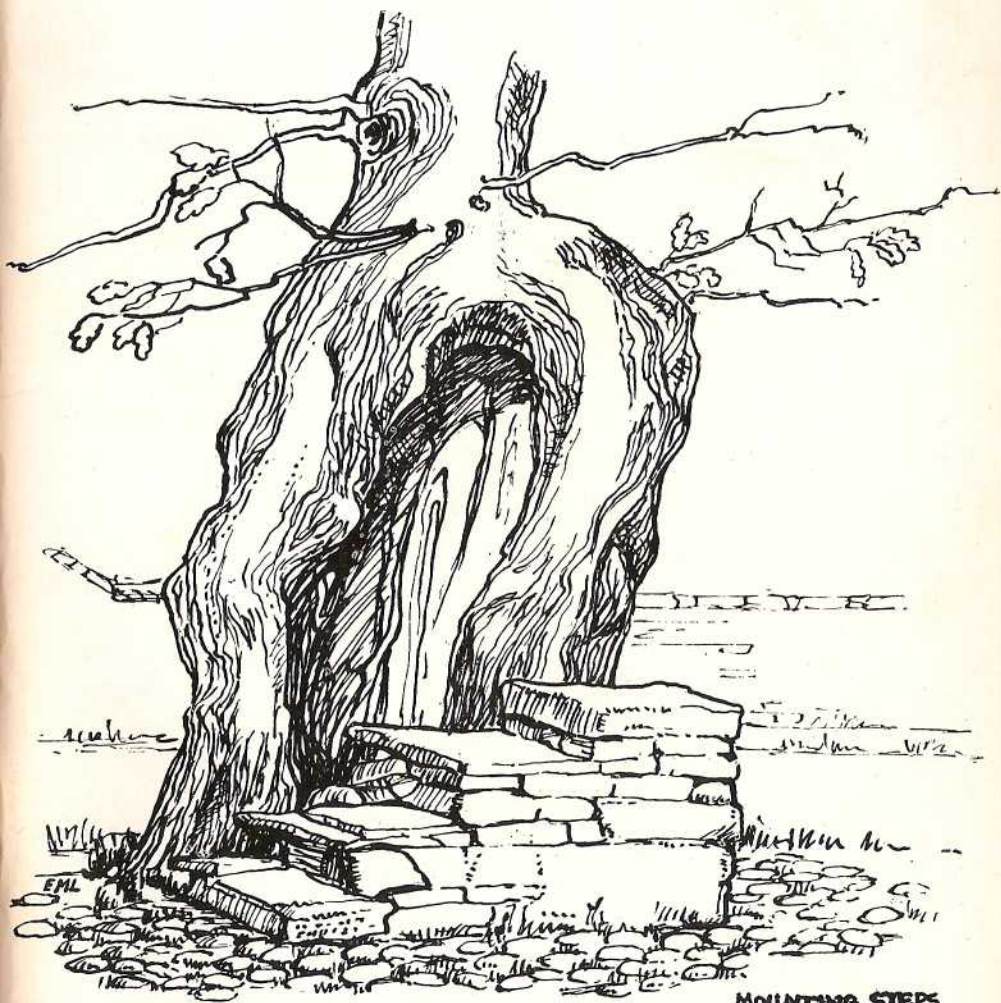


The Carmarthenshire Historian



MOUNTING STEPS
LLANGWAD

THE CARMARTHENSHIRE HISTORIAN

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Editorial

Thumb the stones in the parishes of local history and pages unfold ; lift the turf and the evidence of human sojourn is uncovered. Everywhere the seals of our forefathers are pressed upon the landscape, though some are barely visible. The illiterate marks of pristine generations are almost one with the earth, but mound, ditch and rampart yet lure the curiosity of the archaeologist. More literate signs are plain to recognise ; castle, church and mansion invite the interest of all who take pleasure from walking into the past.

But of our oldest buildings, only the churches have commonly survived for present use. Castle and manor-house may here and there boast inhabitants since medieval times, but everywhere the ancient churches practise their timeless liturgy. Despite renovation and the plunders of time, they remain substantially old ; Tudor rapacity, Puritan zeal and Victorian restoration have not wholly eroded the original creation.

If the parish records have disappeared, the church, its style sullied perhaps, is likely still to be there to confront us like some three-dimensional palimpsest reminding us that architecture is history written in stone. Styles they may be, but Romanesque, Early English, Decorated and Perpendicular are not fashions ; they are stages that reveal the evolving skill of builder and craftsman, aided by tools and knowledge that improved with the centuries. And whatever the style, it is probable that the pattern of the church will be a legacy of the Celtic influence which ordained the square eastern end or chancel and the tower west of the nave. Learn the language and the story is there to read in the fabric.

Yet assembled stone is not of itself permanent. Without continuing care, an unused church yields to nature like a forsaken dwelling and when it crumbles a limb of the parish withers. Sad therefore is the pilgrimage that ends in a shell of roofless walls, which is all that remains of St. Teilo's little church at Llandeilo Abercywyn on the east bank near the mouth of the Taf where earlier pilgrims crossed themselves protectively before taking the ferry on their journey to the shrine of St. David. Irreligious weeds, moved by the wind, dance a pagan ritual where priests chanted through the holy generations. Gone is the rude furniture, the three-decker pulpit included, that was the pride of a rustic craft. Nothing breaks the winter quiet but a mateless bird in tune with the melancholy chorus of pilgrim voices coming down the channels of the wind.

Even the remembered dead are forgotten at last, the lost memorials no longer testimony to their worth ; they share cold beds with anonymous companions whose lowly station denied them a lapidary legend. But some still cling to immortality. Awry and drowning in the churchyard's rising tide of vegetation, a solitary grave-stone makes a last appeal to human memory. In the porch a congregation of rescued headstones sing praises to each other and pray for life everlasting. One, with uncharitable economy, proclaims the life and death of

W.D.
departd novber ye 5t
Aged 29
ANODOM 1749

Unsexed and nameless, W.D. has triumphed over oblivion for as long as the incised stone and this page shall last.

The Trail of the Fugitive

By Major FRANCIS JONES, C.V.O., T.D.

Wales Herald Extraordinary

Whether fact or fiction, few tales are more absorbing than those relating to escapes and hurried journeys. A journey taken at leisure is a comfortable, unexciting affair, however illustrious the travellers, however important their purpose. The sight of a law-abiding traveller homeward-bound on a mountain road barely attracts attention any more than that of a fox padding noiselessly along a woodland drive. But place a brace of detectives on the heels of the former or a pack of hounds on the trail of the latter, and the whole picture, including our own attitude, is immediately transformed. The pace becomes breathless; ingenuity, cunning, persistence, courage, all bubble to the surface, and if the subsequent chase be long and arduous it assumes the nature of an odyssey, a saga, in which the onlooker often identifies himself with the quarry. Such hurried journeys have engaged the interest of mankind from earliest times—the flight into Egypt, the march of the Ten Thousand, Carey's ride to Edinburgh, the escapes of Bonnie Prince Charlie and Lord Nithsdale, the flight to Varennes, and nearer our own day the escape of the young Churchill from the Boers—such events never fail to fire the imagination and to enlist our sympathies. They tell of struggles against overwhelming odds, of men who played against the loaded dice, and who, whether submerged in disaster or crowned by final success, often displayed qualities of heroism which ennoble even a cause with which we might profoundly disagree.

Into this class falls the tale of James ap Griffith ap Howel of Castle Malgwyn whose tumultuous life, persecutions, and wanderings entitle him to a prominent place in the calendar of escapes and hurried journeys. James—I shall refer to him only by his first name throughout my narrative unless quoting from original sources—came of an ancient Carmarthenshire family tracing its lineage to Elystan Glodrudd, eleventh-century prince of the territory between Wye and Severn, one of the first Welsh states to be overrun by the encroaching English and the land-hungry Norman. Among Elystan's numerous descendants was Grono Goch of Llangathen who stood high in the royal favour, being Constable of Dryslwyn Castle in 1280-81, Forester of Glyn Cothi in 1301, and holder of lands in Caio by demise from the Earl of Cornwall *locum tenens* of the King in 1307. To Lewys Dwnn, Grono was a "royal captain" of Edward I, who slew Saliner the Frank, whose armorial bearings, a silver shield adorned

with a red charger's head with gold snaffle, he added to his own. Henceforth the family occupied an influential position in Carmarthenshire and south Cardiganshire.

The great-grandson of the redoubtable Grono, namely Thomas ap David of Llangathen, had three sons—Rhys who settled at Abergwili, Thomas Fychan of Llether Cadfan whose grandson became Esquire of the Body to Henry VIII, and David. This David married Marged daughter of Iorwerth ap Rhys Chwith a prominent Cardiganshire landowner, and went to live at Gwernan in the parish of Troedyraur. From the marriage there were two sons, Griffith ap David of Cryngae in Emlyn who married Gwenllian daughter of Griffith ap Nicholas of Dynevor, and Howell ap David who lived at Gwernan and at Cefncoed in Llangathen. Famed for his open-handed hospitality, Howel ap David extended patronage to the bards, and Lewis Glyn Cothi who flourished in the period 1447-1486, addressed two poems of praise to him and lamented his death in elegaic verse. By his wife, Agnes daughter of the Pembrokeshire knight Sir Thomas Perrot, Howel had three sons. The eldest of these, Griffith ap Howel, married as his second wife Sage daughter of Thomas ap Griffith ap Nicholas, sister to Sir Rhys ap Thomas, K.G. Their only child, James ap Griffith ap Howel of Castle Malgwyn in the north Pembrokeshire parish of Manordeifi forms the subject of my tale.

The descent is as follows :

Grono Goch Constable of Dryslwyn 1280-1, Forester of Glyn Cothi 1301	
Griffith ap Grono Goch	
David ap Griffith	
Thomas ap David	
David ap Thomas	
Howel ap David	
Griffith ap Howel married Sage	Sir Rhys ap Thomas
James ap Griffith ap Howel The Fugitive	Sir Griffith ap Rhys
	Rhys ap Griffith d.1531
	Griffith Rhys (Rice)
	Sir Walter Rice
	Henry Rice

In view of what occurred later, note must be taken of James's connection with the great House of Dynevor, whose brightest ornament, Sir Rhys, was his uncle. James owned Castle Malgwyn (which was his chief residence), the lordship of Ysbytty in Cardiganshire, Llanddewibreifi in the lordship of the Bishop of St. Davids, and lands in Arwystli and Cyfeiliog in mid-Wales.

James married twice. By his first wife Maud daughter of Morgan ab Evan Llewelin Gwilym Lloyd, he had an only child, Jenkin, who took the permanent surname of Powell, and lived at Penrallt in the lordship of Emlyn, either in northeast Pembrokeshire or northwest Carmarthenshire. By his second wife Elizabeth (or Elen) daughter of Owen ap Philip Fychan, whom he married a little before 1518-19, he had two daughters, Sage and Elizabeth.

Such was the family background of the chief actor in the drama. He comes to the forefront of the stage at the time of the tragic fall of his kinsman, Rhys ap Griffith, grandson of the man who had done so much to ensure the success of the founder of the Tudor dynasty at Bosworth.

'Captaynes and Rynghleders'

Sir Rhys ap Thomas died in 1525. His son and heir, Sir Griffith, who had held an appointment in the household of Arthur, Prince of Wales, died in his father's lifetime. Accordingly, Sir Rhys was succeeded by his grandson, Rhys ap Griffith, a youth of some seventeen years, recently married to the lady Catherine Howard, daughter of the second Duke of Norfolk. Owing to his youth, or more probably to the royal attitude, Rhys did not succeed to his grandfather's offices of Justice and Chamberlain of South Wales, which were granted to Walter Devereux, Lord Ferrers. This led to friction between Ferrers and Rhys which came to a head in 1529 when the latter, accompanied by armed retainers forcibly resisted the new Justice's attempts to hold sessions in the town of Carmarthen. As a result Rhys was arrested, together with about eighty of his supporters, among them the "captaynes and rynghleders" who had led and directed the riots. In November of that year Rhys appeared before the Court of Star Chamber, and both he and Ferrers were severely censured for their conduct, and ordered to remain at amity and to make peace between their warring retinues.

But the matter did not end there. Ever mindful of his family's primacy in Wales, Rhys continued to consider ways and means of embarrassing Ferrers towards whom his hostility had by no means been diminished by his experiences in the Star Chamber, and he became involved in more dangerous activities, or at least activities

that could be interpreted as such by a hostile observer. And so, in October 1530 he was arrested on charges of high treason and thrown into the Tower. He was tried, found guilty on the flimsiest evidence, and beheaded on Tower Hill on 4 December 1531, while his enormous landed possessions worth £10,000 a year, together with personal property valued at £30,000 passed into the King's hands. It was a political trial, Rhys's real offence probably being his adherence to Catholicism and his declared opposition to Anne Boleyn whom the king had determined to marry.

James of Castle Malgwyn shared in the fall of his kinsman, with whom he had been "verie familiar together". Apparently he had not been personally involved in the disturbances at Carmarthen in 1529, but was mulcted in large sums for other misdemeanors, the nature of which are unknown. However, he had been actively associated with some of Rhys's later movements, and the extent of his complicity is suggested in the warrant sent by the King to Lord Ferrers on 7 October 1530 for the arrest of "James ap Griffyth ap Howell (who) hath not only dysobeyed sundry our lettres and commandments, but also fortifyed himself in South Wales within the Castell of Emlyn as our rebell and dysobeysaunte Subjecte", together with "his partakers and adherents being within the said castell". He was arrested and lodged in the Tower. Among those who effected his capture was James Leche, sometime mayor of Carmarthen, who received a pension in September 1535, "in respect of his old service in the apprehension of James Griffith Aphowell, traitour and outlawe"¹ While James lay in durance, Rhys, already in custody within the same grim fortress, tried to enlist his help, for the indictment against Rhys states that he dispatched one Edward Lloyd to "Jacobo ap Gruffith ap Howell nuper domino de Castell Maclgom in Wallia, gentilman", to persuade him to enter into a conspiracy. James is alleged to have agreed to act as Rhys's agent by selling or mortgaging the lordship of Emlyn to John Hughes of London in order to raise money on his behalf.

In the event, no indictment was preferred against James, and it is clear that he turned King's evidence. The nature of his testimony is not known but it could not have contained anything likely to have lessened the penalty which the victim was called on to pay. Nevertheless, this remains a blot on James's memory and earned him the undying hatred of the House of Dynevor. When Henry Rice, great grandson of Rhys, later petitioned for the restoration of the royal favour, he made several severe strictures on James,

1. In 1533 James made certain payments "consarnynge the hurtynge of William Vaughan of Kilgarron", which doubtless refers to the time of his capture.

"a man of mean estate, having his chiefest stay of living from the said Rice", and said that he had once been "apprehended by the said Rice for counterfeiting the Great Seal, and by him sent up to the lords of the Council, and committed to the Tower", so that his heart became "full of revenge". No evidence has been found to support those grave charges, while several charges contained in the petition can be proved to be totally unfounded. It must be remembered that Henry Rice's object was to whitewash Rhys, and to show that he had been led to his doom by the treachery of associates.

James's accommodating action did not lead to his immediate release, and he finally presented a humble petition praying for a pardon for past transgressions. On 20 June 1532 the King granted a pardon to "James Griffith ap Howell of Castell Malgwn in the county of Pembroke, alias of the lordship of Spyttye in the lordship of St. John in the county of Cardigan, alias of the lordship of Emlyn in the county of Carmarthen, alias of Llanddewibrefi in the lordship of the Bishop of St. Davids, and alias of Arwystli and Cyveiliog in Powys, gentleman". For this he had to pay a fine of £526 13 4, an enormous sum in those days, which suggests the degree of his misdemeanours and the extent of his wealth and standing.

Marked Man

Shortly after being pardoned, James returned to Castle Malgwyn, where we find him sending various sums of money to London to pay towards the fine. Nevertheless, he was a marked man and the government kept close watch on him. His politics were less in question than his religion, for James was a firm and sincere Catholic, a supporter of Queen Catherine, and hostile to Anne Boleyn, but as opposition to Henry's plans, whether based on religion or any other consideration, was liable to be interpreted as treason, or at least disloyalty, life was apt to be difficult for a man whose convictions were stronger than his discretion. James was an outspoken man as he himself admitted on a later occasion, and after the King's divorce had been formally announced on 23 May 1533, his position became precarious, if not impossible. About Whitsuntide, Queen Catherine sent a letter to him hinting that he should flee to Ireland. The lord of Castle Malgwyn was not slow in acting on the hint, and, assembling his family and some faithful retainers, slipped out quietly on one dark night, and set forth through the hills to seek refuge in the house of his friend Rhydderch ap David ap Jenkin, in south Carmarthen-shire, until a vessel could be found to convey them out of the country.

From this time onwards James's movements came under the close scrutiny of the King and his ministers, who, directly and indirectly, found means to harass him at every place he tried to seek

refuge. Numerous references in State Papers enable us to follow the winding wake of the hunted man and the continual shifts to which he was put in order to preserve his life and liberty. We follow him from Wales to England, Ireland, Scotland, Flanders, Austria, Germany, France, Italy, to the courts of Emperor, Kings, and Dukes, to the anterooms of Chancellors and Cardinals, to obscure lodging-houses and dubious waterside taverns, an outlaw moving in the shadow of attainder, relentlessly pursued by the most powerful prince of renaissance Europe.

In his native Wales James continued to enjoy the confidence of his friends, and also of the supporters of the executed Rhys, which suggests that his conduct during the trial of that unfortunate man had not been so nefarious as Henry Rice was to allege some eighty years later. Among those who rallied to him were Thomas ap Rhydderch of Cryngae, David Meredith of Kidwelly, Walter ap John, David Vaughan of Llether Ychen and Trimsaran together with his brothers Roger, Morgan, and Thomas, who had been concerned in the tumults of 1529. It became necessary for him to embark as quickly as possible for every moment's delay meant that the government's agents were closing on him.

On a dark night, David Vaughan led the fugitive to the shore at Kidwelly where a coal-boat lay ready to sail. The party consisting of James, his wife, Sage his daughter, John ap Morgan a kinsman, Lewis a mariner, John ab Evan Tew, John Owen a gunner, David William, Henry Ellington, and "John a pen berere",² went aboard, and the boat sailed on the ebb tide bound for Uphill, a village near Weston-super-mare on the Somerset coast. There they disembarked, and James then engaged a ship of some 16 tons burthen, manned by a master and five men. Posing as a merchant, he filled her hold with a cargo of beans which he proposed to sell at a profit at the next port of call. On the night of 2 June 1533, the vessel left for the little creek of Youghal in southern Ireland, which they reached four days later. There they remained for a seven-night during which the cargo was landed and sold. From Youghal they sailed for Drogheda, and when the vessel drew near the harbour, James told the master and crew that they were not to berth but to change course and sail at once for Scotland. They refused, whereupon James drove them under hatches where he confined them until they agreed to carry out his orders. The voyage continued without further incident and on 22 June the party landed at St. Tronnyan's in southwest Scotland.

Hearing that the King of Scots was on his way there, James decided to await his arrival, and took lodgings in the house of a

widow. He despatched two of his servants to Wales to acquaint friends of his safe arrival in the northern kingdom. The royal party arrived on 25 June, and James managed to obtain an interview with one of the courtiers, Lord Fleming, in the cloisters of St. Tronnyan's whose abbot was the latter's brother. As a result James was presented to the monarch by whom he was warmly received.

But English eyes were watching and within a week or two, Lord Dacre, the Earl of Northumberland, Sir T. Clifford, Sir G. Lawson and Sir Thomas Wharton had sent letters to London with news about the fugitive, "the gentleman of Wales", as they called him. The government acted promptly and the Commissioners of the Border remonstrated with the King for receiving rebels especially at a time when the two nations were proposing to enter into a treaty of friendship.

The Scots King ignored the remonstrance, and when he left for Edinburgh on 1 July, the fugitive and his retinue formed part of his train. At the capital James lodged in the house of a servant of the King's Secretary where he stayed a month, and is also said by one of the English spies to have been "appointed to a castle South West of Edinburgh". James had long discussions with the Secretary, the Chancellor, and Treasurer, whom he tried to persuade to give him a force of 3000 men to accompany him to Wales "that he with the Lyon of Scotland should subdue all England". However the Scots stopped short of hostilities, he received no men, but obtained grants from the Treasury to sustain himself and his party. The friendliness of the King may be partly explained by a circumstance which Sir Thomas Wharton, a Commissioner of the Border, conveyed in a letter to Cromwell on 11 July. He wrote "The Scots King, hearing the woman named his (i.e. James ap Griffith's) daughter to be fair and about the age of 15 years, repaired to the said castle and did speak with the said gentleman, and for the beauty of his daughter as my espeiall (spy) saith, the King repaired lately thither again". The old old story, it would seem. She was Sage, the elder daughter, whom we shall meet again.

Treacherous Servant

Royal dalliance was not what James had bargained for. Having received a report that he was well thought of in the court of Queen Mary of Hungary, then Regent of the Netherlands, he decided to cross into Europe. He obtained a passport from the Council of Scotland to go to Flanders, a sum of 160 crowns from the Treasury, and in July 1533 licence to leave the realm. A ship was found, but on the eve of departure James quarrelled violently with some stray Welshman he met in the capital, with the result that both had

2. Perhaps of Pen y buarth, not far from Newcastle Emlyn.

to appear before the Council. After the "local difficulty" had been solved, James set forth. He reached Newbotell early in August, then on to Dalkeith, and by the end of the month was at Leith.

While at Leith, James addressed a personal letter to Queen Mary, which, together with some other "writings", he handed to his servant Harry Ellington, who was to convey them to the Netherlands. The emissary was ill-chosen, for immediately on arrival at Antwerp he sought out Stephen Vaughan, one of Cromwell's most active agents on the continent, handed the letter and writings to him, and offered to capture and deliver his unsuspecting master to the English government. Vaughan sent an account of the encounter, together with James's letter, to Cromwell, and also dispatched the treacherous scoundrel to London.

Cromwell's response to the situation reveals the subtlety of his methods. Queen Mary the Regent was sister to the Emperor Charles V, a warm partisan of his aunt, the divorced Queen Catherine of England. Anxious to discover the lengths to which the Emperor was prepared to go in her support, the Minister considered that this information might well be obtained through the unwitting services of James ap Griffith ap Howel. Accordingly, Cromwell immediately sent Ellington back to the Netherlands with orders to deliver James's letter to the Queen, to continue to act as if he were the loyal servant of James, and he was to transmit a copy of the Queen's reply and any other relevant information to Cromwell.

The projected "double-cross" did not come off. Ellington returned as directed, and on 1 December came to Brussels where he delivered the letter to the Bishop of Palermo, the Queen's Chancellor. In reply the Queen thanked "James Greffythe" for his goodwill towards her imperial brother, and for his "offers", regretted she could not send a vessel for him without the Emperor's command, but said that James would be welcomed in her domains. Ellington, with the letter in his scrip, proceeded to Antwerp, and on 8 December, being a Sunday, went to attend mass in a church in that town. His piety proved his undoing. As he came out, a Scot lately arrived from his homeland and a close associate of James, touched him on the shoulder and invited Ellington to accompany him. James had entertained some suspicions of Ellington, and the Scot having made numerous enquiries about his activities, discovered he had been to London and had shown his master's letter to Cromwell. Accordingly he trailed Ellington on his return and pounced on him as we have seen above. The Scot then informed the authorities of what he had gleaned, had Ellington arrested and taken to "the Pynbanke wheron they wolde apullyd me" so the wretch com-

plained later. As a result he broke down and made full confession of his treachery. He remained in custody for some time, but was later released and was back in England in April 1534.

While all this was going on James remained in Scotland probably in Leith waiting for Queen Mary to send a vessel to convey him over the North Sea. He also tried to keep touch with his Welsh friends and dispatched his servant, David Williams, with a message for them. The unfortunate messenger was marked by English agents, arrested in the house of one Thomas Lewis, and taken to answer interrogatories prepared by Cromwell himself.

How James and his followers left Scotland is not known, but he was at Lubeck in the domains of the Duke of Holste early in May 1534, and on the 12th of that month a watchful English agent sent news of his arrival to Cromwell. As Holste was a supporter of the Protestant cause, James departed before 25 May, and an agent informed Cromwell that "the Welshman" had left the Duke "and privily went his way, some say to Ferdinand, others to the Emperor".

Chapuys, the Emperor's ambassador, met James, and in September 1534 sent a favourable account of him to his master describing him as "a man of courage and good sense, and of the principal lineage in Wales, who could put the King (Henry VIII) to terrible confusion by his partisans". Nevertheless, the Emperor was not disposed towards active measures against England, and by the end of the year James was back in Flanders. In December, the spy, Stephen Vaughan, wrote from Antwerp to tell Cromwell that "My lord of Bure entertains Jamys Griffith ap Powell and his wife and has given them a house in Bure. The knave sent his wife to the Queen of Hungary with an interpreter to show his griefs. The Queen gave her 100 gyliden".

Little is known of his movements in 1535. It was reported to Cromwell that he had been "twice with the Regent in Flanders", and English secret agents at Calais made an attempt to implicate David Lloyd ap Owen of Machynlleth, described as "one of the richest men in Wales", a known sympathiser with James, but the business fell through. He continued to send messengers to England, some of them pretty determined fellows, for a note made by Cromwell in 1536 relates to "the execution of him that came from James Griffith ap Howell which killed the two men at Hounslow".

The King Alarmed

Judging from the great care taken in tracing his movements and counteracting his efforts, it is clear that the government regarded James as an important figure. To embarrass him, ambassadors and

agents were instructed to prejudice continental courts against him by denigrating his character and lineage, bringing the most serious charges against him, and emphasising that he was a rebel. In 1536 the government was so seriously alarmed, that the King himself took a hand in matters. In March Henry wrote three letters in his own hand, one to a secret agent, one to the Consuls and Senate of Nuremburg, and one to the Emperor Charles V. He requested the Senate "to arrest two criminals, James Griffith Apowell, an English subject of low birth, guilty of treason, robbery, manslaughter, and sacrilege, who is travelling with a rebel named Henry Philip through Germany on his way from Flanders to Italy". He asked the Emperor to take the two "rebels" and hand them over as prisoners to the Archdeacon of Lincoln, England's ambassador at the Imperial court.

Wherever he went James found that the English were using every influence to induce the courts to arrest and punish him, and "in that behalf do high justice and to the King's grace of England high pleasure". Consequently he was constantly on the move seeking new patrons and greater security. But he never seems to have lost his nerve, adversity and persecution hardened his resolve, and although he did not succeed in putting any formidable plan into operation against England, he certainly caused much anxiety to the Tudor monarch and his ministers.

His Welsh supporters were also harassed, and if their recent conduct was above reproach then ancient peccadilloes were revived so that by-gones were not allowed to rest. For example, on 30 April 1536, Bishop Lee wrote from Brecon to Cromwell that "David Vaughan, officer of Kidwelly in Wales, is accused by your servant Jenkin Lloyd for assisting the rebellion of James ap Howell Griffith". Vaughan was the man who had helped James to escape from Kidwelly in 1533.

The Henry Phillips, or Philip ap Henry, or Philip ap Henry Fychan as he was variously called, mentioned as James's companion in 1536, was a colourful character. He had been a wild and lively youth, and had fled to the continent after robbing his own father. He then appears as a student at Louvain university where he was known for his intelligence, wit, and command of languages, but continued to be involved in all manner of scrapes. A loyal Catholic, he helped the English priest Gabriel Donne to betray Tyndale to the imperial officers at Antwerp in May 1535, and was personally known to Cardinal Pole who was appointed legate to England in 1537. His connection with James became closer as he married the latter's daughter Sage, the little lady who had attracted the King of Scots. The marriage took place at Regnisburg, and a letter dated 24 March 1538 tells she "was great with child". Nevertheless he was hardly

an ideal son-in-law and at one time, even offered to betray James to his enemies.

In April 1537 James started from Wittenberg on his way to Nuremburg, and we hear no more of his doings for the remainder of that year. We pick up the trail again in the following year, when Thomas Theobald, in a letter from Augsburg on 24 March 1538, informed King Henry, that the fugitive calling himself "Sir James Greffeth" dared not show himself openly in Augsburg, that he passed through Ulmes "but tarried not", and added that he (Theobald) had met Henry Phillips who had offered to betray his father-in-law. Anyway the ambiguous son-in-law made his peace with the King, and by September 1540 had returned to England, and the minutes of the Privy Council record "the coming over of Philip ap Henry alias Philip ap Harry alias . . . Vaughan". On 29 June of the following year "Philipp ap Harry" received a pardon.

Despite the difficulties, James remained steadfast, and on no occasion offered to appease Henry or his relentless agents. Even the Protestant reformer Melancthon, who met him, was moved to compassion and in a letter to Vitus Theodorus, dated 6 April 1537 says that James had asked to be commended to Theodorus, and that "he formerly held land of his own in which he could raise 12,000 soldiers, and was, moreover, Governor of Wales, but spoke rather freely against the Divorce. To him was particularly commended the daughter of the Queen because she had the title Princess of Wales; and therefore he grieved at the contumelies put upon her. He was afterwards put in prison from which, after a year and three months he escaped by making a rope out of cloth. I beg you to receive and console him; his exile his long, his misfortunes long, and he seems a modest man. Here he has asked for nothing". James's palpable exaggerations are understandable, and are certainly more respectable than the vicious reports spread about him by the English King and his agents. The hunted man, finding, the Low Countries and Germany too hot to hold him, travelled to Italy where he hoped to find patrons, and, in particular, to enter the service of Cardinal Pole. He arrived in the peninsula in August 1538, stayed for a time in Bologna, and then made his way to Rome.

Having failed to lay their hands on him or to persuade continental rulers to arrest him, the government decided to deliver one last blow at their elusive quarry. Early in 1539 Parliament passed an Act of Attainder against a number of the King's enemies. Among them we read the name of "James Griffith Apowell, late of London", and on 3 June, Thomas Rolfe was appointed "auditor of the lands of James Griffith". The attainted man's only son who had remained at Castle Malgwyn, found himself bereft of all sustin-

ance, and in 1540 "Jenkyn ap Jamys ap Gryffith ap Howell having noo lands nor other lyvving of certyntyie whereby he shuld lyve upon" petitioned Cromwell "out of his most habundant charytie to accepte and admytte your poore orator into your lordship's service". Cromwell was pleased to grant him some minor office, the nature of which is not known.³

After this we hear little of James's wanderings, and it would seem that the government no longer regarded him as capable of raising serious opposition to Henry in the courts of Europe. He was still in exile in 1549 when Cardinal Pole wrote from Rome recommending "especially Captain Griffeto" to the Bishop of Ceneda, Papal Nuncio in France.

Home is the Fugitive

Whatever we may think of his loyalty, his religion, or his dubious acquaintances, no-one can withhold admiration for his courage and his persistence in face of great odds, and few will suppress a feeling of satisfaction to learn that James did indeed "come into his own again", and returned to his Welsh home embosomed in the fair groves above the banks of Teifi. According to Henry Rice, who hated him at a distance of over half a century, "James ap Griffith (a man banished for divers reasons and excepted in all pardons) did confess beyond seas to divers of his acquaintance this damnable practice of his against Rice ap Griffith, and being sore troubled in conscience he returned home with intent to acknowledge his offence and to submit himself to my grandfather Griffith ap Rice ap Griffith. And he (my grandfather not enduring to hear of him) retired himself into Cardiganshire, where he died most miserably; there are some yet alive will affirm this from my grandfather's mouth".

What we do know from a less prejudiced source is that James did return, and not with his tail between his legs by any means. Three suits listed in Early Chancery Proceedings in 1554-5 contain some significant evidence as to his activities. In the first suit James Griffith ap Powell of Castle Malgwyn alleged that David Mortimer and his under-tenant Henry Powell, unjustly retained a messuage and 100 acres of land at "Kilvoyer" in Manordeifi parish, which he (James) claimed to have bought, about 1517, from Thomas ap

3. The Golden Grove MSS, states that Jenkyn was also known as John Powell, and was Marshal of the King's Hall. If this is so, he may be the John Powell described in the Court of Augmentations records for 1548-54 as "Marshal of the King's Hall" holding a Crown lease of Cenarth Mill, and who brought an action against Thomas Bruyne, and 18 other men of the lordship of Emlyn for refusing to grind their corn at Cenarth Mill, according to custom.

Price ap Hoskyn for £30. In defence David Mortimer alleged that he had a right to the premises as they had been mortgaged for £10, by Thomas' father, Rhys ap Hoskyn, before the sale, to Richard Griffith ap Rees whose daughter, Nest verch Richard, he (Mortimer) had married, and complained of James' power, "being the Ruler of these countreys where the premyses lyeth".

In the second suit James complained that about 26 years previously he possessed goods and chattels amounting to a great value, but "upon grett consideracons hym thereunto movinge att the time departed owt of this Realme" leaving the goods, some of which came casually into the hands of Swellin ap Griffith. He had brought an action against him but he only returned a brass pan, and together with one Jenkyn ap Swellin, offered to compound to satisfy complainant. James said that Swellin had taken 2 kine (worth 4 marks), 20 pieces of pewter vessels (worth 2 shillings each) and 20 bushels of wheat of English measure (worth 20 shillings) which he withheld from him. The defence alleged that James had already given a release for these goods on payment of £4.

In the third suit James Gryffyth ap Howell "of London esquire", said that he had held the rectory or parsonage of Ystrad in Cardiganshire for a term of years, and had appointed one Jenkin David ap David to collect the tithes and oblations. However, "aboute xxxiii yeres past your said orator was dryven and compellyd to departe oute of this Realme of England unto foren partyes" where he remained until his return some twelve months ago. At the time of James's enforced departure, Jenkin had tithes and profits amounting to £19 in value which he unjustly retained.

It will be noted that the Throne was occupied at the time of the suits by Queen Mary whose cause James had espoused over twenty years before. Mary came to the Throne in July 1553, and in the following year we find James back at Castle Malgwyn, again "ruler of the country" in the Manordeifi area, so it is clear that he returned shortly after the accession of the Catholic queen, that his attainder was reversed, and that he received back part, if not all, of his lands, and certainly his old home of Castle Malgwyn.

That is the last notice I have found about James ap Griffith ap Howell. Whether eventually, after the accession of Elizabeth, he withdrew to Cardiganshire to die "most miserably" as Henry Rice affirmed, or whether he passed the evening of his life at Castle Malgwyn we do not know. Perhaps we may be permitted to assume the latter, and that his ashes lie within the hallowed ground of Manordeifi church whose summoning bell he had so often heard from his woodland home.

Looking at Carmarthenshire Churches

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Very few of our ancient churches have survived intact in their original form. Those that have not known sudden change have responded to a process of gradual evolution which has hardly finished at the present day. All of them owe their preservation in some degree to the generations of parishioners who guarded them against the slow decay of time and the ravages of wind and weather. Individually they represent such a range of types, sizes, materials, plans and arrangement that it is almost impossible to group them in any tidy system. Looking at a large town church or a small hamlet church there is such a wide variety. Each has its architectural 'personality', and each combines with its surroundings to produce its familiar 'local' picture.

To appreciate fully the beauty of our ancient churches and the significance of the many traces of antiquity found in them, it is essential to keep in mind the position they occupied and the purposes they have served throughout the centuries. Our parish churches were not built only for worship at regular intervals, with occasional services such as baptisms, marriages and burials, remaining empty more often than not. On the contrary, the parish church was the centre of community life. It was supported by all; it relieved the sick and needy; it was used as a parish hall; the church house was a meeting place of medieval guilds. Sometimes ale was brewed on the premises, sold for church funds and drunk during dances and fairs in the churchyard. It was the focal point of the parish, which may be defined as the community of a fixed area, organised for Church purposes and recognising as its communal and spiritual centre the church fabric. Its elements were thus three fold: the building, the people and the priest's office of the cure of souls.

The first partitioning of the country into parishes is a subject of much obscurity. Tradition maintains that England was divided into parishes in the time of Theodore of Tarsus, who became Archbishop of Canterbury in 668. This is open to doubt, but it is probable that in the beginning the manor or township was usually the determining unit. Their extent, of course, varied enormously, as it does today—from a few acres to many square miles. A parish

might embrace a whole chain of manors, and where habitation was more concentrated, it might equally well follow the boundaries of a single demesne. Parish officials were the sexton, parish clerks and church wardens who were far more important people in those days. The sexton acted as a kind of town-crier proclaiming the obits and masses for the morrow. The parish clerk assisted the parish priest, when Mass was said daily. He rang the bell, prepared the altar, led the responses, and preceded the procession with holy water. When the priest visited the sick the parish clerk led the way and carried the bell and candle. On Sundays and great Feast Days he went round the parish, entered the houses and sprinkled the people with holy water.

Church wardens were entrusted with more varied duties than today. They had to keep accounts of everything connected with church funds, collect rents of lands and houses left to the church, farm the church stock of cattle, sell wool and cheese and gifts in kind made to the church, organise "Church Ales" and administer the funds for the relief of the needy. They supervised Church repairs and prosecuted such offenders against the ecclesiastical law as adulterers and Sabbath-breakers. They also acted as bankers and pawn-brokers, the valuables entrusted to them being stored in the church chest. They were responsible for the safe custody of the Maypole and of bells and coats used in country dancing. After the Reformation they had many civil duties to carry out, such as the provision of arms for the militia, relief of the families of soldiers, provision of pounds, stocks and pillories, and the destruction of vermin.

It must be remembered, too, that the church was often a place of refuge against marauders. This may, in part, account for the thickness of the walls and the smallness of the windows—but there were also structural reasons, of course—and the position of the church on the highest ground. Sometimes too, it served as a shelter from the blast of storms.

Facts such as these, as will be seen later, reveal the significance of many features of a church which would otherwise be of no interest and might often be unnoticed.

Lost Beauty

Medieval churches were full of colour. They contained brilliantly painted murals, brightly coloured stained glass windows, gilded carvings, impressive effigies of knights and their ladies—all these forming a background to an elaborate ritual with images,

candles, banners and priests with their splendid vestments, providing an experience of moving beauty. Compared with their original state, our churches appear cold and bare after the ravages of time and man. Stone has crumbled, the living form of the creators has often been renovated tastelessly or replaced by incongruous substitutes. With the coming of the Renaissance and its intellectual, religious and political upheavals the Church lost much of its ascendancy and the buildings were denuded of much of their beauty. It is true that the Church, more particularly the greater monasteries, had accumulated much wealth, chiefly in the form of landed estates. Again the higher clergy, often appointed by the secular authority on political grounds, were frequently pluralists and absentees. There was some slackness and self indulgence, and many superstitious usages had grown up. Payments to the Papacy became burdensome and the interference of the clerical courts in the lives of the people was resented. The Protestant Reformers objected to the doctrine of Transubstantiation. Henry VIII repudiated the authority of the Pope in this country and assumed the position of Supreme Head on earth of the Church of England. He suppressed the monasteries and confiscated their wealth. During the reign of his successor, Edward VI, the Reformers grew in power, they abolished the Latin Mass and introduced an English Prayer Book. Chantries were dissolved and the churches plundered of much of their wealth in ornaments, vestments and sacred vessels. Next came Queen Mary, who restored the Papal authority and the Mass, and ordered the burning of Protestant heretics. Queen Elizabeth I reversed Mary's policy and established the Church of England much as it exists today. She in turn persecuted Catholics, and the final severance from Rome came in 1570, when she was excommunicated by Pope Pius V.

During these tumultuous times our churches were denuded and everything savouring of "Popery" was wantonly destroyed. A few decades later the Puritans became powerful. They were earnest reformers who aimed at combining a stricter morality with a simpler form of worship. They objected to the rule of 'bishops' and to the term 'priest'; to the use of set prayers and the wearing of vestments. They also disapproved of church paintings, pipe organs and ornaments as tending towards superstition and idolatry. All who love good architecture are grieved and indignant at the vandalism which defaced statuary, burned the carved woodwork and smashed the exquisite stained glass of our old churches. During the last century many churches were restored or sometimes entirely rebuilt by generous and zealous benefactors. In many cases, unfortunately, they were misguided and the last surviving examples of ancient fonts, family armorials, water stoups, gargoyles, cresset stones, dog-tongs, misericords and rood screens disappeared for ever.

Before passing to an examination of some of the more interesting architectural features of the churches in Carmarthenshire, one must bear in mind that Wales in general and Carmarthenshire in particular cannot be regarded as very rich in ecclesiastical remains. But in the *comparative* insignificance of its architectural monuments Wales resembles mountainous districts elsewhere. When nature itself is on a grand and awe-inspiring scale, men everywhere seem to have felt that they could not presume to compete with the handiwork of God. In Westmoreland and Cumberland, on the high moorlands of Inverness and Argyle, amid the mountains of Auvergne or amongst the snow-clad peaks of Switzerland the story is the same. The masterpieces of architecture in many lands are found in the fens and in the plains, where the soaring spire or the cloud-capped tower was reared that it might take the place of the majestic mountain in bidding men lift their hearts to God.

Several causes have combined to render anything like magnificent architecture out of the question. Firstly, Wales is rugged and mountainous and its inhabitants were the victims of conquest from early times so that their resources were very limited. Moreover, tithes and ecclesiastical revenues were paid to English or continental overlords, thus depriving local churches of much needed funds. Geologically speaking, too, we find that native building material, especially in the North and West, was unsuitable for refined and sophisticated tracery and carving by the most skilled craftsmen. Lastly, the politically unstable and disturbed pattern of Welsh history in medieval times prevented the practice by its people of any but the necessary arts of life.

Norman Fragments

Even so there are many interesting and unique features in the churches of Carmarthenshire. A few traces of Norman architecture have survived, and here we find a signpost to some major political events in the history of the county. The strictly Norman period in Carmarthenshire commenced early.

On the occasion of his visit to St. Davids in 1081, William the Conqueror doubtless travelled along the old Roman road to Carmarthen. Whatever pious interludes may have enlivened the journey there is little doubt that it was primarily intended by William both to demonstrate and strengthen his power. Before the close of the 11th century Norman barons had established themselves at strategic points within the county. Although traces of Norman architecture

remain as well as details of Norman craftsmanship in the form of fonts and other relics, it can be said at the outset that Norman architecture did not take root in the county. The Norman lord was a settler in a half conquered country. His style of building was foreign and never became the living expression of Welsh church builders.

The church of St. Mary Magdalen at St. Clears contains the one unmistakable fragment of Norman architecture in Carmarthenshire, which consists of the chancel arch and pier capitals. It reminds one of similar Romanesque features in another Cluniac church at Malpas in Monmouthshire. At St. Clears the arch itself has been reset in a rather clumsy fashion. Nevertheless it is typical of Norman work—thick and massive columns, supporting a series of concentric semi-circular arches with cushion capitals which change the square shape of the arch spring into the round shape of the columns. In addition there are zigzags and spirals, simple patterns mixed with stiff formal foliage as well as intertwining basket work designs of Celtic origin. The unusual width of the church is doubtless due to its monastic origin and to the necessity in a small church of having as much space as possible for processions. The priory of St. Clears may be dated early in the 12th century, and at the outset the church was a plain chamber without aisles which terminated at its western end by a wall in which were probably a round headed doorway and a window above it. As such the church would conform to the earliest type of parochial church in the county, of which Eglwys Cymyn may be regarded as another good example—a single chambered building divided into nave and chancel. The church of St. Clears appears to have terminated at the west end with a flat wall and gable. In the 13th century a massive unbuttressed military looking tower was placed symmetrically in the centre of the west front.

As much as possible of the original walling was used in making this addition, and as the west wall was as a rule occupied by only one or at most two narrow lancet openings, it easily became the eastern wall of the new tower as is the case at Cilycwm. Where the parish was sufficiently wealthy to afford it, an altogether new structure was built to the north or south of the original church, and the much coveted tower was placed at the west end of the new chamber. When this addition was completed the intervening wall was pierced. This course was followed at Cyffig, Penbre, St. Peter's, Carmarthen, Cynwyl Gaeo and elsewhere. As the new aisle was often more commodious and better lighted, the altar was usually transferred to it.

Sentinel Towers

Typical Welsh churches were towerless, as are the great majority of churches in Anglesey, Caernarvonshire, Merioneth, Cardiganshire and North Pembrokeshire. Welshmen in their own homes, in the mountainous and more remote parts built simple rectangular churches after the old Celtic fashion, without structural chancel, and having only a small gable or turret to contain the bell. Near the English border, and in the richer districts where Welshmen and foreign settlers came in contact, towers are much more common. At times, no doubt, they were needed for defence against marauding bands. They stood like giant sentinels watching over the people. They housed the bells, called the people to worship and spread tidings both joyful and sad. At night a lamp or beacon fire was lit in the windows to warn of danger and plague, or guide the unwary traveller by land and sea. On examination one finds that an effect of great stability was obtained by the width of the tower receding to the top either by "battering", stepped upper storeys or buttresses projecting less and less the higher they went. Many towers had spires added to them and these impressive landmarks were often adorned with weather cocks, coats of arms, emblems of saints and so on.

In Carmarthenshire there are out of fifty-eight churches altogether, approximately thirty-four ancient churches (including the ruins of Talley abbey) with towers. Although it is impossible to speak with certainty of the age of many of these towers, it would seem that some of them were renovated in the 15th century. In some cases they are massive battlemented structures as at Llanstephan, Llangyndeyrn, Llanfair-ar-y-bryn, Penbre, Cyffig, Cynwyl Gaeo, Llanddowror, Llanllwni and others. Their military style long continued after their original use had passed away. Some of them rise to about 50 or 60 feet and they contain such interesting features as corbel courses or tables i.e. projections usually of stone, built into the wall and supporting the remainder of the tower. String courses (consisting of a moulding or a projecting course of stone) were added for decoration and ran horizontally across the faces of the tower.

Thus at Llanddowror the tower rises about 50 feet to a bold corbel table above which is a deep battlement. Mr. W. D. Caroe, F.S.A. described the tower of Llanfair-ar-y-bryn as "possessing striking peculiarities not shared by its more immediate neighbours in the same style". Here the original entrance to the church was beneath the tower and this was vaulted, acting as a porch. It has a corbel course, a rather feeble string course and several fine gargoyles at the roof level. At Llangathen the tower is one of the finest examples in the county of the regular type of 13th century quasi-

military tower, while at Llanstephan there is "one of those embattled towers so common in South Wales, which are of an early military type, but run on until the 16th century". Rising to about 65 feet, it has an effective corbel table and battlements. The tower at Marros may well date from the 13th century. It is of local type and rises to about 70 feet with a regular corbel table and battlements. The situation of this church on high ground has always made the tower a fine landmark from the sea and possibly because of this the tower was heightened at one of the restorations so that as a result its symmetry has been destroyed. It is interesting to note in passing that the upper chamber of the tower was fitted with a fire place and was at one time the schoolroom of the village.

English Intrusions

From the purely architectural point of view two of the most interesting Carmarthenshire churches are St. Mary's, Kidwelly and St. Martin's, Laugharne. The former is the church of a Benedictine priory, which also appears to have been parochial from its start. It was doubtless erected by craftsmen brought for the purpose from the Abbey of Sherborne in Dorset to which it belonged. St. Martin's, Laugharne, is a good example of a small cross church of the early 14th century. It has a central tower which had been brought into closer conformity with the general type of the neighbourhood than it may have originally displayed. Both Kidwelly and Laugharne are to all intents and purposes English parish churches, and are good examples of their different styles. They have been described as "sojourners in a strange land", they mark a stage in the English conquest, and as such are of interest both to the historian and the antiquary.

No vestige remains of the first Norman church of Kidwelly and the plan of the present church is unusual amongst the monastic churches of Wales. Its position on the bank of a tidal river led to a peculiar arrangement of the monastic buildings. The church consists of an aisleless nave, a transeptal chapel on either side of the nave and a long aisleless chancel. The pre-Reformation nave extended considerably further to the west, but probably after the Dissolution it was shortened and the eastern limb preserved in its entirety. Unusual, too, amongst the monastic churches of Wales is the tower finished off with a tall and well proportioned spire, placed on the north side of the church, the base forming a porch which is immediately opposite to the south entrance of the church. The nave is very wide—33 feet in all—and the chancel is plain and dignified. Several of the windows appear to belong to the latter part of the 13th

century. Here at Kidwelly the tower is the principal architectural feature of the church. It is a 25 foot square, with a very decided batter to the lower 6 feet. It is buttressed to the parapet, which has almost disappeared. Internally the lower storey is vaulted with plain quadripartite vaulting. On several occasions it has been struck by lightning. When the tower was rebuilt in 1658 the work was so badly executed that its symmetry was destroyed. The transeptal chapels were doubtless built for tombs and chantry altars. The church wardens' presentment of 1720 affords interesting information on this subject—"We present the two chapels adjoining to the church of Kidwelly,—one whereof belongs to the estate of Mudluscome, and the other to the estate of Llechdouney, to be out of repaire, and ought to be repaired by the proprietors of the sayd estates, viz by Mr. Dean Jones and Doctor Bentham, and the other by Owen Brigstocke, Esq.—Arnold Hopkins, church warden". The arches opening into the transepts are plain and without capitals. The south transept contains a tablet stating that it was rebuilt in 1767, which suggests a thorough renovation.

An interesting relic at Kidwelly is the alabaster figure of the Virgin and Child dating from the 14th century. The font is modern, taking the place of that destroyed in the last fall of the spire in 1884. The tombs comprise one of great interest in memory of a lady Ysolda, traditionally identified with the lady Hawys who married Patrick de Chaworth and died in 1274. In the south or Mansel chapel is an effigy of a 14th century civilian, and there is also a slab bearing a 15th century cross.

Tradition maintains that the original church of St. Martin at Laugharne was erected by Sir Guido de Brian, who served in the French wars of Edward III. De Brian's arms, together with the head of the King, are displayed in one of the nave windows. The church as it is today consists of nave and chancel, both without aisles; north and south transepts, and over the crossing a fine tower which has been shortened. Although the main architectural features of the building belong to the 15th century, it is difficult to ascertain how far various restorations have affected the building. The present edifice was restored in 1873-4 in the Perpendicular style, but the original was probably in the Early English style. The transepts appear to be part of the original plan, there being in the north transept a recessed tomb containing an effigy. This may well be that of a palmer belonging to the de Brian family. The south transept has a piscina and a credence table, a plain squint to the chancel, while the chancel retains both its sedilia and piscina. All the windows are Perpendicular, much restored. The arches at the

crossing and perhaps the lower part of the tower belong to the earlier church. There are a few interesting objects of antiquarian interest, including a slab in the south transept bearing a cross of unusual design. This cross, which may show Viking influence, has a knotted pattern with a continuous sequence along the edge forming a rope design to the shaft and circular top. It may be dated from the 9th or 10th centuries. The earliest dated tombstone is apparently one to "J.H. 1690". On the floor of the south porch is a plain circular stone vessel. A treasured possession is an embroidered cope of Italian origin dating back to pre-Reformation days. Altogether the church is an architectural and antiquarian gem which possesses the charm of a miniature cathedral.

But the most important church in the county is St. Peter's at Carmarthen, which has been for a long time the venue of important religious and civic celebrations. It consists of chancel, nave, south aisle, transeptal chapel on the north side, south porch, now a chapel of rest, and west tower. As compared with the parochial churches of the county it is a large and dignified edifice befitting an ancient historic town. Architecturally speaking, however, it is rather disappointing. With the exception of the mouldings to the windows and west door, it is bare of decorative features. The tower, nave and chancel may be of 13th century origin while the south aisle possibly dates from the end of the 14th century. In 1394 a licence was granted for the foundation of a service to the honour of the "Blessed Mary in a chantry within the church of the blessed Peter of Kermerdyn" (charter Rolls, Ric II). The east end of the aisle was known at one time as "the town chancel" and was used as the consistory court of the diocese. The transept is called in the Corporation records "the Mayors Chapel" and adjoining it was a bone hole or charnel house. The tower has been repaired from time to time and in 1776 the battlements were renewed. It contained a priests chamber lit by a single lancet with trefoiled head, the only original window remaining. The font is a plain hexagon, which has been retooled. The church was re-ceiled and roofed by John Nash in 1785. Until 1836 the Mayor and Corporation occupied the north transept, when their seat was removed to the nave. There are four sepulchral recesses in the north wall of the nave. A 13th century slab is inscribed RICAR : ROSB(U)R : CIT : ICI : DEV : DE : LALME : EIT : MERCI. A second slab bears a recumbent figure without an inscription. On the north wall of the chancel is a broken slab with a carved figure. The splendid tomb of Rhys ap Thomas and his wife will be considered later. Amongst the other items of interest is the brass tablet commemorating Sir Richard Steele, who was buried in the south aisle on 4 September 1729. In the west porch is a Roman

altar, and on the walls of the church are several interesting memorial tablets with the heraldic devices of many important families. These have been described in detail by the late H. M. Vaughan, and they record Carmarthenshire personalities such as John Jones, M.P. of Ystrad, Anne Lady Vaughan of Derwydd, General Nott, the Rev. Edmund Meyrick and others. There is also in stone, the Royal escutcheon of France and England quarterly, dating from the 15th century.

Churchyard Lore

Although special mention has been made of the three outstanding churches of Carmarthenshire, it is well to remember that all sorts of curious remains are scattered over the county. It is often worth while looking around a country churchyard for interesting traces of ancient customs. Thus, for example, pillories, stocks and whipping posts, ducking stools, mounting steps, tithe barns, clergy houses and lych gates were a familiar sight. In most cases they have disappeared although the stocks complete with its padlock and seat survive in the church of Llywel in the neighbouring county of Brecon. In the cobbled yard outside Llanegwad churchyard one may still see the mounting steps once used by parishioners who came to church on horseback.

In former times churchyards were very busy places. On Feast days there was dancing and games such as 'fives' and 'cnappan' or kicking 'y bêl ddu' as in Llandysul during the ancient jollifications of Calan Hen. Fairs were held at specified times and travelling merchants set up their booths and plied a busy trade. Churchyards were not so full of graves and gravestones in those days. In some cases the church was built on an old heathen burial ground, and the churchyard would be older than the church. Yew trees exist in many churchyards, some going back to antiquity, and are vestiges of the groves in which pagans worshipped. They symbolised immortality, were allegedly a protection against roving cattle, and used for decorating the church at Easter and major feasts.

Church marks consisted of the names of nearby mansions or farms carved on old churchyard fences and indicated that the tenants were responsible for keeping that part of the fence in a good state of repair. They are reminders of the time when the actual repair of the fabric of the church fell upon all parishioners, e.g. at Marros an interesting feature of the churchyard is a number of inscribed initials, denoting the length of walling contributed by various parishioners from 1786-1799.

In the 18th and early 19th centuries, when surgical science was beginning to develop, the prejudice against the dissection of bodies was so great that medical students were driven to what was known as "body snatching". To prevent this a small building called a watch box was erected in the churchyard wherein armed men were on guard to foil the activities of the "resurrection men"—as they were called.

Crosses were frequently set up in a number of churchyards to commemorate an early saint, or for outdoor preaching. The cross was also an important "station" in the Palm Sunday processions and could be used for public proclamations. Some had a niche in the shaft for the pyx (a receptacle containing the Host). Some crosses had a 'lantern' top or arms and were enriched with sculptured figures. Only traces of churchyard crosses remain in this county. Shafts and stems, pedestals and bases are scattered in the parishes of Eglwys Cymyn, Llandeilo Fawr, Llanelli, Llanglydwen, Llangynnor, Llan-sadyrnin, Llanwinio, Marros and Pendine.

The extent of the original limits of the borough of Kidwelly were marked by four crosses, and according to a charter of 22 Henry VI (1444) the bounds of the borough and foreignry (*forensica*) are said to lie within "the four ancient crosses that compose the said town". A survey of the lordship taken in 1609 re-affirmed this tradition and no doubt these crosses had an important religious significance as well in medieval times. In the corporation minutes of Laugharne for 1751 reference is made to "the cross of the Church". Again a cross was thought to exist on a small open space immediately north of the Mariners Chapel and known as "The Grist" or Cross Square. Although there is some confusion as to the actual site of the original cross at Laugharne it is interesting that up to the middle of the last century it was customary for funerals to walk three times round the cross on the Grist. In Carmarthen town a cross known as the Market Cross stood originally near St. Mary's Church and not far from where General Nott's monument stands today. The Cross was moved to Lamma Street in 1783 to make room for a small roofed market place. In 1843 the stone fragment forming the pediment to this cross (and traditionally regarded as part of the stake at which Bishop Ferrar was martyred) was again removed to Abergwili Church where it now forms the finial of the spire. According to some authorities the fragment of carved stonework at Ystrad, Johnstown was a portion of a beautiful cross that stood near the market precincts and the church of St. Mary. Three sides of the fragment contained a carved figure beneath a trifoliated head, the fourth had an ogee shaped crocketed canopy. The figures may

signify the Father in Majesty, a bishop, St. John the Baptist and the founder carrying a sword of state and a model of a church. Llwyd's *Parochialia* refers to "fragments of a popish cross in ye churchyard; of another in ye town near ye churchyard and a third now wholly ruined, by ye Ostry".

Maypoles have completely disappeared along with the traditional ceremonies and customs associated with them. The first of May was kept as a festival to celebrate the return of Spring. The Queen of May was crowned with a garland of flowers. There was a procession to the village green, dancing round the Maypole and general merry making. These celebrations were suppressed by the Puritans and revived after the Restoration of 1660. Then they gradually declined in importance with the Methodist revival in the 18th century. There are frequent references in Welsh poetry to the Maypole or "Bedwen Fai". It was also known as "pawl haf", a decorated birch pole used also for the celebration of St. John Baptist day or Midsummer day e.g. Dafydd ap Gwilym says—

"Y Fedwen las anfadwallt,
Hir yr wyd ar herw o'r allt".

and in an early 17th century carol we read—

"Digwyl Ifan fedyddiwr glân,
I bydd llawen gwilio bedwen".

Earlier in this century a Carmarthenshire antiquary recorded some of the traditional customs in the Kidwelly area which survived up to the last century. He describes the practice of placing mountain ash over the doors and windows on the Calends of May even as late as 1845. Some regarded this rite as an ancient custom to drive out trouble from the house or counteract the evil influence of witches who were mischievously active on the first day of May. On the same day, a pole from twelve to fourteen feet in length, made gay with evergreens, flowers and ribbons, was carried by the young people along the chief streets of the borough with much singing and merriment. The procession then returned to the 'vacance' within the Barbican walls, the pole was fixed in the ground and around it dancing went on till the evening. The inhabitants of Kidwelly observed many other customs, too, which are largely traceable to ecclesiastical origin or sanction and to the conservative spirit of the inhabitants long after the original religious significance of the rites were forgotten or little understood.

Tombs, Demons and Dials

In Carmarthenshire a few interesting lychgates deserve examination. The term lych or lich is derived from an old English word for a dead body. At the lychgate or corpse gate the funeral procession stopped and the coffin was placed on a wooden or stone table, while the priest read part of the burial service. In Medieval days only rich people were buried in coffins; the poor were brought in the parish coffin usually carried on the parish bier (a few of which still remain). Then they were taken out, wrapped in a sheet and interred in the ground. To give impetus to the wool trade of the country, an act was passed in 1678 forbidding anyone under a penalty of £5 to bury a corpse unless it was wrapped in woollen material. Parish vestry books contain frequent references to burial costs, and in the mid 18th century when a pauper, one Nell Abermorwydd died in the parish of Penboyr the vestry paid out two shillings for a flannel shroud. After the repeal of the Act in 1814 the custom seems to have died out. But lychgates continued to be erected. The one at Llanfair-ar-y-bryn has been described as an interesting example, while at Llanfynydd there is a plain structure of the 18th century. Replicas of Gothic lychgates in wood or stone have been erected in modern times, for example at Laugharne, St. Peter's Carmarthen and at Holy Trinity Church in Llanegwad parish. When Archdeacon Thomas Beynon built (at his own expense) a completely new church at Penboyr in 1808-9, he also enclosed the churchyard with a high wall and erected an impressive lychgate. This still survives and is an exceedingly good example of a stone lychgate in strictly classical Georgian style.

Looking around country churchyards one can sometimes find further evidence of the social customs and beliefs of a bygone era. Sepulchral monuments developed in their own way and have a special history. Few gravestones earlier than the 17th century remain. Ordinary folk had no mark to denote their graves. The earliest headstones were very thick and low above ground level, with perhaps only the deceased's initials and the year of death. Later on, table tombs were set up in churchyards similar in design to altar tombs within, and sufficiently above ground as not to be smothered with weeds. They were used for distributing ale and bread provided for the poor in the wills of many charitably disposed persons. In the 18th and 19th centuries it became fashionable to construct vaults under the church or outside wherein the gentry were buried. They follow the same general pattern—a rectangular subterranean room vaulted over and firmly constructed of brick or stone and marked off at the top by strong iron railings. Many vaults exist but in this connection one need only mention the vaults of the Abadams of

Middleton Hall at Llanarthney, the Lloyds of Waunifor at Llanllwni and the Jones-Mansel family vault also in the same churchyard.

Before entering our ancient churches the keen observer would do well to examine the exterior walls of the church for such features as buttresses, corbel tables, gargoyles, sundials and consecration crosses. Buttresses were used to bear the thrust of a heavy roof against walls of slim proportions. A corbel course was used to support a projecting roof or upper storey, especially in church towers, as we have already noticed. Many of these corbels were carved with quaint heads and figures, representing builders, craftsmen and benefactors; sometimes they provide some such humour as a fat monk sucking his thumb. Thus when St. Barnabas Church, Penboyr was built by Earl Cawdor in 1862-3 for the growing village of Velindre both he and his lady were depicted on corbels supporting the dripstone of one of the windows.

Gargoyles can be very interesting too. In effect they are stone water spouts representing dragons, demons and other fearsome creatures. The common belief was that these monsters tried to infest the church. Therefore carved forms of them were used as gargoyles, so that through some form of imitative magic they were made to protect the church they wished to destroy. Other gargoyles represented human vices as a warning to all who entered the church to leave their evil passions outside. When churches were consecrated twelve crosses carved or painted or of metal were fixed outside and inside the church. They were anointed by the bishop with holy oil, and their position was usually about seven or eight feet above ground. Few of these crosses have remained, but during the rebuilding of Llangadog Church in 1889 a consecration cross was discovered but the plain side of the slab had been used by the church wardens in 1694 to note the date. In Llansawel Church is a stone on which is incised a small equal armed cross with trident arms.

Sundials are rarely seen nowadays. In the burial ground of Capel Henllan—the Congregational Chapel in the parish of Henllan Amgoed there used to be the well preserved base and shaft of a sundial originally set up in 1777. But early in this century the inscribed dial plate and gnomon disappeared. In Llansadyrnin is part of a cross supporting a sundial dated 1805. Another sundial may be seen on the south wall of Holy Trinity Church, Newcastle Emlyn and on the south side of Penbre Church too. The use of sundials goes back to very early times and in the Middle Ages "Mass" or "scratch" dials were very common. They told the times of church services but later they were developed to mark the hours of the day.

Porches and Fonts

So far we have looked at relics outside our churches. As we enter through the porch it is well to remember that most churches have one on the south side, and became fashionable in the 14th century. Here penitents received absolution, those who broke their marriage vows stood wrapped in a white sheet; women knelt to be 'churched' after the birth of their child. Here too, baptismal services commenced and marriage banns were called. A great deal of civil business was carried out here—executors of wills made payments of legacies, coroners held their courts and public notices were exhibited. The porch was one of the 'stations' during church processions and many of them had a niche for a figure of a patron saint. Some had an upper room which could be used to store books and documents. Gruffydd Jones of Llanddowror started many of his circulating schools in church porches, and it is not unknown for them to be used also as the armoury for the local militia.

In many porches there are the remains of holy water stoups. All the worshippers dipped their fingers in it and made the sign of the Cross on their forehead and breast to remind themselves of their baptismal vows and the frailty of human life which is "unstable as water". About a dozen examples of holy water stoups survive in the county—Betws (Ammanford), Castell Dwyran, Cynwyl Elfed, Llanfair-ar-y-bryn, Llanfynydd, Llanpumsaint, Llansadwrn, Llansawel, Llanstephan, Llanwrda and Llanybydder. Many of them bear the marks of time and are sadly mutilated. There is no certainty of their exact original position. In Llanfynydd Church the stoup, with beautiful trifoliated head, is in unusually good condition and is still 'in situ'. Again in the south doorway of Llansadwrn Church, which dates from the 13th century the stoup is in its original position, but has been damaged.

Inside our churches the first object which draws attention is the font. Throughout the centuries the font was used to receive men and women into the Christian fold. In design fonts followed the prevailing type of architecture. Most fonts are made of stone, some of lead and in the 13th century a number were of marble. Early fonts were tub-shaped, large and deeply hollowed. In early times adults stood in the font and water was poured over them. Later, when the baptised were mostly children, they were immersed and so the fonts were smaller and raised on a low stand. When sprinkling became the custom, the bowls were made still smaller and raised on a pedestal. Weird beasts and figures carved on some fonts probably symbolise the escape of the soul from evil through baptism, while the corners of square fonts held candles and the vessels of oil

and salt used at the ceremony. Some fonts have carvings representing the seven cardinal virtues of Faith, Hope, Charity, Prudence, Justice, Fortitude and Temperance as well as the seven sacraments—Baptism, Confirmation, the Eucharist or Mass, Penance, Ordination, Matrimony and Extreme Unction. Other favourite subjects were symbols of the four Evangelists and heraldic devices. Covers were added to the fonts and they were kept locked because people thought the consecrated water contained some magic power and tried to steal it. None of these early covers has come down to us. A number of Carmarthenshire fonts are of special interest.

In some churches along the coast there used to be many Norman fonts which had characteristics of their own and showed the advance of the invader into these parts. Thus in the churches of St. Mary, Kidwelly, Penbre, St. Ishmael's and Llanstephan the original fonts were of the square Norman type, having shallow bowls and ornamented with plain cushion capitals. The first three have disappeared but sketches of them still exist. The plain but massive Norman font in the so called "Pilgrims' Church" of Llanfihangel Abercwyyn (now in ruins) has been removed to the modern parish church. It is of one piece resting on the floor without a base block or pedestal. The upper half has carving in slight relief depicting Romanesque arcading. The fonts at Cynwyl Gaeo, Marros, Llandawke, Eglwys Cymyn, St. Clears and Llangynnor have been singled out for their rude workmanship and their style presumes considerable antiquity. Their general square shape and low cylindrical pillars approximate them to the style of Norman fonts, and they may perhaps represent the local Welsh craftsman's attempts to follow the fashion brought by the invader. Recently the basin of the Norman font of St. Llawddog's Church, Penboyr, was recovered from Llysnewydd where it had been used as a garden ornament. It had been thrown out of the church during the restoration carried out by Archdeacon Thomas Beynon. Two extremely interesting fonts are those of Cenarth and Pencarreg. In the former the font is ornamented with human masks, the heads being at four equal distances, enclosed with a serpentine moulding; in one of the divisions there is a pair of heads, making five in all around the bowl. The workmanship is extremely rude and its execution may have taken place in the 13th century. The shaft and base are modern. At Pencarreg there is a unique font. The bowl consists of a plain circular limestone block. Standing out from the otherwise plain surface of the basin, and at equal distances from each other, are four human faces. The features are in rather low relief, doubtless because of the lack of skill in the sculptor and the hardness of the material. All the masks are of the same type, and probably represent Our Lord as a youth (without a

beard), as a man (bearded) as the Crucified One (bearded, with head falling towards the left) and the Christ in Glory (crowned). At Pendine the font is seven sided and may originally have represented the Seven Virtues or the Seven Sacraments.

Behind the Screens

As one looks from the font towards the east end of the church and the altar, one will sometimes find a rood screen dividing the chancel from the nave. Because of the paucity of remains of this kind in Carmarthenshire it has been argued that they were not common and that the county was not well wooded. Another possible explanation is that Protestant and Puritan reformers carried out their work so zealously and destroyed what they regarded as "Popish" remains. Ignorant restoration during the last century completed the process. Consequently few traces remain in this county. There is a modern screen at Laugharne, and in the old church of Llanfihangel Abercywyn are steps leading to the former rood screen. At Myddfai, late in the 15th century, a south aisle was added to both nave and chancel, and the altar was moved to the new south chamber, which was divided from its nave by a rood screen. Rood screens were often finely carved. They separated the nave and the ordinary people from the choir where the priest and his assistants officiated at the altar. In the great churches and cathedrals screens were massive constructions of stone as at St. Davids. Over the screen was the Rood Beam on which was fixed the Rood (an image of Christ on the Cross with figures of the Blessed Virgin Mary and St. John). The top of the screen was in the form of a loft, the Gospel was read from it and in the morality plays the throne of God stood here. Screens were enriched with beautiful carvings, coloured and gilded images of apostles and saints.

Squints or hagioscopes were openings cut at an angle through the wall at the side of the chancel arch to give people in the side aisles a view of the high altar. Again, if a priest was officiating at a side altar, he could use the squint to view what was going on at the high altar and thus synchronise the two services.

The most important object in almost every church is the altar and before the Reformation most altars were of stone with fine crosses carved on them signifying the five wounds of Christ. A piece of the original stone altar slab of Llanarthney church formed part of the threshold of the church until 1917, but it is now within the sanctuary at the base of the east window; the remaining fragment shows the centre and two corner crosses.

At Llanllwni there survives what was probably the stone altar table with three crosses traceable on it. Beneath the communion table at Llanpumsaint is a curious relic in the form of a stone with nine rudely incised equal armed crosses—a group of four crosses around a cross in the centre of the slab and two similar crosses at either end. The wooden communion table at Llangathen is a fine example of Tudor carving, and is regarded as a relic from the days Bishop Anthony Rudd of St. David's resided at nearby Aberglasney. The table is supported on six legs, the centre front leg being formed of a human figure treated as a caryatid and above are Tudor roses. After the Reformation the communion table was placed in the middle of the chancel (as at Maenordeifi in Pembrokeshire) while the congregation sat or stood around it. Some strong minded Puritans placed the table in the nave with the minister facing his congregation, and in this way they anticipated modern liturgical trends. Communion tables in place of altars are interesting reminders of the orders for the destruction of altars in the time of Edward VI and Elizabeth I. It was Archbishop Laud who resolved the controversy by deciding in favour of altars.

Inside the chancel one may see a piscina, aumbry and Easter sepulchre. The piscina was a basin attached to the south wall. It had a drain hole leading to the consecrated ground outside, and was used by the priest during the ablutions before and after Mass. Some have a shelf or credence on which the sacred elements and vessels—chalice and paten—stood. In a few Carmarthenshire churches piscinas have survived, e.g. Kidwelly, Laugharne, Llandyfeisant, Llangathen (now concealed behind the organ), Llangyndeyrn and Pendine. Aumbries were small containers for storing vessels with holy oil. Most of their wooden doors have disappeared. In the south wall at Llanllwni is a small aumbry and on the north wall are two stone brackets for images. Myddfai, too, still possesses its aumbry.

Openings on the north wall of the chancel in our churches (and otherwise not accounted for) may have been used as Easter sepulchres. It was the custom to place the Host and altar cross in the sepulchre on Good Friday, and there they were under constant surveillance until their removal with great jubilation early on Easter Day. The ceremony signified in dramatic form the burial and resurrection of Christ from the tomb. One of the most ornate features of the chancel was the sedilia. During Mass the priest, deacon and sub-deacon used the sedilia (while the Creed and Gloria were being sung) for a period of rest during the long ceremony. A sedilia consisted of seats in the south wall. They were sometimes separated by pilasters or mullions and often surmounted by crocketed canopies

and finials. Examples may be seen at Laugharne, Pendine, Kidwelly; at St. Ishmaels there is a plain low stone seat around three sides of the chancel which might have been used as a sedilia when occasion demanded.

At least two ancient pulpits survived in the county until recent years. In the old church of Llandeilo Abercywyn there was at one time (now demolished) a three-decker pulpit—of rude construction, it must be admitted, but of interesting design—square with unequal panels and comprising a projecting ledge facing the north wall. It was raised on a high platform with steps leading up to it from a very commodious reading desk which looked like a large box-pew. In the angle of the two structures was another box-pew on floor level. An unusual pulpit at Llansadwrn had steps and a small door leading to it, while on the outside there was a low bench with arms to lean on. Generally speaking few really ancient pulpits exist today, as sermons were delivered before the altar, at the west end of the chancel or sometimes from rood lofts. Pulpits came into more general use in the 17th century especially after 1603 when church wardens were ordered to provide one in every church. Some had large sounding-boards overhead to help the preacher's voice to be carried to the far end of the building.

Church roofs also deserve attention. In general they consisted of roof trusses placed at regular intervals. Long beams or purlins were fixed at right angles to the principal rafters in order to support the common rafters. Thereon a covering of thatch, lead or stone tiles were fixed. As the weight of the roof tended to spread the principal rafters outwards, trusses were strengthened with tie beams, collar beams and braces. The most decorative of all was the hammer beam roof. Most timber roofs are open, but some have been boarded in. One form is called a wagon roof—and resembles the canvas tents once used over carriers wagons. Another interesting type is the barrel roof such as may be seen at Llandybie, Myddfai and Penbre. The roof at Llandybie was at one time ceiled over but during a later restoration the ceiling over the chancel was removed, thus opening out a fine barrel roof. In both aisles of Myddfai church the vaulting has been plastered over. At Eglwys Cymyn the roof is vaulted entirely of stone and this is only one example of the many interesting features of this unique church.

The Remembered Dead

In most churches there are heraldic memorials to the important families who once worshipped in them. They take several forms—

crests, arms, mottoes on shields and hatchments, and so on. There are no doubt hundreds altogether and only brief mention of them can be made. Hatchments consist of a painting on a board, four to five feet square, of the armorial devices of a deceased person. The background was black in part or whole, thus defining the distinctions between married persons, widowers, widows, bachelors and spinsters. Hatchments were placed above the front door of the deceased's house, then carried at the head of the funeral procession and hung (sometimes permanently) in the parish church. These memorials are of great interest to the student of heraldry, genealogy and social custom. Frequently they are of a high artistic standard. A few examples may be cited at this point. In Holy Trinity Church, Newcastle Emlyn are hatchments placed therein by the Fitzwilliams family of Cilgwyn. In Myddfai heraldic memorials remind us of the Griffies-Williams family of Llwynywormwood, while at Abergwili the black lion rampant with its golden chain and collar is to be seen on the memorials to the Philippses of Cwmgwili. Many of these memorials date from the 18th and 19th centuries. A few have survived the ravages of time; for example, on a 16th century arch in Penbre Church are the eight shields of arms of the Dukes of Lancaster. In one of the nave windows of Laugharne Church (as we have noted) are the arms of Sir Guido de Brian—or, three piles meeting in point azure. Again on the exterior east wall of Llanboidy two heraldic shields were placed. It is said that they came originally from Whitland Abbey. On one shield is a chevron between three ravens—the cognizance of Sir Rhys ap Thomas.

A few other mural monuments deserve attention. Bishop Richard Davies, one of the translators of the Scriptures into Welsh, is remembered in Abergwili Church. The memorial was erected by Bishop Thirlwall during the last century and it bears an epitaph by the famous literary-cleric the Rev. John Jones (Tegid)—

“Esgob oedd ef o ddysg bur-a Duwio!
Diwyd oedd mewn llafur;
Gwelir byth tra'r Ysgrythur
Ôl gwiw o'i ofal a'i gur.”

Gruffydd Jones is remembered by a very impressive mural tablet at Llanddowror and Richard Steele the essayist is also commemorated as we have seen in St. Peter's, Carmarthen, where there are other interesting examples. From the 17th century onwards mural tablets became increasingly fashionable and illustrate the prevailing taste in architecture with a range of style from Palladian and Baroque to Victorian Gothic. In this way developed the lettered panel describing the life and godly works of the deceased. Memorials

were decorated with classical conventions—pilasters, pillars and orders, pediments, draped urns, cartouche complete with cherubs as well as angels, the helm, crest and coat of arms of the departed. In addition there was the inevitable skull, its salutary warning emphasised by means of Latin aphorisms—*memento mori*, *beati mortui* and *datur omnibus mori*. In addition to the mural memorials already mentioned perhaps the most notable example is to be seen in the chancel of Llandybie Church and shows Sir Henry Vaughan of Derwydd—"Knight-Colonel to his late Majesty Charles 1st"—who died in 1676.

In a few churches medieval effigies arouse interest. Thus in the floor close to the south wall of Abergwili Church is a broken sepulchral slab depicting a cross carved in relief and may be the tomb slab of Bishop Bek who died in 1293 and who was the founder of a college of priests at Abergwili. The tomb of the lady Ysolda in Kidwelly Church has already been mentioned. At Llandawke there is an effigy of a lady wearing a wimple and flowing robe, tight gauntlets with a row of closely placed buttons along the outside seams. Traditionally it has been regarded as depicting "Margaret of Marlos, daughter of Robert Marlos, Knight and of Margaret his wife, sister of Guido de Brian, K.G., Lord of Laugharne 1350 to 1391". At the ruined church of Llanfihangel Abercywyn are medieval sepulchral slabs showing distinct patterns—coped or hog backs, twisted rope design, chevrons, equal armed crosses, human figures and animals. But the most well known effigy is that of Sir Rhys ap Thomas at St. Peter's, Carmarthen. Like the table tomb of Edmund Tudor, now at St. Davids, Sir Rhys' effigy was originally at the Grey Friars, Carmarthen until the dissolution of the monasteries in 1535. In 1865 the tomb was restored and in some ways drastically altered at the expense of the Lord Dynevor of the day. Be that as it may, it is gratifying that this worthy memorial has survived. A notable early 17th century tomb is that of Bishop Anthony Rudd. About 1600, Rudd, who had been Bishop of St. Davids since 1594, extended the south aisle of Llangathen Church to contain his own remains. In 1616 a fine monument of hard Italian plaster was erected by the Bishop's widow, and is typical of the period. It shows the recumbent figures of the Bishop and his wife as well as full sized figures of a boy and girl kneeling together at each end of the tomb. It is a distinct product of the Renaissance and contains classical pillars, a Romanesque arch, pediment and obelisks, whilst above the canopy are the arms of the diocese of St. Davids and those of Bishop Rudd, namely an ermine chevron between three silver bells on a blue field.

There are many other relics in our Carmarthenshire churches to which only a passing reference can be made—mural paintings in

Eglwys Cymun and Cilycwm; ancient parish chests at Cynwyl Gaeo, Llanfynydd, Llangynnor, Llansadwrn, Llansawel, Llanwrda, Llany-crws and Penboyr. Two magnificent pipe organs of eighteenth century origin are in St. Peter's, Carmarthen and St. Mary's, Kidwelly. There is a wide variety of stained glass throughout the county, not to mention pews, bench ends and galleries. Church plate in the county has its own fascinating story. Regimental colours tell the story of the local militia and of deeds of valour on distant battlefields. Many other relics have disappeared without trace—the armour of sturdy knights, the hautboys and bassoon, the fiddle and pitch pipe of chorister and minstrel. No longer do we see a 'brank' or 'gossips bridle'. Fire places in family pews as at Manordeifi have given way to more modern warming devices and there is no longer the need for 'dog tongs' to curb unruly quadrupeds. The perceptive visitor will come across curious and exceptional features. No two churches are alike—each represents local fashion and skill, each has its "personality" and contributes in its own distinctive way to our knowledge of the colourful history of Carmarthenshire throughout the centuries.

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Cwm (Coomb)

A Carmarthenshire House and its Families

By Major FRANCIS JONES, C.V.O., T.D.

Wales Herald Extraordinary

In *The Annals and Antiquities of the Counties and County Families of Wales*, first published in 1872, Dr. Thomas Nicholas permitted himself the following observation concerning a residence in Llangynog, a parish lying southwards of the main highway from Carmarthen to St. Clears: "The mansion of *Cwm* has a name expressive of its situation, and means a vale or dingle. In obedience to a bad taste it has been disguised into the unmeaning form of *Coomb* or *Coombe*—a word belonging to no language, and devoid of the advantage even of prettiness. Local names in Wales have generally a significance and should be respected". With this stricture on a by no means uncommon practice, no self-respecting Welshman can withhold agreement. Even if uneducated, our distant forebears were not illogical, and their choice of place-names was governed by a determination to describe a topographical or other condition in more or less precise terms, so that it is a pity that their descendants should mutilate or transform an inherited name in order to conform to a whim or convention often transitory and inspired by artificial considerations.

There were two mansions in Llangynog, and both suffered change of name. The older, Nantyrhebog, in the northern part of the parish, home of the ancient stock of Protheroe, occurs fairly consistently in legal and official documents from late Tudor times, as Hawksbrook a literal translation of the original name.¹ In the other case, the name *Cwm*, a residence in a beautiful valley in the southern part of Llangynog, was never translated. Lawyers and official scribes, unfamiliar with the native orthography, rendered the name phonetically, so that we have the forms *Cwm*, *Kwm*, *Come*, *Coom*, *Coomb*, and *Coombe*.² In fact, the result is not at all unpleasing, and neither is it an outrage on the original to which the sound has remained remarkably faithful. So, perhaps, Dr. Nicholas need not have been quite so vinegary in his criticism. In this essay I shall adhere to the original spelling, save when I am quoting from documents where the name is rendered otherwise.

1. See my essay, 'The Squires of Hawksbrook' in *Trans. Cymmr.* 1937.
2. In the south-west of England, where Celtic names have survived, *coombe* has been in general use for centuries and has become accepted as an 'English' noun.

Cwm was a comparatively newcomer among the residences of Carmarthenshire. Until 1679 it had been a farm, and in that year was purchased by Morgan Davies, a younger son of a landowning family, who built a mansion there. This remained in being for over a hundred and eighty years, until it was dismantled, and a second mansion erected. Such is the general outline of *Cwm*'s history which I now propose to examine in more detail.

Davies of Cwm

A family of Cardiganshire origin, the Davises, traced to the magnate Rhys Chwith, who, according to the genealogists, was an Esquire of the Body to King Edward I. A descendant of that worthy, David ap Rhys Fychan, married Jane daughter of Morgan Herbert of Dolycors in *Cwm Ystwyth*, and their son Thomas was the first of the family to settle in Carmarthenshire.³ Thomas David or Davies entered Holy Orders and became Vicar of *Eglwys Cymun* in the reign of Queen Elizabeth I. By no means a humble parson "passing rich on £40 a year", Thomas Davies was also the secular lord of the manor of *Eglwys Cymin* and proprietor of an estate worth £700 per annum, a considerable sum in the values of those times. Traces of the old manorhouse in which he lived can be seen just to the north-east of the parish church: the farm, *Manor Court*, is about 500 yards to the east. Most likely he acquired the property through his wife Grace, daughter and heiress of a south Pembrokeshire landowner, John Hall of *Trewent*, by Jane *Laugharne* of *St. Brides* whose mother was a *Wogan* of *Wiston*. Their descendants continued to marry heiresses, a sure portal to opulence, with the result that they established several influential households in west Wales—at *Newton* and *Cwm* in Carmarthenshire, at *Lanteague*, *Crunwear*, and *Nash*, in Pembrokeshire.

The parson and his heiress-wife had five children:

1. Henry Davies, see later;
2. Francis Davies of *Ludchurch* who married Jane daughter of John Griffith of *Eastlake* in *Amroth* parish, and had issue;
3. James Davies, instituted as rector of *Begelly* on 23rd October 1610, and married Frances daughter of Thomas Mores of *Hollwell*, *Oxfordshire*, by whom he had issue;
4. Anne, who married Thomas Parry; and
5. Jane, who married Hugh Philipps of *Trenwydd* in *Crunwear* parish, and had issue.

The eldest son, Henry Davies of *Eglwys Cymun*, married, after 1597, Catherine daughter and coheiress of Rhys Rhydderch of *Laugharne* an extremely wealthy and powerful landowner, who served as High Sheriff of Carmarthenshire in 1608. Rhydderch, whose

3. Jane's brother, William Herbert, settled at *Hafod Uchtryd*, *Cards*.

younger brother John established the line of Protheroe of Nantyrhebog, was connected with the family of Rhys of Dynevor, both being descended from Sir Elidir Ddu of Crŷg near Llandeilo. Henry and Catherine had three children: 1. Thomas Davies, see later; 2. Francis Davies who married the sister of Thomas Jones of Penblewin; and 3. Dorothy, who married the Revd. Richard Brookes of Whitchurch in Hampshire, who came to live at Newton in Laugharne parish.⁴

Henry's eldest son, Thomas Davies, married Elizabeth daughter and coheirress of Nicholas Saunders of Newton, otherwise known as Castle Hill, in the parish of Laugharne.⁵ The Saunders had been landowners at Ewell in Surrey, and one of them, Erasmus, settled at Tenby and Pendine as a merchant, and acquired substantial landed properties in those districts. By his wife Jenet Barrett of Tenby, he had a son Nicholas who settled at Newton. When Nicholas Saunders died in 1636, Thomas Davies moved to Newton, which formed part of his wife's inheritance. Elizabeth predeceased her husband, who, about 1683 or shortly after, married Anne widow of John Laugharne of Laugharne. Thomas Davies was buried at Laugharne on 16 May 1687, and Anne on 2 May 1714 at the age of 74. There were six children: 1. Thomas Davies, described as of Grays Inn in 1672, succeeded to Newton, and married Martha daughter and coheirress of Richard Tooth of Hixon in Stowe parish, Staffordshire; their son and heir, Thomas Davies junior, died at Newton in 1741, leaving the estate between his two daughters, (i) Jane who married the Revd Lewis Evans, who settled at Newton, and had three daughters, and a son, Thomas Evans of Newton who in 1763 married Miss Meares of Corston, Pembrokehire; and (ii) Mary who married at Nash in 1739, Benjamin Rawlin of Carmarthen (later of Cardigan), excise officer, by whom she had nine children. 2. Henry Davies of Cardigan, married and had issue. 3. & 4. Two sons who died young. 5. Morgan Davies, see later. 6. Dorothy who married Devereux Hammond of Tenby.

With the youngest son, Morgan, we arrive at Cwm. He was an attorney-at-law, and lived at Carmarthen for some time, and from the fact that he acquired valuable landed property, it is clear that he was successful in his profession. A successful practice at the law has been responsible for the rise of a number of gentry families in west Wales, and the founder of the family of Davies of

Cwm provides us with one such example. He may have been the Morgan Davies, described as of Llangain, who was county Clerk of the Peace, around 1700-1711 and probably later, but the identification is not certain. He followed in the wake of his three immediate forbears by marrying an heiress, a practice that had enabled the family to improve its economic and social position in steady, albeit unspectacular, manner. Morgan married twice. Of his first wife all we know is her name, Dorothy Philipps, and it is not unlikely that she belonged to the family that had poured from its mediaeval nest at Cilsant to secure vast possessions in west Wales. The union was of short duration, and Morgan then married Elizabeth the other daughter and coheirress of Richard Tooth of Hixon.

Among his earliest deals in real estate was the acquisition of Cwm. On 1 March 1678-9, Lord Vaughan (later, 3rd Earl of Carbery) and Thomas Davies of Newton, sold to Morgan Davies (described in the conveyance as fifth son of the said Thomas Davies) the properties called Cwmmme, Penkelly, Berllan, and Llwyn Gwyn, in the parishes of Llangynog and Llanstephan, for the sum of £600.⁶ Cwm was then an ordinary farmhouse, but in time, Morgan Davies built a residence there—the Coomb of later years.

The year 1712 marked another major purchase. Two years previously he had loaned £1000 to Thomas Chetle of Wallhouse, Worcestershire esquire, secured on the manor of Llanllwch and certain other properties in the vicinity. Chetle failed to redeem the mortgage, and on 31 May 1712 he conveyed to Morgan Davies the lordship or manor of Llanllwch, the capital messuage or manorhouse near Llanllwch chapel, parcels of land and meadows called Llanllwch Maes, Mill Park, The King's meadow, the Little Dockett, the Goose Island, Erw Lyb, Brynhill, Park y clyn, seven other closes, and the messuage called Kilvawre (Cillefwr), all in the county of the borough of Carmarthen and Llangunnor parish.⁷ Among other properties he purchased were two messuages in Llangunnor and Llanfihangel Aberbythych parishes, and a messuage, garden, orchard, malthouse and stable near the Strand in the township of Laugharne. He must have had a good deal of spare cash to buy all these properties, and at the time of his death he held a mortgage of £1600 on the lordship, manor, and lands of Llangain then owned by the widow Margaret Bludworth.

Morgan Davies was closely associated with Carmarthen where he practised as an attorney, and served as Mayor in 1720. His will,

4. One of Dorothy's descendants, Edward Protheroe, acquired the Golden Grove MSS, which he sold to the College of Arms in 1828.

5. For the Saunders family see *W.W.H.R.* vol 2. Owing to the re-arrangement of parishes made during this century Newton is now included in Llanddowror parish.

6. Carms. Record Office, Plas Llanstephan Deeds, No. 250.

7. Carms. Record Office, Trant Deeds & Documents.

which describes him as "of Coomb, gentleman", dated 5 December 1727, stipulated that he was to be buried "near the Cross" in the churchyard of Llangynog. He was buried there on 20 April 1728, and his widow on 1 April 1742. He had eight children: 1. a son baptised 25 November 1679, died an infant, the only child by his first wife, Dorothy Philipps. 2. Morgan Davies, baptised 10 July 1697, see later. 3. Richard Davies, baptised 3 August 1698, lived at Carmarthen and was the county Clerk of the Peace; he married Jane daughter and coheirss of Miles Stedman of Dolygaer, Breconshire, and from the union came the Stedman Davies family which ended in daughters. Richard died in 1746, his wife having predeceased him by three years. 4. Mary, to whom her father bequeathed £600, married firstly, Rawleigh Mansel (d 1747) son of Sir Edward Mansel of Trimsaran, and had issue; and secondly, in 1749, George Collins of Tenby. 5. Theodosia, baptised at Carmarthen 25 June 1711, to whom her father bequeathed £500, married John Laugharne of Laugharne, by whom she had issue; her will was proved in 1787. 6. Martha, baptised at Carmarthen 19 February 1696-7, married firstly David Edwardes of Rhydygors (will proved 1734), and secondly John Lewis of Llwynfortun and Hengil (later of Llantilio Crossenny, Mon) who died in 1778; Martha had no issue, and administration of her goods was granted on 2 May 1745. 7. Elizabeth, baptised at Carmarthen in 1703, married at Llangynog in 1727, William Williams, attorney at law, of Ivy Tower, near Tenby; she died on 13 March 1759, aged 55, and was buried at St. Florence; they had several children. 8. Alice, baptised in 1707.

Morgan Davies, the eldest surviving son, matriculated at Jesus College, Oxford, on 27 June 1712, aged 14. He took an active part in public life, was elected a Common Councilman of Carmarthen on 29 May 1731, became a Justice of the Peace, and served as High Sheriff of the county in 1734. He married, before 1727, Mary, widow of Thomas Lloyd of Grove, Pembrokeshire, being daughter and coheirss of Arthur Gwynn of Piodde, Llandybie, by Elizabeth Brigstocke his wife. This union brought him part of the Gwynn estate, and he also enjoyed Grove in right of his wife. Mary died on 29 January 1752, aged 70. According to the notebook kept by Benjamin Rawlin, Morgan married on 24 May 1751, as his second wife, Sarah daughter of William Lloyd of Laques near Llanstephan. He died in Carmarthen on 7 July 1754, and his will, dated 23 May 1753, was proved in PCC in the following year. Morgan Davies had three children by Mary his wife: 1. Gwynn Davies, see later. 2. Mary, who married in 1754 Nathaniel Morgan, Town Clerk of Carmarthen and Diocesan Registrar, and had issue, and 3. Dorothy.

Gwynn Davies of Cwm married first his first-cousin Martha youngest daughter of John Laugharne by Theodosia (Davies) his wife. He died comparatively young, on 27 November 1767. His widow married as her second husband, another kinsman, William Laugharne. She died on 17 June 1790, aged 60. Gwynn and Martha Davies had two children: 1. Morgan Gwynne Davies, see later, and 2. William Lloyd Davies, a captain in the 38th Regiment of Foot, alive in 1792, and apparently died without issue.

Morgan Gwynne Davies was the last of the family at Cwm. Nothing is known of his younger days, habits, or general behaviour, but one thing is certain, namely his fall into a morass of debt, from which, despite his efforts and those of his friends, he failed to extricate himself, so that the estate amassed by his forbears came under the hammer of Masters in Chancery.

M. G. Davies broke the entail of the estate by normal legal procedure in 1775. He had already contracted debts, he was well in the mire in 1780, and in February of that year conveyed part of the estate to trustees who were to raise money to meet the demands of creditors, several of whom were Carmarthen tradesmen. However, by 1783 and unknown to the trustees, he had contracted further debts. Accordingly, the creditors instituted a suit in the High Court of Chancery in order to recover their money. On 6 December 1790 the Court issued a decree to the effect that part of the realty should be sold to provide money to pay debts, and that any overplus be paid into the Bank of England in the name of the Accountant General. As a result of further manouvres, and assisted by Messrs Morris the Carmarthen bankers, the sum of £14,000 was raised to meet the demands and charged as a mortgage on the estates, with a proviso of redemption. In the event, the sale authorised by the decree of 1790 did not take place.

Despite this temporary relief, matters did not improve. In fact M. G. Davies continued to increase his liabilities with the result that in 1799 he was arrested and thrown into Carmarthen gaol where he spent nearly two years. This led to no improvement in his affairs, and by 1801 fifty-five creditors were clamouring for their dues. Accordingly, the prisoner's realty in Carmarthenshire was assigned in trust to Messrs William and Thomas Morris, bankers, for the benefit of the creditors, the decree of 1790 was invoked, and on 7 September 1801 twenty properties were sold by public auction at the Boars Head Inn, Carmarthen. The total sum from the sales amounted to £31,977. One of the lots comprised the mansion and demesne of Cwm, which was knocked down to Henry Protheroe, esquire, for £5,820. Davies was not satisfied with the price for Cwm,

and applied to the Court of Chancery to re-open the sale. The Court allowed the application, and in 1802, it was bought in by applicant himself, for £6,500, which sum was secured by a further mortgage on an already heavily encumbered estate. In the final event, the total monies from the sales amounted to £33,320, which more than covered the liabilities. However, further debts were incurred, particularly legal costs owed to local solicitors, and interest to the Carmarthen bankers who had tried to assist the unfortunate man.

Messrs Morris had paid most of the debts on behalf of M.G. Davies who remained indebted to them in the sum of £14,890. Finally it was decided that Cwm and its demesne, which had been saved through the resale in 1802, had to go. The resale had been a mere respite for Davies had failed to complete the purchase. The last ditch had been reached. On 29 June 1805, the luckless squire, entered into agreement to sell to William and Thomas Morris, the capital mansion house and demesne of Cwm, together with the woodland, mill, smith shop, and other buildings thereto belonging, and also the messuage called Castle Kunnock (Castell Cynog): the Morrises, on their part were to relinquish Llwyn Gwyn and Berllan in Llanstephan parish, which they had purchased under the Chancery decree, and, further, agreed to pay £2,100 (the price of the two said farms) to John Brown of Carmarthen, solicitor for the debtor, as well as a further £2,000 to the debtor himself. The final conveyance was made in 1806, and Cwm and its demesne passed to the banker brothers. Some of the outlying parts of the estate were sold later, such as on 27 February 1807, when M. G. Davies and his children conveyed a property they owned at Colebatch near Bishops Castle, Salop, to the Morris brothers for £4,000. Parts of the estate, all mortgaged, remained in the family for a few more years, but in 1811 these were sold by M. G. Davies's son.

It is a sad story. In 1806, following the sale of his old home, M. G. Davies moved to a property he owned in the northwestern part of Llangynog parish. This was Tyr Eglwys, which he re-named Cowin Grove, by which it continues to be known to this day. The difficulties continued after his death, and his children instituted suits in Chancery against the Morris brothers but this did not bring any comfort for them.

Morgan Gwynne Davies married twice. Of his first wife, whom he married before August 1775, we know nothing apart from her name, Mary. She is described in various legal documents as the mother of his first four children. His second wife was Charlotte daughter of Richard le Davids of Pibwrwen by Anna Maria Charlotte

daughter of Jeremiah Lloyd of Glangwili, by whom he appears to have had an only daughter. He died at Cowin Grove, probably late in 1810. The widow Charlotte was still alive in 1822. His children were as follows: 1. William Gwynne Davies, born in 1775, see later. 2. Morgan Davies, who died young, in or before 1806. 3. Mary, who married between 1801 and 1804, Thomas Edmunds of Cowbridge, Glamorgan, esquire. 4. Lydia who went to live with her sister at Cowbridge. 5. Dorothy (by the second wife); the *Cambrian* newspaper for 24 September 1825 reported the marriage at Abergwili church, of "Dorothy third daughter of the late Morgan Gwynne Davies, Esq, of Cwm" to William Mathias of Haverfordwest, esquire.

The eldest son, William Gwynne Davies, entered the Church, and was vicar of Laugharne 1800-1806, of Llangathen 1801 to 1816, and of St. Ishmaels 1813-1816. He was admitted a burgess of Carmarthen on 17 September 1804. He lived for some time at the little mansion of Wenallt near Bancyfelin, and after his father's death, at Cowin Grove. He died unmarried on 4 July 1816. And so the family of Davies ended in Carmarthenshire as it had begun—with a parson.

The armorial bearings of the family—*argent* three bull's heads couped affrontee *sable*, armed *or*, occur as the first of the seventeen quarters in a great heraldic shield painted for Morgan Davies on an old parchment which Alwyn Evans, the Carmarthen antiquary, once saw at Cwm. These arms occur on a seal of Morgan Davies to a deed dated 23 June 1752, the crest being a greyhound sejant;⁸ and they still adorn the monument in Nash church to Thomas Davies⁹ who died on 24 April 1741.

The Morrises

As we have seen, Cwm passed to William and Thomas Morris the Carmarthen bankers. According to Herbert M. Vaughan (whose mother was a Morris)¹⁰ the family had lived for many generations in the parish of Llanstephan "wherein they seem to have owned the status of yeomen". The key figure was undoubtedly David, son of David and Sarah Morris of Ferry near Llanstephan, and baptised in the parish church on 6 April 1746. While still under age, David, with his mother's consent,¹¹ married a widow some fifteen years his

8. Plas Llanstephan Deeds, No. 730.

9. A kinsman who lived at Nash; served as High Sheriff of Pembrokeshire in 1737.

10. MS history of the Morris family in the Bryn Myrddin Documents in Carms. Record Office.

11. David Morris, senior, had died in 1764.

senior, namely Jane Harry, relict of one David Morley of Ffynnon-ddrain in Newchurch parish. The wedding took place at the bride's parish church on 29 June 1766.

David and Jane Morris became concerned in the retail trade in Dark Gate, Carmarthen. As a result of the ability and undoubted energy of young David Morris, seconded by a capable and industrious wife, their affairs prospered. They were highly thought of throughout the borough and his reputation and business grew apace. Other people in a more exalted position had their eye on him, and "in April 1787 David Morris became Agent for Sir Herbert Mackworth and others who had opened a banking house at Carmarthen."¹²

It was a case of "opportunity knocks", and from that day David Morris never looked back. He did not remain long in the comparatively subordinate position of agent, and in a deed of 25 December 1787 he is described as "of the county of the borough of Carmarthen, banker";¹³ while on 10 March 1788 Mrs. Anne Philipps of Cwmgwili informed her husband John George Philipps, M.P., that "Morris is to begin on the Bank next Monday".¹⁴ These references show that he was engaged in banking in 1787-88, and it is likely that Mrs. Philipps's remark meant to convey that he was opening up on his own account.

The late Francis Green who had made a study of early banks in west Wales, states that one had been established in Carmarthen by David Parry, which was taken over by David Morris in 1791, and adds that Morris "probably" acquired the Carmarthen Furnace Bank as well.¹⁵ The business was carried on under the style of "David Morris & Sons", later to be called the "Carmarthen Bank". This shows that within a few years David Morris had become a major figure in the financial affairs of Carmarthenshire.

The enterprise is one of Carmarthen's success stories. David Morris's first banking premises was in Dark Gate, and as the business expanded, he moved to a larger house in King Street, and finally to Spilman Street, where the bank continued to operate until it was sold by his descendants to the National Provincial Bank in 1871. Father and sons enjoyed a reputation for reliability, their bank was heavily patronised by the landed gentry, professional men (particularly solicitors), and by people engaged in local trade and industry. The business had flourished right from the beginning, and as David Morris, and his sons after him, put their profits into real estate, they

12. Bryn Myrddin Documents, II, No. 5.

13. Major John Francis Deeds in Carms. Record Office.

14. Cwmgwili Letters, I, 129, in Carms. Record Office.

15. *West Wales Historical Records*, VI, 144.

amassed a considerable property. It was certainly the most successful private bank in west Wales.

The founder of the family's fortunes died suddenly on 25 September 1805, aged 59, while on a visit to Swansea, and was buried at St Mary's church in that town. His wife had predeceased him on 23 February 1804 in her 74th year.

The two sons, Thomas and William, now conducted the bank's affairs. The former also took part in public life, and was High Sheriff of the county in 1834.¹⁶ By his wife, Maria Thornton, he had seven children. The latter died in 1810 at the comparatively early age of 43, leaving, among other children, an extremely able son, David Morris, M.P. for Carmarthen from 1837 until his death in 1864. This David Morris left an immense fortune, over £240,000 in cash, besides landed property of 5000 acres, which he bequeathed to his two cousins Thomas Charles Morris and William Morris (sons of the High Sheriff of 1834).

The fortunate brothers settled in country houses of their own building. In 1848 Thomas Charles Morris bought a property in the parish of Abergwili called Penybanc, a former seat of an old county family. The earlier buildings were completely demolished, and on the site arose a mansion—completed in 1858 according to Mr. Vaughan—on which the name Bryn Myrddin was bestowed. Standing high on a hill-slope with splendid views over the Towy valley and the highlands beyond, Bryn Myrddin is an attractive residence, planned and built in excellent taste, and in harmony with the style of the traditional Carmarthenshire country houses. The builder's grandson, Mr. R. E. C. Morris has converted it into six commodious flats, one of which he and his hospitable family still occupy.

With T. C. Morris's younger brother, William, we re-enter the demesne of neglected Cwm. He had a distinguished public career—Justice of the Peace, Deputy Lieutenant, High Sheriff in 1858, and from 1864 to 1868 Member of Parliament for Carmarthen and Llanelli Boroughs. In 1864 he inherited Cwm, and, says his kinsman Mr. Vaughan, "there he built a large mansion on the site of the original small house". This was between 1864 and 1870. Unlike Bryn Myrddin, it displays more of the "Victorian gothic" characteristics, but is commodious and well-built. William Morris died there on 25 February 1877, and the house was eventually sold, in 1941, by his grand-daughter Lady Kylsant.

16. The family received a grant of arms, namely, *azure*, between two chevrons *or* three roses *argent* seeded and barbed *or*, in chief two escallops *argent*, and in base a fleur-de-lys *argent*: Crest a chalice *gules* standing on a serpent nowed *vert*: Motto, *Vigilans et prudens*. The crest appeared on the bank-notes of the family bank.

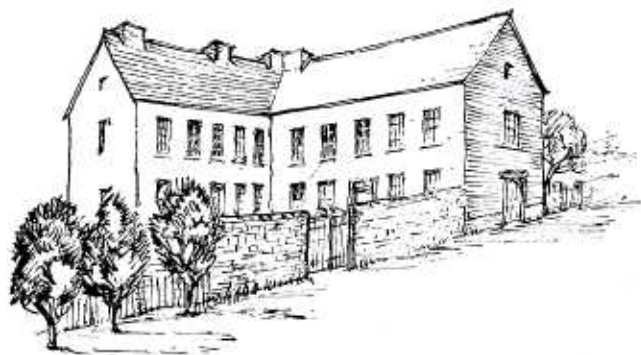
Later, a committee was formed to convert the house into a "Cheshire Home", and it was officially opened as such on 8 June 1961.

The Old House of Cwm

Of the first mansion at Cwm, little remains to guide us as to what its original state may have been. Fortunately, from "the oracular archives and the parchment" (to quote from one of Dylan's sonnets), we are able to retrieve sufficient evidence to provide us with some idea of the general outline of the vanished dwelling.

Prior to 1679, when it was bought by Morgan Davies, Cwm had been an ordinary farmhouse. The building of the mansion took place after that date, and before 1727, the year of Morgan's death. It is marked as a gentleman's residence on Thomas Kitchin's mid-eighteenth century map of Carmarthenshire.

We are enabled to form a better idea of its size and appointments from an inventory of the goods and chattels at Cwm, formerly belonging to Gwynn Davies, deceased, and compiled on 10 December 1767. The inventory provides us with the number of rooms in the house, their use, their contents together with their valuation for probate, and so we can gain a general idea of the size of Cwm and the style and manner in which the family lived.



CWM AS IT WAS

An artist's impression from a sketch in an 18th century map.

The 1767 Inventory (printed as Appendix A) shows that Cwm consisted of a ground floor and a first storey with garrets above. The ground floor consisted of the *Long Parlour*, *Best Parlour*, *Little Parlour*, *Hall*, *Study*, *Butler's Pantry*, *Servants' Hall*, *Kitchen*, *Pantry*, *Laundry*, *Dairy*, *Brewing Kitchen*, *Malt House*, and *Cellar*. The first storey consisted of *Dressing Room*, *new best bed chamber*, *Gallery*, *old best (bed) room*, *Bedchamber over the Servant's Hall*,

Bedchamber over the Kitchen, *old bedchamber over the Long Parlour*, *bedchamber over the Laundry*, *Housekeeper's Chamber*, *Star Chamber*, *Lumber Room*, *Chamber over the New Parlour*, *the Upper Gallery*, *The Green Room Chamber*, *The Maiden Room*, and *Nursery*. The *Coachhouse*, clearly detached, is also mentioned. It is possible that the brewing kitchen and malt-house, may also have been detached, but I have seen several instances where such rooms formed part of the domestic quarters, usually in a wing or in the rear of the main building.

Thus it is clear that Cwm consisted of at least twenty-nine rooms of all kinds, and so could be included among the larger country houses of eighteenth-century Carmarthenshire. I have examined dozens of inventories of country houses in west Wales, and Cwm may be accepted as typical, both as to the number of rooms and their contents. Of course we are unable to judge the size of the rooms, and I am inclined to think that, with one or two exceptions, they were not large, although the list of contents suggest that some were fairly commodious.

For instance, the Long Parlour must have been pretty big, for it contained a large round mahogany dining table, an oval mahogany dining table, a square mahogany dining table, ten mahogany chairs, and two elbow chairs, in addition to a great deal of china which must have been kept either in wall-cupboards or on sideboards. However sideboards are not specified in the inventory. Judging from their contents the other reception rooms were also fairly large.

In the house were thirty-one tables of all sizes, sixty-two chairs, and twelve bedsteads; while the furniture, a great deal of which was mahogany and some Chippendale, the carpets, pictures, maps, books, clocks (including an "alarm" clock), chinaware, and particularly the amount of silver plate (685 ounces), indicate that the family enjoyed a degree of luxury. From the descriptions "new best bed chamber" and the "new parlour", it is clear that certain recent additions or changes had been made.

Nothing in the inventory indicates the style of architecture. However, an undated plan¹⁷ made by a Mr. Wilson of "the Demesne of Coombe" for Morgan Davies (who died in 1754), contains a small sketch of the house which shows it to have been L-shaped and of one storey. I believe that this sketch was meant to represent the actual house, rather than being merely a conventional drawing. No separate outbuildings are shown, but a detailed terrier of the estate made in 1808 for the Morris brothers by the surveyor Richard Jones of Pantirion, includes eight outhouses in the vicinity of the mansion, set in a demesne of 386 acres.

17. Plas Llanstephan Deeds, No. 1653.

When Cwm was advertised for sale in 1802, the notice contained this description: "The House consists of Breakfast Parlour, Dining Room, Drawing Room, Study, Kitchen, Servants' Hall, Butler's Pantry, and Laundry. Eight Bedchambers on the First Story, with convenient Garrets"; the outbuildings consisted of two stables, coach house, brewhouse, dairy, malt-house, and there were two extensive walled gardens well stocked with fruit trees.

After the sale in 1805-6, the fallen squire left the ancestral home which seems to have remained empty for some time afterwards. In 1810, his son, the Revd William Gwynne Davies, wrote to Thomas Morris: "I went over to Coomb last week. The house and all around it are much out of order". The new owners never went to live there, and after William Morris inherited it in 1864, the building was pulled down, and a grander residence arose, which became the home of his descendants.

In the reign of Queen Elizabeth I an old, old, Welsh soldier who had fought in the wars in France, spent some of the evening of his life writing down traditions and legends he had heard from the lips of his long dead forebears. He wrote about a warlock who had made strange prophesies, some of which had become true in the veteran's lifetime. The warlock had described the families of west Wales, saying that their descendants would be like bubbles rising and falling in a boiling cauldron, and "when some fell others would arise, and so on until Judgement Day". And such is the tale of Cwm—the rise and fall of one family, the rise of another. The water in the cauldron is never still, there is no permanence in the worldly affairs of man, and nothing is more unchanging than change.

APPENDIX A

(Coomb: December 10th, 1767)

An Inventory taken of the house furniture, plate, etc., belonging to Gwynn Davies, Esq., deceased. Approved by Richard Davies of Laugharn and George Watkins, Carmarthen.

Long Parlour—China Ware—2½ doz. of coffee cups, 9 chocolate cups, 9 cups and saucers and 2 tea pots, 47 cups and saucers, 6 cups and saucers fluted, 6 breakfast cups and 3 sugar basins, 9 cups and 7 saucers sorted, 1 tea pot, 30 odd saucers without cups, 3 broaked (?broken) stands for coffee cups, 2 tea pot stands and 1 for spoons do. 3 basins and 3 small plates, 1 full set best tea furniture, 1 full set best tea furniture pink and white, 1 plate, 5 blue and white cups, 2 bowls, 58 plates, 13 dishes, 8 dishes cracked and plates, 30 coffee cups, 9 chocolate cups, 10 mahogany chairs and 2 elbow

chairs, 1 mahogany large round dining table, 1 mahogany oval dining table, 1 mahogany square dining table, 2 sconce glasses, 4 window curtains crimson and white check, 1 carpet.
Total—£41 19s. 3d.

In the Best Parlour—10 mahogany chairs and 2 elbow chairs, 1 mahogany card table covered with green cloth, 1 mahogany card table not covered. 1 mahogany large tea table, 1 carpet, 2 window curtains crimson damask, 6 family pictures.
Total—£28 0s. 0d.

In the Hall—10 beech chairs and 2 elbows with leather bottoms, 1 red wood square table on leaf, 1 oak oval table, 1 glass lanthorn, 2 mahogany Chinese trays.
Total—£4 15s. 0d.

In the Little Parlour—12 beech chairs leather bottoms and backs, 1 marble slab and frame, 1 clock and case (£3-3-3), 1 chased nut wood table, 1 sconce glass, 12 pair small fire arms (£4-4-0), 5 fowling pieces (£3), 9 dozen of wine and ale glasses, 7 glass decanters.
Total—£19 18s. 6d.

In the Butler's Pantry—11 water glasses, 1 tea kitching, 1 small tray, 1 long sconce glass.
Total—£1 6s. 4d.

In the Buffet in the Hall—10 desert glasses, 2 sillehub glasses, 14 water glasses and 12 plates, 11 water glasses with plates, 8 tumblers, 4 salt sellers, 1 tea kettle and lamp.
Total—£1 10s. 0d.

In the Servants Hall—1 large deal table and 2 benches, 2 wigg clocks, 1 hanging cupboard.
Total—£0 8s. 0d.

In the Dressing Room—6 mahogany chairs yellow bottoms, 1 walnut dressing table, 1 dressing glass, 1 window curtain.
Total—£3 16s. 0d.

New Best Bed Chamber—1 mahogany bedstead with yellow damask curtain, 1 feather bed bolster and 2 pillows, 2 window curtains yellow damask, 1 marble coloured dressing table, 7 mahogany chairs with yellow bottoms, 1 small cabinet, 1 mahogany basin stand, 1 Imagior on the chimney piece, 1 white silk quilt and three blankets.
Total—£19 11s. 8d.

In the Gallery—1 spinner, 8 family pictures, 1 family collection of fowles, 1 coat of arms, On the best stairs 1 clock and case, On the worst stairs 5 maps.
Total—£2 4s. 6d.

In the old Best room—1 beech bedstead with stamped linen curtains, 1 feather bed bolster and pillows, 1 white quilt and 3 blankets, 2 window curtains pink and white check, 6 mahogany chairs with stamp cotton bottoms, 1 mahogany dressing table, 1 dressing glass, 1 walnut small bureau.
Total—£14 8s. 4d.

In the Bedchamber over the Servants Hall—1 ash bedstead red and white check curtain, Feather Bed bolster and pillow, 1 white linen quilt and 3 blankets, 2 window curtains red and white check, 4 mahogany chairs yellow bottoms, 1 walnut dressing table, 1 dressing glass.
Total—£9 17s. 10d.

In the Bedchamber over the Kitchen—1 oak bedstead red and white check curtains, 1 feather bed bolster and pillows, 1 old silk quilt and 3 blankets, 2 window curtains red and white check, 6 mahogany chairs check bottoms, 1 mahogany dressing table, 1 dressing glass, 1 mahogany basin stand, 1 print with glass, In the [lacuna] 4 prints with glass, 1 watch case, 1 oak deck, 17 cenary (sic) prints of the Ten Commandments.
Total—£12 11s. 3d.

In the old Bedchamber over the Long Parlour—1 oak bedstead with sprig linen curtains, 1 feather bed bolster and pillow, 1 white quilt and 3 blankets, 2 window curtains red and white check, 5 mahogany chairs sprig cotton bottoms, 1 mahogany dressing table, 1 sconce glass, 1 close stool box and pan, On the gallery 1 alarm clock and case (£1-5-0).
Total—£13 4s. 0d.

In the Bedchamber over the Laundry—1 ash bedstead with yellow curtains, 1 feather bed and bolster, 1 oak bedstead and yellow curtains, 1 feather bed and bolster, 1 stamp linen quilt and 3 blankets, 2 mahogany chairs yellow bottoms, 1 easy chair, 1 old arm chair, 1 low walnut drawer, 1 dressing glass, 1 Chippendale chest and drawers, 1 Chippendale corner cupboard, 1 mahogany close stool, box, and pan.
Total—£15 2s. 10d.

In the Housekeeper's Chamber—1 ash bedstead and curtains, 1 feather bed bolster and pillows, 1 blue and yellow quilt and 2 blankets, 6 cane chairs, 1 small oval table, 1 dressing glass, 13 old prints.
Total—£5 5s. 6d.

In the Star Chamber—1 oak bedstead with blue curtains, 1 feather bed and bolster, 1 rug and 3 old blankets and matting, 2 old

chairs, 1 small bedstead and curtain, 1 feather bed and bolster, 2 blankets, 1 old trunk with iron bound, 8 old chair choussins.
Total—£7 7s. 1d.

In the Lumber Room—1½ packer of Hops, 1 old window curtain, 2 old blankets and 1 rug, 1 child's cradle, a parcel of lumber.
Total—£8 1s. 0d.

In the Chamber over the New Parlour—1 bedstead and blue curtain, 1 feather bed bolster and pillow, 1 blue and yellow stamp quilt and 3 blankets, 1 bedstead yellow and red curtains, 1 feather bed and bolster, 1 blue and yellow quilt and 3 blankets, 1 oak bedstead, 1 feather bed bolster and pillow, 2 old quilts and 3 blankets, 3 chairs, 1 close stool, box, and pan, 1 old easy chair, 3 tables, 1 old writing desk.
Total—£12 7s. 1d.

In the Upper Gallery—1 old folding screen, 1 large oak chest, 5 new blankets in chest, 6 silk cushions, 3 yellow stuff cushions, 2 boxes with globes with globes within, 4 old trunks, 1 large carpet and 2 small carpets, 1 steam linen quilt, 1 white silk quilt and 1 yellow, 1 nursing quilt and basket, 1 old chest, 2 boxes, In the hanging press 1 old window curtain, and 5 Vallionts, 3 blankets and 1 old rug, 1 blue and yellow quilt, 1 pillion cloth, 14 tin fenders, 3 steel fenders open-work.
Total—£14 9s. 0d.

In the Green Room Chamber—1 bedstead with green cloth curtains, 1 feather bed, bolster and pillow, 1 blue and yellow quilt and 3 blankets, 5 old cane chairs, 1 small table, 1 dressing glass, 16 prints with glass, 3 prints without glass, 1 box for holding linen.
Total—£8 19s. 8d.

In the Maiden Room—1 bedstead with stripe curtains, 1 feather and bolster, 2 old blankets and 1 stripe rug, 1 bedstead yellow curtains, 1 feather bed and bolster, 2 old quilts and 2 blankets, 1 chair.
Total—£6 10s. 7d.

In the Nursery—58 damask napkins, 18 huckaback napkins, 1 diaper napkins, 88 damask napkins, 16 tea napkins, 34 napkins worn out, 12 coarse huckaback napkins, 18 coarse huckaback napkins worn out, 7 breakfast cloths, 12 large table cloths, 38 damask table cloths, 2 chamber table cloths, 42 pair sheets and 1 (lacuna), 5 pair sheets worn out, 36 pillow cases and 6 pillow cases worn out, 1 bedstead with green curtains, 1 feather bed bolster and 4 pillows, 1 white quilt and 3 blankets, 1 bedstead half bolster blue curtains, 1 feather bed bolster and pillow, 1 white quilt and 3 blankets, 6 cane chairs and 1 elbow chair, 1 walnut dressing drawers with cup-

board, 1 walnut dressing drawers without cupboard, 1 square table, 1 broken glass, 1 carpet and 2 small carpets, 1 feather bed from the Cow house.

Total—£37 11s. 6d.

In the Kitchen—50 Dishes hard metal, 6 dozen hard metal plates, 6 dishes, 1 water dish and 2 plates, 12 plates, 3 old dishes and 1 patty pan, 1 brass skillet, 1 brass fish skimmer, 1 brass ladle, 1 brass skimmer, 1 brass small scales, 1 brass floward tripod, 1 brass pan, 1 brass warming pan, 1 brass mortar, 1 copper plate warmer, 2 copper tossing pans, 1 copper pie pan, 3 copper saucepans, 1 copper lamp, 1 tea kettle, 1 copper frying pan, 1 tin pye can, 1 tin stew pan, 1 tin dripping pan, 1 tin grater, 37 petty pans, 1 tin colander, 2 tin pudding pans, 3 tin candle sticks, 1 tin copper roaster, 1 tin flower box, 1 tin coffee pot, 1 chocolate pot, 1 tin coffee pot, 2 tin dish covers, little used, 1 tin plate cover, 1 tin colander, 1 tin basting ladle, 1 tin kettle, little used, 1 iron pot and hooks, 6 large spite and 1 bird spite, 2 hand irons, 1 stand for toast, 1 broken fire shovel and tongs, 1 trippet for the dripping pan, 2 flesh forks and 1 roasting fork, 1 chain for the dog wheel, 1 steel yard and balance, 1 iron candlestick, 2 chivers and chopping knife, 2 coffee mills and 1 pepper mill, 1 old plate warmer, 1 old plank, 1 marble mortar and block, 2 old flower bags, 2 tubbs and 2 pails, 1 chocolate mill, 1 lemmon squeezer, 1 frying pan, 1 plate rack, 1 salt tub and salt tub, 1 oak round table, 1 long deal table, 1 small breakfast table, 4 old chairs, 1 chopping block, 8 old solong nets, 1 old iron pot with a cock, 8 sets fire shovels, tongs, and pokers, 4 odd sets fire shovels, tongs, and pokers, 9 pair brass candlesticks, 1 pair old and 6 iron candlesticks, 6 tin "stinguishers", 3 old snuffers, 1 large iron pot.

Total—£24 18s. 1d.

In the Pantry—3 cupboards, 1 chopping block, 1 powdering tub, In the passage one old bin, 1 old elm chest.

Total—£1 6s. 4d.

In the brewing Kitchen—6 brass pans, 4 sterlings, 3 knives, 18 pails, 5 tubs, 2 churns, 1 square table, 2 brandirons, poker, and tongs, 1 large kettle, 1 noay, 4 ale casks.

Total—£11 19s. 2d.

In the Dairy—3 picking tubs, 1 cask, 13 cheese vats.

Total—£0 19s. 6d.

In the Malt House—5 hogsheads, 7 barrels, 9 deal boards.

Total—£3 19s. 0d.

In the Laundry—1 oak round table, 3 deal tables, one with 1 leaf, 4 washing tubs, 2 clothes horses, 1 small oak round table, 1 brass skillet, 4 smoothing irons and trick, 3 box smoothing irons, fire shovel, poker, tong, and 1 fender, 1 crab.

Total—£2 5s. 6d.

In the Cellar—1 standing grate, 1 beer can, 6 small beer casks, 1 cider hogshead, 8 ale barrels, 40 dozen bottles, 3 deal boards in the Slaughter house, 1 pair of scales beam and weights, In the Nail Room, lumber, etc.

Total—£6 17s. 6d.

In the Study—1 walnut desk, 1 case with drawers and shelves, 1 square table, 2 chairs, 3 pictures with glass, 1 backgamon board, A large quantity of books (£30).

Total—£32 0s. 0d.

In the Coach House—1 postchaise with harness etc., 3 deal boards.

Total—£40 9s. 0d.

An Inventory of Plate—1 decanter 28ozs. 3nt., 1 large salver 62ozs. 15nt., 3 small salvers 33ozs. 12nt., 2 candle cups 36ozs. 5nt. (the largest gone with Mrs. Davies), 3 casters 9ozs. 11nt., 2 labels for port and white wine 0ozs. 19nt., 2 pint mugs 21ozs. 3nt., 2 half pint mugs 12ozs. 10nt. (gone with Mrs. Davies), 2 sauce-boats 15ozs. 6nt., 1 bread basket 35ozs., 4 pair of salts 21ozs. 9nt. (2 old salts gone with Mrs. Davies), 5 pair candlesticks 137ozs. 18nt., 1 pair candlesticks 6ozs. 12nt., 1 flat candlesticks 8ozs. 12nt., 2 pairs snuffers and stand 14ozs. 8nt., 2 tea canister 11ozs. 16nt., 1 sugar canisters 12ozs. 2nt., 1 soup ladle 1 punch ladle 7ozs. 8nt., 1½ doz. tea spoons 7ozs. 2nt. (half dozen gone with Mrs. Davies), 2 tea tongs 2ozs. 9nt. (one gone with Mrs. Davies), 2 cream jugs 7ozs 11nt. (one gone with Mrs. Davies), 2 tea strainers 10nt., 8 salt spoons 1oz. 8nt. (2 gone with Mrs. Davies), 1 extinguisher 1oz. 12nt., 1 crosslet for the table 22ozs. 15nt., 1 coffee pot with wood handle 23ozs. 15nt. (gone with Mrs. Davies), 1 tea kettle and lamp with a handle 91ozs. 5nt., 6 table spoons 8ozs. 12nt. (gone with Mrs. Davies), 1 case of knives and forks, 6 spoon and 1 marrow spoon in the same caddy 12ozs. 8nt., 1 case of desert spoons 8ozs. 7nt., 1 case desert knives and forks, 12 table spoons in a case 22ozs. 10nt., 1 dozen green hafted knives and forks (left in House at Coom), 2 hand bolles of plate, 1 coffee pot of plate.

Total—685ozs. 13nt.—£205 13s. 10d.

N.B. The errors corrected on examining the above
the total; amount to £620 2 4

March the 1st, 1768.

Given into my custody from the hands of John Ravenscroft, Esq., by the direction of the late Gw. Davies, Esq., and all the above mentioned plate, except what Mrs. Davies has, I do promise to be forthcoming on demand.

	Daniel Lloyd.		
N.B.	Deduct out of the total of	£620	2 4
	For the post Chaise sold in the Account of the House Crop	40	0 0
		<hr/>	
	Remit. of the sum Total of the Household furniture	580	2 4
		<hr/>	

Furniture taken from Coomb by Mrs. Davies

1 bedstead of check curtains, 1 feather bed and bolster, 2 pair of pillows, 3 blankets, 1 quilt, 2 check window curtains, 3 pair of coarse sheets, 3 pair of pillow cases, 6 chairs with check covers, 1 dressing glass, 1 dressing drawers, 1 set of irons, 1 tin fender, 1 tea board, 1 mahogany card-table, 9 coloured cups and saucers odd, 6 breakfast cups and saucers, 6 old coffee cups, 2 tea pots, 1 slop basin, The tea kitchener, 1 tea chest, The Scotch carpet, 1 pair of brass candlesticks, 1 steel snuffer.

Plate—6 table spoons M.C. 12ozs. 10nt., 2 half pints, 1 tea tongs M.C., 2 old salts and spoons, 6 tea spoons, 1 cream jug, 1 salver, 1 coffee pot 23ozs. 15nt.

1 deal cupboard, 1 bible silver clasps, 1 tin sugar box, Mr. Davies' picture, 1 hearth brush, 1 mare's saddle and bridle, a piece of a packet of hops, 1 iron box, 1 old trunk, 2 deal boxes.

Recd. March the 1st 1768, of the Executors of Gwynn Davies, Esq., deceased. The Plate and furniture in the Shedule on the other side included, which I do promise to be accountable for and return to them upon demand.

Martha Davies.

N.B. The Table Spoons are Bruised.

Witness, John Ravenscroft.

Town and Castle Go Gay

By EIRWEN JONES, B.A.

Llandeilo County Secondary School

The glowing history of the illustrious house of Dynevor was perpetuated on Thursday, September 8th 1894. The Honourable Walter FitzUryan Rice, son of the sixth baron Dynevor, celebrated his majority.

His birth-date was 17th August but, for various reasons, the celebrations had been postponed. For three weeks or more anticipation had increased. It was now nearing the close of a glorious summer and here was yet an occasion for personal enjoyment, calling for heartiness and vigour, as well as respect and veneration for one of the most illustrious and ancient families in Wales.

A sycophantic contemporary writer recorded that "as soon as the day of celebration was announced, the countryside for miles around rose in joyous unity to illustrate in practical form their inborn pride for the oldest family in Wales, by making presentations to and enthusiastically shaking hands, as it were, with the hero of the day".

The name of Dynevor, it is true, had a magnetic charm for many. It was, for instance, fruitful soil for the genealogist, on account of its precedence among Welsh families. The Dynevors could boast a long and distinguished line of valiant and patriotic personages, including seven crowned kings.

Locally, the history of the house of Dynevor had its own peculiar importance. There were legendary roots, dating back to the 9th century. In default of written records beyond that century, the marriage of an early leader of the house of Dynevor, Urien Rhedeg to the half-sister of King Arthur of the Round Table must ever remain a subject of speculation. Yet other eminent names shine with assurance in the Dynevor pedigree. Thanks to medieval writers, some names have a ballast of authenticity, names such as those of Sir Elider Ddu, the gallant crusader and the name of Sir Rhys ap Thomas, warrior, creator and friend of Kings; and later there comes the name of Gruffydd ap Nicholas who laid the foundations of the eisteddfod. It was but fitting therefore that a local writer of 1876 should exalt the current baron as a man "known far and wide for his deeds of kindness and sympathy no less deserving of our respect and esteem than the gallant warrior and the chivalrous knight". Sure testimony, surely! It was based on personal knowledge.

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The same commentator musing on past scenes of magnificence at Dynevor wrote, "crowds possibly gathered to laud Hywel Dda, hundreds might have collected to welcome Sir Rhys ap Thomas on his return from many a victory—even from Bosworth Field—but none met with more steadfast purpose to honour the House of Dynevor than the *thousands* who assembled to celebrate the coming-of-age of the seventh heir to the barony and all that was noble connected with the family".

The philosophical layman, roused to passing interest by talk of coming celebrations, might ponder what it was all about.

Medieval barons and their exploits were all very well but what of the more immediate lineage? Pursuing paths of established information, he could learn much. Charles I had restored all the lands in the hands of the Crown to Sir Henry Rice. The transaction was regarded by many as an act of imperfect and tardy justice, for but a small portion of the original estates was returned to its owners. Nevertheless the house of Dynevor flourished. From 1702 to 1710 for instance, Griffith Rice, represented the county of Carmarthen in Parliament. He married Catherine, daughter of Philip Hoby. By this marriage Neath Abbey came into the possession of the Dynevors. The eldest son of the marriage, Edward, was in turn, member of Parliament for Carmarthen. He married Lucy, daughter of John Morley Trevor from a noble family of North Wales and introduced both the name of Trevor and valuable property into the family. George Trevor succeeded Griffith Rice at Dynevor. He married Cecil, the only child of William, first Earl Talbot. He was created first Baron Dynevor with remainder to his daughter. In 1783 she succeeded as first Baroness Dynevor. Her husband George Rice died in 1779. George Talbot, third baron Dynevor, then became a public figure in South Wales. His son, George Rice Charles Fitzroy distinguished himself as colonel of the Carmarthen Militia. His wife was Frances, daughter of Lord Charles Fitzroy. As there was no issue, he was succeeded by the Reverend Francis William, 5th baron, son of the Hon. and the Reverend Edward Rice, Dean of Gloucester. The fifth baron married Harriet Ives Raymond Barker. On his death in 1878, he was succeeded by Arthur de Cardonnel, sixth baron. He married Selina, the daughter of the Hon. Arthur Lascelles. She had died in 1889, leaving her son the Hon. Walter FitzUryan, aged sixteen, and three daughters, the Honourable Gladys, the Honourable Nest and the Honourable Gwenllian Clare. Sympathy for the widowed baron was infused with deep admiration for his happy, handsome brood.

It was in gloomy, if poetic lines, that the poet, John Dyer, had recorded the view from Grongar Hill in the 18th century. He had described the stern old fortress of Dynevor, overlooking the River Towy as the black raven's sad abode, the home of the fox and of the poisonous adder. This vision would have seemed a gross illusion had he been able to see the ruined castle decked with flags and streamers for the current coming-of-age celebrations. He would have been moved to rapture at sight of the beautiful and natural landscaping of Dynevor Park and at the sight of the old oaks standing, sentinels of the centuries, on the undulating greensward.

Light and Colour

The town of Llandeilo was exceedingly gay. By mutual goodwill businessmen had agreed to close their premises. From the railway station near the King's Bridge, up the steep hill roads to the very gates of Dynevor Park, flags, in many colours and many devices flew gently in the late summer breeze. Bannerettes were festooned on houses, railings and trees. In gay colours they cascaded from the battlements of the church tower; they spanned lanes and squares, gay and loyal symbols of the feelings of the inhabitants of the town.

Inspector Rogers of the Carmarthenshire Constabulary adjusted his peaked cap as he set out from the Police Station at No. 1 Church Street. He began to plod his beat around the town. His mind was concentrating on higher mathematics. What proportion of an unknown concourse was likely to celebrate beyond capacity? How best would he be able to equate it with the confines of two small underground cells at his disposal?

He paused as he reached the main road. He looked down Bridge Street. Mrs. Edwards of the Half Moon Hotel had decorated her premises in a graceful style, reminiscent of her own neat self. It would be after nightfall that the hostelry would look its best; its illuminations would light up the shadows down to the bridge itself. They would plumb the depths and then surface in the meandering waters of the Towy. Inspector Rogers piloted himself around to view the spacious courtyard of the King's Head Hotel. To honour the young landed squire, the licensee, with access to poetic license, had inscribed over a wide arch, *To-day he floats on honour's lofty wave.*

Accompanied now by a tall young constable, the Inspector made a tour of the town. King Street, Abbey Terrace, Carmarthen Street, the Church Square, all these, by accident rather than design, had

been decorated in tasteful colour harmony. Rhosmaen Street was resplendent along its length. Wherever the eye wandered, it encountered arches of different sizes and degree, bearing mottoes. *Long life to the House of Dynevor; A long life and a Welsh wife; May peace and joy await the seventh baron; Honour to whom honour is due.*

The facade of the Castle Hotel was resplendent in colour. Welsh hearts must have beat faster at sight of the *decor*. Above the portico stood male and female figures dressed in Welsh costume. They held aloft a sign, bearing the motto, *Hir Oes i Etifedd Dynevor*. Beneath was the convivial greeting, *Iechyd Da!*

New Road was a spectrum of bright colour. Mr. Edwards of the Salutation Inn had erected a splendid arch. Decorated with the flags of many nations, the arch carried the inscription, *Hir Oes Etifedd y Tywysogion Cymreig*—Long life to the Heir of the Welsh Princes. Above the porch of the inn was a life-like figure of Dame Wales. Meticulous detail characterised her national dress and her tall black beaver hat was well burnished. It was well-known throughout the town that the daughters of Dynevor had driven in especially to see her. The complete sincerity of their pleasure and enthusiasm had been self-evident. No pseudo-Welsh culture was theirs, as a wide community knew.

Homer himself might have recorded the dawning of the great day. As in Greek heroic tales, the elements were propitious. It seemed as if the sun longed to lend its rays for the guidance of him whose ancestors it had gladdened through the centuries. It was in keeping with the events of a Greek play that the day unfolded.

At mid-day his Lordship, Arthur de Cardonnel, sixth baron Dynevor, mounted on a fine white Arab steed, rode through the town and viewed with evident gratification the handiwork of his townspeople. Less martial was the entry of a procession of carriages that came from the castle to the town. The ribbons of the splendid animals in the shafts of the first carriage were skilfully handled by the hero of the hour, the Honourable Walter FitzUryan Rice, accompanied by his three sisters. The party received a hearty reception from the townsfolk and visitors.

Crowds now merged on the market place. Constabulary and stewards were obliged to exert themselves to the utmost to control the rising excitement. It was the baton of the bandmaster Mr. W. Howells, rather than the truncheon of the constabulary, that achieved

the desired result. On the embankment before the National Schools, the town band played medleys with skill hitherto uncredited and unacknowledged. As the melodies died away, there was much to attract the eye. Before the market, the local corps of the First Volunteer Battalion of the Welsh Regiment was assembling. In full regalia and headed by their own band, they marched to the castle. The aged guardian of the gate, in her usual livery of Welsh costume, curtsied low as they passed. When the corps arrived at the courtyard of the modern mansion, Lord Dynevor came forward to greet them and spoke to the officers, Major Thomas, Dr. Lloyd and Chaplain Connop Price. When the Hon. Walter Rice, the nobility and gentry had assembled, the corps performed what was acclaimed enthusiastically as "military evolutions". Under the command of Captain T. Geo. Williams, there was a march-past and a salute. The Volunteers stood in square formation while Capt. Williams read an address to the Hon. Walter Rice. The Captain then presented on behalf of the Volunteers a magnificent Georgian loving-cup. After the Hon. Walter Rice had replied and praised the corps which had been established in 1859, the Volunteers gave three cheers. Lord Dynevor then expressed his thanks and pleasure. He said he intended the Volunteers to continue to practise on the range in Dynevor Park. It was one of the finest grounds that it was possible to have on account of the dead flat of the meadow and the beautiful hill on which they fired. He doubted whether any in England could beat that range. The Volunteer Movement was a great boon to the United Kingdom. Again the Volunteers responded to their Captain's cry for three cheers. A salute of 21 mortar guns was then discharged by Mr. Crane of Bristol.

Many thousands had now gathered in the park. Those nearest the mansion saw members of the house party. These included the Hon. and Rev. W. T. Rice and the Hon. Mrs. Rice, Hon. Cecil Rice, Hon. Mrs. Joyce, Rev. A. G. Joyce, Mr. and Mrs. Pennant, Mrs. Pennant, Commander and Mrs. G. Wingfield, Mrs. Barwick Baker, Mr. Lloyd Baker, Mr. and Mrs. G. Egerton Warburton, Mr. Molyneux Montgomerie and Mrs. Warren.

In one of the smaller marquees, close to the mansion itself, well-guarded by sturdy stewards, presents to the heir were displayed. These were numerous and costly. They included: Tenants of Dynevor Castle and Kidwelly estates, silver salver and old silver punch bowl; inhabitants of Llandeilo and neighbourhood, large silver cup; Llandeilo Rifle Volunteer Corps, large silver cup; employees on Dynevor estate, dressing bag; household servants and London tradesmen, bronze and marble timepiece; Lord Dynevor,

pair of guns; the Hon. Gladys, The Hon. Nest and the Hon. Gwenllain Rice, diamond ring; Dowager Lady Dynevor, silver candlesticks; the Hon. Mrs. Joyce, enamel and opal leek pin; the Hon. and Rev. Wm. T. Rice and the Hon. Mrs. Rice, gold pencil case. There was a rich treasury of gifts from friends—collapsible binoculars, silver paper knives, silver card cases, silver apostle spoons, silver mounted liqueur bottles and glasses, cigar box, pocket book, walking stick, brass tray, silver shoe lift, pearl and coral pin, riding whip, water-colour drawing, alpine fox rug, letter-writing companion, etc., etc.

Feeding the Multitude

The dinner marquee had been prepared to welcome fifteen hundred guests. Invitations had been sent to tenants and their wives, to the Volunteers, and to those who had subscribed to presentations. Mr. John Fisher, Caterer of Westgate Street, Gloucester was in charge. He had arranged the tables and seating well. There were plenty of waiters and attendants at hand throughout the day. The marquee measured 200 feet by 75 feet. The décor included high palms, leafy plants and gaily coloured bunting. The lay-out of the tables evoked loud acclamation. All preparations had been made with a lavish hand. Mr. Fisher's catering order included 1,650 lbs. of beef, lamb and veal; a great number of chickens, pigeon pies and hams; 8 cwts. of potatoes; 600 lbs. of bread and rolls; 800 lbs. of plum pudding and 300 fruit pies and tarts. The catering was indeed tasty and splendid :

Menu

Spiced Rounds of Beef.	Roast Fillets of Veal.	York Hams.
	Quarters of Lamb.	
Roast Ribs of Beef.	Galantines of Veal.	Beef à la Mode.
Roast Legs of Mutton.	Veal and Ham Pies.	
Chicken.	Pigeon Pies.	
	Hot Potatoes.	
Plum Pudding.	Greengage Tarts.	Damsons.
Plum Pies	Apple Tarts	
Rolls.	Butter	
	Wines, Etc.	
Sherry.	Claret.	Beer.
	Lemonade.	Cold Punch.
		Soda Water.

About 8,000 persons sat down to tea later in the afternoon. Provisions for this meal included three tons of plum cake, seed and also sultana cake, 2 cwts. of fresh butter, 800 gallons of tea and 100 gallons of milk.

Mr. Fisher's catering account registered nearly 1,000 yards of table linen; 7,500 plated spoons, forks and cutlery; 5,500 plates and dishes; 3,500 glasses; 2,500 cups and saucers; and 1,200 other articles of glass and china. Table plants numbered 200.

At dinner, the house party sat at a high table. The Rev. Wm. Talbot Rice, step-brother of Lord Dynevor, said grace before meat. Lord Dynevor gave the loyal toast. In his speech he said, "In all relations of life, as a wife, as a mother, as a queen, she has been an example to the whole world (cheers). She is now in the 58th year of her reign, which only one King exceeded. The next was Henry III, who reigned 56 years and the only monarch who exceeded it was George III who reigned 60 years If we look back at the time when Victoria ascended the throne in 1837 and at the England of to-day, we shall find that great changes have taken place. When she ascended the throne, there was no steam, no electricity, none of the wondrous things invented since. There has been no other reign in which such a marvellous number of events for the improvement of the world have taken place.

"The whole of the Queen's life has been taken up in thinking of the good of her subjects, for there is no good work or institution she is not ready to help, assist and promote in every way. The whole object of her life has been the happiness of her subjects. Seven years ago, she celebrated her jubilee and many presentations were made to her then. The contributions of the women of England amounted to something like £100,000—and what did she do? She erected a statue to commemorate the event; she got a jewel as a memorial of their goodwill and knowing the sickness which prevailed, but could not be prevented, and knowing that the only thing possible was to alleviate it by careful nursing, she devoted the rest of the money, £70,000, towards opening an institution of nurses for the benefit of her people (cheers). I give you the toast of the Queen: "*God save the Queen*". Victoria's loyal subjects responded.

Mr. W. N. Jones of Tirydail proposed the health of the Hon. Walter Rice: "Y swydd bleserus sydd wedi osod yn fy llaw heddyw yw cynyg Iechyd Da i'r Anrhydeddus Walter FitzUryan Rice. Y mae phedwar ugain mlynedd wedi pasio oddiar pan ddaeth mab i Arglwydd Dynefwr i'w oedran o'r blaen. Yr wyf yn siwr ein bod i gyd yn gobeithio y caiff ei arbed yn hir i gario yr enw anrhydeddus a thryw fendith Duw ei estyn yn yr un modd eto yn mhellach". (Clywch Clywch).

Major Thomas of Llandeilo in his speech, said that the Hon. Walter Rice was the heir of a noble ancestry. They had known him from childhood and had watched him growing into early manhood. He had had the advantage of a good education; he had had the sound advice and guidance of a noble father and the devotion of loving sisters—what then could he be but noble and generous?

At the close of the speeches, the company rose, waving hats and kerchiefs. "For he's a jolly good fellow!" was sung lustily.

A fine illuminated address was then presented to the Hon. Walter Rice by the tenants of Dynevor Castle and of the Kidwelly estates. It was signed by W. N. Jones, Chairman; J. Hughes, Llandeilo, bank treasurer; Lewis Bishop, agent. A large silver cup and a massive original George III punch bowl, the gift of these tenants were presented to the heir by Messrs. D. Jones, Wern and Joseph Williams, Llwynpiod.

Another illuminated address prepared by Mr. Lockyer, printer, Llandeilo, the gift of Llandeilo and neighbourhood, was read and then presented by the Rev. Lewis Price, vicar of Llandeilo. An elaborately engraved loving-cup was presented on behalf of Llandeilo and district by Mr. T. Hughes, Red House. A valuable dressing case was presented by Messrs. Ticehurst, Barnes and Macdonald on behalf of the workmen at Dynevor Castle.

The Hon. Walter Rice then expressed his thanks. In the course of his speech he said: "If ever I become your landlord—which I hope won't be for many years to come—I only hope I shall be as much beloved and esteemed by you all as my father is (Cheers). I am glad and proud to say that I see very few unfamiliar faces here to-day. We must not look on this merely as a great meeting and a large dinner. It is something more—it is a meeting that adds a link to the chain of bondship between us. As long as landlords and tenants and neighbours are bound together by one chain, I think we shall all get on capially (Cheers).

"Before I sit down, I want to wish you all good luck, and all prosperity to Wales—a wish that should be at the bottom of every true Welshman's heart. I am a Welshman I am proud to say (Cheers). I come of a very old Welsh family that has always been looked up to and a family that has always given a very good account of itself. I feel I have no excuse for not following in its footsteps."

When the loud cheering had subsided, the Vicar of Llandeilo called for "three times three" for all the Dynevor family. Enthusiasm was intense.

Mr. J. N. Rowlands of Neath made an address. Tenants of Neath Abbey presented the Hon. Walter Rice with a silver tray.

After the National Anthem had been sung, Lord Dynevor made a request that *Hen Wlad Fy Nhadau* be sung in Welsh. The interest of the daughters of Dynevor in Welsh music was established. The solo part of the Welsh National Anthem was sung in Welsh by the Honourable Gwennlian Rice.

Amusements of many kinds had been arranged on the spacious park. Athletic sports were held in a large enclosure in front of the modern castle. The music of the Volunteer Band, enlivened the intervals. The judges in the sports included the Rev. C. L. Price; Mr. W. Picton Philipps; Lieut. W. L. Roberts; Mr. C. G. Phillipps. The treasurer was Mr. Lewis Bishop.

In a nearby tent, magicians from Bristol showed their skill at legerdemain.

Fashionable Ball

A very fashionable ball was held within the castle to honour the young heir. A great number of his personal friends, the nobility and the gentry attended. Many came from distant places. The house party was a distinguished one. The famous dining room where once George IV had feasted, had been turned into a magnificent ball-room for the occasion. Foliage, in which fairy lamps were interspersed, transformed adjoining lounges, halls and porticoes into ethereal bowers. Elaborate ormolu chandeliers, with scintillating crystal droppers, glowed, reflecting a thousand lights. Without the castle, the Italian gardens, pleasure grounds and fountains were gay in the summer twilight, gay with Chinese lanterns and fairy lights, while here and there romantic figures strayed . . . Mr. Hulley's famous string band provided soft music.

Proud and dignified, the sixth baron found comfort, in his own personal loneliness, in the outstanding beauty and charm of his three daughters as they stood in the hall receiving the distinguished guests. The Hon. Gladys was dressed in white satin trimmed with moire and black lace. She wore diamonds and pearls and carried a bouquet of Maréchal Niel roses. A short distance behind her, stood her two sisters. The Hon. Nest was in yellow satin, the bodice being of accordion-pleated chiffon. She, too, wore diamonds and pearls and carried a bouquet similar to that of her elder sister. The youngest sister, the Hon. Gwennlian was a youthful figure in pink broche,

trimmed with pink crepe and lace. Like her sisters she wore diamonds and pearls but her bouquet was of pink carnations.

The sixth baron looked across the hall where the lithe form of his heir was moving with grace among assembled guests—Lady Henry Bathurst in vieux rose garni, black velvet and with a parure of diamonds; Mrs. Molyneux Montgomerie in grey bengaline, trimmed with smoke grey velvet and white lace and resplendent in diamonds. The Hon. Walter Rice, was talking now to a happy group of young ladies—the Misses Masters in Eton blue satin, veiled in lace; and Miss Elwes in rose pink silk, garni leafless roses.

The carriages of the local gentry were announced—Golden Grove, Edwinstord, Glanbrydan Park, Danyrallt Park, Middleton Hall, Taliaris, Glancothi, Ty'r Eglwys, Caeglas, Maesteilo, Talley House, Frood Vale, Pantyrodyn Bryneithin, Derwen House.

Soon, the men, in convivial mood, dressed in dark suits with collars, high, white and very stiff and wearing buttoned boots of soft leather, were clustering around the ladies. Exquisite little dance cards, fitted with pendant gold or silver pencils, fluttering on fair wrists were soon filled.

The programme for the occasion read: Valse, La Cigale; Valse, River of Years; Polka, My Jeanette; Valse, Daisy Belle; Valse, Acclamations; Pas de Quatre, Faust, Up-to-Date; Polka, Off We Go!; Valse, Eton Boating Song; Valse, Venetian Song; Lancers, 'Arry and 'Arrict; Valse, Love's Old Sweet Song; Polka, Wot Cheer; Valse, L'Etoile Polaire; Polka, See Me Dance; Valse, Linger Longer Loo; Pas de Quatre, Darkies Dream; Valse, Toreador; Valse, Fiddle and I; Polka, Who's that a-Calling?; Lancers, Gondoliers; Polka, My Little Lot; Valse, After the Ball; Gallop, John Peel and Post Horn.

The dowagers seated beneath a green and silver awning, adjusted themselves on their cushions and raised their lorgnettes to view the dancing in its varying moods and rhythms. Accredited connoisseurs of the very best in toilettes, they nodded their heads with approval as the ladies glided, pirouetted and turned on the ball-room floor. Lady Drummond wore white satin, brocaded with bunches of violets and green leaves. The lights from the chandeliers flirted with diamonds on her tiara and necklace. Mrs. Dudley Drummond in heliotrope silk brocaded with pink roses, Mrs. Richardson of Glanbrydan Park in pink and green brocade trimmed with golden otter and point de Venice lace and Mrs. Mervyn St. Peel in mauve crepe-de-chine and pompadour brocade were an attractive trio. Among the most enthusiastic dancers were Mrs. Peel of Taliaris in a dress of

pea-pod green brocade trimmed with lace and Miss Constance Peel in maize-coloured silk, trimmed with white feathers and honey-suckle. Many of the younger guests favoured white. Miss Phipps wore white satin trimmed with lace and turquoise blue velvet; Miss Ina Montgomerie was in white satin garni en soie de chine; Miss Lloyd Baker was in white satin trimmed with lace and pink flowers; Miss Ketha Lloyd Baker wore white moire trimmed with chiffon and white flowers; and Miss Susan Mansel was in cream satin festooned with lace and yellow roses. Likewise Miss Pryce and Miss Gertrude Pryce of Golden Grove Vicarage wore dresses of white silk crepon, trimmed with lace and moire ribbon.

Miss Mansel of Maesteilo wore a charming dress of rich apricot and pink brocade trimmed with old point lace; and a petticoat of pink satin. She wore diamonds. Miss E. Mansel was dressed in a lovely shade of green brocade with panels of green satin trimmed with bond lace. She too wore diamonds.

Mrs. W. H. Lloyd of Llandeilo wore a black broche silk dress and Mrs. Davies of Frood Vale was in black velvet with point lace. Mrs. Gwynne Hughes wore sage green brocade trimmed with pink and lace.

The dancing commenced at 10 p.m. and continued until the small hours of the morning.

At the foot of the steep slopes of The Rookery, many hundreds had gathered to await the dusk. Anticipation, according to precept, is better than realization but on this occasion the maxim was totally refuted. As squibs and Catherine-wheels and whistlers swirled into the night, there were wild cries of hysterical delight. Sunrise alone could have been the finale but even this had been pre-arranged dramatically: *Long Life to the son and heir* was displayed in bright illuminations. And then with thankful and loyal hearts, and in happy tiredness, the crowds wended their way homeward.

Inspector Rogers made a last tour of the town. He half-closed his eyes at the sight of late imbibers in the hostleries. They were quiet enough and he was content to leave a margin, even if not a wide one, on such a night as this. The church clock struck one, sonorously, as he passed beneath it. Yes, he could hang up the great keys of the cells to-night. He hummed as he turned into Church Street and opened the studded door of the Police Station—'The rich man in his castle, the poor man at his gate, God made them high or lowly and ordered their estate . . .' And *ordered* their estate? He wondered.

An Ancient Story Ends In Ruin

Among those houses that have long been landmarks to Carmarthenshire people, but now being menaced by the engines of demolition, is the ancient residence of Rhydygors overlooking the Towy a short distance from the county town. This area has always been significant in the story of Carmarthen, for across the river the first Norman fortification was raised to protect the important crossing before the year 1100, about which time a powerful castle began to arise on the site of the present County Hall.



As times became more settled, a residence was built above the north bank of the river and it is on this site that the present house of Rhydygors stands. Little is known of its medieval history apart from the fact that the first occupiers were the Winters, who are said to have arrived in the train of the forces that made Carmarthen castle their headquarters. Eventually Rhydygors passed by marriage to Welsh families and in Tudor times the children of Edward ap

John adopted his christian name as their patronymic, the form Edwards later becoming Edwardes.

The Edwardes family were to produce many who were to hold high office in the town and county. Among the more distinguished was David Edwardes, Borough Sheriff in 1680, who brought order and system to Welsh genealogy and was largely responsible for the manuscripts known as the Golden Grove Books. Another David Edwardes, born 1716, became an admiral. The family ceased to occupy the house early in this century.

The roughcast stone front of the building, coloured red, is eighteenth century; the back is probably seventeenth century.

John Fisher 1862-1930

John Fisher, who was to become an eminent Celtic scholar and historian, was born on the 5th January 1862 at Cilcoll, an isolated homestead about half a mile to the north-east of the village of Llandybie. He was the eldest son of Edward Fisher and Mary Thomas.

His early education was received at the National School, Llandeilco-Talybont (Pontardulais) and at Llandovery before he proceeded to St David's College, Lampeter, where he became a scholar, exhibitioner and prizeman. He graduated in 1884 and took his B.D. degree in 1891. Having been ordained deacon in 1885 and priest in the following year, he moved to north Wales to hold in turn curacies at Pontbleiddyn, Llanllwchaiarn and Ruthin, in the diocese of St Asaph where he was to spend the rest of his life. In 1901 he became rector of Cefn, near St Asaph, his only incumbency.

Nonetheless, John Fisher was a distinguished figure in the Church to which he devoted his life. In the same year as he accepted the rectory of Cefn, he became librarian of St Asaph Cathedral and while holding that office he compiled a catalogue of the library. In 1916 he was appointed canon and sacrist of the cathedral, becoming chancellor in 1927. From 1917 onwards he was a member of the Welsh Church Governing Body and in 1921 he became Welsh examining chaplain to Archbishop Edwards. He had been examiner in Welsh at his old college of St David's from 1905 to 1909.

Apart from his service to the Church, his other abiding devotion lay in the field of Celtic culture, wherein he revealed himself a scholar of distinction. Having joined the Cambrian Archaeological Association in 1899, he became its general secretary in 1914 and for a time he was concurrently the editor of *Archaeologia Cambrensis*, but in 1917 he relinquished the secretaryship to concentrate on the editorial work, in which he continued until 1925, when he was elected vice-president of the association. His editorial appointment at a time of crisis during the First World War was a fortunate one, for he gradually raised the level of *Archaeologia Cambrensis* to a level worthy of its purpose.

The publication by the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion between 1907 and 1913 of *The Lives of the British Saints*, of which he was joint author with the Rev. S. Baring-Gould, firmly established the reputation of John Fisher as a scholar. This monumental labour

contained in four comprehensive volumes still remains a standard work. Inevitably in such a field of research the authors were to meet disappointment time and again because of the absence of contemporary records, a regret shared by so many students and expressed in the preface to *The Lives*: 'In treating of the Welsh, Cornish, and such Irish Saints as have left their traces in Britain and Brittany, one is met with the difficulty that there is no contemporary record of their lives and labours, and that many of them had no such records left, or if left, they have disappeared . . . It is a matter of profound regret that so many of these Saints are *nuda nomina*, and, to us, little more'.

John Fisher edited a number of works, among them Fenton's 'Tours in Wales', and made many contributions to *Archaeologia Cambrensis*. He served as a member of the Court of Governors of the University of Wales and of the National Library of Wales and was a member of the Board of Celtic Studies. In recognition of his services to Celtic scholarship he was appointed a member of the Royal Commission on Ancient Monuments in Wales and in 1918 he was elected a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries. In 1920 the University of Wales conferred upon him the honorary degree of D.Litt.

He died suddenly on the 9th May 1930 after attending a meeting of the Cambrian Archaeological Association at Shrewsbury. Although he spent the whole of his life elsewhere, he was a notable product of Carmarthenshire, but regrettably his memory is inadequately honoured in his native county.

The Friend of Gulliver's 'Cousin'

The year 1970 has marked the tri-centenary of the birth of a remarkable Carmarthenshire man whose half-forgotten story survives only in reference books and the rarely read texts of famous writers. The man was Erasmus Lewis, friend of illustrious figures in literature and politics, who was born at Abercothy in the vale of Towy.

Admitted a king's scholar to Westminster in 1686, he graduated from Trinity College, Cambridge in 1690. By the end of the century he had visited Berlin, Hambourg, Hanover, Brussels and Lille before reaching Paris, where he became secretary to the ambassador, the Earl of Manchester, and when the ambassador was recalled in 1701 Lewis remained to wind up affairs. But in the following year he was back in Carmarthenshire, probably working as a schoolmaster; yet within two years he was to be called from obscurity to be a secretary to Robert Harley, later the Earl of Oxford, becoming in time the earl's chief favourite, according to Swift. In 1708 Lewis was appointed secretary at Brussels and afterwards he became under-secretary of state under the Earl of Dartmouth. Later he became a member of Parliament.

Soon after coming to London in 1710 Swift made many references to him in the 'Journal to Stella' and described Lewis as 'a cunning shaver, and very much in Harley's favour'. Even so, Swift frequently consulted him about political pamphlets he was writing and regularly corresponded with him after returning to Ireland. Lewis was well informed on the political intrigues of the times and kept Swift supplied with many stories. Certainly he was a trusted friend of Swift; anxious to preserve anonymity when the second edition of the travels of Samuel Gulliver was being prepared, Swift wrote under an assumed name to his publisher instructing him to get in touch with Erasmus Lewis and adding, 'to the said Mr Lewis I have given full power to treat concerning my cousin Gulliver's book and whatever he and you shall settle I will consent to'.

Lewis was an indispensable part of the literary society of his day and in addition to Swift he enjoyed the friendship of Pope, Prior, Arbuthnot and Gay. According to Arbuthnot, who called him the best of friends, Lewis kept company with the greatest. All agreed on the high value they placed upon his friendship. When Pope died he left him five pounds to buy a ring.

Lewis died in 1754 and was buried with his wife in Westminster Abbey. Although she was a gay person, his wife, who predeceased him in 1736, was for years an invalid, but Lewis, a serious man, tended her with great affection.

Before It's Forgotten

A Doctor Remembers

Castle Hill House, 1 Spilman Street, Carmarthen was built in 1815. On the north-west corner of the house there is a large hopper or rain-water head with this date on it. It is a lead casting and a very fine piece of work. The downpipe is also of lead.

There was originally about nine feet more ground around the house, the whole site being about 533 square yards. This was taken away when Castle Hill road was rebuilt. A broad flight of steps descended from the front door to the street and at the bottom were two iron gates with a lamp, similar to a street lamp, in a bracket over them. The lamp was, of course, lit by oil. The ground on the west side of the house was bounded by a high hedge. Below the back gates were the stables with loose-boxes for two horses.



The front door of the house had a very large iron lock, and above this a latch operated by a latch-key. When you enter the house the first room on the left has two rather fine glass fronted wall cupboards, designed, I believe, by Nash. There was also a wooden fireplace and mantelpiece by Nash, but this has been removed and replaced by a modern one since I left. At the end of the hall or passage on the right is a small room which was at one time the bath-

room. Over the bath was a cupboard which contained a large lead tank; it must have weighed about two hundredweight. It was fed by a large lead pipe which carried water from the roof. This was, I think, before there was piped water to the house. In the yard was a covered cesspit for the house drainage; the overflow was later connected to the town drainage. My father had the cesspit filled in about the beginning of this century.

In the kitchen, over the mantelpiece is a small iron door which opens into the chimney. It was, so I used to be told, to allow the small boy to get into the chimney to sweep it. The old gun-rack is still there over the mantelpiece. Behind the kitchen is the wine cellar. You can still see the marks on the walls made by the barrels. The wine bin disappeared many years ago.

When the pillars of the back gate were pulled down at the time of the rebuilding of Castle Hill, Mr. Martin, the engineer in charge, arranged for them to be rebuilt with stone from the old Carmarthen bridge. It is, I think, the only stone left from the structure.

The first occupant of Castle Hill House was the Rev. David Archard Williams. He was headmaster of the Carmarthen Grammar School in the days when it was either situated in Priory Street or at Parc y Berllan, beyond the Parade. He was also vicar of St. David's Church and Archdeacon of Carmarthen. He was responsible for the rebuilding of Christ Church.

The next occupant was Mr. Bagnall. I am not quite sure who he was, but he was a Justice of the Peace, and a Carmarthen street is named after him—Parc Bagnall. He was followed by Charles Jones—Charlie Jones the slates—who had a builder's yard on the Quay. The yard is, I think, still there. My father, Dr. C. P. Parry, M.D., J.P., moved into the house in 1893.

*C. F. PARRY,
Westwood House, Westwood,
Wilts.*

Gold In The Rivers

Everyone knows of the Roman Gold Mines at Dolaucothi, but few realize that there is gold elsewhere in the county.

In the 'thirties, in a cottage between Llanfynydd and Court Henry, dwelt an itinerant preacher called Jenkins, but known to all by the eisteddfodic name of Ceitho—he came from Llangeitho and

competed in local eisteddfodau. At week-ends he occupied any pulpit that was vacant, but during the week he was occupied in panning gold from the sandbanks of the river Sannan, a few hundred yards above Llanfynydd. He kept the recovered gold dust in a bottle and when it was full he sold it. It was about three-quarters full when I saw it in 1932. I afterwards found that several local farmers knew of his gold-panning and had seen the gold in the bottle.

The farm which bounds the river at this point is Cwmban. On this farm are outcrops of rock with veins of quartz. Traces of gold can be seen in the rock; there cannot be much or there would have been a gold rush ere this. Other local rivers show traces of gold too, among them the Felindre, which joins the Sannan about a mile below Llanfynydd.

*W. L. HARRIS,
Glasbant, Gorslas.*

A Carmarthen Pioneer

Rolling-contact ball-bearings loose in their races were not employed until the last quarter of the 18th century. They were then introduced in windmills, the earliest known (about 1780) being in a post mill, where the whole mill structure has to revolve about the central post. But radial ball-bearings do not appear until 1794, when Philip Vaughan, an ironmaster of Carmarthen, patented them for the axle-bearing of a carriage. From then on through the 19th century, but especially in the 1850s and 1860s, a great number of patents were taken out, using ball-bearings with the axles of everything from merry-go-rounds by way of the propeller-shafts and gun-turrets of warships, to armchairs and bicycles. All the same, the invention was not really taken up until the development of powered vehicles with metal parts in rapid motion, risking great loss through friction.

*ALEX KELLER,
The Sunday Times Magazine,
12 July 1970.*

LETTER TO THE EDITOR

TOLL HOUSE QUEST

Sir,

Since coming to live in Llandeilo over two years ago, I have become interested in the house formerly known as New Inn situated on the Llandeilo-Talley road.

I have been told that it was once a toll-house, but have been unable to find any reference to it in anything I have read. I would be grateful to hear from anybody who could recommend any kind of reading matter or send me any information which would satisfy my curiosity over the history of the house.

(Mrs.) C. LEWIS,
Gwynea, Llandeilo.

A NEW GUIDE TO AN OLD CHURCH

Recently published is a new guide book to St. Peter's Parish Church, Carmarthen by Joyce and Victor Lodwick. As the authors point out, it is nearly forty years since T. E. Brigstocke brought out the last edition of his *Notes for Visitors* and their own contribution is designed to meet the need for an up-to-date guide.

Nicely produced, the booklet includes a summary of the church's history, a description of the building and references to the numerous memorials. In addition to a plan of the church, there are a number of illustrations, including some new drawings by Edith Lodwick, whose work will be familiar to readers of *The Carmarthenshire Historian*. It will be a helpful guide to visitors and a convenient little reference book for those more familiar with the town's ancient church.

A NEW PRICE FOR AN OLD CHARGE

The modest price of *The Carmarthenshire Historian* was fixed in 1960, since when rising costs have become an increasing burden and it is now necessary to charge 4s. per copy. This necessity is regretted, but it is hoped that one result will ensure a better distribution.

Volumes I to IV are now out of print, but copies of Volumes V and VI are still available from the Carmarthenshire Community Council, 16a Guildhall Square, Carmarthen at 3s each, post free.