen of Glassalt at a rent of £40 per annum.\* Henry Lewis became a partner of Henry Owen in the new lease, receiving a one third share of the profits. Both William Davies and Zachary Downing were understandably annoyed at these actions, the former losing £30 profit annually and the latter having lost the capital he had invested in the forge. Davies immediately began proceedings in the Court of Great Sessions, but came to an agreement out of court, whereby he obtained a share of the £40 rent. Zachary Downing brought a suit in the Court of Chancery in 1700; he maintained that the original lease, granted by Owen Brigstocke to William Rutland, was still valid, John Rutland and Elizabeth Rutland being alive and he alleged conspiracy to defraud on the part of William Brigstocke, Henry Owen, Henry Lewis and William Davies. Brigstocke on the other hand maintained that his father only held the property for life and could therefore only grant leases for his own lifetime. Downing evidently lost the case, as Henry Owen was still tenant in 1702-3, when sued for £20 arrears of rent by William Brigstocke.†

#### Thomas and Peter Chetle

Thomas Chetle and his son, Peter, were descendants of a well established Worcestershire family, living at Walhouse in the parish of Hanbury. The family's connections with West Wales dated back to the early seventeenth century and probably account for their interest in Carmarthenshire. In the early 1670s, Thomas Chetle was involved in a lawsuit against Mathew Prynn concerning the Priory Mill at Haverfordwest‡ and 30 years later he fought a lawsuit against Carmarthen Corporation over lands at Llanllwch.§ His industrial interests in the county lay at Ponthenry and Llandyfan.

The lease at the latter works was probably assigned to him by William Spencer, who held the tenancy from 1700.|| The date of the transaction has not been discovered, but occurred sometime between 1702 and 1711; the 1712 rent was paid to the Golden Grove estate in Chetle's name.¶ Chetle did not reside in Carmarthenshire and, in all probability, the Llandyfan concern came under the general

\* N.L.W. 4492D, ff. 236-7, and F. Green, Carmarthen Tinworks and its Founder, *Trans. Hist. Soc. West Wales*, Vol. V, pp.248-9.

† Ibid.

‡ Pembroke County Library. Francis Green MSS, Vol. IX, pp.355, 357.

§ P.R.O. E 134/11 William III/Easter 14 and Michaelmas 18, and E 134/12 William III/Easter 10; C.R.O. Museum 155, f. 149.

¶ C.R.O. Cawdor 2/10.

|| C.R.O. Cawdor 2/25.

supervision of his son, Peter, though no actual proof of this has been found. The day to day administration was conducted by an agent; in 1713, John Steward acted in this capacity and was particularly concerned in the purchase of cordwood from the Golden Grove and Edwingsford estates.\* Thomas Chetle died in 1714, although the rent for the forge was still paid in his name, until the lease lapsed at Michaelmas 1715.

The Ponthenry Furnace was leased to Thomas Chetle on 10 July 1696† and is the first known contact of the Chetle family with the iron industry in Carmarthenshire. Chetle was granted a 50 year lease at an annual rent of £3, with liberty to make a new water-course and to repair the earth dam. He was granted land for the storage of raw materials, the erection of buildings, the burning of iron ore and the tipping of slag. In addition land was provided for the construction of a new furnace, should the old building prove unsatisfactory. Evidently this was so, as a new furnace was built at the site. This building programme must have necessitated a considerable financial outlay and would explain the very low rent on the premises. The three year partnership agreement with Zachary Downing of Hales Owen, Shropshire, made around 1700, and the £200 advanced to Chetle by Sarah Oldfield in 1709 in return for a £20 annuity, again suggest the need for more capital.‡ As at Llandyfan there is no evidence to suggest that Thomas Chetle managed the furnace himself. In the early years of the lease Zachary Downing had charge of the premises,§ but by 1704, his son, Peter, had taken charge of the works.

Peter Chetle was born in 1681, the third son of Thomas Chetle. He came to live at Carmarthen when in his early twenties and soon became involved in both the industrial and public life of the area. Despite the lawsuit between his father and Carmarthen Corporation, Peter Chetle took an active interest in the affairs of the borough. There is no record of his admission as a burgess, but he had evidently obtained the freedom by 1704; in this year, he and John Lewis were elected sheriffs of the county borough.|| In the following year he obtained the freedom of the borough of Kidwelly.¶ Peter Chetle's position in Carmarthenshire society was a strong one; 17 years later, he was elected to the Common Council of Carmarthen Corporation, a body which guarded its privileges zealously and in whose ranks stood many of the most powerful men in the county. Chetle was

\* C.R.O. Cawdor 2/28, f. 22 and N.L.W. Edwingsford 995.

† N.L.W. Cilymaenllwyd 90.

‡ Ibid.

§ P.R.O. C8/569/40.

|| C.R.O. Museum 155, f. 155.

¶ N.L.W. Brigstocke 126.

elected Mayor of the town for the year 1723-1724 and a Justice of the Peace for the following year.\*

Peter Chetle was involved in the iron industry as early as 1700, being then only 19 years of age. In this year his father was in partnership with Zachary Downing at Ponthenry Furnace; Peter Chetle was the third partner.† Although Downing ran the business during the three year term of the partnership,‡ on its dissolution, Peter Chetle took over the management of the works. On 28 August 1704, he negotiated a 99 year lease from Anthony Jones of Carmarthen for a new watercourse from Cilcarw Fawr farm.§ In the following year, he obtained a lease from Dame Mary Williams of Rhedoddin of the old watercourse crossing Tyr yr Efel;|| this much disputed leat had been leased in 1697 to Thomas Morgan, the owner of the furnace, but evidently he had surrendered the lease by 1705. Water had always been one of the problems at the Ponthenry works and it is clear that the young Chetle was ensuring the safety of his power supplies.

The success of Thomas and Peter Chetle at Ponthenry in this decade can only be surmised. The £200 granted to Thomas Chetle in 1708 in return for a £20 annuity suggests the need for more capital, but for what purpose, whether to infuse life into a dying works or to develop a thriving industry, is not known. Two years later, Thomas Chetle surrendered his lease and a new one was granted to Peter Chetle on 11 January 1710;¶ this is an indication of the confidence the younger Chetle had in the enterprise. Unfortunately the furnace is not listed in the 18th century lists (Appendix A), though this does not necessarily mean the works had closed. An inventory of Peter Chetle's goods in 1729 includes the raw materials and implements used at the furnace,\*\* indicating the continued working of the furnace.

Peter Chetle's other iron interests in Carmarthenshire were at Whitland and Kidwelly. The Whitland forge came into Chetle's hands on 1 October 1722.†† Included in the 22 year lease from Thomas Bludworth were the lordship of Llangain and lands and tithes in the parishes of Llangain, Llangan and Llanboidy. The annual rent was assessed at £550. Two years later, Peter Chetle gained possession of the Kidwelly Forge. On 2 November 1724,

\*. C.R.O. Museum 155, ff. 189, 193-4.

†. N.L.W. Cilymaenllwyd 90.

‡. P.R.O. C8/569/83.

§. C.R.O. Trant MSS.

||. N.L.W. Edwingsford 2510.

¶. C.R.O. Trant MSS.

\*\* Ibid.

†† Ibid.

for a rent of £50 15 0, Chetle leased the forge, the paper mill built alongside and 80 acres of land near present day Pontyates.\* The lease was for three lives, namely his own, his wife Alice and Louis XV of France. The scale of his operations in the 1720s is not known, but judging from the amounts of cordwood purchased his works were kept busy. Between 1718 and 1729 he bought well over 600 cords of wood from the Golden Grove Estate; he also purchased timber from the property of the Williamses of Edwingsford, the Earl of Ashburnham and doubtlessly from other landowners as well.

Peter Chetle's attempt to expand his interests were shortlived. In an Exchequer lawsuit in 1728, John Campbell was awarded £324 11 0 damages and costs against Chetle; this resulted in the enforced sale out of court of the Tyr yr Efel watercourse to John Herbert of Court Henry.† In the following year another case in the Court of Exchequer went against Chetle. Lewis Hughes of Carmarthen obtained a judgement relating to a bond of £95 1 0. To pay this debt and in consideration of a further £800, Peter Chetle sold all his iron interests to Lewis Hughes. This transaction, signed on 25 October 1729, included the leases of Whitland Forge, Kidwelly Forge, Ponthenry Furnace and the Cilcarw Fawr and Tyr yr Efel watercourses.‡ Peter Chetle died a fortnight later and was buried at St. Peter's Church, Carmarthen on 5 November.§

The development of the early iron industry in Carmarthenshire, as in the rest of South Wales, owed a great deal to the activities and capital of English ironmasters, as names such as Mynne, Rutland, Moorer, Downing, Grundy and Chetle indicate. But by the second half of the eighteenth century, a local man, Robert Morgan of Carmarthen, was to dominate the county's iron industry. Peter Chetle was in fact, the last of the immigrant ironmasters. The significance of his activities lies not only in this, but also in that he began the process of amalgamation. By doing this and by transferring his interests *en bloc* in 1729, he presented Robert Morgan with a firm base for future expansion and for the ultimate unification of the industry under one head.

\*. N.L.W. Brigstocke of Blaenpant MSS.

†. N.L.W. Edwingsford 2514.

‡. C.R.O. Trant MSS. It would appear from the available evidence that the Tyr yr Efel lease was sold to two different parties, to John Herbert in 1728 and Lewis Hughes in 1729. Any confusion that arose was resolved in July 1731, when Lewis Hughes' widow negotiated a new lease of the property from Sir Nicholas Williams. N.L.W. Edwingsford 3531.

§. *Trans. Hist. Soc. West Wales*, Vol. XIV, 1929, p.53.



## Appendix A

Lists of forges and furnaces in Carmarthenshire, compiled in the first half of the eighteenth century.\*

	1717	c 1736	1750
Whitland ... ..	80	0 (100)†	100
Combrayne (Cwmbran) ...	20	0 (60)	60
Llanafan (Llandyfan) ...	20	0 (100)	100
Kidwelly ... ..	100‡	30 (100)	100
Cydwyrfran (Cwmdwyfran) ...	50	0 (120)	120

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\*. E. W. Hulme, *op cit.*, p.30.

†. The figures in brackets are either an estimate of average production a few years prior to 1718, or an estimate of the maximum output of each forge. *Ibid*, pp.16-17.

‡. Kidwelly was listed as a furnace, and not a forge in 1717 ; more than probably, this was an error on the part of the compiler, as no other source speaks of a furnace at the site.

'LAST POST'

Sir,

The article entitled "Last Post" in the preceding issue of *Carmarthenshire Historian* (Vol. III, 1966) reminded me of another stone wheel-post in Carmarthen town. This stone is situated at the western end of Dan y Banc, a few yards from the flower garden on Castle Hill.

Both the Dan y Banc stone and the Red Street stone stand 38 inches above the ground. However, the circumference of the former stone is 37 inches, exceeding that of the latter by 3 inches.

These stones appear identical; presumably they came from the same quarry, and were shaped by the same craftsman.

I can recall one further stone in this series, which stood at the corner of Church Street with Spilman Street. It was removed during road alterations in 1951, and has since disappeared.

GLYNNE R. JONES,  
M.B., B.CH., M.R.C.S., L.R.C.P.  
Carmarthen.

TEN FACES

Sir,

Since the repainting of the Guildhall, Carmarthen, following last year's welcome cleaning and repair of the decorative stonework, I have noticed what appears to be a human face, repeated ten times, on the brackets securing the downpipes on the front of the hall.

Were these brackets commonly used at the time they were fixed, or is there some special significance about this face? Can anyone date them? Animals' heads and other decorative features are familiar; a lion's head has always been popular and this is the motif on the brackets at the side of the hall.

C. L. WILLIAMS,  
18, St. David's Avenue,  
Carmarthen.

## LLYSNEWYDD

THE "Tivyside" has always been noted for the number of country-houses to be found on either side of the river stretching from Llandysul to Cardigan, and for the families of ancient lineage that lived in them, both agreeably described by the lively pen of Herbert M. Vaughan in "The South Wales Squires." Among these houses is Llysnewydd, situated a short distance to the south of the river Teifi, in the Carmarthenshire parish of Llangelor.

Llysnewydd was bought in 1610 by John Lewes, third son of David Lewes of Gernos, and grandson of Lewis Dafydd Meredydd of Abernantbychan in Cardiganshire, a descendant of the medieval chieftain Ednowain ap Bradwen of Merioneth, whose arms—three snakes intertwined on a red shield—are still borne by his descendants. On 16 October 1614, John Lewes married at Llangelor church, Jenet daughter and coheirss of William Lloyd of Glandywely, a marriage that brought further broad acres to the new owners of Llysnewydd. John took a leading part in the Civil War, and like most of the Tivyside squires was a strong Royalist, being described by his opponents in a contemporary document as "John Lewes of Llisnewith, a noted delinquent, very active for the King." He survived the vicissitudes of those stormy times to witness the restoration of the Stuart dynasty, and died in 1662. The family flourished, and at one time owned over 20 estates, large and small, in Carmarthenshire, Cardiganshire, and Pembrokeshire, and gave 26 High Sheriffs to those counties. Among their more eminent members were William Lewes of Llwyn-derw (1652-1722) the noted genealogist and antiquary whose manuscripts are preserved in the College of Arms, and Sir Watkin Lewes (1740-1821) sometime M.P. for the City of London, and its Lord Mayor in 1780.

Sixth in descent from the Royalist, was William Lewes of Llysnewydd, who also owned the valuable estates of Dyffryn near Ammanford, and Llanllyr in Cardiganshire. An only son, born in 1746, he served as High Sheriff of Carmarthenshire in 1785. William died on 8 March 1828, aged 82, having been predeceased by his wife, Joan daughter of Thomas Lloyd of Bronwydd, Lord Marcher of Cemaes, on 4 November 1820.

William and Joan Lewes had four sons, namely, 1. William the eldest son, who served for some time as an officer in the Royal Horse Guards (Blues), and died on 10 April 1848, aged 59, whose descendant

Mr. J. P. Ponsonby Lewes of Llanayron is the present owner of Llysnewydd; 2. the Revd Thomas, Master of Arts, rector of Teington and Great Berrington, Cambridgeshire, who died unmarried on 27 April 1874, aged 82; 3. Price, of Gwastod, Cardiganshire, barrister at law, who died unmarried, in London on 6 June 1878, aged 83; and 4. John, of Llanllyr, an officer in the 23rd Light Dragoons, who fought at Waterloo, and died on 20 February 1860, aged 67, whose descendant, Captain J. Hext Lewes, is the present Lord Lieutenant of Cardiganshire.

Nothing is known of the original Llysnewydd. Another house was built, probably on the site of the older one, towards the end of the eighteenth century, which has survived, substantially unchanged, to the present day. An engraving of it appears on page 223 of Volume I of Nicholas's "County Families," published in 1872. This is the earliest picture of the house known to the writer of this note.

Fortunately, an inventory has survived, which provides us with a glimpse of the interior of the house as it was in the early part of the nineteenth century. This document was compiled, after the death of the above-mentioned William Lewes, by his younger sons the Revd Thomas Lewes and Price Lewes, and delivered by them to their eldest brother William, who had succeeded to the estate. From it we find that the ground floor consisted of a drawing room, dining room, breakfast parlour, library, main hall, kitchen, servants' hall, scullery, pantry, butler's pantry, laundry, with dairy, brewhouse and other outbuildings. The first floor consisted of four main bedrooms, to three of which, dressing rooms were attached and also used as bedrooms. The attic storey contained eight bedrooms, clearly for the servants, being far more elaborately furnished than was generally the case in comparable houses of those days. An interesting feature is the Library containing two mahogany book-cases and over 900 books, but to ensure that the young Leweses should not suffer from a surfeit of intellectual fare, a billiard table was thoughtfully provided in the same room.

Inventories are valuable social documents. They enable us to visualise the interior arrangements of country houses in bygone days, to judge the standards of comfort enjoyed by the occupiers, and furthermore throw light on the domestic and social life of our forebears. This Inventory is taken from a copy kept in the County Record Office at Carmarthen.

A Correct Inventory of Furniture left by W. Lewes, Esqr, Deceased, as in the Mansion House at Llysnewydd, and delivered up to W. Lewes, Esqr, by the Revd T. Lewes and Price Lewes, Executors of the late W. Lewes, Esqr, this 2nd Day of May 1828.

[signed] Wm Lewes. Price Lewes. Thomas Lewes.

#### Attic No 1.

1 Stove Grate. 1 Tin Fender. Five Iron pokers, Tongs, and Shovels. 1 Tent Bedstead. Dimmity furniture. 1 Flock Mattress. 1 Feather Bed. 1 Bolster. 1 Pillow. 2 Blankets. 1 Linen quilt. 1 38-Inch Mahogany Drawers. 1 Mahogany Inclosed Night Table. 1 ditto. 1 Mahogany Dressing Table. 1 Oval 17 inches by 13 inches Dressing Glass. 1 Mahogany Square Bason Stand. 1 Blue Bason. 1 Ewer. 1 Poa. 4 Black Chairs Rush Bottoms. 1 Shower Bath and Frame.

Closet [probably attic No 2].

2 Bedsteads. 2 Flower Stands. 1 Child's Chair. 1 Deal shelf. Sundry Lumber. 1 Large Chest. 17 Blankets. 1 quilt. 2 Feather Pillows. Old (?moreen) furniture of a Bed. ditto Cotton ditto. 1 Leather Trunk. 1 Small Port-manteau.

#### Attic No 3.

1 Stove Grate. 1 Tin Fender. 1 Set of fire Irons. 1 Stump Bedstead. 1 Feather Bed. 1 Bolster. 1 Counterpane. 1 Quilt. 2 Blankets. 1 Bag of Feathers. 3 Easy Chairs. 1 Oak Table. 2 Black Chairs Rush Bottoms. 1 Mahogany Chair on Castors. 1 Deal Shoe-stand. 1 Wood Clock. 1 Folding Screen. Sundry pieces of old Carpet.

#### Attic No 4.

1 Stove Grate. 1 Tin Fender. 1 Iron Poker. 1 Tent Bedstead. Moreen furniture. 2 Tent Bedsteads. Cotton furniture. 5 Feather beds. 3 Bolsters and Pillows. 11 Blankets. 2 Quilts. 1 Rug. 2 small Dressing Drawers. 1 Mahogany Table. 5 Chairs. 1 Bason Stand. 1 Bason and Ewer. 3 Pans. 1 Pier Glass. 2 Dressing Glasses. 1 Night Stool mettle (metal) pan. Sundry Boxes. 2 Pieces of Carpet.

#### Attic No 5.

1 Bedstead Cotton Furniture. 1 leather [            ]. 1 Bolster. 6 Blankets. 1 Quilt. 2 Pieces of Carpet. 1 Dressing Table. 1 ditto Glass (broken). 1 Poa Cupboard. 1 Bason and Ewer. 1 Poa. 3 Chairs.

#### Back Stair Case.

1 Deal Wardrobe. 33 Stair Carpeting. 46 Brass Rods. 1 Clock and Case.

#### Attic No 6.

1 Tent Bedstead. Cheque furniture. 1 Feather Bed. 1 Bolster. 1 Pillow. 4 Blankets. 1 Quilt. 2 Pieces of Carpet. 1 Oak Table. 1 Dressing Glass. 1 Square Bason Stand, Bason and Ewer. 1 Poa. 2 Wood Chairs. Water Closet. Piece of floor Cloth. Stair Carpet. 6 Brass Rods.

#### Attic No 7.

1 Bedstead furniture. 1 ditto Without (furniture). 1 Feather Bed. 1 Bolster. 4 Blankets. 1 Quilt. 1 Old Drawer. 1 Oak Table. 2 Elbow Windsor Chairs.

#### Attic No 8.

2 Bedstead and furniture. 3 Feather Beds. 3 Bolsters. 6 Blankets. 2 Quilts. 1 Oak Dressing Table. 1 Dressing Glass. 2 Chairs.

#### Bed Room No 9.

1 Mahogany Pillar. Bedstead striped cotton furniture. 2 Window Curtains. 2 Feather Beds. 1 Bolster. 2 Pillows. 2 Mattress (flock). 3 Blankets. 1 Manilla quilt. 5 Pieces of Carpet. 1 Mahogany Buroe Desk. 1 ditto double Chest of Drawers. 1 Mahogany folding Top Bason, Stand Bason and Ewer pan and Glass. 1 Deal Dressing Table. 1 Dressing Glass oval 17 inches by 13 inches. 1 Pier Glass. 7 Bamboo Chairs. 1 Tin fender. Set of Fire Irons. 1 Stone Grate Marble front.

#### Dressing Room.

1 Mahogany Wardrobe. 1 Oak Dressing Drawers. 1 Inclosed Night Table. 1 Chamber Clock. 1 Dressing Glass. 1 Pier Glass. 1 Chamber horse. 3 Spar bottom Chairs. 1 Black Ink Stand. 1 Glass Salver.

#### Sundry Glass.

1 stove Grate and Marble front. China. 1 Bason. 6 Cups and Saucers. 11 Plate and 2 Dishes. 1 Set of purple and gold tea china. 1 set of white. 1 Gold ditto. 13 Dinner plates. 46 Small ditto. 14 Dishes. 16 Plates. 3 small ditto. 3 Tureen and Dishes. 1 Bowl. 2 Plates. Sundry old ditto. 1 Breakfast Set.

#### Bed Room No 10.

1 Mahogany Pillar Bedstead. Chints furniture. 2 Window Curtains. 2 Feather Beds. 1 Bolster. 2 Flock Mattresses. 3 Blankets. 1 Counterpane. 2 Quilts. 1 Brussels Carpet 19 feet by 15 feet. 3 Bed side ditto and Sundry pieces. 1 Sweep front Drawer. 1 Folding top basin stand, Bason, Ewer, and Pan, Bottle, Glass, 2 Soap ditto. 1 Painted Dress Table. 1 Oval Dressing Glass 17 inches by 13 inches. 1 Mahogany Bedsteps. 9 Japan Chairs. 1 Stool. 2 ditto Chamber Lanthoms (sic). 1 Wire Fender. Old Window Curtains.

#### Dressing Room No 10.

1 Stone Grate Marble front. 1 Wire fender. 1 Set of Fire Irons. 1 Folding Tent Bedstead and Furniture. 1 Feather bed and Bolster. 1 Pillow. 3 Blankets. 1 Counterpane. 2 Pieces of Carpet. Dressing Table. 1 Oval Dressing Glass 17 inches by 13 inches. 1 Folding top enclosed basin stand, basin, ewer, and Pan. 1 Glass, Bottle, 2 Soaps, 2 Pole dressing Glasses, 3 Japan Chairs. 2 Sets of hanging back shelves.

#### Bed Room No 11.

1 Stove Grate Marble front. 1 Mahogany pillar Bedstead. Dimity Furniture. 2 Feather beds, 1 Bolster, 1 Pillow. 4 Blankets. 1 Marceilles quilt. 1 39-inch Mahogany drawers. 2 enclosed dressing tables. 1 Portable Water Closet. 1 Japan dressing Table. 1 Dressing Glass. 1 Pier Glass. 4 Japan Chairs. 1 Wire fender. Set of Fire Irons.

#### Dressing Room No 11.

1 Stove Grate Marble front. 1 Wire fender. 1 Set old Fire Irons. 1 Tent Bedstead. Dimity Furniture. 1 Feather bed. 1 Bolster, 1 Pillow. 1 Flock Mattress. 3 Blankets. 1 Quilt. 1 Mahogany Card Table. 1 Dressing Glass. 1 ditto Stool. 3 Japan Chairs.

### Bed Room No 12.

1 Stove Grate. Marble front. 1 Wire fender. 1 Set of fire Irons. 1 Pillar Bedstead Chints furniture. 2 Window Curtains. 3 Feather beds. 1 Camp bedstead Chints furniture. 2 Bolsters, 2 Pillows. 3 Flock Mattress. 6 Blankets. 1 Counterpane. 1 Quilt. 4 Bedside Carpets. 1 Mahogany Wardrobe. 1 Glass front Cupboards. 2 Mahogany fold top bason, stands. 1 Bason, 1 Ewer. 2 Pan, 1 Bottle, 1 Glass. 2 Soap. 1 Mahogany Drawer. 1 ditto Biddet. 1 ditto Dressing Table. 1 Oval Dressing Glass 17 inches by 13 inches 1 Pier Glass. 4 Japan Chair. 1 Boot Jack.

### Best Staircase and Hall.

1 Weather Glass. 1 Glass Lamp. 25 Brass rods. 30 Yards of Brussel Carpet. 2 Pieces of floor Cloth 28 yards. 1 Side-board Table. 1 Card Table. 1 Hat stand. 2 Flower Stand. 3 Door Mats.

### Dining Room.

1 Set of Dining Tables, 4 feet 2 Circular ends, 3 Square leaves. 1 Set of Dining Tables, 5 feet 5 square leaves. 1 Side-board Table. 1 Cellaret. 1 Turkey Carpet 23 feet by 15 feet. 1 Hearth Rug. 1 Piece of floor Cloth 16 feet. 3 Moreen Window Curtains. 1 Mahogany dumb waiter. 1 Japan Plate Warmer. 5 Mahogany Knife Boxes. 12 Mahogany Chairs Morocco. Leather Seats and Covers. 1 Mahogany fold Tray. 1 Mahogany fire Screen. 1 Steel fender and fire Irons. 1 Register Stove Grate. 1 Japan Bread Tray. 1 ditto Tea Trays. 1 Mahogany tea Chest. 1 ditto Tea Caddy. 1 ditto Knife Tray. 1 Sandwich Tray. Set of Dishes and 12 plates. Sundry Table ware. 2 Wine holders and Stands. 1 Japan Tea Urn. 1 Copper Tea Kettle and Stand. Sundry Table Glasses. 2 Green Cloths.

### Drawing Room.

1 Register Stove Grate, and Marble front. 1 Brussels Carpet 25 feet by 17 feet. 1 Hearth Rug. 1 Set of Window Curtains and Drapery for 2 Windows. 2 Muslin Curtains. 2 Rolling Blinds. 3 Sofa and Covers. 1 Mahogany Sofa Table. 1 pair of inlaid land Tables. 1 Pair Pier Tables. 1 Trypod Table. 8 Elbow Japan Chairs and Cushions. 1 pier Glass Gilt frame Plate 12 by 42. 2 Trypod fire screens. 6 Hand ditto. 1 Steel fender and fire Irons. 4 Urn Mats. Sundry Ornaments. 3 Green Cloths. China. 3 Large Jars. 1 Pyramid ditto. 5 Dishes 22 pieces of Sundries. 3 Flower Ornaments. 11 Chimney ditto. 6 Water Plates. 4 Salt Cellars. Pictures. 1 Glass front. 2 ditto.

### Servant's Hall.

Pantry. 9 Prints. 3 Prints.

Books [probably in the Library, see below].  
827 Bound and half bound, 107 in boards. Sundry Magazines and Reviews. Sundry Maps.

### Breakfast Parlour.

8 Prints. 3 Paintings. 1 Mahogany sideboard table. 1 Cellaret. 1 3-Leaf Mahogany Table 42 inches. 1 Small Pembroke Table. 1 ditto Work Table. 1 Inlaid Card Table. 12 Mahogany Chairs. 1 India Cabinet. 1 Urn Stand. 1 Tea Caddy. 1 Weather Glass. 1 Venetian Carpet 18 feet by 16 feet. 1 Hearth Rug. 2 Moreen Window Curtains. 2 Rolling Blinds. 2 Mahogany Blinds. 1 Steel fender and fire Irons. 1 Copper Coal Scuttle. 1 Mantle Glass. 2 Card Racks. 5 Tin Canisters. 1 Register Stove Grate, Marble front.

### Library.

1 Register Stove Grate Marble front. 2 Mahogany front Glass Book Cases. 1 Carpet 15 feet by 10 feet 6 inches. 1 Hearth Rug. 1 Wire Fender. 1 Set of Fire Irons. 1 Library Table. 1 Billiard Table. 1 Oval Dining Table. 1 Oval Pembroke ditto. 1 Square ditto. 1 Mahogany Steps. 1 ditto Chairs. 1 ditto Box. 1 Portable Chair. 1 Bootstand and Jack. 1 Foot Stool. Sundry Lumber. 1 Pewter Ink Stand. 2 Portable Writing Cases.

### Laundry.

1 Mangle by Baker. 1 Iron Stone and flews. 2 Deal Tables. 2 Small ditto. 4 Cloathes Baskets. 1 Large Trunk. 4 Cloathes Horses. 2 Chairs. 1 Box. 10 [?serd] Irons, 2 Box and Heaters, 4 Iron Stands. 3 Tin Canisters. Sundry Lanthorns.

### Kitchen.

1 Stone Range with oven. 1 Iron Oven. 1 Wind up Jack. 1 Dresser and shelves. 1 Tin line Hardner. 1 Oval Dining Table. 2 Deal Tables. 8 Wood Chairs. 1 Small Drawers and cupboard. 1 Glass front cupboard. 1 Salt Chest. 1 Clock and Case. 1 Iron fender. 1 Tongs, 2 Pokers. 1 Iron Water fountain. 3 Iron tea Kettles. 1 Iron Pot. 1 Iron stewpan and covers. 1 Iron Saucepan and Covers. 1 Iron Coffee pot. 1 Copper Stewpan. 1 Brass slice. 1 Tin fish Kettle. 1 Small ditto. 9 Tin Saucepans. 13 Dish covers. 5 Tin Coffee pots. 3 Tin Cheese toasters. 12 Sundry shap'd Tin moulds. 1 Tin Tundish. 2 Graters. 1 Collinder. Sundry Small Tins. 15 Pewter dishes. 32 ditto Plates. 3 Water ditto. 1 Brass pestle and Mortar. 2 Marble ditto. 2 Brass Candle stands. 3 Common Candle stands. 2 Pepper Mills. 5 Iron forks. 1 Small Tongs. Sundry scewers. Set of blue Table-ware 40 pieces. 1 Spice box and Drawers. 1 Tin box. Sundry earthen-ware and Jars. 2 Brass Scales.

### Scullery.

2 Tables. 1 Plate Rack. 4 Tubs. 2 Buckets. 1 Chopping Knife. 2 Stew Pots. 1 Cradle Spit. 2 Common ditto. 2 Gridirons. 1 Dripping pan and Stand. 1 Iron Plank. 1 Plate Stand. 4 Frying pans. 1 Branders and oven. 1 Bellows. 3 Hair strainers. 1 Bread Slice.

### Pantry.

Sundry Shelves. 1 Small Steps. Sundry earthen-ware, ditto Tea-ware, ditto Pickle jars, ditto Wood-ware.

### Linen.

5 Dinner Table Cloths. 3 Breakfast ditto. 5 old Cloths. 9 Bound Towels. 4 Common ditto. 8 Common Cloths. 2 Pudding Cloths. 4 Market Cloths. 1 Jelly Bag. 2 Flower Bags. 2 Dairy Cloths. 7 Cheese Fillets. 18 pair of fine sheets. 23 pair Common ditto. 24 Diaper Towels. 94 Hucabuck ditto. 12 Large Table Cloths. 15 Small ditto. 8 Breakfast ditto. 4 Trays. 28 Table napkin. 7 Toilet ditto. 48 Breakfast ditto. 24 Pillow Cases. Sundry old sheets and old Towels.

### Servants Hall.

1 Long Table. 2 Forms. 1 Small Table. 1 Clothes Horse. 1 Wood Coal Box. 1 Stove Grate.

### **Dairy and Kitchen.**

1 Cheese Stand, 4 Tables, 4 Benches, 2 Stools, 4 Butter Moulds, 16 White ware pans, 6 small ditto, 9 Brown ditto, 4 Butter pots, 4 Churns, 4 Buckets, 7 Cheese pressers, 7 ditto vats, 2 Strainers, 2 Brass pans, 1 Branders,

### **Brewhouse and Yard.**

1 Copper boiler, Grate, 2 Oak Kives strainers, 4 Tubs, 2 [?fool] Tubs, 1 Small ditto, 2 Buckets, 1 Washing Machine, 2 Wood Benches, 1 Old Table, 1 Coal Box, 1 Lading Bucket, 1 Malt Mill, 1 Bread [ ] Sundry Lumber, 2 lading Buckets, 1 Steps, Fowl Cubbs, Seals and Weights, 1 old Brass pan, 1 Copper, 1 Wash stand, 1 Stone Trough,

### **Plate.**

1 Oval Waiter, 2 small ditto, 1 Large Tankard and Cover, and 2 small ditto, 1 Jug, 1 ditto, 1 Tea pot, 1 Coffee pot, 2 Sauce, 2 Butter Boats, 6 Salts, 1 Table brass, 2 Sugar Basons, 3 Pint Mugs, 2 Tumblers, 1 Strainer, 1 Wire ditto and Stand, 4 Table Candle Stands, 4 Bottle Coasters, 1 Coffee pot, 1 Stand, 2 Sugar Castors, 1 Goblet, 1 Snuffers tray, 15 Bottle labels, 1 Asparagus Tongs, 2 Sugar ditto, 1 Soup Saddle, 1 Pen Slice, 6 Punch ladles, 1 Fish slice, 6 Gravy spoons, 1 Large fork, 41 Table spoons, 6 old ditto, 18 Desert spoons, 4 Sauce spoons, 44 Tea Spoons, 10 Salt Spoons, 1 Marrow ditto, 1 Cheese Knife, 1 Butter ditto, 1 Sugar Spoon, 1 Scoop, 1 Pickle knife and fork, 24 Table Forks, 12 Desert Knives and Forks, 1 Castor Stand, 1 Ink Stand, 2 Bread Baskets, 1 Tea urn, 1 Coffee ditto, 12 Table Candle stand, 7 Chamber dito, 2 Tapers ditto, 1 Toast Rack, 1 Sauce Castor, 1 Mustard pot and Glass, 2 Pepper Glasses, 1 snuffers stand,

### **Glass.**

17 Finger Glasses, 1 Sugar ditto, 27 Ale ditto, 24 Wine ditto, 3 Goblets, 15 Tumblers, 16 Wine decanters, 10 Finger Glasses, 6 Salts, 60 Wine Glasses, 8 Goblets,

### **Cellar.**

1 Large Meal Chest and Flour, 7 Casks, 3 Tubes, 3 Benches, Sundry Lumber, 2 Flower Sacks, 1 Brass pan, 11 Ale Casks, 3 Benches, 3 Stoppers, Sundry Lumber—1 Table, 2 Benches, Sundry Crockery—1 Meat Tray, Lumber, 1 Bench, Brown Ware,

### **Butler's Pantry.**

1 Deal press, 2 Tables, 3 Chairs, 2 Butler's Trays, 1 Dressing Glass, 2 Wood Bowls, 1 Lanthorn, 6 Chamber and Cestands, 16 Jugs, 6 Cups, Sundry Lumber—5 Knife Boxes, 4 Dozen Kaives and forks, 4 Dozen Sundry Knives and forks, 6 Waiters,

### **Stables.**

2 Chests, 1 Saddle Stand, 4 Stable pails,

### **Garden.**

4 Cucumber frames and Glass, Sundry Tools, 1 Stone Rowler, 1 Wheel Barrow,

# A Day in Newcastle Emlyn

By Canon D. PARRY-JONES, B.A.

Author of *Welsh Country Upbringing*, etc.

SOME few years ago I spent a very enjoyable and profitable day at Newcastle Emlyn and had a chat about old times with three or four of its inhabitants. Vivid memories of early, exciting days always attract me to the town—memories of its great fairs at the turn of the century, to which we came driving cattle that were as excited and scared as we were. There are two Newcastle Emlyns—the one that we see today when we walk its streets and the one that existed at the end of the last century, which has now vanished out of sight and is all forgotten except by the oldest of its inhabitants. This was the Newcastle Emlyn I wanted to live in again if only for an hour or two, and, fortunately, I met two or three persons who enabled me to do so.

These notes are intended for *The Carmarthenshire Historian* and though Newcastle Emlyn is in the county it is a town tucked away in a far corner and right on the boundary—indeed, has thrown a limb across the boundary into Cardiganshire (Atpar)—that I am not sure how conscious its inhabitants are of the fact that they are Carmarthenshire people, for the town itself is the historic, social, religious and market centre of a large area of country, extending to a radius of eight to ten miles around it: a great chunk of Pembrokeshire, mid South Cardiganshire as far as the sea and that area in the water-shed of the Teifi between its tributaries, the Cuch and the Tweli. One tends not to think of it as part of Carmarthenshire—or part of anything else—but as a centre, in its own right, of a historic homogeneous area.

I said it was a social centre; especially was it so of the local gentry. Many years ago, the station master at the time told me that he remembered counting twenty-six carriages drawn up in front of the station when there was a ball in one of the mansions. They used to come in on Tuesdays for the tennis matches—and when these ceased, curtsying also ceased in the town, so I was told. I used to be curtsied to by one or two old ladies in Radnorshire, in the late 'twenties when I was Vicar there. It was part of the old world, and disappeared with it almost without notice or comment, along with so much else.

I spoke to a retired doctor in Atpar who pointed to the Drovers' Arms, noted for its potent brew. Each client, he said, had his own

particular chair there for his evening visit, and if he went in and found another in it, he would never go in again. This was the time when there were family pews in churches and chapels. One was not accustomed to thinking of the practice as applying to taverns as well, and I remember being somewhat surprised when told of it. It has long gone and is on the way out, too, in all the places of worship.

I called in to see the sadler, below the Emlyn Arms, possibly because I felt there was some affinity between him and me, for four of my brothers were sadlers. We talked of old days and amongst the things he told me was that Beynon who shot Hislop in that fatal duel, hid the first night, so his father said, in the cellar under his workshop.

### The Kindly Landlady

But the longest chat I had was with Mr. Tom James, of High Street. I called a few years later, armed with a few more prepared questions—but I was too late! On this occasion we were sitting down not far from the Carriers Arms, where father often called and spoke well always of "Boys y Carriers". They could not be but good-natured fellows for they had a wonderfully kind-hearted mother—Rachel Williams. If anybody, so Mr. James told me, had tuppence in his pocket to go in, he could sit there and drink all night, for when a new customer came in she would go to his table or his corner and fill his pint from a big jug in which she always drew her beer, and on the way back she filled all the empty, or half-empty, glasses of all the other customers until it was all gone. She never took a spot back with her to the bar. No man coming in the worse for drink could get a spot there: *Iesu Bach* (her favourite expression, which has almost a medieval ring about it), *na chewch*, and he would have to go and try elsewhere. I feel that this good old lady is worthy of a brief note of remembrance for her kind-heartedness, and as typifying the sort of citizen old Newcastle Emlyn could produce.

The sons used to buy pigs in North Pembrokeshire and in the country around, which were housed in big sheds at the back of the house until they had a sufficient number to take to Llandyssul station—that was the time before the railway was extended to Newcastle Emlyn, and the poor pigs had to walk all the way. It was a hot and tiring journey and a few became lame or began to fail—for such, a donkey cart always accompanied them. The others, footsore and hot, when they came to Pentre Cwrt and heard the sound of the water in the brooks, Dilen and Shedi, just rushed headlong into them to cool themselves. And what a job it was to get them out again! From Llandyssul the men returned by coach, leaving the donkey,

after tying his reins to the cart, to look after himself, but he was a wise creature—he followed the coach, bumper to bumper, all the way, stopping dead in front of the Carriers Arms.

From the Carriers Arms, Mr. James turned to the Emlyn Arms, under the proprietorship of Mr. John Jones, who, in the old days of coaches—before the railway was continued to Newcastle Emlyn—kept about thirty carriage horses. He had two three-horse carriages, one two-horse, and many one-horse hansoms. If there were more than one passenger to be carried he would provide a heavier hansom and two horses. He made three runs from Cardigan to Llandyssul every day, and on each run the horses were changed at Newcastle Emlyn. Of course, when they arrived at the Emlyn Arms they were running with perspiration and their bodies white with froth. After taking them out of the carriages, the first thing they did was to take them down the back to a very deep pool in the Teifi—Pwll-Dafi-William. Men had already gone round to the Cardiganshire side ready to pull them across with long ropes attached to the halter. In the same manner they were pulled back again through the same pool. The older horses knew what was coming and jumped into the pool to get it over; the young ones hesitated a bit, but as the land dipped suddenly to the pool, they were in before they knew. After their dip they were led back to the stables and given a vigorous rub-down with straw. The proprietor boasted that in this way he never lost a single horse, for once they were out of the pool, their over-heated bodies were cool and fresh, and their tiredness had vanished into the Teifi.

I was most fortunate in that I met Mr. James that day for he was well-informed on many matters that belonged to a world that had just vanished round the corner. Whether he had taken part in liming convoys I don't remember now; however, I was told that a neighbourhood would arrange to go together, and as many as thirty carts would start from Newcastle Emlyn,—two men in each cart, alternately sleeping and on watch, as on board ship. They carried feeds for their horses, bread and cheese for themselves and a small barrel of beer to wash it down with. We must remember, of course, that they travelled by night when no public house would be open and cafes and snack-bars had not come into existence then. The going was probably quite leisurely until they passed through the Carmarthen turnpike-gate; it was from here on that they got up steam so as, if possible, to arrive back there before mid-night, for toll was only paid once in twenty-four hours.

### A Centenarian's Story

According to the notes I made at the time, Mr. Evan Jones, the aged shoemaker was still alive—102 that year—and I was able to



visit him at Glaziers Row and have a very interesting chat with him. I found him sitting by the fireside, apparently quite well, eager to talk, eye-sight and memory apparently unimpaired. And though he looked frail and wan he didn't look anything like his great age. After congratulating him and explaining who I was, we plunged at once into tales and descriptions of old-time Newcastle Emlyn, in which of course, he had the advantage over us all, an advantage that he seemed happy to enjoy. He told me one thing which I could hardly believe and which I have refrained from repeating to this day, as I felt that such a thing could not in all its long history have happened in Newcastle Emlyn. It is this, more than anything else, that has held up the publication of these notes until now. I remembered that Mr Jones was a very old man, and could be excused if things got a bit mixed up in his mind; and, consulted as he must have been by so many on the old days, he possibly could have got unconsciously into the habit, in order to impress his hearer, of embellishing the picture and exaggerating the details. I didn't know what to think: the result was that the story has been kept back all these years.

This is what he told me: In a field called *Cae Shibbedo* right up above—and he pointed in that direction—they used in the old to put law-breakers to death. *Shibbedo* is a word that has very likely come to us from the English word 'gibbet' (Anwyl gives, as its equivalent, *sibedu*). It was in very common use when I was a child, but it had by then been refined and tamed down to mean just a shaking: Mother would say when we had been very naughty: *fe roia i shibbedad i chi*. It consisted of taking hold of us about the shoulders and giving us a good shaking, and something from which we recovered in a very few moments. In a few borrowed words we have softened the consonant *t* into *d* as in bucket (*buced*) and pulpit (*pulpud*), though the reverse—the hardening of the consonants—is the more usual process. In addition to *crogbren* and *crog*, Anwyl also gives *gosod yn waradwydd*: to put to shame, to disgrace, to insult. However, in this *Cae Shibbedo* law-breakers were put to death, and in the following manner: They were tied to a post, a table was set before them, with a loaf of bread at one end and a glass of water at the other, but both out of reach of the condemned man, and here he was suffered to remain until he died either of starvation or of exposure.

I did not then question the credibility of the story but I wondered, as I said, how much reliance should be put on a person who was so very old. I could hardly believe that the people of Newcastle Emlyn, at any time, however terrible his crime, could allow a man to die in this inhuman manner amongst them. It was only after I had come across instances of equally inhuman treatment

meted out to law-breakers in other parts of Wales that my mind reverted again to the *cae* (or *parc*) *shibbedo* story of Newcastle Emlyn, and the thought occurred to me that Evan James's mind could very well be the last repository where such ancient tales had survived, tales not so often told once religion and other interests had begun to occupy the minds of the people at the beginning of the last century.

These are two of the stories that made me think again—the first, taken from "*Bye-gones*" (Welsh), Vol. II, 1874-5. p. 258, and the second from the *Vale of History* (p. 70) (The Story of the Vale of Glamorgan): (i) "The following extraordinary account of an execution has been given by an old man, now, or lately, living in Monmouthshire, who spoke of it as having actually fallen under his own observation: Two persons who had been convicted of murder, or some other serious crime, were placed in a sort of cage on the top of a hill, called the Garn, where they were left to perish by starvation. This, however, did not happen very shortly, as some persons infringed the prohibition to give them any sustenance by secretly supplying them with food during the night. In this manner their lives might have been preserved for a considerable time, had they not succumbed in a few days rather to cold than to starvation. Can this mode of execution have been a relic of the old law prevailing in the marches . . . ?" (ii) "Probably the most gruesome entry in the Glamorgan Plea Rolls is that relating to the fate of David ap Hopkin, who was tried at Cardiff in July 1574. The charge was that he had committed murder . . . in addition . . . (he had) committed the grave offence of standing mute on trial, and for this he was condemned to death in the following terms . . . 'That David ap Hopkin is to be put naked on the ground except his breeches and a hole made under his head and his head put into it and as much stone and iron put upon his body as it will carry and more, and he is to be fed on bread and water of the worst kind, bread on one day and water another day, and so kept alive until he dies.'" Folk memory had evidently survived in Newcastle Emlyn till the last days of Evan Jones.

### A Rogue Admired

I remember well the great fairs of Newcastle Emlyn—*Ffair glame* and *Ffair Medi* amongst them. The latter was regarded principally as a pleasure fair, and attendance as a reward for finishing the harvest in time. In the ordinary fairs, after we had disposed of our cattle, I used to walk along its one long street between horses on both sides, down to the Teifi—and beyond into Atpar. Father never expected to sell his cattle first thing when he entered the fair, for all knew that the buyers always went across first to Atpar to buy the Cardiganshire cattle. These had been fed with oats (*llafur*) all

winter and would therefore increase much quicker in weight once they were turned out to the luscious fields of the Midlands.

As I said, I would walk down leisurely its crowded street, fascinated by the crowd, the stalls and, especially, the variety of foods and toys they exhibited, but the stand which fascinated me most and had most of my time was one occupied by a person who offered gold watch chains ("Alberts" in those days) for sale, making the bargain still more attractive by throwing into the paper bag, with the chain, one half-crown after another—and then offer the whole lot for two shillings or half-a-crown. While doing this he kept up a bantering patter in Welsh which kept the crowd in very good humour. He got an occasional buyer, but none of them had more than the Albert and a few coppers; it was only when nobody bid that he opened the paper and showed all the half-crowns there. I would have been had myself if I had two shillings to spend, for I was sure I could see the half-crowns going in! As part of his banter he warned us: "You watch them going out, I'll watch them going in."

I was at that age under tutelage and my world was so full of prohibitions: "You mustn't do this; you mustn't do that; it's not nice; it's not respectable; only 'raggets' do that; you be a good boy, work hard and save your money, that's the way to get on." That, as far as I could see, was to be my world for ever—it was the world Welshmen lived in, but here before my very eyes stood a Welshman who had managed to escape from this world and who so obviously did not care a rap what anybody thought of him. It must be wonderful to feel like that, and yet I thought what must his mother, his Vicar or his minister and friends think of him, getting his living in this way! If he did not use the Welsh language—the language of our Bible, Sunday School and services—there would be no problem for a small boy at all, for English people did all sorts of things and nobody minded. But for a Welshman? No, never! The reader will really believe me if I say once again that I was simply fascinated. I wished I could dare ask my mother if I could be apprenticed to Jack Cricklas, for as such he was known to all. Of course our world at the beginning of the century in an ordinary Welsh home was so circumscribed, and the areas of what was not allowable so large that I could not help having a secret admiration for such a man—a man who could do the things forbidden to me, a man who did not care a rap about those around him, could flaunt his contempt of them and of what they thought of him in this way, for he knew that ninety-five per cent of them went to church and chapel. Yes, my envy and admiration were unlimited. Looking over the years, I should not be surprised to be told that he himself attended a place of worship on Sunday and,

outside the fairs, behaved as a good member of the neighbourhood he belonged to.

He knew a lot of his audience personally and how much they would like to pick up half-crowns easily, so he used to twit them with it: "but before you can do it, you must cut your small finger off"—he was minus that finger.

Jack Cricklas lived somewhere between Rhydlewis and Ffos-trasol, a district that has produced many a distinguished Welshman, but nobody that was better known in his day and more unique in the profession he followed than Jack Cricklas. Before all memory of him dies out, I wish somebody would write an article about him and give us the details of his life—and explain how and why, out of the myriad ways of making a living, he should adopt this. What gave him the idea? It was all so out of character for a Cardi.

He certainly drew the crowds. Many a Welsh preacher would love to have his audience, and had Jack been a preacher, he would have had a *cofiant* by now. Surely, if only for the sake of variety in our literature, a character like Jack should find a place in it.

This was the result of one day at Newcastle Emlyn, but there is much—very much—yet to be told. The town badly needs its historian. I know Canon Gryffudd Evans, its one-time Vicar, has given us the historic events in which the town and its castle figured, but it requires a more modern approach, such as has been adopted in writing the story of some of the towns of the Vale of Glamorgan: a more intimate story of its inhabitants—their daily life, their work, their food, their interests, and sports. The story of the business houses, the inns and the hotels, the church, the chapels, the old Grammar school, its market, its fairs—who were the principal buyers, to what part of England were the cattle sent and a hundred and one different matters, some of which ought to be undertaken without delay before the older generation who remember other days and ways vanish from the scene. This sort of undertaking, where the historian concentrates on one town or region, has become popular of late and has many obvious advantages over one where the net is more widely cast, such as in the history of a country or the history of a particular age. Newcastle Emlyn with the district around is just the ideal area for such an undertaking, and is loudly calling for its historian.

## Random Recollections

In the third volume of *The Carmarthenshire Historian* we were enjoined to record items of interest before they are irretrievably lost. This encourages me to set down the following random thoughts and recollections as an appendix to this article.

## Stone Hedges

I have always admired the stone walls (*cloddiau cerrig*) or hedges—for they often have quick growing on them—from Henllan Bridge down to Newcastle Emlyn, and beyond. It would be interesting to know when they were built and who the craftsmen were who built them. Where they have been cared for, stretches of them are still in very good condition. They are probably a good hundred years old and are built of blue stone which I have always associated with the Cilgerran quarries. Up to the turn of the century a large proportion of the grave-stones in the local churchyards were quarried there and are still as clean and bright and decipherable as the day they were put up. It is a pity foreign stones were ever introduced to this area. But to return to the hedges. This blue stone splits readily and it is easy to get plenty of the right width, which should not be much more than an inch. In this type of hedge, the stones are set on end—not laid flat on as in other wall-building. It facilitates the introduction of patterns, the most popular of which is the herring-bone. Sometimes a line of regular uprights separates the herring-bone patterns. They were not built plumb—straight up from the bottom—but curved in slightly, like the back of a scythe—according to the old masters. The last foot consisted of clods and soil to take the quick usually planted on top of them. Some good specimens—and there are still some good ones—ought to be preserved, to remind us of a decayed art and a vanished skill, and indeed to give us a lot of pleasure still.

## Rye Crops

Which was the last farm in Carmarthenshire to grow a field of rye? Small quantities continued to be grown here and there after it had been generally abandoned as a farm crop, because it was supposed to be good for constipation in cattle. According to my father, Brale farm near Pentre Cwrt, was the last he knew of, as he once (that would be in the middle nineties) had occasion to go there to get some for the above purpose. The bread made from it, he said, was rather dark, its straw clean and long and in great demand by saddlers.

## Scythers' Verse

One who, like me, remembered the scything days on Welsh farms gave me the following verse which was often recited by men as they worked. It had evidently been composed by one who had himself drawn the sythe.

Mae ambell dwmpath morgrug,  
Ac ambell bridd y wádd,  
Ac ambell gydyn garw  
Yn anodd iawn ei ladd.

Rhaid

Cael bloneg moch Cydweli,  
A swnd o Landyfan ;  
A hogi'n amal amal,  
I ládd y gwair yn lân.

“Roeddylt fel hyn yn prydyddu wrth fynd ymlaen.”

## Lampeter College

In the sixties and seventies of the last century families with sons at St. David's College used to take up to them a fresh supply of provisions once a fortnight. Two, whose names were given to me, did so regularly in their trap and pony: Mali'r Graig, a gwraig Gaer-wen isaf (Mrs. Davies). Both had two sons there.

## Cautious Passengers

The daughters of the first station-master at Llanpumpsaint told me some few years ago that their father had the utmost difficulty to persuade people to make a train journey when the railway first came there. Farmers' wives preferred to carry heavy baskets of farm produce all the way to Carmarthen rather than trust their lives to this strange means of transport. It was only by bribing the bravest of them with free tickets that he got one or two to venture on it at all. When the others discovered that they had come to no danger, they, one by one, began to overcome their fears.

## Early Fairs

My uncles from Gellidywyll farm, by Cenarth, when taking horses to be sold at Carmarthen fairs, started at 10 o'clock at night in order to be sure of a stable, and plenty of time to give their charges a good feed and a good brush-down, themselves lying down on the straw to snatch a few winks if time allowed, for they had to be out on the street at 6 o'clock in the morning.

## Curious Practice

Except when writing to our parents, we children never wrote letters in Welsh at all. Even to this day I write to my sister in English though we never speak anything but Welsh when we meet. But a change has taken place, and now the younger generation correspond in Welsh and a delightful, racy, idiomatic Welsh it is too, written by young people confident of their mastery in that

medium. We belonged to an older Wales where even great Welsh scholars like Sir John Rhys, T. C. Edwards and many more conducted most, if not all, of their correspondence in English. I was told that the same applied in Ireland, where those who still used the native language in their daily speech yet corresponded in English. I wish I knew how this had come about; of course, we were never taught to write—or even to read—our language at all, except in Sunday School. Possibly some lack of confidence in its use was thus inevitable.

### Bygone Taverns

Groesffordd is a well-known road junction where the A484 from Carmarthen to Cardigan divides, sending a branch down to Llandyssul. Father remembers it when it was a public house, kept by a widow. She kept, so he told me, prominently hanging by the door a policeman's helmet, obviously to impress strangers, for all the neighbourhood knew that no policeman lived there.

Mention of the Groesffordd as a public house reminds me of what my father told me of Rhydfach, below Llangeler church, which was then a public house and where he was a farm servant—that was back in the days before the passing of the Sunday Closing Act. I asked him what use was made of it on Sunday: hardly any, he said, an occasional farmer would turn in in the evening for a pint and a chat. As that era seems so distant from us today, I thought the above would be of interest if only to dispel the illusion some people have that before the passing of the act Wales was a country whose Sundays were marked by abandoned, riotous drinking and revelry. Its passing probably brought no noticeable change in the life of the countryside.

### Early Silage

When was the making of silage first introduced to Carmarthenshire? Was it at Penrallt in my native parish of Llangeler? Arthur Howell Jones, J.P., of Plas Berallt (Penrallt Fadog) with whom my father was in service, had learnt farming in Scotland which at that time afforded agricultural education and training far in advance of anything that could be got in England. And so it happened one day during the first World War that a few farmers were discussing the revolutionary method of preserving fodder—and beating the weather—that father shocked them all by saying, "Why, we used to make silage at Penrallt thirty years ago, and more." That would be in the Eighties. It was, of course, in its early and experimental stages, and if I remember rightly, they made it in a quarry.

### Hated Cattle

Again for farmers; what was the origin of the objection the countryside had to white cattle with black noses? It was not to white cattle as such but to white cattle with black noses. Without any warrant for the notion implied in the question, I will still ask it: Were they thus marked out as a primitive race of cattle that farmers had learnt to shun as being incapable of the usual improvement made by other breeds? At any rate they were hated like the plague—*buoch wen a thrwyn du!*

### Still There

It is wonderful to reflect that if Giraldus Cambrensis returned after eight hundred years, he would still find at Cenarth, the church, the mill, the bridge, the coracle, the salmon leap, and the Cymric language on the lips of its people. The only thing he would miss would be the Orchard. I remember mentioning this to my uncle, David Jones, of Pengraig Farm, later of White Hart Inn. "No," he said, "the *Berllan* is still there." It is now a farm, but evidently a link with the orchard of Giraldus' time, and possibly on the spot where the house, to which it belonged, then stood.

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## IN MEMORIAM

We deeply regret the death, during 1967, of two distinguished men who, despite all the heavy demands upon their services, found time to interest themselves in the activities of the Local History Committee of the Carmarthenshire Community Council.

Sir Frederick Rees, one time principal of University College, Cardiff, died early in the year at an advanced age. A valuable contribution towards the encouragement of interest in the Committee's work was his inaugural lecture on *The Appeal of Local History in Carmarthenshire*. It was later printed and published and will remain an enduring memorial to his association with the Local History Committee.

Within a few months came the death of the Lord Lieutenant of Carmarthenshire, Sir Grismond Philipps, Chairman of the Historic Buildings Council for Wales. During the many years he was President of the Carmarthenshire Community Council, he had an abiding interest in the activities of the Local History Committee and was ever ready to comply with requests for advice and help.

## MERCHED PLWYF LLANDDAROG

gan GWILYM EVANS, O.B.E., M.SC.

**P**LWYF cymharol fach yw plwyf Llanddarog, yn Sir Gaerfyrddin, ond yr oedd yn ddigon pwysig ar un adeg i gael arglwydd iddo ei hun, sef Hywel mab Rhys Gryg, gyda theitl "Arglwydd Llanddarog".

Does dim son am Arglwyddes Llanddarog, ond bu yma ferched gwrol, gyda greddf gymdeithasol gref. Y mae'n werth sylwi ar beth o'u hanes.

Yn adeg yr erlid mawr gan esgob ac arglwydd yn 1662, fe esgymunwyd Margaret Dafydd William a Margaret Kate o eglwys y plwyf. Fe ddichon eu bod ymlith yr anghydfurfwyr a oedd yn gwrthod plygu i fynd i'r eglwys, a mynnu crefyddda yn eu ffordd syml eu hunain.

Ddechrau'r ganrif nesaf yr oedd Wardeniaid Llanddarog yn cwyno bod Jane Thomas William a gwraig Jeremiah Thomas, gyda'u gwŷr, yn gwrthod mynychu eglwys y plwyf, na bedyddio eu plant yno. Dyna herio esgob eto, a goddef anfanteision wrth gadw yn ffyddlon i'w capel bach.

Un o'r genhedlaeth ar ôl y gwagedd hyn oedd Dorothy, neu 'Dorti' Jones o Llanddarog. Gan ei bod hi yn ferch ddawnus, dewisodd Howell Harris hi i'w ganlyn i'r Seidiadau Methodistaidd, a chanu emynau yno. Clywodd Richard Tibbott hi yn canu yn seiad fferm Cilcarw gerllaw Pontyberem. Rhoddodd Tibbott y lle blaenaf i emyn o'i gwaith yn ei gasgliad o emynau. Fel hyn yr y mae'r pennill cyntaf o emyn Dorothy Jones:

"O dewch chwi oll blant Duw ynghyd  
Mynegaf i'ch ar hyn o bryd  
Pa beth addawodd fy Arglwydd hael  
I'm henaid sydd mewn cystudd gwael"

Ganrif ar ôl Dorti Jones gwelwyd, un bore ynghanol Mehefin, 1843, orymdaith hapus o ferched yn cerdded o dafarn y Tywysog Saxe Coburg, Porthyrhyd, i gael pregeth yng nghapel Bethlehem. Ar ôl pregeth ragorol aethant yn ôl i'r dafarn i fwynhau cinio fiasus. Wedi'r cinio cawd cyfarfod busnes, ac etholwyd Sarah Thomas, Y Gors, i'r gadair, a Maria Griffiths, Brynamlwg i'r is-gadair. Treuliwyd y prynhawn yn ddiddanus iawn, ac ymadawodd pawb wedi eu boddhau yn anghyffredin o dda. Beth oedd yma? Yn fyr—Cyfarfod Blynyddol yr Iforesau—math o Gymdeithas Lles—oedd yma. Dechreuwyd mudiad yr Iforiaid yn Wrexham yn 1836,

gyda'r amcan o hybu'r Diwylliant Cymreig, yn ogystal a pharatoi moddion ariannol ar gyfer dyddiau blin. Bwriad arall oedd ffurfio Clybiau Iforesau yn ogystal a Chlybiau Iforiaid, ar draws Cymru. Ym mhlwyf Llanddarog y sefydlwyd un o'r ychydig Glybiau Lles i ferched yng Nghymru.

Gafaelodd sefydliad y 'cwrw bach' yn gryf yn y plwyf hwn. Lle 'roedd tlodi neu angen cymorth ar bâr ifanc i sefydlu cartref, yr oeddent yn arfer macsu cwrw yn y tŷ lle'r oedd yr angen. Byddai'r cymdogion yn galw gyda'r nos am tua mis o amser—y gwŷr i fwynhau'r ddiod gadarn, a'r merched i gael te a biscedi, a phawb yn rhoi eu hewyllys da mewn arian. Lle cedwid gwenyn, yr oedd medd yn cael ei baratoi yn lle'r cwrw. Gellir dychmygu yr hwyf yng nghyfeddach y 'cwrw bach.' Bu rhai o'r canlyniadau yn achos i'r Parch W. E. Evans, Capel Seion, i weithio'n ddygn tros ddirwest, a llwyddo i ddileu'r cwrw bach.

Cododd yr Annibynwyr Capel Seion, plwyf Llanddarog, yn 1712, pryd nad oedd yr un capel arall gan yr anghydfurfwyr yn nyffrynnoedd Gwendraeth Fawr a Gwendraeth Fach. Cymerodd y ferch ei lle yn amlwg yn y gymdeithas hon. Yr oedd tair ohonyt, un adeg, yn Henaduriaid yng Nghapel Seion.

Merched ifainc a gyneuodd fflam Diwygiad 1904 yn y capel hwn. Un noson oer o rew ac eira, aeth rhes o las lancesau, un ar ol y llall i weddi am y tro cyntaf erioed yn festri fach y capel. Syfrdanwyd yr eglwys y Sul canlynol, wrth weld pedair o'r merched hyn yn darllen, a phedair arall yn mynd i weddi yn Sêl Fawr cyn y bregeth. Dyna ddechrau cyfarfod arbennig i'r chwirydd.

Yr union ferched hyn a fu hefyd, tua phedair blynedd ar ôl y Diwygiad, yn arloesi gyda'r ddrama yn y cylch, a chymryd rhannau i'r ferch mewn gweithiau newydd fel "Beddau'r Proffwydi" a "Thor priodas".

(Darllwyd yr ysgrif uchod gan B.B.C. Cymru yn Ebrill 1966)

# Samuel Pepys Cockerell

## His Work in West Wales, 1793-1810

By P. K. CRIMMIN, B.A., M.PHIL.

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**S**AMUEL Pepys Cockerell, 1754—1827, was an admirable architect and in his own day earned an impressive reputation, but he is now virtually forgotten and little of his work has survived. Like his more famous contemporary colleague, John Nash, Cockerell was employed for a time in West Wales, but his work here has been largely ignored. He was commissioned by a single patron, Sir William Paxton, a Carmarthenshire magnate, designing and building Middleton Hall for him between 1793 and 1795, and ten years later designing a tower, erected by Paxton at the north end of the park in memory of Lord Nelson. In 1805 he also built public baths at Tenby, Pembrokeshire, to facilitate, and encourage the sea bathing of which Paxton was a pioneer, and rebuilt them five years later when they were destroyed by fire.

Any attempt to study Cockerell's work at this time and in this area is hampered by a almost complete absence of architectural drawings for these buildings, and by the changes wrought by time in the buildings themselves. Middleton Hall was destroyed in an accidental fire in November, 1931 and the ruins later razed. Until recently the tower was in a ruinous and disintegrating state and the baths at Tenby, the only building of Cockerell still intact in South Wales, have been converted into flats and considerably altered in the process.

Yet the scattered information, the plans and drawings and actual buildings that remain are worth closer study than they have so far received. Middleton Hall was the finest house of its period in Carmarthenshire, possibly even in South Wales. The surviving plans, drawings and descriptions deserve a wider audience if only to draw attention to what has been lost and thus help to preserve and record other country houses. Similarly, the Tenby baths, a distinctive unit despite alterations, form an integral part of the eighteenth century harbour area, worthy of preservation and record in case they are altered still further.

Not only from a purely local interest, but as a stage in Cockerell's career as an architect, these buildings deserve wider recognition. They are among his earliest work. Middleton Hall comes between the designing of Daylesford House, near Moreton-in-the-Marsh, Gloucestershire, built between 1790 and 1796, and Sezincote House, Gloucestershire, a few miles from Daylesford, and built in 1805,

and illustrates his development as a country house architect. The tower is Cockerell's only 'folly' and a worthy example of the influence of the 'Picturesque' movement of the early nineteenth century, while the baths remain a memorial to an early attempt to exploit the natural advantages of a former fishing port and small market town as a holiday resort.

S. P. Cockerell, a descendant of the famous diarist, was a pupil of the established eighteenth century architect, Sir Robert Taylor, in whose office John Nash was a student. Taylor was the first architect to take pupils. Apprenticeship was expensive and lasted five or six years, often followed by two or three years abroad, and it was not until he was twenty five or twenty six that the pupil found himself a qualified, professional man, ready to practice. If he was fortunate he first obtained a post as surveyor to some public body and then gradually built up a wealthy private practice.\* Individual patrons were still important in the late eighteenth century, but work for committees and boards was becoming more common† and was leading to greater professionalism among architects.

Cockerell was one of the fortunate few. He became Clerk of the Works at the Tower in 1775 and at Newmarket in 1780. In 1786 Taylor resigned the Surveyorship of the Admiralty in his favour and on his master's death two years later, Cockerell succeeded to the surveyorship of the Foundling and Pulteney estates. Later he became surveyor to the sees of Canterbury and London, to the East India Company in 1806 and to St. Paul's in 1811. His first large commission, from 1786 to 1791, was to design and build a house for the First Lord of the Admiralty, adjoining the existing Admiralty office. In 1790 he produced a report on the proposed development of the Bloomsbury estates belonging to the Foundling Hospital which contained the "cardinal principles of Georgian town planning,"‡ and accepted a commission from Warren Hastings to design and build Daylesford House for him. Between 1792 and 1796 Cockerell was also engaged in work on various churches, besides the commissions he accepted for private houses, while in 1791, with some of his fellow architects, James Wyatt, Henry Holland and George Dance, junior, he established *The Architects Club*, the first English society to cater exclusively for architects and whose purpose was to raise the professional standards and qualifications of practitioners. Cockerell was the treasurer of this club whose founder members included Robert Adam, Sir William Chambers, Sir John Soane, and others.§ Thus when Sir William Paxton engaged Cockerell in 1793, to design and

build a house for him in Carmarthenshire, the architect was already established, with a growing, wealthy clientele, and he came to Wales in this capacity, unlike his contemporary, John Nash, who, escaping from bankruptcy in London, was receiving modest commissions for country gaols, and the remodelling of the houses of the West Wales squirearchy.

Yet it may be asked why Paxton chose Cockerell to design his house. A closer examination of Paxton's career and of Cockerell's family connections will answer this question. Sir William Paxton, born in 1745, was a retired Scottish 'nabob' who had been Master of the Calcutta Mint and was a close friend of Warren Hastings. While in India Paxton probably met Cockerell's brothers, Colonel John Cockerell, quartermaster general to Lord Cornwallis, the Governor General, and Charles Cockerell, an "eminent servant of the East India Company"¶ for whom S. P. Cockerell built the only 'Indian' style country house in England, at Sezincote.†

Sir William bought the Middleton Hall estate after his retirement from India in 1785. It was eight miles from Carmarthen, in the parish of Llanarthney, in the vale of Towy. Like many other 'nabobs' who had made a fortune in India, Paxton invested his wealth in an estate and set out to become a country gentleman. Like Warren Hastings at Daylesford he was an improving landlord, increasing his acreage by purchase and drainage and planting trees extensively, so that his estate increased in value.

He was also anxious to enter local politics and several times stood as a Parliamentary candidate for the county and borough of Carmarthen, but like others of his group, he found it difficult, despite his wealth, to gain admittance to county society. In that close knit community Paxton was an alien, in race, breeding and experience. His energetic ways and advanced ideas, he was one of the directors of the Gas, Light and Coke Company, the ostentatious display of his wealth, of which the importation of an expensive London architect‡ in preference to the use of local talent was but another example, were probably resented.\*

\* J. Summerson, *Architecture in Britain, 1530—1830*, The Pelican History of Art Series (Harmondsworth, Middlesex, 1953), p.296.

† For a fuller description of Sezincote see Summerson, *op.cit.*, pp. 296-7 and two articles by Christopher Hussey in *Country Life*, 13th and 20th May, 1939, pp. 502-506, 528-532.

‡ See a letter from Benjamin Henry Latrobe, one of S. P. Cockerell's pupils, to J. C. Williams of Baltimore, Pittsburgh, 3 April, 1814, in which Latrobe claimed that for a good set of architectural drawings Cockerell charged 50 guineas, "for each Consultation half a Guinea, from 5 Guineas to 20 Guineas a day for going into the country to view the grounds and personally direct the work, and 5 per cent commission on all monies expended." Talbot Hamlin, *Benjamin Henry Latrobe* (New York, 1955), p.383.

\* H. M. Colvin, *A Biographical Dictionary of British Architects, 1660—1840* (London, 1954), pp. 14-15.

† F. Jenkins, *Architect and Patron* (London, 1961), pp. 87-88.

‡ Colvin, *op.cit.*, p. 148.

§ Jenkins, *op.cit.*, pp. 112-113.

He supplied Carmarthen town with a new pure water supply at his own expense in 1802, but his offer to build a bridge across the Towy, between Llandilo and Carmarthen was rejected.† Yet Paxton achieved some success. He had been elected a Burgess of Carmarthen in 1794 and in 1802 became mayor of the borough, welcoming Admiral Nelson in that capacity on the latter's visit to the town in that year. In the election of 1802, one of the most bitterly contested in the county's history, Paxton stood as a Whig candidate against Sir J. Hamlyn Williams of Edwinstford, his Tory opponent. After a poll of fifteen days Williams was declared elected by 1217 votes to 1110, a triumph marked by scenes of disorder. Paxton, who was reputed to have spent the enormous sum of £15,690.4.2. on the election, petitioned unsuccessfully against the result. But he was not left without a seat for long. J. G. Philipps of Cwmgwili, one of his nominators, resigned the borough seat in his favour in December, 1803. Paxton retained it until 1806, when in the general election of that year he transferred himself, without opposition to the county seat, only to lose it finally a year later to Lord Robert Seymour of Taliaris.

### Middleton Hall

Paxton wanted a house to accord with his wealth and importance and Cockerell supplied him with one. It was built on a slight rise, a mile from the two main turnpike roads from London to Milford Haven, between 1793 and 1795. Almost from the first it was admired by travellers. Dugdale who saw it about 1818 thought it the most splendid mansion in South Wales.‡ J. P. Neale, seeing it few years earlier, thought it highly creditable to Cockerell's taste and professional talents and drew attention to its elegant and spacious rooms.§ The entry in N. Carlisle's *Topographical Dictionary of Wales*, published in 1811, refers to Middleton Hall in equally glowing terms as yielding to none in Wales "in its architecture and internal elegance of decoration",|| and a similar work referred to the house's Grecian lines and noble portico.\* There were obviously few houses like it in West Wales, none in Carmarthenshire at this date. Compared

\*. This is confirmed in *A History of Carmarthenshire*, Sir John E. Lloyd, ed., 2 vols. (Cardiff, 1939), vol.ii., 59.

†. There is a curious connection here between Paxton and the previous owners of the estate, the Myddleton family after whom it was named. David Myddleton, who lived here in the sixteenth century, was brother to Sir Hugh Myddleton, projector of the New River in London, in 1613, and to Sir Thomas Myddleton, Lord Mayor of London and a member of the East India Company.

‡. J. Dugdale, *The New British Traveller or Modern Panorama of England and Wales*, 4 vols. (London, 1819), vol.iv., 700.

§. J. P. Neale, *Views of the Seats of Noblemen and Gentlemen, in England and Wales, Scotland and Ireland*, 6 vols. First Series. (London, 1818-1823), vol.v. Llanarthney.

||. N. Carlisle, *A Topographical Dictionary of the Dominion of Wales* (London, 1811), Llanarthney.

with such mansions as Dynevor Castle, Glanbran, near Llandovery, Cwmgwili, or Edwinstford, it was new, neo-classical and spacious where they were old, rambling and meagre of adornment. It is a tragedy that this fine house, the only example of S. P. Cockerell's domestic architecture in Wales and superior to Nash's work there, should have been completely gutted by a fire in 1931.

Since Middleton Hall exhibited some typically Neo-classical features it may be useful to define this term briefly here. Neo-classicism was a fresh concept in architectural design, resulting from the archeological study of antiquity which had received fresh impetus in mid-century from books such as Robert Wood's *Ruins of Palmyra* (1753), James Stuart and Nicholas Revett's *The Antiquities of Athens* (1762) and Robert Adam's *Ruins of the Palace of the Emperor Diocletian at Spalatro, in Dalmatia* (1764). The outstanding theorist of Neo-classicism was the Abbé Laugier whose *Essai sur l'architecture*, a copy of which Cockerell is known to have possessed, was brought out in an English edition in 1755. Laugier preached the application of simplicity and logic to architectural design, condemning all irrelevancies and unnecessary decoration and urging the use of a pure geometric style. By means of such books British architects were made aware of the simple, mathematical proportions of classical buildings, of the three classic orders and of the restrained decoration employed by the ancients, and strove to copy or adapt such knowledge to their own purposes.†

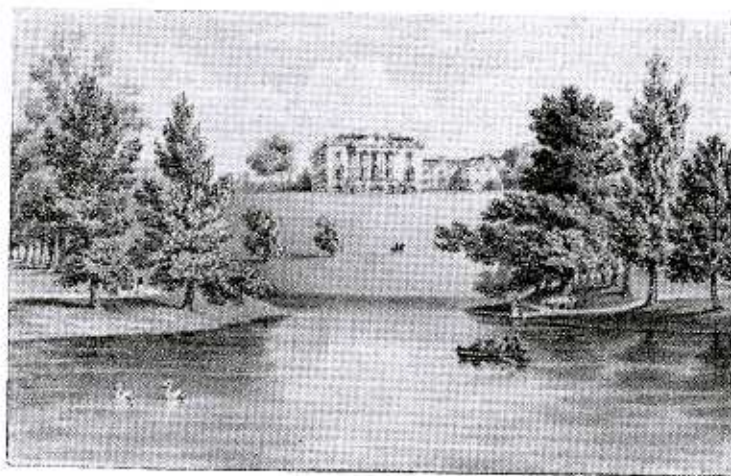
The Hall itself was a quadrangular block of stuccoed brick with projections of Bath stone. Though there was a growing convention that brick should be given a covering of stucco, this was a fairly early use of a material not generally employed until popularised by John Nash in the first decade of the nineteenth century. The West or entrance front at Middleton Hall was plain, showing little ornament, apart from the dressed stone block of the ground floor. There were semi-circular headed window recesses in the slightly projecting wings, while a simple porch, partially supported by two stylised columns standing half way up the steps, led to the doorway. All the windows were of the plain sash type, but on the first floor ornamental balustrading emphasised the moulding.

\*. Samuel Lewis, *A Topographical Dictionary of Wales*, 2 vols. (London, 1842), vol.ii., Llanarthney.

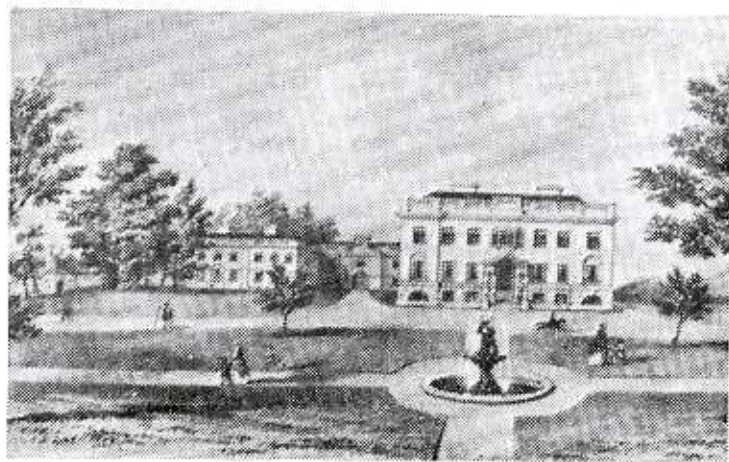
†. There is an excellently clear and detailed description of the Neo-classical movement in Summerson, *op.cit.*, chapter v.



MIDDLETON HALL in 1853



1. Back View



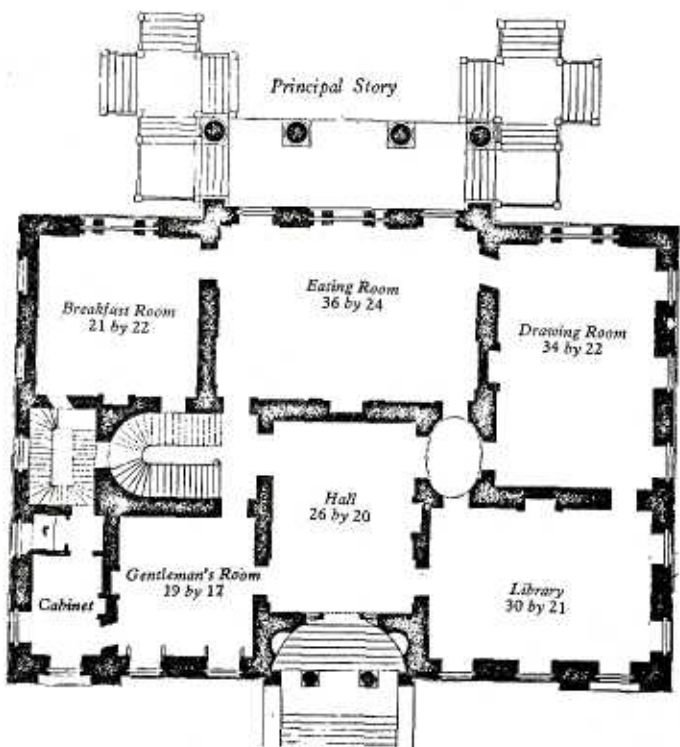
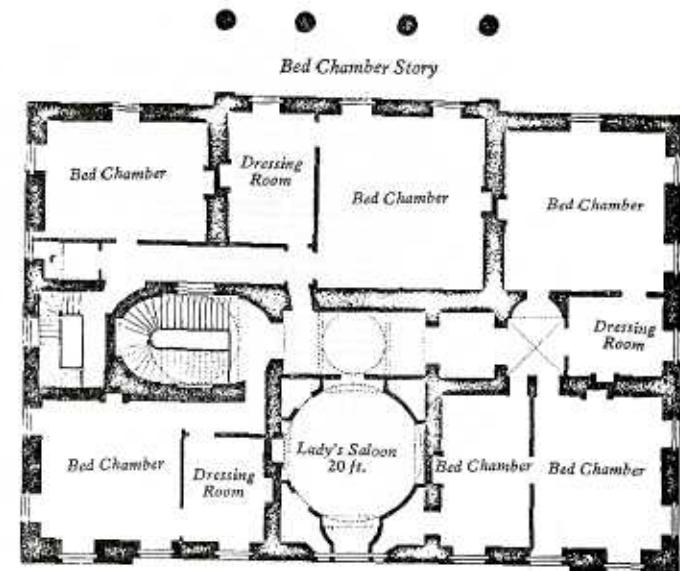
2. Front View

The Eastern front was more impressive, with a large, four columned portico of Ionic design, rising from the first floor terrace to the height of the second floor and supporting a triangular pediment. The heavily rusticated terrace which overlooked an ornamental lake, was reached by a double flight of steps. The three main first floor windows were of the Venetian type already used by Cockerell at the Admiralty. They consisted of three lights, divided by small Ionic columns and placed in semi-circular headed recesses. A wide cornice was surmounted by a decorative balustrade which encircled the roof, partly masking the chimneys. The basement contained the servants' quarters and cellars, while the extensive domestic buildings and stables, clearly seen in Augustus Butler's lithographs (See illustrations Nos. 1 and 2.) and also displaying neo-classical features, were at the north end of the house, partly masked by plantations, close to the gardens and hot houses. These buildings, though a story lower than the main block, achieved unity with it by a continuation of the balustrade around the roof and of the moulding above the ground floor windows, and by the use of a simplified pediment and pilasters.

The interior was spacious. On the first floor was a hall, twenty by twenty six feet, to the right of which was a library, thirty by twenty one feet, and to the left a gentleman's room and small cabinet. Immediately behind the hall and looking onto the terrace was an eating room, breakfast and drawing room, all of ample proportions. Stairs led from a passage off the hall to the first floor, containing three bedrooms and dressing rooms on either side of a central corridor with a Lady's saloon over the hall. (See illustration No. 3. *New Vitruvius Britannicus*, plate 64.)

Broadly, Middleton Hall followed the conventional pattern of late eighteenth century country mansions. S. P. Cockerell was undoubtedly influenced in his work by the neo-Palladianism of his master, Taylor, and the house bears the imprint of Taylor's influence in the rustication of the ground floor and in the arrangement of steps and portico. But Cockerell was more eclectic than Taylor, taking what appealed to him from current Neo-classicism and combining it with his early training and other influences into a style of his own. The simple form and fine proportions of Middleton Hall show that Cockerell was familiar with Laugier's ideas, but the use of pilasters, the way in which the orders rise from a pedestal and the decorative balustrading, also illustrate that he never slavishly copied them.

The ideas behind the design of the house were in the current fashion of the day. Cockerell was to use them again, in modified form, some years later at Gore Court, near Sittingbourne, Kent, built for Gabriel Harper of the East India Company. Gore Court was of stuccoed brick with an Ionic portico and an interior



3. Middleton Hall: Floor Plans

arrangement of rooms similar to Middleton, though much smaller.\* The arrangement of the portico and flanking steps at Middleton also resembles that at Southgate Grove, Middlesex, an early example of a stucco rendered classical villa built, in 1797, by John Nash who probably saw Middleton Hall while he worked in Carmarthenshire, and was possibly influenced by it. What distinguished Paxton's mansion was the classic simplicity of its proportions, its commanding site and, to contemporaries, its interior decoration.

Unfortunately no pictures or drawings of this remain and no adequate descriptions have been recorded. Cockerell's work at the Admiralty and at Sezincote was classical and restrained and the latter contains some charming regency interiors.† One of the influences to which Cockerell responded was French Neo-classicism. It existed strongly in his work after 1795, is evident at Daylesford and was possibly noticeable at Middleton Hall, on which he was working at approximately the same time. Another important influence was that of Sir William Chambers, one of the most important architects of his day and himself strongly influenced by French Neo-classicism. Cockerell's restrained and elegant interiors owe much to both these influences and it is probable that Middleton Hall was an important stage in their development in the architect's work. Certainly no attempt was made in any of the three houses built for East India Company servants and mentioned here, Daylesford, Sezincote or Middleton, to introduce the Indian style into the interior decoration. It would be interesting to know if Cockerell employed the same craftsmen at Middleton that he had used at the Admiralty and was then using at Daylesford; men such as Henry Barrell the wood carver, or John Papworth the plasterer, or John Buhl the copper-smith. Certainly Paxton could afford the best craftsmanship and it is possible that they worked here. But in the absence of detailed buildings accounts or letters and manuscripts of Paxton and Cockerell, which have not yet been found, further speculation about the interiors is vain. As a fine Neo-classical building, all too rare in Wales, as a stage in the development of Cockerell's work, with some of the latest French ideas in its construction and decor, and as a possible example of the work of master craftsmen, Middleton Hall was unique and its loss all the greater. All that remains of this magnificence is the stable block, now inhabited by several families, still retaining its classical outlines though bereft of its clock turret.‡

\*. There is an elevation and plan of the principal storey, together with a description in G. Richardson, *New Vitruvius Britannicus* (London, 1802), vol.i. pp. 3-4, plate xi.

†. For pictures of the interior of the First Lord's House see Viscount Cilcennin, *Admiralty House, Whitehall* (London, 1960).

‡. The Carmarthenshire County Council took over the Middleton Hall estate in 1932—1933, after the fire, when the estate was split up into numerous small holdings.

### Paxton's Tower

The tower, known as Paxton's or Nelson's tower, was built by Paxton from Cockerell's designs, between 1805 and 1808.\* There is some doubt as to the actual date of building. The inscription places it after October 1805 and Carlisle's *Topographical Dictionary* states that it was being built in 1808 when Carlisle was collecting material for his book. The designs were probably drawn up in 1805 at least.

Stories of Paxton building the tower to see a favourite pair of white horses drive to Tenby are obviously false. False too are the tales of its construction out of pique at not winning the 1802 election, or at the refusal of his offer to throw a bridge over the Towy. He built it on a "conspicuous Eminence within his Domain" not only to honour the memory of "the Immortal Nelson", whose visit to Carmarthen Paxton so well remembered, but "to heighten the natural Views of this delightful Vale" and from which "the prospect will be most extensive and rich."†

Such commemorative towers and 'follies' were popular in the late eighteenth century, but since these were the purposes Paxton had in mind, the building was much more than the single commemorative column commonly erected to honour heroes.

It was a two storey triangular building with machicolated round towers at each angle, so that the interior formed a hexagon. The curtain walls linking the towers were machicolated and pierced with lancet headed doorways and windows grouped in threes. An upper storey rose from the second floor to a hexagonal project house, also machicolated and pierced with three full length lancet headed windows. Carriages could be driven right into the tower through the doorways, and a circular stair in a corner turret led to a "lofty and sumptuous banqueting room."‡ (See illustration No. 4, a lithograph by Augustus Butler). Over each of the doors was an inscription, now vanished, in Welsh, English and Latin.§

'To the invincible commander, Viscount Nelson, in  
commemoration of deeds most brilliantly achieved at the  
mouths of the Nile, before the walls of Copenhagen and

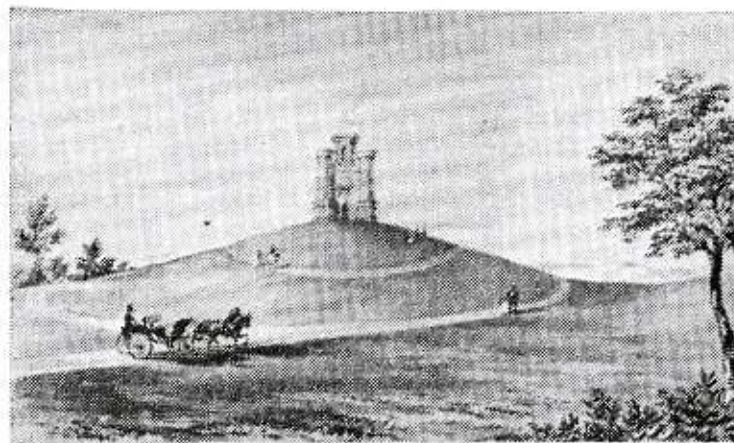
\*. There is a faint, unsigned pencil drawing of the tower c 1803 in a collection of C. R. Cockerell's drawings in the R.I.B.A. Library, 66 Portland Place, London, Folio J10/1(2) and another sketch and plan in Folio J5/28(4) in the same collection. The tower has been attributed to the younger Cockerell but I think this unlikely as he had just entered his father's office in 1805, when the tower was proposed and was still serving his apprenticeship.

†. N. Carlisle, *op.cit.*

‡. Dugdale, *op.cit.*, vol.iv,700.

§. *Ibid.*

on the shores of Spain; of the empire everywhere maintained by him over the seas; and of the death which in the fullness of his own glory, though untimely for his country and for Europe, conquering he died; this tower was erected by William Paxton.'



4. Paxton's Tower in 1853

One of the dining room windows contained stained glass pictures portraying a half portrait of Admiral Nelson himself, wearing his orders and the diamond aigrette presented to him by the Sultan after the victory of the Nile in 1798. The border surrounding the picture is decorated with naval crowns and Nelson's orders and crowned with his coronet, while below, in a shield, a battle ship approaches the mouth of the Nile. Another picture is of the death of Nelson in the cockpit of the *Victory* and the third the apotheosis of the admiral, received by Britannia, who holds a scroll inscribed 'The Royal Assent to Nelson's Annuity Bill', and surrounded with cherubs holding scrolls containing the names of battles in which Nelson successfully engaged. These three pictures were removed to the Hall for safety later in the nineteenth century and are now in the County Museum. At the time Paxton was building his tower, Messrs. Clarke and MacArthur were preparing a biography of the life of Nelson. A special series of pictures, now at the Royal Naval College, Greenwich, was painted by Richard Westall to illustrate this book. The Nelson portrait is a copy of Abbott's picture but the other two illustrations are copies of Westall's drawings from engravings in the biography.\*

\*. For further details and a photograph of the Nelson portrait see *Transactions of the Carmarthenshire Antiquarian Society*, vol.23,1932, parts iv-lvi,pp.xi-xii.

†. B. Jones, *Follies and Grottoes* (London, 1953), Sir Hugh Casson, ed., *Follies*, National Benzole Books, (London, 1963).

The tower has stylistic affinities with other 'follies' of the time, notably Lord Boston's Folly, Hedsor Priory, Buckinghamshire, Blaise Castle near Bristol, Broadway Tower, Gloucestershire and Horton Tower, near Wareham, Dorset.† But three 'follies' bear a closer resemblance in building and function. Brislaw Tower at Alnwick, Northumberland, c.1781 built for the first Duke of Northumberland, is an hexagonal prospect house with spiral stair, built on a wooded hill with a medallion portrait of the Duke and an inscription praising his agricultural achievements on the outside. Both this and the Haldon Belvedere at Doddiscombsleigh, Devonshire, built in 1788, may have been seen by Cockerell and possibly influenced him. Known as Lawrence Castle, the Haldon belvedere is triangular, with round towers at each angle of the machicolated linking walls, which are pierced with groups of lancet headed windows. It has three floors and was built by Sir Robert Palk, former governor of Madras, in honour of his friend, Major General Stringer Lawrence, whose commemorative plaques are in the hall. Inside it was lavishly decorated with Indian marble, the second floor being at one time a ballroom with a fine mahogany floor. The third 'folly' is the Ivy Tower, near Neath, Glamorganshire, an eighteenth century belvedere which served as a shooting box and banqueting hall and once had stained glass in its windows.

One of the avowed purposes of the tower was to improve the natural views of the valley, in fact a successful attempt to create the 'Picturesque'. This was a term much in use in the last decade of the eighteenth century. Before 1790 it applied to landscape gardening and meant the kind of landscape which recalled pictures by the French artists Claude and Poussin, in which valleys, rivers, wooded hills and ruins were the themes. After the publication in 1794 of *The Landscape, a Didactic Poem* by Richard Payne Knight, a Shropshire squire, and of *Essay on the Picturesque* by his friend and neighbour, Uvedale Price, it came to mean a quality, like beauty, inherent in the landscape, which should be drawn out and improved upon by art and planning. The Picturesque idea gave impetus to the romantic movement within Neo-classicism and led to the "Gothic" and castellated style of building.

Cockerell was a friend of Payne Knight and Price and the castellated form of Paxton's tower suggests their influence, though more probably it was suggested by the ruined castles, Carreg Cennen and Dryslwyn, in that area. Certainly the whole landscape, with its winding river, its gentle hills, crowned with ruins and clothed with luxuriant woods, recalls a landscape by those French artists and is of the very essence of the Picturesque.

This tower, Cockerell's and Carmarthenshire's only 'folly', is one of the most beautifully sited in Britain. It has been badly treated; the floors have fallen in, it has been used as a casual quarry and recently one of the corner towers was struck by lightning and severely damaged. Lately however Lord Emllyn bought it and generously offered it to the National Trust if the necessary money for its repair, some £3000, could be raised and work seems to have begun.

### Tenby Baths

Lastly the baths at Tenby must be considered briefly. Carmarthen was not the only town in West Wales to benefit from Paxton's generosity; Tenby also enjoyed his patronage. In 1805 when he went to live there for the summer, Tenby was a small decayed fishing town with memories of past glories. Paxton, who was something of a pioneer of sea bathing, saw the possibilities of the town as a spa and resort and in the same year commissioned Cockerell to design a series of public buildings for taking the waters and bathing.

Paxton had attempted something similar a few years earlier when he discovered chalybeate springs on his estate at Middleton Hall. He had the water analysed\* and on the satisfactory report, intended to build hot and cold baths there to accommodate visitors. These baths were of a very limited local significance and nothing visible remains of them today, but the idea of providing such baths for this purpose may have been planted in Paxton's mind at that time.

The idea of sea bathing as an aid to health was a fashionable one at that time and was not entirely new to Tenby. In 1781 a Dr. Jones of Haverfordwest leased St. Julian's Chapel on the pier to build baths for this purpose. These baths were small but successful until Paxton's establishment probably put an end to them.† The latter were on a more ambitious scale, built under Castle Hill, with hot, cold, plunging and vapour rooms. Unfortunately they were destroyed by fire when almost ready to open. Nothing daunted

\*. The waters were considered superior to those at Tonbridge Wells and Paxton proposed to build baths and draw up a list of instructions in English and Welsh, with a list of ailments the waters could cure. One bath only was built however, for the family, though the waters were conveyed outside the walls via stone pipes for visitors and a house and baths for them were projected, but they do not seem to have been built. For further details, including an analysis of the waters, see Thomas Rees, *The Beauties of England and Wales, South Wales* (London, 1815), pp.279,334-5. Paxton contributed to this book and possibly hoped to publicise his scheme through it, but despite Rees' praise it came to nothing.

†. E. Laws, *The History of Little England beyond Wales* (London, 1888), p.395.

Paxton had them rebuilt on the same scale as before.\* Richard Fenton saw them in his tour of Pembrokeshire and has left an excellent and detailed description of them.†

They were built to allow visitors to bathe at all times and in all weathers and were roofed and enclosed. Large reservoirs were constructed to supply the baths, changing the water at every tide. There were two swimming baths for ladies and gentlemen with dressing rooms for each and four private cold baths for single persons.

“Several warm and vapour baths with dressing rooms tempered with warm air, and a cupping room are fitted up with the latest improvements; and bed rooms are provided in the bath house for invalids.

A handsome room for the bathers, their friends and company to assemble in, is built commanding the sea and the harbour, and is provided with refreshments, so as to form a fashionable morning lounge. An excellent carriage road is formed to the bath-house, and a spacious vestibule for servants to wait in, without mixing with the company.”

Other travellers were equally enthusiastic in their praise and Tenby's reputation as a fashionable spa and health resort and its consequent prosperity increased, as West Wales society came to sample the amenities provided and enjoy the views of sea and harbour. During the season the Tenby coach ran three times a week to meet the London mail at Cold Blow near Narberth.

Paxton was made a freeman of the borough and a burgess in October, 1805 for his proposal to build the baths and continued as a benefactor to the town until his death in 1824. He improved the water supply, made a new road from the Quay, the “excellent carriage road” that Fenton mentions, built the arches on which Bridge Street stands, helped to build a theatre to entertain society and when it failed, bought it himself to prevent the financial loss falling upon his fellow speculators.‡ But the social aspect Fenton had noted soon ousted the medical and by 1835 the baths had become a residential club with a reading and billiard room. The building, later converted into flats, is now known as Laston House, and has undergone considerable alterations.

\* E. C. Freeman, *A Record of Tenby* (Newport, 1963), pp.21-23.

† R. Fenton, *A Historical Tour through Pembrokeshire* (Brecknock, 1903), pp.248-249.

‡ Laws, *op.cit.*, p.396.

Unfortunately no plans have been discovered for either of the buildings. The first designs of the structure burnt down in 1805 seem to have been in the Ionic style.\* The present building is a plain structure, once probably stuccoed, with some rustication about the door and window frames. It is built in the shape of a letter L, the two arms facing the harbour and the sea. The windows and doorway of the main block are recessed in semi-circular headed embrasures. On the pediment over the main entrance is a quotation in Greek from Euripides, Iphigenia to Thoas, ‘The sea washes away all the ills of men’. The front door opens into a circular hall, which once led to the other main bathing rooms.†

The Tenby public baths were Cockerell's first and last public building in Wales and he accepted no further commissions here. The body of his work in this country, always small and confined mainly to Carmarthenshire, has now been reduced almost to nothing. It would be a pity if all record of this fine architect's achievement should be entirely lost and it is hoped that this article may help to rescue Samuel Pepys Cockerell and his work in West Wales from the near oblivion into which they have faded.‡

\* Freeman, *op.cit.*, p.23.

† There is a drawing in T. Rees, *The Beauties of England and Wales, South Wales*, showing a view of the harbour at Tenby in 1815 which clearly shows the baths.

‡ I should like to thank the staff of the Library of the Royal Institute of British Architects for photographing the drawings of Middleton Hall and for their helpfulness in providing me with material on Cockerell; the staff of the Carmarthenshire County Record Office for their co-operation; Mr. H. Turner Evans, Carmarthenshire County Librarian, for his kindness in producing relevant books and pictures and for informing me of the subsequent fate of the Middleton Hall estate and for his suggestions on possible lines of enquiry; Mr. Jones, the Curator of the Carmarthen Museum, for showing me the stained glass pictures formerly in the tower and giving me useful information about Paxton; Mr. Ryle Morris of Abergwili for generously presenting me with copies of the lithographs of the Hall and tower reproduced here, and Mr. T. Lewis, headmaster of Llanarthney primary school and Mr. W. R. Jones, Buildings Superintendent for Carmarthenshire County Council, who gave me such valuable local information about Llanarthney, and most generously took me to see the tower and site of Middleton Hall.

# The Early Effects of Carmarthenshire's Turnpike Trusts, 1760-1800

by ANTHONY H. T. LEWIS, B.A.

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ON 21 January 1763, "several Gentlemen, and others, of the County and County Borough of Carmarthen" presented to the House of Commons, a petition, setting forth that the "High Road" through Carmarthenshire, from Trecastle mountain on the Breconshire border, westwards via Llandeilo, Carmarthen, and St. Clears, to Tavernspite on the Pembrokeshire border, "is in a ruinous Condition, narrow in some Places, and incommodious to Passengers; and cannot be effectually repaired, widened, and rendered commodious by the present Methods provided by Law." They therefore requested that "leave may be given to bring a Bill for repairing, widening, and rendering commodious" the above-mentioned road.\* The subsequent Act, passed by the House on 7 March 1763, established the Main Trust, the first turnpike authority to be set up in South Wales.†

The above procedure—which always preceded the passing of an Act establishing a turnpike trust, or renewing a trust's Act that was about to expire—appears on literally thousands of occasions in the Journals of the House of Commons for the latter half of the 18th century, a period that witnessed a "perfect mania"‡ for turnpike Acts. The Acts were invariably sponsored by the landlords, who solicited and usually obtained the support of the local clergy and influential or rich tenants, together with local industrialists whose interests might be advanced by the construction or repair of the roads concerned. Each Act named a large number of people, usually local men of some wealth and influence, who were responsible for ensuring that the Act was put into effect. These turnpike trustees, who could fill any vacancies (caused by resignation or death) which arose in their membership by co-opting others possessing a specified property qualification, were empowered to take over and maintain particular lengths of road (which were described in great detail in the Acts), and to levy tolls upon certain kinds of traffic using their roads (the rates of toll to be charged also being set out in the Acts). In order to meet the expense of repairing and maintaining the roads, the trustees were empowered to borrow money upon the security of the

\*. *Commons Journals*, vol. 29 (1761—1764), p.409.

†. 3 Geo. III c.34.

‡. A. H. Dodd, 'The Roads of North Wales, 1750—1850,' *Archaeologia Cambrensis*, 1925, p.131.

tolls. The duration of the Act was usually limited to a period of 21 years, the original hope being that during that time the roads could be put in proper repair, the borrowed money repaid, and the trust discontinued.

The final four decades of the 18th century witnessed intensive activity on the part of landowners and industrialists, not only in Carmarthenshire, but throughout the whole of South Wales, in turnpiking the most frequented and important roads of their neighbourhood. By 1772, both the great mail coach roads between London and Milford Haven—the one via Gloucester, Ross-on-Wye, Monmouth, Abergavenny, Brecon, Llandovery, Llandeilo, Carmarthen, Tavernspite, and Haverfordwest, the other from the ferry across the Severn, by Chepstow, Newport, Cardiff, Cowbridge, Neath, Swansea, Pontardulais, Llanelli, Kidwelly, and Carmarthen (where it linked with the inland route)—had been enacted as turnpikes along their entire lengths through South Wales. In Carmarthenshire itself, nine turnpike trusts, controlling approximately 330 miles of the country's roads, had been established by the close of the century.\*

In 1765, the Carmarthenshire gentry interested in the improvement of the lower mail coach road, from Pontardulais via Llanelli and Kidwelly, to Carmarthen, obtained Parliamentary sanction to turnpike this line of road, thereby setting up the Kidwelly Trust.† Another set of roads, based upon the town of Llandeilo and village of Llandybie, was also included in the Act; these were the roads of the Llandeilo and Llandybie Trust. There followed a lull for fourteen years, until 1779, when the Llandovery and Llangadog Trust was established. Following in its footsteps, the Llandeilo Rwnws Bridge Trust (a trust whose Act, apart from the fact that it was perpetual, was similar to those of the road trusts) in 1784, the Carmarthen and Lampeter, and Llandovery and Lampeter Trusts in 1788, the Whitland in 1791, and the Three Commotts Trust in 1792, were set up in rapid succession.‡

To what extent did Carmarthenshire's trusts, during these early years of their existence, succeed in improving the condition and administration of the county's roads? Although improvements undoubtedly accompanied the spread of the turnpike system, the available evidence suggests that these were both slow to come about, and limited

\*. This mileage has been calculated from the roads listed in the turnpike trusts' Acts of Parliament, but excludes those roads which appear—from the evidence of diaries, etc. kept by contemporary tourists, the 1794 Reports prepared for the Board of Agriculture, the minute books of various trusts, and the Report of the 1844 (Rebecca) Commissioners—never to have been taken over by the trusts.

†. 5 Geo. III c.76.

‡. For a more detailed discussion of each of these trusts, vide David Williams, *The Rebecca Riots* (Cardiff, 1955), chapt. 6.

in extent. Visions of the turnpike trust being an efficiently run organisation, effecting an immediate improvement in the condition of its roads, and collecting tolls sufficient to maintain the roads and to pay off the interest upon the capital borrowed on the credit of the tolls (and eventually to repay the capital sums themselves) were quickly dispelled. From the outset, the trusts had many grave defects: some of these were to be remedied during the early decades of the 19th century, whilst others were to remain forever with the trusts, hindering and obstructing them in their activities.

Perhaps the most glaring weakness characterizing the trusts during this period was the line of direction followed by the turnpike road. The turnpike acts of the 18th century made no attempt to create a new system of roads. The roads placed under the authority of the trusts were, almost without exception, those already in existence. That many of these, till this time frequented almost exclusively by cattle and pack-horses, were totally unsuitable, by the very nature of their steep gradients, for wheeled traffic, seems to have been of little concern at the time.\* Not until the 19th century were attempts made, by the construction of diversions and new branches, to adapt the roads to the steadily increasing volume of wheeled vehicles. The Reports presented to the Board of Agriculture in 1794 were unanimous in their condemnation of the "malignant degree of ingenuity" displayed in sending turnpike roads over hills.† In his Report upon the agriculture of Breconshire, John Clark sums up:

"There was a misfortune attending the original making of the turnpike roads throughout the whole kingdom . . . Wheel carriages were not then so common as they are at present: hence the advantage of level roads were [sic] but faintly seen. The gentlemen, therefore, unfortunately did not go to the root of the evil; for, except where the hills were very steep, they contented themselves with widening the old road. This was the case of almost all the kingdom . . . And their descendants, at this day, feel, and are long likely to feel, the sad effects of this puny parsimony."‡

\*. What does appear to have been of greater concern, in many instances, was that private property should be spared when a round-about way over waste uplands presented itself—vide Walter Davies, *General View of the Agriculture and Domestic Economy of South Wales*, 1814, vol. ii, pp. 369-370. The only attempt which appears to have been made before the end of the 18th century to avoid steep gradients was by the Main Trust, whose trustees widened the road along Cwm Dwr during the 1780's so as to present the traveller with a much superior alternative to that across Trecastle Mountain.

†. Quoted in S. and B. Webb, *The Story of the King's Highway*, 1915, p.126.

‡. J. Clark, *General View of the Agriculture of the County of Brecknock*, 1794, p.29; vide also Charles Hassall, *General View of the Agriculture of the County of Carmarthen*, 1794, pp.46-47.

This criticism is endorsed by Walter Davies, in his survey of the agriculture of South Wales, undertaken in 1814, where he states that on the earlier turnpike roads, "we frequently ascend an abrupt hillock . . . for no other purpose than to descend it immediately on the other side."<sup>\*</sup>

Furthermore, methods of road repair remained crude and primitive until the 19th century. The description left by a traveller journeying through South Wales in 1791, of the manner in which roads were repaired, is worth quoting:

"Their custom is to throw down vast quantities of huge stones, as large as they come out of the quarry, the size of a man's head, and many of them four times as big. These are spread over the road in heaps, perhaps a mile distant from each other, covering a great many yards of it. You must either drive over them, or wait till the people, who are there with large hammers for the purpose, have broken them. This they only do into pieces the size of a pretty large flint . . ."<sup>†</sup>

A favourite device, often adopted by turnpike trustees during the latter half of the 18th century for the repair and maintenance of their roads, was that of 'farming out' various lengths of road to individuals (invariably local farmers or craftsmen) who would keep them in repair in return for a lump sum. This practice, however, far from being the "wise and advantageous measure" described by John Clark,<sup>‡</sup> proved ruinous in its effects upon the roads.<sup>§</sup> Walter Davies, travelling through Breconshire in 1814, was informed that the practice had been abandoned "as the roads were neglected by those who rented their repairs."<sup>||</sup>

Such defects in the turnpike system were, however, to be gradually remedied during the 19th century. On the other hand, many inherent weaknesses, more serious in the long run, were to remain, dogging the system until the very end of its existence. Most fundamental of these was the question of turnpike finance. The numerous evasions, exemptions granted to influential inhabitants, arbitrary exactions, and petty embezzlements connected with the collection of tolls at this time are notorious,<sup>¶</sup> though it must be admitted that

definite evidence relating to such practices amongst Carmarthenshire's turnpike trusts during this period is lacking. More serious, however, was the enormous deficit into which the trusts very soon fell. The following figures show the debt owed by each of the first four trusts to be set up in the county, by the time their original Acts were renewed:<sup>\*</sup>

Trust	Date of Original Act	Date of Renewal Act	Unpaid Debt.
Main	1763	1784	£4,080
Kidwelly	1765	1779	£3,345
Llandeilo and Llandybie	1765	1786	£2,500 <sup>†</sup>
Llandovery and Llangadog	1779	1795	£2,600

Clearly, initial expectations of an inexhaustible revenue from the tolls were not to be fulfilled. The reasons for these embarrassing financial difficulties were both numerous and varied. First, there was the heavy expense involved in procuring the Act of Parliament; this could amount to anything between £300 and £1,000.<sup>‡</sup> Then again there was the difficulty often experienced by trustees in obtaining advances upon the security of the tolls. Sir Thomas Stepney, one of the pioneers of the coal mining industry in the Llanelli district, and who was to become a trustee of both the Kidwelly, and Llandeilo and Llandybie Trusts, writing to William Clayton, M.P., on 21st February 1765, stated that at a meeting held prior to the presentment of the petition to the Commons, the condition of the roads of both the Kidwelly and the Llandeilo and Llandybie districts was much complained of, but "few present would subscribe money for carrying the Plan of mending these by Turnpike Act into execution."<sup>§</sup> In spite of the rather gloomy forebodings conveyed by this letter, however, the Kidwelly Trust appears to have fared reasonably well with regard to initial subscriptions, the trust's Interest Books revealing that a sum of £7,980 was advanced upon the security of the tolls

\*. The figures are taken from the Commons Journals for the years of the renewal Acts.

†. This figure is taken from the Commons Journals for the year 1785, vol. 40, p.552, as the petition for the renewal Act was first presented in that year.

‡. *Commission of Inquiry for South Wales, 1844, Evidence*, pp.14, 26, 96; Walter Davies, op. cit., vol. ii, pp.377-378.

§. Sir Thomas Stepney to William Clayton, M.P., London, 21 Feb. 1765, *Cardiff Central Library, MS. 4833.*

\*. Walter Davies, op. cit., vol. ii, pp.372-373.

†. Mrs. Morgan, *A Tour to Milford Haven in the year 1791, (1795)*, pp.120-121.

‡. J. Clark, op. cit., p.53.

§. Webbs, op. cit., p.132.

||. Walter Davies, op. cit., vol. ii, pp.381-382.

¶. Webbs, op. cit., pp.135-138; W. T. Jackman, *The Development of Transportation in Modern England, (1916)*, pp.239-241.



within three decades of the trust's establishment.\* The Llandeilo and Llandybie Trust, on the other hand, was much less fortunate in this respect, as the following figures illustrate: †

Year	Total Value or Tallies Issued.
1765	£10
1767	£200
1768	£660
1772	£100
1775	£150
1782	£50
1788	£150
1791	£550

Tallies, whose date of issue cannot be traced, total £705, making the total value of tallies issued £2,575.

The financial predicament of the Llandeilo Rwnws Bridge Trust—the only other trust in the county for which evidence exists relating to the subscriptions it received during this period—was still worse. By 1794, ten years after its establishment, the trust had only five subscribers, their advances upon the security of the tolls totalling £920. ‡ Small wonder that in December 1802, a sum of £300 was still owing to the contractor for constructing the bridge (the original contract having been made for £1,200). §

In many instances, not only were the trustees unable to repay the actual capital sums invested, but they also found much difficulty in meeting the annual interest payments due to their subscribers. Non-payment, or very infrequent payments, of interest to creditors was to be the rule rather than the exception during the first half of the 19th century; but well before the close of the 18th century, instances of such neglect are to be noticed on certain trusts. The most blatant case concerned the Three Commotts Trust, whose trustees made no attempt whatsoever to repay any of the interest

due to their subscribers until the year 1836,\* by which time the total unpaid interest stood at over £12,000. † Subscribers to the Llandovery and Llangadog Trust were, by the last decade of the 18th century, experiencing much difficulty in obtaining regular interest payments from the trustees, as a number of letters from creditors, written during the years 1792-1794, demanding immediate payment of arrears of interest, testify; ‡ whilst there is little likelihood that the Llandeilo Rwnws Bridge Trust, the most inefficiently administered of Carmarthenshire's turnpike authorities at this time, remunerated its subscribers with any interest payments, for by 1813 the trustees had no knowledge of either the names of their creditors, or the respective sums due to them. § Of Carmarthenshire's trusts for which records remain for the latter half of the 18th century, only the Kidwelly Trust appears to have made regular interest payments to its subscribers. || Yet no attempt was made by Parliament to check or limit the extent to which trustees mortgaged their tolls.

It took little time for trustees to realise that the tolls they were allowed to levy (as laid down by their respective Acts of Parliament) produced an annual revenue far below what was required to keep the roads in repair and to repay the interest due upon the trusts' debt. Clauses which appeared in the earlier Acts exempting both lime and coal from the payment of toll, were in many cases repealed when the Acts came up for renewal, as the table on page 48 illustrates.

The complex scale of tolls—which varied according to whether the vehicle concerned was a four-wheeled waggon or a two-wheeled cart, the number of horses or oxen by which it was drawn, and the nature of the load—set out in the Acts of the Whitland Trust (in 1791) and the Three Commotts Trust (in 1792) cannot be fitted into the above table. As the early decades of the 19th century were to show, however, these trusts were to follow the pattern set by the others in obtaining increased tolls when their Acts came up for renewal.

\*. Kidwelly Trust Interest Books, T.T./17-20, at Carm. Record Office.

†. The figures are taken from the trust's Register of Tallies, 1767-1840, T.T./31, at Carm. Record Office. Note, however, that the table gives the dates of the *issue of tallies*. Such dates do not necessarily correspond with the dates on which the money was subscribed, as very often a considerable time lapsed between the date of the subscription and the issue of the tally.

‡. T.T./29, at Carm. Record Office.

§. Llandeilo Rwnws Bridge Trust Minute Book, 1784-1805, T.T./25, at Carm. Record Office.

\*. T.T./Box 6/Bundle 5, at Carm. Record Office; Cawdor Collection, 2/128, at Carm. Record Office. Unpaid interest amounting to £2,452 upon a tally of £1,654 was due to Earl Cawdor himself; *Commission of Inquiry for South Wales*, 1844, Evidence, p.46.

†. *Parliamentary Papers*, 1836 (2), xlvii, p.297.

‡. D. T. M. Jones, MSS. 8803, 8880, 8966, 8989, 9089, 9207, 9234, 9307, and 9315, at N.L.W.

§. Llandeilo Rwnws Bridge Trust Minute Book, 1806-1845, T.T./26, at Carm. Record Office.

||. Kidwelly Trust Interest Books, 1779-1844, T.T./17-20, at Carm. Record Office.

NAME OF TRUST	Date of Act	TOLLS PAYABLE FOR:				
		Each Horse Drawing	Each Horse not Drawing	Carriage of Coal	Carriage of Lime	Use of less than 300 yards of Turnpike Road
Main ... ..	1763	3d.	1d.	None	None	None
Kidwelly ... ..	1765	3d.	1d.	"One Moiety"	None	None
Llandeilo and Llandybie ... ..	1765	3d.	1d.	"One Moiety"	None	None
Kidwelly ... ..	1779	3d.	1d.	Full Toll	Half Toll	None
Llandoverly and Llangadog ... ..	1779	3d.	1d.	Full Toll	Half Toll	None
Main ... ..	1784	3d.	1d.	Full Toll	None	None
Llandeilo Rwnws Bridge ... ..	1784	3d.	1d.	Full Toll	"One Moiety"	None
Llandeilo and Llandybie ... ..	1786	3d.	1d.	Full Toll	Half Toll	Full Toll
Llandoverly and Lampeter ... ..	1788	3d.	1d.	Half Toll	Half Toll*	Full Toll
Carmarthen and Lampeter ... ..						
Llandoverly and Llangadog ... ..	1795	3d.	1d.	Full Toll	Full Toll	None

\* In this instance, Half Toll applied to "Lime to be used for manure only."

Meanwhile, efforts were made to increase revenue by "farming" the tolls, a practice universally adopted by trusts during the 19th century, and which was to give rise to the highly controversial class of people known as "professional toll-farmers."\* The toll gates and bars would be auctioned or 'let' annually to the highest bidder, who was required to pay his rent in instalments to the trustees during the course of the year. He himself was then responsible for the collection of the tolls, any revenue remaining at the end of the year, after he had paid his rent and toll collectors, going into his pocket as profit. It appears likely that Carmarthenshire's trusts adopted this practice from the outset, though the only trust for which minute books (where an account of the annual lettings of the gates invariably appears) relating to the 18th century remain is the Llandeilo Rwnws Bridge Trust. Its trustees rented their one toll gate for the first time in 1791 (the collection of the tolls during the previous four years, from 1787 when the bridge was completed, having been the responsibility of the trustees themselves), when they received an annual rent of £42 for it. By 1800, this figure had been doubled, to £84.† This method clearly was preferable to that adopted between the years 1787 and 1791, as the trustees were no longer burdened with having themselves to make arrangements for the collection of tolls, whilst their annual income did show a definite increase.

The diminutive size of many of the trusts was another important factor accounting for the increasing financial difficulties encountered by them at this time. The smaller trusts, such as the Carmarthen and Lampeter, the Llandoverly and Lampeter, and the Llandeilo Rwnws Bridge,‡ each employing its clerk, surveyor, and treasurer, can have had little money available for the repair of their roads if the salaries of their officers and the interest due to their creditors was regularly paid. Moreover, many of the roads of the smallest and most inefficient of the county's trusts traversed the mountainous terrain to the north of the Vale of Towy, and were constantly being churned up by the lime and coal carts of the farmers of that region. Such roads even the richest and largest of turnpike authorities would have experienced much difficulty in maintaining. It is therefore hardly surprising to find that roads used almost exclusively by mineral traffic, and whose cost of repair would have been greatly in excess

\*. Webbs, op. cit., p.138 ; David Williams, op. cit., pp.175-176.

†. Llandeilo Rwnws Bridge Trust Minute Book, 1784-1805, T.T./25.

‡. At the end of the 18th century, the Carmarthen and Lampeter Trust controlled 22 miles of road, the Llandoverly and Lampeter 18 miles, and the Llandeilo Rwnws Bridge 1 mile.

of the revenue derived from the tolls collected upon them, were in a number of instances never taken over by the trustees, although included in the Act of Parliament.\* A characteristic feature of the renewal Acts of the 19th century was the abandonment of certain 'uneconomical' roads included in the original Acts.

One more important aspect of the initial effects of the turnpike trusts upon Carmarthenshire's roads remains to be examined. After the enactment of the famous statute of the Parliament of 1555,† responsibility for the repair and maintenance of the country's public highways rested upon the parish as a whole and on every inhabitant thereof, who was annually required to perform, without payment, four days' repair work (called Statute Labour) on the highways of the parish in which he lived (this number subsequently being raised to six days in 1562). This work was to be supervised by the parish Surveyor (who also received no remuneration for his services), appointed annually by the parishioners from amongst themselves, and whose duties included viewing all roads, bridges, pavements, and water-courses within his parish at least three times a year, and presenting any persons who failed to perform the required Statute Labour before the Justices of the Peace assembled either in Special or in Quarter Sessions.

The coming of the turnpike system in no way affected this parochial responsibility for the upkeep of the country's roads. It was never intended that the trusts should relieve the parishes of their duty of maintaining the roads, but rather that the efforts of the trust would supplement those of the parish, and so effect a considerable improvement in the condition of the roads. Parishes were, in the last resort, still responsible for the maintenance of all public roads, the law making no provision for the indictment of a defaulting turnpike trust. The only legal remedy was the antiquated procedure of presentment or indictment of the parish through which the road passed. Despite the glaring iniquity of this system, whereby local parishioners were punished for the neglect of a turnpike trust, it was to continue in existence until 1835.

\*. The road from Betws to the Glamorgan boundary near Penlle'r Castell, although included in the 1765 Act of the Llandeilo and Llandybie Trust, does not appear to have been repaired in any way by the trust; whilst the trustees of the Three Commotts Trust appear to have neglected to repair no fewer than six roads included in their Act of 1792, and which were located in the mineral tracts of the Great Mountain and Llangendeirne areas.

†. 2 & 3 Ph. and Mary, c.8.

To what extent were parishioners made scape-goats for neglectful turnpike trustees in Carmarthenshire? The usual procedure was that a parish would be presented for neglect of road repair by a local Justice of the Peace at Quarter Sessions. Occasionally, where it could be shown that the road concerned had never been in a better state of repair than at the time of complaint, the presentment was "quashed." Invariably, however, the parishioners, so as to avoid the expense of further legal proceedings, would plead guilty to the presentment, which was usually "respite" by the assembled magistrates for a period of three or six months, in order to give the parish time to repair the road. If the work had not been done by the end of the specified period, a fine would be imposed on the parishioners generally, the money being laid out upon the repair of the road by either the parish surveyor or some other person named by Quarter Sessions.

Unfortunately, the minute books of the Carmarthenshire Court of Quarter Sessions are extant from only the year 1794 onwards.\* It is therefore not possible to analyse parish presentments during the years immediately following the establishment of the county's earlier turnpike trusts. A study of presentments made during the 1790's, however, reveals a number of interesting facts:

Between the years 1792 and 1800, the minute books record 66 presentments of parishes for neglect of road repairs. Of these, no fewer than 40 (approximately 60 per cent) concern roads already brought under the authority of turnpike trusts, whilst 20 (approximately 30 per cent of total presentments) involve the roads of the Kidwelly Trust, whose trustees were by far the worst offenders in this respect, as the table on page 52 illustrates.

As early as January 1791, the South Wales Association for the Improvement of Roads (a body founded in 1789 by the landowners and industrialists interested in the improvement of the coastal mail coach road between the Severn and Milford Haven) had threatened to take legal action against the parishes responsible for the repair of the Kidwelly Trust's road between Pontardulais and Kidwelly, the greater part of which was "so extremely bad that it is not passable without considerable difficulty and danger, and some part of it even left in its original state, so as never to have been amended or altered

\*. These are kept at the Carm. Record Office. A complete run of these is available for the 19th century, with the exception of the minute book for the years 1813-1819, which cannot be traced.

NAME OF TRUST	PRESENTMENTS RELATING TO TURNPIKE ROADS IN									TOTAL Presentments
	1792	1793	1794	1795	1796	1797	1798	1799	1800	1792—1800
Kidwelly	—	1	—	6	—	2	3	5	3	20
Llandello and Llandybie	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Llandoverly and Llangadog	—	1	1	1	—	2	1	—	2	8
Llandello Rwnws Bridge	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Carmarthen and Lampeter	1	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	2	4
Three Commotts	—	—	—	—	1	1	1	3	—	6

within the memory of man."\* Again, the few presentments of parishes for neglect of repairs to turnpike roads during this period, that are recorded in the papers of the Court of Great Sessions (Carmarthen Circuit) deal almost exclusively with the roads of the Kidwelly Trust.† A possible explanation of this interest shown in the condition of the Kidwelly Trust's roads is that the local Magistrates, embarrassed by the adverse publicity given to the roads by the South Wales Association (whose sole concern at this time was the improvement of the coastal road), themselves presented the parishes concerned before the Association intervened. That the condition of these roads was worse than that of the roads of many of the county's other trusts seems unlikely. The road that appeared most frequently in the Quarter Sessions presentments for the years 1793-1796 was that from Laugharne westwards to Tavernspite—a line that received little attention from the trustees, and which was to be officially abandoned by them in 1802. The great majority of presentments for the years 1797-1800, on the other hand, refer to the road between Carmarthen and Swansea via Llannon and Pontardulais, a route which at this time replaced the coastal line through Llanelli and Kidwelly as the Mail Coach road. As the main line of communication through the county, it was to be expected that neglect of its repair would occasion fairly prompt action.

The early decades of the 19th century witnessed an intensification of presentments of parishes for neglecting to repair turnpike roads, and there can be little doubt that the additional burden of having to maintain turnpike roads, besides their own highways, weighed heavily upon the shoulders of the parishioners, especially as they were liable to be fined anything up to £1,000 for neglect.‡ The antiquated machinery of statute labour was proving hopelessly inadequate to maintain even parish highways under the ever-increasing volume of wheeled traffic; yet it was also expected to maintain turnpike roads in a reasonable state of repair. Even so, in spite of its iniquity and futility, this system was to remain, unmodified, the basis of road repairs until 1835.

\* *The South Wales Association for the Improvement of Roads*, Abstract of Proceedings taken from the Book of Resolutions, London, 1792, p.18 (Copy at the Royal Institution of South Wales, Swansea).

† *Records of the Court of Great Sessions*, 4 Wales 742/1, 742/2, 742/3, 748/4, 752/1, 752/4, at N.L.W.

‡ A hamlet in the parish of Llangadog was actually fined £1,000 in 1825 for neglecting to repair 7 miles of the Llandoverly and Llangadog Trust's road across the Black Mountain—vide Quarter Sessions Minute Book.

Thus far, the picture drawn of the effects of Carmarthenshire's turnpike trusts, during the early years of their existence, upon the county's roads, has been anything but encouraging. There is, however, a brighter side. The Reports compiled for the Board of Agriculture in 1794, whilst condemning the lines followed by the early turnpike roads, at the same time praised the "present trustees . . . [who] are now busy in making new roads round the bottoms of those hills which their less considering predecessors had boldly climbed over."\* The turnpike roads "of modern date" showed a marked improvement both in their construction and in their line of direction, this being attributed to "the knowledge the gentlemen of the county have acquired, by experience in road-making."† Again, the evidence left by contemporary tourists, although in many instances highly critical of the county's roads, does give a general picture of a very gradual improvement in their condition by the close of the century. Moreover, the turnpike system, which had often encountered considerable initial opposition, had by this time firmly established itself within the county. There was still an enormous amount of work to be done, however. Many of the old pack-horse tracks had yet to be replaced, whilst scientific methods of road construction which would improve the surface and foundation of a road were urgently required. The 19th century was to witness many advances in both respects; it was also to see the turnpike trusts founder still deeper in financial difficulties.

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\*. John Clark, *op. cit.*, p.29.

†. Charles Hassall, *op. cit.*, p.47.