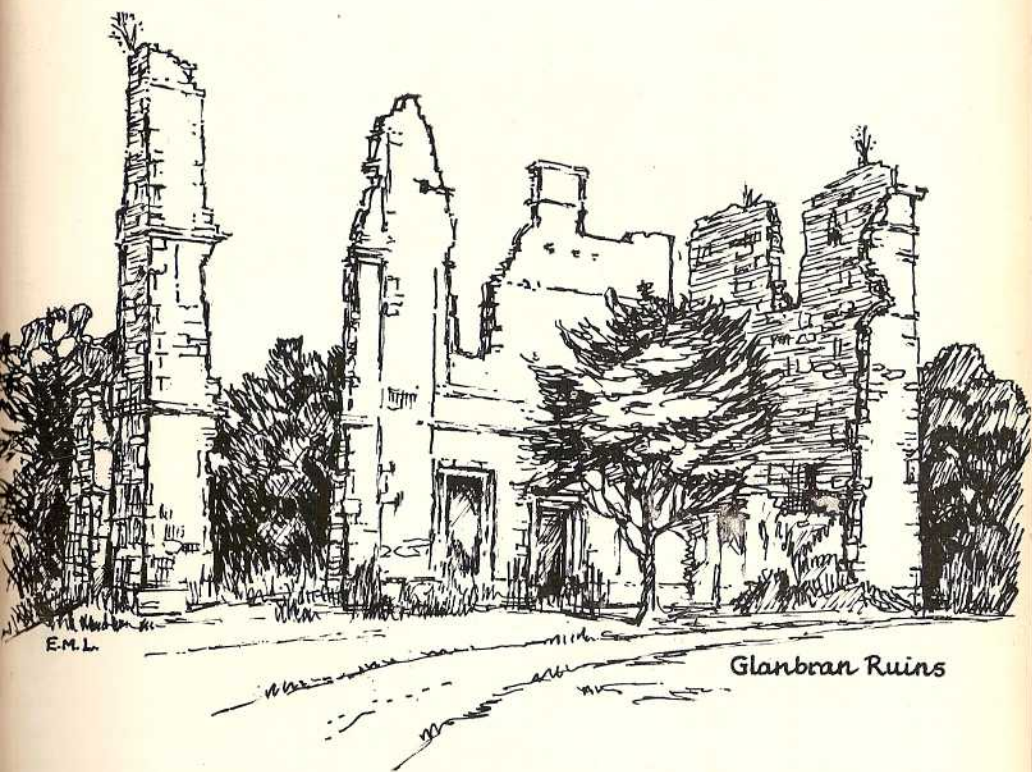


The Carmarthenshire Historian



Glanbran Ruins

THE CARMARTHENSHIRE HISTORIAN

Edited by
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Published by
Carmarthenshire Community Council
Being the Journal of its Local History Committee
Dark Gate Chambers, Red Street, Carmarthen
1972

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Editorial

That history repeats itself is a proposition commended by all and supported by none. Thus we are persuaded by the pundits, but still keep an open ear for the preacher who said there is no new thing under the sun.

In the fulness of time Alexander becomes Napoleon, all-conquering, and Hitler is the brute heir of Nero, incinerating Jews in place of Christians. It has all happened before, says the man in the street, and it will happen again. Vandals flourish, bullies triumph, martyrs suffer and men go on endeavouring to the utmost for the highest though truth is worsted and deceit insinuates. It is ever so. The pattern changes, but the warp and woof of people and events remain the same. The thing that hath been, it is the thing which shall be, saith the preacher ; it hath been already of old time.

All this in the larger sense. In a smaller context of time and place the talk and doings in Carmarthen a century ago are not unfamiliar in our own scene. More wages, higher living standards, leisure for the masses, nationalism, xenophobia, unruly behaviour and a lot more are patent symptoms of contemporary society, but they are not exclusive to our time, as Mr. D. L. Baker-Jones reminds us in the present volume of *The Carmarthenshire Historian* in recalling the National Eisteddfod at Carmarthen in 1867.

Said one, during that earlier ritual week of cultural gratification, the time had come for the lower classes to acquire the intellectual hobbies and interests of the upper classes. He was thinking in terms of natural history and the goings-on of moths and butterflies ; butterfly nets for all would bring emancipation, if not equality. There was talk of rural depopulation and emigration. Narrow nationalism was condemned, but an anti-English faction vociferated nevertheless. They even had unruly behaviour like we have. It was said that improved wages and conditions made it possible for people to enjoy the better things in life ; even the tastes of the masses could be refined, extended and elevated. Just what we have been saying in our time. But there is one great difference : they had natural history, we—all of us—have telly providing culture on tap. Otherwise we still have an affluent class—those who boast colour TV in the domestic sanctum.

But the pundits are right all the same : history does not repeat itself. It is just that things change and the more they change the more they remain the same.

Ave Atque Vale

A Brief Review of the History of the Quarter Sessions in Carmarthenshire

By Major FRANCIS JONES, C.V.O., T.D., F.S.A.,
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SO far as Wales is concerned the year 1535 is the start point of the history of Justices of the Peace. They were introduced by the act of 27 Henry VIII, c.5 (1535) which provided for the appointment under the Great Seal of Justices of the Peace, Justices of the Quorum, and Justices of Gaol Delivery, who were to act within the Crown lands in Wales. The next stage was the Act of 27 Henry VIII, c.26, usually referred to as the 'Act of Union' whereby Wales was united to England, and the separate jurisdictions—lordships marcher and Crown lands—abolished, and the country formed into shires along the English pattern. The final stage was the act of 34-5 Henry VIII, c.26 (1542), which contained a section (54) stating that Justices of the Peace for the whole of Wales were to be appointed by the Lord Chancellor on the advice of the President and Council of Wales and the Justices of the Great Sessions, or by any three justices of whom the President had to be one. At the same time the Quarter Sessions and the Great Sessions were established for Wales. The latter functioned until July 1830 when they were abolished, but the former continued to function until the end of 1971, a period of four hundred and twenty nine years. The Quarter Sessions were abolished by The Courts Act 1971, which established with effect from 1 January 1972 a new court, The Crown Court, to try indictments and to exercise other jurisdiction previously exercised by courts of Quarter Sessions.

From 1542 the number of Justices of the Peace to each county was statutorily limited to eight, but this proved unrealistic, and the maximum limit was never observed, so that in 1581, for instance, Carmarthenshire had as many as twenty-five. The seventeenth century saw a further increase in their number, and in 1693 the King was empowered to appoint as many Justices of the Peace as he pleased. In the eighteenth century, the heyday of the squires, their numbers swelled considerably, so that in many counties, including Carmarthenshire, they eventually numbered over one hundred.

The Quarter Sessions met four times yearly, and in addition to their judicial functions, the civil administration of the country was in

their hands. It is true to say that the rulers of Wales, from this time onwards were the Justices of the Peace operating collectively through the Quarter Sessions. Edicts of central government could not be implemented without the co-operation of these unpaid administrators, and examples exist where they rendered totally ineffective certain acts of parliament which they felt were not in the interests of the inhabitants of counties in which they lived. It was a form of "Home Rule", when the Welsh were ruled by the class best qualified to do so, namely the old landed gentry, from whom the overwhelming bulk of the Justices came.

Maitland's dictum that the office of Justice of the Peace is "the most distinctively English part of all our government institutions" is one with which no informed person will disagree. The work of Justices as individuals is important, but more important still was their work as a combined body within each shire. It is through the co-operation of the Justices of the Peace that the Quarter Sessions became the effective instrument of the judicature throughout the land of Britain.

Two Functions

I wish to emphasise again the Quarter Sessions had two distinct functions. Judicial and administrative matters were dealt with separately. Firstly, the Sessions dealt with criminal and civil cases, in other words, it had a purely judicial function; this aspect of its work continued until it was superseded by the introduction of Crown Courts. Secondly, the Sessions dealt with the civil administration of the county, and, a glance at the records of Quarter Sessions will show that this was undoubtedly the greater part of their duties, a situation which continued until the Local Government Act of 1888 placed administration in the hands of the County Council elected exclusively to undertake that duty.

Few people today appreciate the important part that the justices played in the history of the county from 1542 onwards. Commenting on the introduction of Justices of the Peace in Wales, Trevelyan writes in his *History of England*, "supported by the strong arm of the central Government the Justices of the Peace were able to rule in the wild hill regions where feudalism and brutality had run riot for centuries. These magistrates, under the system inaugurated by Henry VIII, were not Englishmen imported to hold down the natives, but Welsh gentlemen who were the natural leaders of the people".

Before the end of the Elizabethan age, the Justices of the Peace were an essential part of governmental machinery, and gradually

became the rulers of Wales. The competence of their main court, the Quarter Sessions, was wide and vague. They could and did exercise "general authority". Their powers were not confined to criminal cases, but extended to adjudicating on certain civil cases. They were ministerial and executive officers as well as judicial, made their own regulations and enforced them. By the reign of James I the affairs of the shire were wholly in the hands of the Quarter Sessions, the supreme authority. Between 1688 and 1835 the Quarter Sessions assumed a legislative authority, enjoying complete autonomy. The Justices acted in three ways—as individual magistrates sitting alone (sometimes in their own parlours); jointly with a few colleagues in a division of the county; and collectively in general Quarter Sessions. It was a case of "Home Rule for Wales", where the land was governed and administered by Welshmen who lived on their own freeholds among their own folk, fully aware of local conditions, and, on the whole, a humane and responsible body of men. We must remember too, that there were very few "professionals" to help them, there was no organised bureaucracy, so that the Justice was no mere figurehead. He was hard-worked and hard-working.

Selection and Number of Justices

For many centuries property ownership was a requirement for election to the Bench, originally land worth £20 annually (a large sum in Tudor times), and although in Wales this figure was lowered, land ownership remained the basic qualification. George Owen, the Pembrokeshire historian (died 1614) tells us that in his time "the Justices and the chiefest gentlemen in every shyre that beare that office, with som learned in the laws", adding, doubtless thinking of those with the lower landed qualifications, "dyvers men lyving are climbd upp to the bench by whom as the sayd statute sayeth the people will not be ruled". Thus it became the preserve of the landed gentry, but from the early sixteenth century industrialists, manufacturers, and well-to-do tradesmen were added, but these always formed a minority. From the early part of the eighteenth century clergymen were added to the Bench. In the nineteenth century, and particularly in the twentieth, the field of selection was considerably widened, so that by today the Justices are representative of all sections of the community. So deeply entrenched was the notion of property-owning, that when the Justices of the Quarter Sessions were discussing the provisions of the proposed Local Government Bill, they resolved (26 April 1888) "That the County of Carmarthen recommends that the qualification for County Councillors whether elected or selected be the ownership of property or residence within the County". That "ownership of property" is placed first in these requirements is a significant indication of their way of thinking.

Those appointed to be Justices had to take statutory oaths in open court, and to present certificates that they had taken Holy Communion in the parish church according to the rites of the Established Church. In 1802 William Paxton, esquire, took the oaths as a magistrate; in 1803 there was a spate of new magistrates—David Heron Pugh, William McClary, Howell Price, Jenkin Davies, the Revd. Lewis Lewis, the Revd. Daniel Bowen, R. I. Starke, Herbert Evans, the Revd. Evan Holliday, Evan Jones of Dolwilym, William Skyrme, Llewellyn Parry of Gernos (Cards), and Lord Kensington; in 1825, Sir William Champion de Crespigny Bt., of Rhosduon Fawr, Pencarreg, took the oath as a landowner of £100 per annum, in 1836 the Revd. Llewelyn Lewellin, D.C.L., Principal of St. David's College, Lampeter, and in 1864, a *rara avis*, Henry Ridgard Bagshaw took the oath as required from him as a Roman Catholic to enable him to act as a magistrate for Carmarthenshire.

At the accession of a new monarch, the Justices again subscribed to the customary oaths. At the Quarter Sessions held on 14 July 1830, it was ordered that all magistrates were to take oaths of allegiance, supremacy, and abjuration, to His Majesty King William IV. Their loyalty was further expressed in numerous congratulatory addresses to the sovereign and other members of the Royal Family. In 1837 they sent an address of congratulation to Queen Victoria on her accession to the Throne, and an address of condolence to the Queen Dowager on the death of his late Majesty. In 1842 they sent loyal messages to the Queen, Prince Albert, and the Duchess of Kent, on the occasion of an attempt on the Queen's life by one John Francis (a man with no Carmarthenshire connections, by the way). In 1862 they sent an address of condolence to the Queen on the death of The Prince Consort. A more felicitous occasion was the marriage of The Prince of Wales, which drew from the justices in Quarter Sessions assembled the following address on 9 April 1863:

"Most Gracious Sovereign. We your Majesty's Justices of the Peace in Quarter Sessions assembled, approach your Majesty with sentiments of affectionate loyalty requesting that your Majesty will be pleased to accept our sincere congratulations upon the occasion of the marriage of His Royal Highness The Prince of Wales with a Princess of the Royal Line of Denmark. We offer up our heartfelt prayers that the mutual affection which was the germ of that happy union may daily increase and that the guardianship of heaven may shield their Royal Highnesses from all events which may have ever a tendency to disturb their future happiness. We fully anticipate that the happiness which we fervently hope may ever attend their Royal Highnesses' path through life may shed a beneficial influence over the sorrow of which your Majesty has been so heavily afflicted and that the affectionate

efforts of their Royal Highnesses will ever be directed to aid and support your Majesty in the conduct of the arduous affairs of State and to afford comfort and solace to the hours of leisure, relieved from the duties of the elevated position in which your Majesty's wishes have been so successfully realised by exertions to promote the welfare and happiness of your people throughout your Majesty's extensive dominions".

In January 1879 an address was forwarded to condole with Her Majesty upon the death of the Princess Alice. In April 1864 they sent addresses of congratulations on the birth of Prince Albert Victor to the Prince and Princess of Wales, and a similar address to the Queen. The fiftieth anniversary of the Queen's reign in 1887 provided a further occasion for a congratulatory address.

Meeting Places

From medieval times to our own, the Justice of the Peace would sit with his fellow-Justices in general Quarter Sessions for his native shire. In theory all Justices were entitled, indeed expected, to attend, so that when fully assembled, the Court of Quarter Sessions with its Bench of Justices, juries, officials, clerks, lawyers, and prisoners, may have numbered a hundred or more. During the last century the number of Justices who attended the Carmarthenshire Quarter Sessions numbered between 6 and 35. In 1863 for instance, the Chairman sat at Carmarthen flanked by 33 Justices. The accommodating of such number inevitably created a problem, and the Carmarthenshire records often mention extensions having to be made to the Shire Hall. During the nineteenth century the work of the Sessions increased rapidly, with the result that it became necessary to appoint numerous committees to deal with matters in detail and report their findings to the General Quarter Sessions, where they were either confirmed or referred back. Some Justices failed to attend as regularly as they might, whereupon the Clerk of the Peace placed an asterisk opposite the names of defaulting members when he prepared the minutes. This custom annoyed some of the Justices, none more so than Mr. Richard Jennings of Gellideg. Accordingly at the Quarter Sessions held on 7 April 1881, Mr. Jennings got on his feet and gave notice that at the next Sessions he would move that the custom of placing stars opposite the names of gentlemen who failed to attend committees be discontinued. The Clerk of the Peace gravely entered the notice of motion in the records of the court. The next Sessions were held on 24 June 1881, and how the Clerk must have chuckled when he entered this minute—"Mr. Jennings's motion to discontinue placing stars opposite the names of gentlemen who failed to attend committees was not moved, *because Mr. Jennings was not present*".

In well-organised Sessions, the first day was taken up in reading a proclamation of recent statutes, and charges read to the jurors and officials. The hearing of presentments and trial of cases would follow on the succeeding days. A case would normally be tried on the day following the indictment, sometimes not until the next Sessions. However, the administration of county matters, what would be called local government today, occupied most of the time of the Sessions.

The meetings were usually held at the shire halls in Carmarthen and Llandeilo, alternately. But they were by no means always held in these towns or in shire halls in the earlier days. For instance on 1 February 1740 the meeting was held at the Old Plough Inn in Llandovery, when James Price of Cilgwyn the newly elected Clerk of the Peace subscribed to the customary oaths. At the end of that Sessions it was decided that the next Quarter Sessions be held in the inn kept by the widow Chapman in St. Clears, and in the autumn of 1749 they were held at The Red Lion, Llandeilo, when the innkeeper received 40 shillings "for the use of his house to hold the Quarter Sessions"; and in the summer of 1752 they were held at Llandeilo in the house of one Thomas Beynon who received two guineas "for the use of his room to hold this Sessions". The Winter Sessions of 1801 were held in a house in Spilman Street, Carmarthen, and the Spring Sessions of the following year at the Bear Inn, Llandeilo, and the Summer Sessions of 1802 at the house of Vaughan Horton, J.P., in King Street, Carmarthen. During the nineteenth century they were held in the shire halls of Carmarthen and Llandeilo.

Cases

All manner of cases came before the Quarter Sessions, the most important ones being sent on to the Court of Great Sessions (which operated from 1542 to 1830) or to the Assizes. They included homicide, assaults and violence (particularly numerous), burglary and theft (there seems to have been a high percentage of nimble-fingered folk in the county), riots, theft from wrecks, forgery, and so on. When an offence merited heavier punishment, the cases were sent to the superior court, that of the Great Sessions. Thus on July 1809 a writ of *certiorari* was produced for removing to the Great Sessions the indictment found against eighteen men for unlawful assembly, riot, and demolishing two limekilns in Pendine parish; and in January 1812 a similar writ removed the indictment against Rees Goring Thomas for failing to repair the churchyard wall of the parish church of Llannon, to the superior court.

Some of the punishments may seem harsh to us today, but doubtless "fitted the crime" in a somewhat rough age—imprisonment

with hard labour, transportation, "sent to the hulks", whipping, fines, and so on. Thus in 1749 Daniel James, gaoler, was paid £1 for whipping Enoch Charles, a convicted felon. The gaoler himself was no angel, for in the Spring Sessions of 1750 he was fined £5 "for his Insolent Behaviour to the Court now sitting". In 1752 Morgan William a shoemaker of Llangadog was fined half-a-crown for "keeping a Disorderly House". In 1797, nine men were indicted for "a Riot and Disturbance at Llanon, against the authority of the Magistrates there assembled, and the hindrance of justice and in 1801 the Quarter Sessions offered a reward of 20 guineas for discovering the author of a "Threatening Handbill" sent to magistrates in the Laugharne and St. Clears districts. A writ of *certiorari* was produced in the Summer Sessions of 1811 in respect of one Thomas Richards of Llandinog "for disquieting and disturbing the congregation assembled at a Meeting house" [place of worship] and for an assault. A more serious case was that of William Prosser who in 1821 was committed for contempt of court and tampering with the Grand Jury. In the Spring Sessions of 1797 it was ordered that the High Sheriff apprehend five men for plundering the wreck of the Swedish vessel, *Hedevig Charlotta*, on the coast of Laugharne. Some officials were not beyond reproach, particularly Richard Penry, a constable of Llanedy parish, who was prosecuted in 1797 for forgery, namely altering the figure 6d to 18d, in a pass granted to a vagrant by Nathaniel Morgan, J.P. Men were also fined for failing to attend for jury service after having been summoned to do so; thus in 1834 Thomas Rees of Abercover and William Yalden of Vauxhall were each fined 40 shillings for not appearing to serve on the Grand Jury.

Local officials were punished for failing to attend the Sessions, such as Morgan David, chief constable of the upper division of Cayo, and Samuel Charles, constable of Kidwelly, who were fined 40 shillings apiece in 1751 for non-attendance. Where good reason was shown the names of certain men qualified to be jurors were struck off the list by order of the magistrates. In 1750 Peter Rutherch of Llandeilofawr, and in 1794 John Zacharias of Conwil Elfed, gentleman, were excused further service as they were over 70 years of age and infirm. In 1801, David Jones of Bailybedw, Llanllwni, was excused, "being deaf", and in 1825 William Hancock of Moche, Llanstephan, was granted a writ of ease, "he being liable to fits".

In the Summer Sessions of 1801, Mary Price of Llangunnor was found guilty of stealing a blue, red and white striped petty coat, a check linen apron, and a spotted shawl handkerchief, of the total value of 4s 2d, and sentenced to 6 months in a solitary cell in the House of Correction, and kept to hard labour. For stealing a silver

tea spoon valued at 10 pence, in 1801, David John of Cilrhedyn, yeoman, was ordered to be delivered to Sergeant Lewis of the 46th Regiment of Foot to be conveyed immediately to the said regiment then in Ireland, and in the same sessions Priscilla John of Llanarthney was sentenced to 12 months solitary confinement with hard labour for stealing two ducks.

Another form of punishment awaited William Davies, convicted for theft, who was conveyed from Carmarthen Gaol to Portsmouth harbour to be delivered on board the "Lyon" hulk in 1800; and in the following year Hannah Williams, similarly convicted, was conveyed to the hulk "Nile" lying at Spithead. Harry Lloyd, a labourer of Llanfairarybryn having been found guilty of stealing articles valued at 14 shillings in 1821, was sentenced to transportation for 14 years to one of His Majesty's Dominions beyond seas.

On the other hand, a curiously modern ring is provided by an order in the Sessions of 1822 when the Court ordered that a stove be obtained for the lock-up at Llandoverly, "necessary for the comfort of those that may be confined therein". In 1795 the County Treasurer was authorised to spend £5 to provide coals for "the poor prisoners now confined in the County Gaol". Neither were the spiritual needs of prisoners overlooked, and in 1810 it was ordered that "six or eight Godly books" be provided for them.

Numerous references are found to Rebecca rioters, and in 1840 the gaoler was authorised "to purchase a caravan for the conveyance of Prisoners"—forerunner of the Black Maria. On 31 March 1840 the Justices authorised the payment of £1 7. 6. to James James, constable for keeping prisoners in custody and attending them before magistrates "on suspicion of destroying the gate and toll house at Evelwen". This was the first tollgate to be destroyed by the apostles of violence who became known as Rebecca rioters. The situation deteriorated so much that on 4 January 1843 the Quarter Sessions decided to apply to the Secretary of State for the Home Department for a military force of 50 men to be sent from Brecon to St. Clears and neighbourhood and to be under the direction of the local magistrate; and 50 special constables to be selected at the Petty Sessions at St. Clears from the farmers of that neighbourhood, and placed under the Inspector of Police; that 30 of the most effective Pensioners in western Carmarthenshire be sworn as special constables, and placed under such command as the magistrates at the St. Clears Petty Sessions should appoint; and finally, that the Secretary of State for the Home Department issue a free pardon to any accomplice or accomplices "in the late outrage, who will give evidence to con-

viction against the perpetrators of such outrage". The cost of combating the Rebecca rioters, partly borne by the county, proved heavy, and in October 1843 the Quarter Sessions agreed that on account of the distressed state of the ratepayers, the Vice Lieutenant be requested to represent to the Government that the Government should bear the expense of the Metropolitan policemen sent to Carmarthenshire "during the outrages and disturbances and the destruction and demolition of turnpike gates and toll houses by incendiarism".

An echo of the landing of the French at Fishguard occurs in the January sessions of 1798, when the gaoler received 3 guineas for his "trouble and attendance for three weeks watching the French prisoners in the County Gaol".

Movements of paupers and "strollers" to their home parishes was vigorously enforced as they were a charge upon the rates if allowed to remain. Sometimes punishment accompanied the order, as in 1805 when Elizabeth Banner of the parish of Mathry, Pembrokeshire, and her infant male child turned up in Carmarthenshire without means of subsistence. She was brought before the Quarter Sessions who ordered that she be kept in the House of Correction to hard labour for seven days, and afterwards, together with her child, to be conveyed to her parish of settlement, Mathry. Bastardy matters also came before the Justices. In 1820 and 1822, two randy schoolmasters, David Jones of Brechfa and William Evans of Llangathen, were sworn as putative fathers and to be responsible for financial provision for the infants, and in 1826 two persons from Cilycwm parish with the splendid classical names of Sil Silvanus and Mary Augustus, who had loved not wisely but too well found themselves facing a grave Bench anxious to keep the rates down. Such illicit joyousness could be expensive, as John Theophilus of Llanfynydd, adjudged father of Dinah Davies's twins, found in 1796 when he was ordered to pay to the churchwardens of Llanfynydd £9 for Dinah's lying-in, and 3 shillings towards the maintenance of the infants. What tragedy lies behind the following entry in 1836—"Pay Rebecca Lewis, sexton of Llangadock, 5 shillings for disinterring the body of John Thomas, an illegitimate child supposed to have been poisoned".

County Administration

We now turn to a more happy side of the Quarter Sessions, namely administration of the county. This touched practically every aspect of life—the levying of rates, care of public buildings, the constabulary, recruiting for the armed services, militia affairs, appointment of officials, licencing of inns, registering of Nonconformist

Meeting Houses, weights and measures, prices and wages, care of records, enclosures, Judge's lodgings, bankruptcies, and so on. The following examples illustrate the variety of subjects that exercised the Justices in Quarter Sessions.

Officials

First of all, let us look at the officials. By far the most important was the Clerk of the Peace. He was appointed by the Custos Rotulorum, and most of the routine work of arranging the Quarter Sessions fell on him, such as drawing up indictments, arraigning prisoners, making out warrants and orders, keeping lists of jurors, and recording judgements of the Court. He kept the records but that duty he sometimes delegated to a Deputy-Clerk where such existed. The salary he received was derisory, but it must be remembered that the office carried fees, and normally the Clerk carried on a private legal practice as well.

On his appointment he had to appear before the Justices in Sessions to take the necessary oaths. On 1 February 1749 James Price of Cilgwyn, Myddfai parish, having been appointed Clerk of the Peace, before the Justices of the Quarter Sessions held at the Old Plough Inn, Llandovery, took the oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy, the Test and other oaths, and produced evidence that he had taken the sacrament on Sunday after divine service and sermon, according to the several Acts of Parliament. On 28 December 1834, the Court record reads "Edward Jones of Llandovery, gentleman, produced his Appointment of Clerk of this County under the hand and seal of the Rt. Hon. George Talbot Rice, Lord Dynevor, Custos Rotulorum of the said county, and it was ordered that he should take the oath of office and also the oaths of Allegiance, Supremacy, and Abjuration, and he took the same accordingly in open Court". As I have said, the Clerk of the Peace was allowed to carry on a private practice, and received the normal legal fees for work carried out on behalf of the Quarter Sessions which were often considerable. As time went on the tendency was to raise the Clerk's salary and to limit or "peg" his legal fees. In 1829 the Sessions resolved that in future the Clerk be allowed £200 a year "in lieu of fees from this county, money orders excepted", instead of £100 a year as had been agreed in 1799. In 1835 they resolved that he be allowed £270 yearly in lieu of fees, but exclusive of expenses incurred by him in bringing actions pursuant to the order of the Justices, and he was to receive a further £80 yearly for expenses and trouble imposed on him by the Reform Act in respect of registration of electors, and they resolved further that he should be recompensed for any extraordinary work undertaken by him pursuant to any future act of parliament. In January 1853

the Sessions revised the scale, and resolved that £350 yearly "was a fair and proper sum to be paid to the Clerk of the Peace for his salary", exclusive of fees on prosecutions and other legal business transacted on behalf of the county, or stamp duties, fees to counsel, or costs in relation to the Rural Police.

The Justices kept a wary eye on salaries, over which they exercised rigid control. Their attitude is exemplified in a resolution made in 1830, which read, "Ordered that no salary now payable to any person out of County Rates and under the Control of the Magistrates, be from henceforth increased without notice given of such intended increase at the Quarter Sessions previous to the Session in which such increase shall be proposed, and no such notice or increase to be made at any adjourned Sessions, and that notice be inserted in the newspaper belonging to the County". Previous Clerks had not fared so well. In 1795 it was laid down that the salary of Richard Jones Llwyd, then Clerk of the Peace, be £100 per annum; and his successor in office, Charles Morgan, had to be content with a similar sum on his appointment in October 1799.

The County Treasurer, appointed by the Quarter Sessions, was less well off. In 1823 Thomas Jones was appointed (*vice* David William Stephenson, deceased) at £40 yearly, and providing sureties in £2000 for due performance of the office. When Richard Rees took up the post in 1836, his yearly salary was the same; and in 1850 Charles Henry Hughes, attorney at law, was appointed County Treasurer at £50 yearly, and also Treasurer of the Police Rate at £30 yearly, he providing a bond with sureties in the sum of £3000; in 1825 the County Solicitor received a yearly salary of £80, and in 1840 his successor was appointed at a salary of £105.

There were other officials who became more numerous as the work of the Sessions increased, ultimately leading to the establishment of a full-time bureaucracy. Among them were the County Gaoler who received £60 in 1794, the Governor of the House of Correction at £105 in 1806, the Court Crier at £15 in 1809, the Surgeon of the County Gaol at £30 in 1812, the schoolmaster at the Gaol at £20 in 1837, the Hall-keeper at £10 in 1823, Bridge-master for the county at £30 in 1812, "upon giving up all other employment", and an Inspector of Weights and Measures in 1846 with a salary of £70, and to receive a moiety of all fines levied, and ten per centum of the fees. Pensions were granted to those who retired. A pension of £50 was granted in 1825 to Benjamin Waugh on his retirement as Gaoler and Master of the House of Correction, and in the following year John Moses was "discharged from the situation of Turnkey in consequence of old age and infirmities attendant thereon, and allowed a pension of £15 p.a." Care of bridges had long been an amateur

and part-time concern, but the increase in trade, and subsequently communications, demanded a more professional attention, and in 1848 Richard Kyrke Penson of Oswestry, Salop, Civil Engineer, was appointed full-time Bridge Surveyor for the whole of Carmarthenshire (he engaging to resign a similar appointment for Cardiganshire) at a salary of £150 p.a. including travelling expenses.

Other officials not directly under the Justices were obliged to qualify themselves for their posts by taking statutory oaths and delivering sacramental certificates to the Quarter Sessions. From 1807 onwards the Portreeves of Laugharne and of St. Clears regularly qualified themselves in this manner. In April 1808 William Lloyd of Laques, esquire, took the oaths as High Sheriff of the county. In 1831 the Revd. Joshua Davies took the oaths to qualify himself. In 1808 Thomas Williams qualified himself as an officer of excise, and Hector Rees as Waiter and Searcher at the port of Llanelly. In 1853 Hugh Williams, esquire, duly qualified himself as "Recorder of the Borough of St. Clears".

A large number of clergymen similarly took oaths and made the declarations to qualify themselves for ecclesiastical appointments. In 1831 the Revd. Joshua Davies took the oaths to qualify himself as Prebendary of Llandygwydd, Cards.; in 1833 the Revd. Rice Rees, M.A., Professor of Welsh in St. Davids College, Lampeter, as rector of the sinecure rectory of Llanddewi Felfre, Pems.; in 1838 the Revd. David Lloyd Herbert Thackery Griffies Williams of Llwynhelig, as rector of Penboyr and perpetual curate of Llanfihangel Aberbythych; the Revd. William Harries of Abersannan as vicar of Llanfynydd, and the Revd. John William Pugh of Greenhill as vicar of Llandeilo-fawr; in 1841 the Revd. John Jones as perpetual curate of Llanreithan, Pems. and the Revd. Richard Bowen Jones, B.A., as rector of Cilymaenllwyd *cum capella* Castle Dwyrrhan; and in 1850 the Revd. Samuel Jones as perpetual curate of Eglwysfair-Glyntaf.

Deputations of gamekeepers, usually men of standing, were also recorded in the Sessions. In 1750, the Revd. William Harries of Laugharne, clerk was appointed by Sir John Philipps, Bart., lord of the manor of Llanddowror, and William Plowden of Plowden Hall, Salop, lord of the manor of Oysterlowe Grange, to be gamekeeper within the said manors.

Records of Court

A matter that greatly exercised the mind of the Clerk of the Peace was the care and preservation of Court records. The person responsible for the records was the Custos Rotulorum, usually appoint-

ed from the most prominent Justices, but he normally delegated the work to the Clerk, who ensured that they were kept safely and would be produced when necessary. These were statutory papers, and apart from the legal necessity for their conservation, were required for precedents and references to help in current administration. From the historian's point of view, they are invaluable, and a satisfactory history of a county cannot be written without consulting them. In 1794 the Quarter Sessions papers include a payment of £13 2. 6. to David Rees, Deputy Prothonotary, "being his bill for a room to keep the records of the County for twelve years and a half at the rate of £1 1. 0. a year", and £2 12. 6. for a deal chest to keep the documents. In 1796 the Clerk of the Peace was ordered "to enquire for a fit and proper place to erect a Record Room and that he enter into a negotiation for the purchase of such place", and in the following year it was laid down that the cost of building such a room should not exceed £160. Accordingly the room was built within the Shire Hall, and in 1798 David Rees was paid £7 7. 0. for "his trouble in removing the records from the old record room to the new one", and £5 towards "keeping fire in the record room for the preservation of the County records", and "two old presses" in the Shire Hall were allocated for their reception. Apparently they were not enough and in 1801 the Clerk received ten guineas to procure new presses "for keeping and preserving the records of this Court".

It was decided to build a record room in the shire hall at Llandeilo as well, and in 1802 the Quarter Sessions accepted a plan by the famous architect, William Jernegan of Swansea, for such a building at the cost of £1200. Jernegan completed the work in 1804, and Court ordered the payment of £30 to Thomas Harry, mason, "for facing the Record Room of the Shire Hall in Llandeilo with fine stone work".

In 1836 the Quarter Sessions gave directions "for placing an Iron Chest in the Shire Hall in Carmarthen to keep the records of the County". An entry in the Minute Book, for the Sessions held on 30 June 1887, read, "The Clerk of the Peace drew the attention of the Court to the dilapidated condition as to binding and otherwise of the Books containing the Minutes of the Court from the year 1748 (the most ancient among the Records of the Court) to 1878, and he was instructed to obtain an estimate for binding and indexing the same". On 20 October following an estimate for the work from Messrs. Hadden, Best & Co., was submitted to the Justices and accepted. These volumes, including that of 1748, are now preserved in the County Record Office. It is pleasant to be able to say that in 1959 a proper Record Office was established with two large strong rooms for the reception of documents, and which has been

appointed by the Lord Chancellor as the official repository for statutory and other documents in Carmarthenshire.

County Buildings

The Shire Hall at Carmarthen, and its amenities (or rather, the lack of them), often exercised the minds of the Justices, and the Quarter Sessions records contain numerous references to the matter. In 1808 the Justices ordered that the seats of the Jury Box be raised, presumably for the benefit of minute jurors, and at the same time that "Brass hooks for hanging the Magistrates' Hats on, be procured and put up", and that a stove and ventilators be placed in the hall. Ventilation was still unsatisfactory in 1810, when it was ordered that the Deputy Prothonotary "do provide a Presbyterian for the Hall chimney at the Expense of this County". Lest some Nonconformists wilt at this order, I must add that a 'presbyterian' in this context was a kind of iron hood designed to make the chimney 'draw'. Problems of accommodation afflicted our forebears no less than they do us today. As the business of the Sessions increased, a cry for more space arose. On one side of the Shire Hall was an inn that rejoiced in the sinister name of "Devil's Tavern", kept by one David Morris. In October 1820, the Justices decided to buy the premises for £570, and to incorporate it with the shire hall, which was done accordingly, and the Grand Jury room was built on its site. In 1828, another tavern, called "The Falcon" near the Shire Hall was acquired for similar incorporation. A third tavern, the "Plume of Feathers" escaped cannibalization and continues to assuage the thirst of burgesses. To pay for these extensions and improvements, the Justices borrowed £2500 in 1828, and made a contract with David Morgan of Carmarthen, architect, for carrying out the projected works. Gas lighting was beginning to come to west Wales, and in 1822 the Justices ordered that a gas light be placed "in front of the Hall" and another "at the foot of the steps". The Shire Hall was completely rebuilt and enlarged in 1829. Some of the basements, and the kitchen remained unoccupied for some time, until some enterprising burgesses "squatted" there, apparently without the knowledge of the Justices. When they discovered this in March 1838 they ordered the "the persons living in the kitchen of the County Hall be immediately sent away".

The problem of space continued to vex the Justices, and in 1861 they undertook further improvements. Not everyone approved of this project, and on 4 November 1861, Rees Goring Thomas, J.P., gave notice that he would propose at the next Quarter Sessions that the improvements going on at the Shire Hall be abandoned, and a new Shire Hall and Judges' Lodgings erected on the Castle Green (i.e.

just in front of the present County Hall), a site which had been offered by the Earl Cawdor. However, nothing came of this proposal.

The Shire Hall at Llandeilo is of much later date. In August 1800 the Court studied plans of premises in that town which they proposed to buy for the purpose of "erecting a County Hall and a market place therein for the use and at the expense of the County"; but influenced by the incidence of taxes and rates, the Justices decided not to proceed in the matter until "a reduction in the Militia of the County" had taken place. However, in 1802 the Justices approved of a plan for building a shire hall on a site presented by Lord Dynevor, and an adjoining stable presented by Thomas Stepney, esquire. The building was to include provision for keeping the records, and also for securing prisoners for trial. The hall was eventually built. In 1848 it was put to a use not foreseen by the builders, and a minute of the Sessions held on 6 January of that year reads, "Ordered that the use of the Llandilo hall be granted for the performance of Divine Service therein during the time the church at Llandilo is being built". Several improvements were made to the building later in the century. The Justices were enemies to all forms of waste, as the unconsciously humorous entry in 1858 indicates—they ordered that "the useless stove" in the Llandeilo hall be removed for use in the county gaol.

Judge's Lodgings

Mention of Judge's Lodgings directs our attention to another aspect of the administrative work of the Quarter Sessions, for the County officials were responsible for looking after visiting Judges of Assize. All aspects of the comfort of such legal luminaries were studied. In 1820 for example David Morgan, carpenter, received £10 for constructing water closets for the judges. In 1829 the Clerk of the Peace was instructed to agree with Thomas Jones and William Moss of Carmarthen, for furnished lodgings, for 21 years at the allowance of £20 for each Quarter Sessions. But this arrangement did not last long. Complaints about such accommodation are evidently nothing new. In April 1833 the Justices in Quarter Sessions considered that the Judge's Lodgings were "Inconveniently small, of which repeated complaints have been made", and ordered five magistrates, John Jones, John George Philipps, Grismond Philipps, John Lloyd Davies, and Thomas Morris, "to select the most commodious and best calculated appartments that can be found in Carmarthen for that purpose". In July 1834, as a result of the recommendation, the Justices agreed to use the house of Richard Spurrell in King Street for the Judge, at £40 per annum, and any further sum that the Government might allow. In 1839 the rent was increased to £50, and Spurrell's house remained the Judge's Lodgings for many years.

The Walls of Carmarthen Castle

The walls of the ruined castle of Carmarthen often engaged their attention, particularly as they were occasionally considered a threat to life and property. There had been some complaints in 1802, and in the Epiphany Quarter Sessions the Justices ordered Richard Owen, mason, to survey the castle walls and repair them "at the expense of this county". In 1804 an order was made to build "a depot" in a tower of the castle. In 1811, the condition of the walls again caused concern, and two Justices were ordered to inspect them and to repair defects. As a result of their report, a committee of Justices was formed in the following year, empowered to make contracts for necessary repairs, while the damages "occasioned by the falling of the said wall" were to be settled by the committee and compensation paid by the County Treasurer. Among the sums paid out was £73 to one George Richards for damage caused to houses by the falling of the wall.

The Gaol

In 1789, the year the Bastille fell, the rulers of Carmarthenshire erected their own "Bastille" in the form of a Gaol within the area of Carmarthen castle, entered through a fine entrance designed by no less than John Nash. References occur in the Quarter Sessions records to subsequent repairs and extensions made to it. The development of industry and rapid growth of population, alas, increased the criminal work of the Courts, and the Gaol became a "full house". In 1867 large extensions were made, and the adjoining ground, part of the site of the old castle enclosure known as Castle Green, on which stood a smithy and six cottages, bought from Lord Cawdor for £1300.

There are numerous references to the administration of the gaol, extensions, improvements to the fabric, appointments of officials, payments, etc. A few examples must suffice to indicate what went on. In 1795 the County Treasurer was ordered to pay up to £1 10. 0. to buy necessaries for "old Gwen Owen" and David Evans, two prisoners in the gaol and also to provide oakum "or other proper article to set the prisoners in the House of Correction to work". New hinges and locks, the latter "of best construction",—for doors were continually being bought. In 1849 the Sessions ordered that the menu for Class I convicted prisoners should consist of a pint of gruel for breakfast, a pound of bread for dinner, and a pint of gruel for supper.

On an old plan of the gaol an area is marked as "Trebanda", the meaning of which escapes my comprehension. In 1831 the Clerk

of the Peace contracted with George Howell, mason, for repairing "the Trebanda" in the county gaol, and keeping it in repair for seven years, at the cost of £40 8. 0., the work to be "certified workmanlike" by David Morgan, architect. Less mysterious was the treadmill, and contracts for the building of such a fabric "with one pair of stones and two boxes for prisoners" were invited in 1832. Numerous orders were issued in 1839, namely that boards should be placed in front of the treadmill to prevent prisoners seeing passers-by, but to be placed "so as to admit air"; that one or more tin or copper ventilators be placed at the sides of the mill; that convicts were not to receive letters or visits from friends during the first six months of imprisonment except "under peculiar and pressing circumstances"; that a dark cell be fitted up for the punishment of "refractory prisoners"; and that boards be placed on the outside of windows in the female debtors ward "as may prevent them seeing males walking in the yard". In 1844, £90 was paid for enlarging the treadmill. More ominous was the work undertaken in 1845 by James Griffiths, smith for "making new oak doors for the gaol, and flagging *under the drop*".

Other buildings for which the Quarter Sessions were responsible were the House of Correction, alongside the gaol, and the lunatic asylum kept for some time in a building against the inner walls of the old castle.¹ New accommodation for these unfortunates was arranged in due course. In 1839 a committee of magistrates was formed to discuss with similar committees from Pembrokeshire and Cardiganshire the possibility of erecting a Lunatic Asylum for the three counties, which later was brought to fruition. The building became too small to accommodate the patients satisfactorily, and in April 1876 it was ordered that £278 17. 0. be granted towards furnishing the mansion of Job's Well for the reception of pauper lunatics. In October 1878 the Sessions ordered that the Committee in Lunacy be authorised to rent Rhydygors mansion for 3 years at a rent not exceeding £100 and rates and taxes of which Carmarthenshire should pay a due proportion with the other counties, and two years later Lord Emlyn gave notice that at the Next Quarter Sessions he would ask the Court's sanction to be given to the Joint Counties Lunatic Asylum for taking Rhydygors for 21 years at £100 per annum.

The building of lock-ups, especially after the establishment of the Constabulary, became an additional duty of the Sessions. Of course they were in existence before this, for in 1794 we read that

1. In 1880 it was ordered that the "old mad house" be converted into a police station.

the burgesses of Llandoverly were presented in the Sessions "for not keeping a public gaol commonly called a *Lock up house* for confining, securing, and keeping in safe custody all offenders and prisoners taken up in the said borough". There were numerous lock-up houses in the county with an official in charge of each. In 1830 one Thomas William was appointed keeper of the lock-up at Llangadock, at a salary of £3 p.a.

Militia

Militia matters, recruiting for the armed services, gazetting of volunteer officers, payment of allowances to wives of militia-men, stores, accommodation, etc, also came under the Sessions. In 1795 the Justices ordered the Treasurer to make payments to High Constables of the Hundreds, and the clerk of the Petty Sessions for "raising men for the service of His Majesty's Navy". In January 1799, the Treasurer was ordered to pay £2 8. 0. to the Clerk of the Peace for inserting in the Gazette the appointments of Lord Cawdor as Colonel of the Carmarthenshire Militia, Major Williams, and other officers of the unit. They paid for the conveyance of baggage of both regular and militia units in the county, and this formed a recurring item until about 1875. In 1795, the Justices ordered that 16s. 6d. be paid to a carter for carrying the baggage of a troop of the Somerset Fencible Cavalry from Carmarthen to the Breconshire border, and 8s for carrying the baggage of a troop of the 38th Dragoons from Carmarthen to the Pembrokeshire border, and 12s 9d for carrying the baggage of the Carmarthenshire Militia from Carmarthen to Llanelly. They were responsible for building the barracks, and a magazine for the storage of gunpowder. These were heavy charges on the county, and finally the Government took over all military responsibilities, and on 5 January 1877 the Quarter Sessions transferred the Carmarthen Barracks and the acre of land on which it stood, to the Secretary of State of the War Department.

Rates

One of the most important aspects of Quarter Sessions work was the levying and collecting of rates. The Treasurer advised the Justices on the total sum required. The Clerk and Treasurer then drew up a list of the hundreds and parishes, and, based on population, calculated how much money each parish should contribute. The actual extraction was carried out by the Overseers of each parish, who handed the money over to the High Constables of the hundreds, and they, in turn, handed it to the County Treasurer.

In addition to a general rate, certain areas were ordered to pay a specific rate as and when necessary. In 1750 the Justices ordered

that a rate of 4 pence in the pound be assessed on the inhabitants of Llanon for repairing highways within that parish. In 1794 they ordered the Clerk of the Peace to issue a warrant to raise a rate of 9 pence in the pound on the inhabitants of Glyn in Llangydeyrn, towards repairing a road in the hamlet and also to reimburse the surveyor for purchasing land to widen the road, and they nominated Daniel Jones of Gwndwnbach to be assessor, collector, and treasurer for the rate.

The general rate contained a good deal of information concerning the rateable value of each parish. For instance in 1822 the Clerk of the Peace issued his warrant to every chief constable of each hundred and commote to raise £600 for a county stock. This sum was then subdivided down to parish level, according to the order of the court, by five Justices—John Jones, Lord Dynevor, the Hon. George Rice, John Edward Saunders, and Robert Waters—as follows: Kidwelly commote (7 parishes), £65 13. 4½.; Iscennen commote (6 parishes) £39 1. 6.; Carnawllon commote (4 parishes), £37 5. 6.; Cathinog hundred (9 parishes, and part of a parish) £68 18. 9.; Cayo hundred (6 parishes and part of 3 parishes) £80 0. 9.; Perfeth hundred (6 parishes and part of two parishes) £79 11. 6.; Elfed hundred (13 parishes and part of one parish) £82 12. 9.; and Derillys hundred (24 parishes and part of one parish) £148 15. 10½. Although retaining their identity as ecclesiastical parishes, by today, several of them have been absorbed administratively into the larger civil parishes.

Dissenters

The Justices in Quarter Sessions were responsible for licensing dissenting ministers and also registering houses wherein Dissenters could worship. The large number of entries in the second half of the eighteenth century onwards indicates the growth of Nonconformity in Carmarthenshire. A few must suffice. In 1749 six houses were registered as "meeting houses for dissenting Protestants", namely Argoed in Bettws parish, a house in the village of Llanfairarybryn, Llwynwhilog in Llanelly parish, Cilygell Ganol in Pencarreg, a house in Laugharne, Bwlchgwynt in Ciffig. The Chairman of the Justices who granted these applications was Griffith Philipps of Cwmgwili, a landowner well-known for his humane and liberal tendencies. Maurice Griffith attended the Michaelmas Quarter Sessions in 1750, when he made his Declaration and subscribed his Assent to the 39 Articles of Religion, except the 34th, 35th, 36th, and part of the 20th, in order to qualify as a Protestant Dissenting Teacher, and took the Oaths and subscribed the Declaration against Transubstantiation. This formula was applied in all such cases. In 1752 "the new house

lately built near the Strand" in Laugharne, was registered as a place of worship for dissenting Protestants; in 1797, Ty'r Bont at Llangendern was registered; in 1801 a room and stable adjoining in Llandoverly, was registered in favour of Dissenters of the Baptist denomination. The formula was invariably the same in these cases; for instance, in 1799 a meeting house erected on the tenement of Alltddu in Llandilofawr parish "for preaching the Gospel and administering the sacrament by a certain sett of people calling themselves Protestant Dissenters be registered by the name of Salem Chappel". Sometimes the name of the denomination is given, such as, in 1803, Trefach in the chapelry of Eglwysfair a Churig (Independents), in 1806 Conwyl Elfe; Meeting House (Independents), Cwmsarnddu in Cilycwm (Baptists), and Llanpumpsant Meeting House (Methodists), in 1809 Philadelphia in Llangunnor (Presbyterian). Some of these meeting places were built as chapels, others were held in houses, such as "a certain house in the village of Mydrim called the Poorhouse" registered as "a place fit for religious worship" in 1811. Only one case of rejection has been found. The Session for October 1801, records: "Forasmuch as it appears to this Court that the House called Bremenda in the parish of Llanarthney is a Farmhouse, it is therefore ordered that the motion for registering the same as a place for Divine Worship, be rejected". A case where cattle and corn came before prayers and hymns.

Roads and Bridges

The care and maintenance of roads, bridges, and footpaths—extremely important in a rural economy—proved to be one of the heaviest of the duties of the Justices of the Quarter Sessions. In addition to receiving reports and presentments, and issuing orders for repairs, the Justices made contracts and carried out inspections. They often paid for repairs out of their own pockets, and were reimbursed by the County Treasurer after the sum had been approved in Quarter Sessions. In 1749 the Justices ordered that 14s be paid to Thomas Lloyd of Wenallt, J.P., expended by him in repairing Cowin Bridge. Several payments were made in 1794, *inter alia*, £4 6. 0. to Morgan John for "gravelling" the New Bridge by Llandoverly, and £5 5. 0. to Thomas Vaughan for "repairing the battlements" of Pontantwn bridge. Presentments were made against parishioners or the county for failing to see that bridges and roads were maintained, and many of them refer to bridges on the boundaries with neighbouring counties. At the July Sessions of 1790 a presentment was made against the inhabitants of the county for failing to repair the one-half part of the Carmarthenshire side of Ponteglwysfair bridge over the river Taf which was on the boundary with Pembrokeshire, but this was discharged in the autumn sessions

of 1794, the repairs having been effected. In 1833 the parishioners of Egremont were presented for not repairing the road from Maenclochog (Pems.) to Narberth, from the road which crosses the river Cleddef called Feidir Dwr ending at Egremont bridge, being 902 yards long and 10 feet wide. The illogical zig-zag boundary between the two counties at this spot was productive of much trouble to the administrators. This topographical lunacy still exists. In 1795, John Thomas, Bridgemaster for the county, submitted an estimate of £9 15. 6., for repairing Spydders Bridge, and "the long walls from the bridge to the Ladies Arch" and the magistrates ordered that John Rees of Cilymaenllwyd, J.P. be requested to employ persons to undertake the work; and later in that year the inhabitants of Llandurly were presented (and acquitted) for not repairing the high-road from Nantygro on the confines of Llangyndebyrn and Pembre to the junction with the Kidwelly turnpike road "adjacent to the south end of Pont Rees Spwdwr. This would seem to explain the strange name 'Spudder's Bridge—Pont Rees Pwdwr (the bridge of idle Rees). Some landowners magnanimously gave lands so that bridges could be made and roads improved; in 1801, Sir Watkin Lewes gave land so that a new bridge could be built over the river Cowin on the highroad from Carmarthen to St. Clears.

In 1825 the sum of £12 was given to Thomas Howell of Glas-pant, J.P. (ancestor of Mr. Harry Howell, J.P.) to be laid out, under his inspection, for repairs to bridges at Cwmcyh, Pontedwst, and Cwm Morgan. The Justices stood for no nonsense in the matter of upkeep of roads. In 1807, when the parishioners of Llanelly neglected to repair a road 3 miles long and 12 feet broad, from Llandaven to the river Loughor, they were fined £100, and Charles Nevill, gentleman, was ordered to see that repairs were properly carried out. Footpaths were as much of a headache to the Justices then as they are to the County Council today. Rights of way were jealously guarded. For instance in 1800, Ann Griffith spinster and John David yeoman, both of Llanddeusant parish, were presented for "stopping up and placing a certain dead hedge" across an ancient common and public footway from the market town of Llangadock towards Brecon and through a close of land called Ca Evan Saer being part of the tenement of Aberllechach in the hamlet of Maesffynnon. On this occasion the Justices were either somnolent or merciful, for they only fined them 6d each. The outcome proved different for the parishioners of Cilycwm and Llanfairarybryn, guilty of not repairing "a common and ancient foot bridge", over the river Towy near Glanrhyd, in 1807. They were fined £60, which sum was to be applied to the repair of the neglected bridge. Finger-posts claimed attention in 1806 when Mr. Thomas Bishop was ordered to procure "Directing

Posts" to be put up for the new road near Llandovery ford. The Justices were responsible, too, for the only drawbridge in the county, near the mouth of the river Loughor, a responsibility they shared with the Glamorgan Justices. In 1846 the Carmarthenshire Justices paid 3s 6d a week to one John Jones "for opening and shutting a Draw Bridge at Loughor", and scraping and repairing its surface.

Use of Welsh Language

In view of what is happening today, it is interesting to note that Carmarthenshire was a pioneer in bilingualism for official purposes, and the records provide numerous examples of the implementation of this policy. In 1796 the Justices ordered that the Revd. Thomas Price be paid £6 6. 0. for translating Form of Prayers into the Welsh language for the use of prisoners in the county gaol, and for printing several dozens of such forms. In August 1804 the Sessions ordered that 200 copies of the Salmon Fishery Act be printed in Welsh and English and distributed over the county. In April 1806 they ordered that regulations concerning the driving of carriages should be printed in both languages and posted in public places. In 1822 they ordered that the fifth clause of the new Turnpike Act be printed in both languages, and ten years later ordered the County Printer to print 400 copies of "Caution to the drivers of Carts" in Welsh and English. In 1834 they ordered that 1000 handbills in Welsh and 1000 in English be prepared by the Clerk, setting forth the material clauses from the Act of 4 and 5 William IV, cap 49, concerning weights and measures, to be handed to the Chief Constables of the Hundreds who, in turn, were to pass them to clergymen and petty constables. In January 1836 the Justices appointed Samuel Evans, a Carmarthen printer, to be "Interpreter of the Court and to be engaged in all matters unless the parties agree to the contrary". In 1840, the Court ordered that Lord Normanby's letter addressed to the Lord Lieutenant, concerning "Blasphemous Publications" should be translated into Welsh, printed as handbills, and circulated by the clerks of the different Petty Sessions. In 1841 the Justices ordered that 12s be sent to the District Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, to buy Welsh testaments for use in the county gaol, and the following year paid 19s 4d to provide Welsh and English Common Prayer Books. In 1866 they ordered copies of an Order in Council to be printed in both languages.

Of this attitude towards the language by our former administrators, the squires of Carmarthenshire, we may be truly proud. Perhaps that ebullient pop-singer, Mr. D. Iwan might like to set this bilingual record to music.

Cultural Attitudes

The Justices were not indifferent to cultural matters. In July 1867, they resolved "That the promoters of the next Carmarthen Eisteddfod be authorised to use the Shire Hall at Carmarthen for the purposes of Social Science and meetings", and in the following October decreed "That the Shire Hall in Carmarthen be at the service of the Penny Reading Society, until countermanded, provided no damage is done thereby to the hall". There is no indication that permission was ever withdrawn. In 1875 they authorised the Cambrian Archaeological Society to open "a bricked-up doorway in the old castle at Carmarthen", and having carried out an examination, they were to close the doorway up again. The Justices had acquired several pictures, mainly portraits, to hang in the shire hall, and took good care of them, so that they have survived to our day in excellent condition. In the minutes for 11 October 1829 we read: "That the Thanks of the County are peculiarly due to the Reverend Edward Picton, Clerk, for his very handsome present to the Subscribers to the Column in Memory of his Brother, the late Sir Thomas Picton, and particularly to the Lord Lieutenant and Magistracy of the County for a full length Portrait of that lamented Hero . . . That every care be adopted to preserve to future Ages this splendid likeness of the form and features of a Man the Memory of whose heroic deeds will live for Ever in the recollection of his grateful Countrymen and whose praise so justly merited will always excite the pride and Emulation of Britons in general and Welshmen in particular". In 1881 the Justices accepted the County Surveyor's recommendation that pictures in the Carmarthen Shire Hall should be cleaned and varnished, and ordered accordingly.

Other activities, somewhat less cultural, took place in the hall on occasions. Dinners were held there, but these were discontinued by order of the Justices. In 1867 they granted permission to the Revd. D. Archard Williams, Archdeacon of Carmarthen, who had applied to hold a bazaar for three days in the basement of the Shire Hall, but added that no bazaars should be held there after that. The fact that the Archdeacon was a Justice of the Peace himself may have had some bearing on the success of his application.

Friendly Societies

A large number of these useful organizations sprang up in Carmarthenshire from 1750 onwards. They were required by law to be registered with the Clerk of the Peace and entered among the records of Quarter Sessions. They were mainly run by men for men, and did a lot of good, especially in alleviating difficulties when people were suffering from ill-health. However, Carmarthenshire seems to

have led the way in "Women's Lib", as shown by the Quarter Sessions order of 16 January 1798—"That articles of a Friendly Society held at the Sign of the Nags Head in the town of Llandovery, called 'The Female Society', be filed; and on 9 October 1799 "the Articles of a Friendly Society held in Llangadock called The Reputable Female Society be filed". Among the men's friendly societies were "The Gomerian Society" meeting at the Red Lion in Llandybie, "The Llanelly Brotherly Society" meeting at the Barley Mow, Llanelly, and "The British Faithful and Friendly Society" meeting at the sign of The Cross Hands at Llannon—all of which were in existence in 1846. There were Ancient Britons, Loyal Britons, Royal Britons, True Britons, Cambrian Union, Cambrian Benefit Society, Llanelly Brotherly Society, Loyal and Liberal Society, the United Brethren, the Welfare Society, and many more.

Constabulary

The administering of the constabulary became an important aspect of the work of the Sessions. The first reference to the establishing of a force in Carmarthenshire occurs in a resolution of the Quarter Sessions held on 10 April 1839, and is worth quoting in full since it illustrates the attitude of the Justices, landowners to a man, to its control. It reads as follows: "The Court having taken into consideration a communication from Her Majesty's Secretary of State for the Home Department as to the establishment of an efficient constabulary force appointed and controlled by the Magistrates of each county, would afford much better means than now exists to allay every disturbance that might possibly occur, *but they view with alarm* any intention of vesting in any other body the right of appointing such force, as taking from them the only effective means of acting as conservators of the Public Peace and imposing upon them and their Tenantry the costs of maintaining an establishment without giving them a voice in its formation". In the event, the Constabulary, its recruits, direction, and administration, remained in the hands of the squires, and, it may be said, a very good job they made of it. On 25 July 1843, the Justices resolved: "That a Rural Police be appointed for this county under the Provisions of the Act 2 & 3 Victoria, cap. 93, and that, subject to the approval of the Secretary of State, to appoint one Chief Constable, 6 Superintendants, and 50 Constables", at the following rates of pay:

Chief Constable—£300 p.a., plus £150 allowance for 2 horses, house rent, and travelling expenses.

Superintendent—£120 p.a., plus £34 for a horse and travelling expenses.

Sergeant—£1 2. 0. a week.

Constable 1st Class £1 a week, and 2nd Class 18s a week.

The money for the first three months of the Force's existence was to be raised by a rate of one penny in the £ upon the sum of £324,100, which was the annual rateable value of the county at that time.

On 28 June 1843, Captain Richard Andrew Scott was appointed Chief Constable, and on 4 March 1845 Major Kenneth Alexander de Koven was appointed Deputy Chief Constable.

The administration of the constabulary took up a great deal of the time of the Sessions, and the new organisation developed into an effective force. Its numbers increased, new lock-ups were built, and the incidence of crime was kept down. The Chief Constable suffered a shock in 1850 when his salary was reduced to £250. After that the wages increased, but somewhat tardily. In 1866 the Chief Constable's salary was increased to £350, in 1873 to £400. On 8 April 1875 Superintendent William Philipps (kinsman of our late Lord Lieutenant Sir Grismond Philipps) was appointed Chief Constable, vice R. A. Scott, deceased, and his salary fixed at £400 inclusive of travelling expenses.

Chairman of Quarter Sessions

Originally, the Custos Rotulorum (appointed by the Lord Chancellor) was presumed to preside over his fellow justices, although the law made no provision for a chairman. It became customary for the Chairman to be appointed by the Justices from among themselves, and generally speaking he was no more than the spokesman for the Bench. But where the Chairman enjoyed a great local prestige, and was particularly active in the discharge of his duties, and possessed a strong personality, it was possible for him to impose his views on his fellows. Carmarthenshire was fortunate in the quality of its chairmen, who regularly attended at Sessions and took a prominent part in county life. Among these was John Johnes of Dolau Cothi who resigned in 1873, having been Chairman for nearly 20 years. He was a much loved figure, owner of an extensive estate, Welsh-speaking, and thoroughly conversant with all aspects of country life. He was followed by an Anglo-Saxon, Hardinge Stanley Gifford, Q.C., M.P. for Launceston, an Inner Templar, one of the most distinguished lawyers the country has produced. He resigned the chairmanship of the Carmarthenshire Quarter Sessions in 1885 when he was created Baron Halsbury, and went on to higher appointments—Solicitor General 1875-80, Lord Chancellor in 1885-92 and 1895-1905. He became a Privy Councillor, and in 1898 was advanced to the dignity of an earldom.

Much more could be told of the Quarter Sessions and its work. How it conducted itself during the Rebecca Riots, how it combated the great cattle plagues in 1751 and 1865-67, how it opposed the Government's plan to impose a toll on lime (much used by Carmarthenshire farmers), how it governed prices and wages, and administered the county generally.

In this essay I have emphasised the administrative aspect because the Municipal Corporation Act of 1835, the Poor Law Amendment Act of 1854, and particularly the Local Government Acts of 1888 and 1894 which created County, Parish, and District Councils, resulted in the elimination of most of the powers and duties of Quarter Sessions in the administrative field. Since 1888 their functions have been almost wholly concerned with the dispensation of justice, and their judicial powers expanded steadily with the increase of the number of offences summarily punishable. Accordingly, we are apt to forget that it was once an all-purpose instrument without which the country could not have been governed adequately from the reign of Henry VIII to that of Queen Victoria. I am not exaggerating when I say that the most important single influence on the lives of the people of Carmarthenshire in post-medieval times was the Justice of the Peace.

Fingers of Forsaken Stone

The Story of Glanbran

By E. VERNON JONES

FOR more than forty years the ruins of Glanbran have caught the eye of travellers between Llandovery and Llanwrtyd Wells and doubtless most of the beholders have wondered what story lies within the grasp of these fingers of forsaken stone.

The ruins, which lie beside the river Bran on the west side of the road about three and a half miles from Llandovery, are all that remain of the handsome eighteenth century residence of the descendants of David Goch Gwyn, who settled at Glanbran.¹ In its long history, the family was always influential and often powerful in the north-east of Carmarthenshire for something like three centuries, during which time its branches spread fruitfully over the border until at their zenith the Gwynne estates, which included Glanbran, Llanelwedd, Garth and Buckland, extended through Breconshire into Radnorshire. In this domain the ascendancy of the Gwynne clan was unchallenged.

For one or other of the three counties whose boundaries their estates overshot the Gwynnes provided a high sheriff with unfailing regularity, the first for Carmarthenshire being David Goch's son Rhydderch, who held the office in 1573. He was followed in 1598 by his grandson Rowland, who, through his mother, Joan Games of Aberbran, Breconshire could claim descent from Sir David Gam.

A colourful character in the seventeenth century was Rowland's grandson, Colonel Howell Gwynne of Glanbran. He raised troops for King Charles during the Civil Wars and fought at Edgehill, where he was wounded in 1642. Charles, to whose cause Howell had given much money, made him High Sheriff of Breconshire and Governor of Brecon town and castle. Not until all of south Wales, except Breconshire, had yielded did he submit to Parliament—in November 1645—proclaiming at last: 'Heigh God, Heigh Devil,

1. Pedigrees of the Gwynnes of Glanbran are given in *W. Wales Hist. Rec.*, vol. i, pp 74-5 (reprint from Peniarth MS, No. 156, National Library of Wales); *Genealogies of the Carmarthenshire Sheriffs* (James Buckley) vol. i, pp 33, 56, 91, 111 and vol. ii, p 110; *Old Wales* (ed. W. R. Williams), Talybont, Brecs., 1905-7, vols. ii and iii; and 'The Story of the Ancient Churches of Llandovery' (Gruffydd Evans), *Transactions of the Hon. Society of Cymmrodorion* 1911-1912, pp 113-116. But these are not always consistent.

I will be for the strongest side.' Nevertheless, he seems not to have committed himself wholly to the new order, for in 1653 information was laid that he held a commission from the late King's son, Charles Stuart, making him a colonel and that he had appointed officers and enlisted men to serve against Parliament.² On the other hand, his kinsman, George Gwynne of Llwynhowel,³ grandson of Rowland in the cadet line, recognised the stronger side when he saw the new regime established. Cavalier George, who in 1645 had signed the



GLANBRANE
VIEW OF THE MANSION

Reproduced from a Sale Catalogue of 1879.

2. *Trans. Carm. Ant. Soc.*, vol. ii, p 183, and *A History of Carmarthenshire* (ed. Sir John E. Lloyd), Cardiff 1939, vol. ii, p 24.
3. Llwynhowel, home of David Goch's forbears, lies about three miles south-west of Glanbrann and half a mile below Dolauhirion bridge. George Gwynne's son Rowland, knighted in 1680, was a notable Whig M.P., praised by Macaulay in his *History*, but fell out of favour in Queen Anne's reign and died in poverty about 1725.

peace proposals made by the Carmarthenshire gentry to the Parliamentary forces, emulated his father, David Gwynne, High Sheriff of Carmarthenshire in 1632, when early during the Commonwealth he was appointed to the same office in 1651. George Gwynne twice became a Commissioner under Cromwell and served as a member of Parliament in 1654 and 1656, a turn-about which he survived to serve in the Restoration Parliament also.⁴

Rowland the Outlaw

A less generous fate befell Howell's eldest son, however, for Rowland Gwynne of Glanbrann (d. 1675), who became High Sheriff of Carmarthenshire in 1660, was ousted from office on the return of Charles Stuart and even outlawed, but too much should not be read into this latter punishment, which at that time could be pronounced for relatively minor transgressions of the law.⁵ In his will, Rowland, a graduate of Oxford, where he had matriculated from Merton College, referred to his lands in the counties of Carmarthen and Brecon, and among properties devised by him was the house called Whitehall in Llandovery, which he left to his wife.⁶

The three sons of outlaw Rowland left no issue, the last surviving being the youngest, Sackville Gwynne (1670-1734), who received his first name after a close friend of his father, Sir Sackville Crow, Bart.⁷ This, the first Sackville Gwynne, who became High Sheriff of Breconshire in 1701, died a bachelor and was buried in the little church of Tirabad at Llandulas, which he had rebuilt. By will he left Glanbrann to his kinsman Roderick Gwynne of Garth, Breconshire, and it was this Roderick who built the eighteenth century mansion, the ruins of which are all that now remain. After matriculating from Jesus College, Oxford, Roderick was admitted to Lincoln's Inn and called to the bar in 1719. He married, in 1748, Anne Howe, daughter of the first Lord Chedworth by Dorothy, eldest daughter of Henry Frederick Thynne, ancestor of the Marquis of Bath, and died in 1777 aged eighty-one.

4. *The Dictionary of Welsh Biography*, p 332. See also *Old Wales*, vol. ii, p 327 ff.
5. *Old Wales*, vol. iii, p 100.
6. *T.C.A.S.*, vol. xxiii, p 53.
7. *Old Wales*, vol. iii, p 101. Possibly the first baronet, created by Charles I, who granted him Laugharne castle. He was Treasurer of the Navy to Charles I and died in debt in Fleet Prison before 1671. See also *T.C.A.S.*, vol. xxviii, p 82. Another Sir Sackville Crow was mayor of Carmarthen in 1686.

The son of this union was the notable Sackville Gwynne who was born about 1751. Without his father's knowledge, he fell in love with the daughter of a Glanbran tenant and a runaway marriage was solemnised at Dublin in 1772. A story is told that he took flight with a very large sum of money and during the journey lost one of his money-bags containing £6,000 without realising it. The lost bag, it has been recorded, was found by a Carmarthenshire farmer, who is supposed to have bought an estate as a result, a story which may or may not be true. Sackville's bride is sometimes said to be Catherine, daughter of one Prydderch (or Prytherch), but according to the marriage certificate her name was Catherine Thomas.⁸

The runaway bridegroom may not have rued the day, but five years later he paid the price of his unsanctioned adventure into matrimony by forfeiting part of his inheritance, for Roderick Gwynne made a new will by which Sackville received only Glanbran, the Buckland estate (which Roderick had purchased) and other property being passed to the younger brother, Thynne Howe Gwynne. A quarrel between the two brothers ensued and never did they speak to each other afterwards.

Noted Harpist

Sackville Gwynne is remembered as a patron of music, particularly of the harp, and he himself was reputed to have been one of the finest exponents of the triple harp in his day. He received many of the best harpists at his home, a patronage which continued at Glanbran well into the nineteenth century, long after his death.⁹ John Richards of Llanrwst (1711-1789), a famous harp maker, died at Glanbran and was buried at Llanfair-ar-y-bryn.

Harpist Sackville died in 1794 and was succeeded by his son Sackville Henry Frederick Gwynne (1778-1836). This Sackville became a lieutenant-colonel in the Carmarthenshire Volunteers in 1803 and was thereafter known as Colonel Gwynne.¹⁰ He was appointed High Sheriff of Breconshire in the same year, but was

8. In *Old Wales*, vol. iii, p. 286, she is referred to as Kitry Glansarn, but this may be a mistake for Clynsaer. Gruffydd Evans, *Trans. Hon. Soc. Cym.* 1911-12, p. 116, says she was Catherine Thomas of Clynsaer, Llwydlo near Glanbran and states that her marriage was celebrated in a song containing the words:

Daw draenen wen o Lwydlo
I Glanbran i fodeuo.

9. *D.W.B.*, p. 333.

10. *Old Wales*, vol. iii, p. 290 ff.

soon replaced, possibly because he was unable to fulfil the office owing to military duties elsewhere. In 1807 he achieved the distinction of being made High Sheriff of Carmarthenshire and Breconshire in the same year, but it must have become evident that he could not act in this dual capacity and he was soon succeeded by another nominee in the county of Carmarthen.

In 1796 Colonel Gwynne married Mary Anne Smythies of Colchester; she died in April 1818, but before that year was out the Colonel had found himself a new wife, Sarah Antoinette Simes of Kensington.¹¹ These were prolific marriages for the Colonel, who fathered seventeen children from them, ten being daughters. Of the nine daughters of his first marriage, Emma, the youngest, had a son, Frederick Harrison, who became general manager of the London and North Western Railway and received a knighthood. The third son of his second marriage, who was born on the 25th December 1832, became Major General Nadolig Ximines Gwynne.

Colonel Gwynne was very much a man of his time, when the rich used their wealth extravagantly to savour every luxury. He lived in grand style and maintained an establishment renowned for its opulence. With his household he travelled extensively by private coach, an expensive exercise which he indulged in regardless. His stables were doubtless provided with the best stock, if we can judge from the story that he presented a horse to George IV, who had admired it during his return journey from Ireland via Fishguard in 1821. Of such a man it comes as no surprise to learn that in the year 1819 the fact that he was a magistrate did not prevent him from getting involved in a duel as a result of a quarrel, but although shots were exchanged, they do not appear to have been delivered with malicious intent and presumably honour was satisfied.

The Colonel, who had been loved for his *bonhomie* and admired for his grandeur, died suddenly but not violently, for he passed away peacefully at the age of fifty-eight while writing a short letter before setting out for Llandovery. He was buried in September 1836 at Llanfair-ar-y-bryn, where there is a tablet to his memory, but more ironic is the reference to him on the base of the monument—known as the Mail Coach Pillar—beside the Llandovery-Brecon road near Pentre-ty-gwyn which was erected in 1841 to commemorate the disaster that befell the Gloucester mailcoach in 1835. The inscription includes the name of 'Col. Gwynne of Glanbrian' (sic) and makes it known that he travelled as an outside passenger on the ill-fated coach. For one who had luxuriated so much in his own splendid coaches there could not be a more inapposite memorial.

11. *T.C.A.S.*, vol. x, p. 48.



Glanbran before the end.

Reckless Extravagance

He was succeeded by his son, yet another Sackville, who was born on 12th August 1800. Even more than his father, this Sackville Frederick Gwynne was a man of his age, a time when the fourth George was king of the bucks and the rich man's bingo meant ten thousand pounds at the turn of a card. Young Sackville's great pleasure was coaching, a fashionable pastime which he indulged in with reckless extravagance. The done thing for the rich in those days was to drive a team from London to Brighton, where 'the first gentleman in Europe' held court in his new Pavilion enhanced for him by John Nash. Among the enthusiasts was young Sackville, fast squandering much of the family fortune. When there was nothing left, the man who had been ruined by coaching was reduced to the necessity of earning a livelihood as a cabman in Liverpool, where he died a very old man in or about the year 1882.¹²

Sackville Frederick Gwynne married, on 10th May 1823, Mary daughter and heiress of Charles Morgan, then mayor of Carmarthen. Of this marriage there were two sons, Sackville and Charles, and a

12. D. L. Baker-Jones, 'The Morris Family of Carmarthenshire', *T.C.A.S.*, vol. vii, p 91. See also *Old Wales*, vol. iii, p 300.

daughter, Magdalen Mary Anne.¹³ There is little to relate about Sackville, but of Charles Morgan Smythies Laugharne Gwynne, to give him his full name, it can be said that he became a lieutenant-colonel, albeit by purchase, in the 62nd Regiment of Foot, served in the Crimean War and fought in the trenches before Sebastopol. He died in 1871, at the age of forty-one, after being thrown in a horse-race at Tenby. The brothers lived in Quay Street, Carmarthen, where Sackville died a few years later, unmarried like his younger brother. In 1847 the sister, Magdalen Mary Anne, had married William Morris, a scion of the Carmarthen family of bankers, who was to inherit half of the great wealth left by his cousin David Morris, M.P. A descendant of this marriage is the Hon. Mrs. N. D. Fisher-Hoch, a Deputy Lieutenant and former High Sheriff of Carmarthenshire.

By the 1830s the Gwynnes were in straitened circumstances and from this time their association with Glanbran became increasingly tenuous. Colonel Gwynne's high living, the expense of maintaining Glanbran as a seat of splendour, the need for making suitable provision for a large family and his generous response to private and public appeals made heavy if not fatal demands upon the resources of his estate. Even so, these financial difficulties might have been overcome had it not been for the continued extravagance of young Sackville, whose excesses ensured not only his own ultimate downfall but the eventual severance of the Gwynnes from their ancestral home. Although father and son had already joined in breaking the entail in a desperate but unsuccessful effort to surmount the pressure of pecuniary circumstances, it nevertheless became necessary to sell the estate and sometime before December 1833 Colonel Gwynne arranged a contract with Lewis Loyd (1767-1858), a man of humble origin who had been born at Cwm-y-to in the parish of Llanwrda.¹⁴

Loyd, having abandoned the ministry, had entered a Manchester banking business in partnership with his brothers-in-law and died a millionaire. His son, Samuel Jones Loyd (1796-1883), created Baron Overstone in 1850, became one of the richest men in England, who through his financial expertise exerted great influence behind the political scenes.¹⁵ It seems that the elder Loyd contemplated purchase of Glanbran as a residence for his son, but when young Loyd

13. D. L. Baker-Jones, loc. cit. and *Old Wales*, loc. cit. According to James Buckley, *Genealogies of the Sheriffs of Carmarthenshire*, vol. ii, p 110, she was the daughter of Col. Sackville Gwynne, which would make her aunt to Sackville and Charles Gwynne.

14. *D.W.B.*

15. *Dictionary of National Biography*.

went to view the property it is said that he was so besieged by people claiming relationship that he fled in overwhelming apprehension and persuaded his father to forfeit a large sum of money to call the deal off.

Following this failure to effect a sale and thus redeem the mortgage to which the estate was subject, Colonel Gwynne suffered yet another indignity when the mortgage was bought without his knowledge by David Jones, Lloyd & Co., the Llandovery bankers. This greatly infuriated the Colonel, but he remained at Glanbran until his death, though his widow and her family did not continue to live there. Even so, Glanbran remained in the nominal ownership of spendthrift Sackville, but at last a receiver was appointed by the Court of Chancery, and afterwards David Jones of Pantglas, a member of the Llandovery banking firm and a later M.P. for the County, moved into the mansion, where he lived for some years.

About the year 1846 Sackville was finally relieved of Glanbran, which passed into the ownership of his half-brother Frederick Gwynne, a son of Colonel Gwynne's second marriage, who paid off the mortgage on his retirement from military service in India. Frederick in turn mortgaged the estate to Crawshay Bailey of Llanfoist, Abergavenny, member of Parliament and a leading ironmaster, whose daughter had married one of the Gwynnes of Monachty in Cardiganshire. Crawshay Bailey remained mortgagee in possession for nearly twenty years until 1866, when Glanbran was bought for about £80,000 by a group of people which included one Jones of Worcester, who resided in the house for a few years. Llandovery property belonging to the estate was sold separately for about £16,000.

By 1872 Glanbran had already begun to deteriorate, however, for Thomas Nicholas in his *Annals of the Counties and County Families of Wales*, published in the same year, was moved to lament: 'Having of late repeatedly changed hands, this mansion has fallen into partial decay; the fine trees of its extensive park have been cut down, and an aspect of desolation is presented where for 300 years luxuriance and plenty prevailed.' About 1875, possibly earlier, what remained of the Glanbran estate was broken up and sold in lots. Col. Frederick Gwynne duly conveyed to the new owners and the family's last link with the property was broken.¹⁶

16. *Old Wales*, vol. iii, p 303.

New Splendour

Now Glanbran welcomed a newcomer who was to give it renewed splendour. His name was Robert Jones, a man of humble origin and unknown lineage who had accumulated wealth through his own exertions and augmented it by a series of fortunate marriages. A story survives that he had once been a huckster selling tea about the countryside before setting up shop in Merthyr Tydfil and finally establishing himself in London, where he continued to prosper in business. His wife Emma, the third Mrs. Jones, began as a maid, it is said, but married the master and inherited his possessions. It seems that she, too, was thrice married, and each time, like her husband, for the better. Alas, her life at Glanbran as the wife of a country gentleman was a short one, for she died in 1876 at the age of sixty-two and was buried at Llandingat Church, Llandovery on 6th April of that year.¹⁷ Her will, proved in May 1876, revealed effects approaching £30,000.¹⁸

Robert Jones did not long survive her; he died on the 18th November 1877 at the age of fifty-nine, and was buried with his wife.¹⁹ He left personal estate under £18,000, besides a son, the Rev. Henry David Jones of Bournemouth.²⁰ It is said that he lost much of his fortune through investment in Turkish bonds and that this disaster hastened his death. There could be truth in this, for about this time Turkey, constantly in a state of war with her neighbours, reached a position of near-bankruptcy and defaulted in the repayment of foreign loans. The sudden end to the short reign of the Joneses was a severe blow to those who depended on the prosperity of Glanbran for their livelihood. The place had been refurbished and stocked anew and master and men worked harmoniously towards a mutual benefit that seemed set to last for a long time. Little wonder, therefore, that the death of this industrious and much loved couple in so short a time plunged the work-people of Glanbran into genuine grief over the loss of a benevolent master and mistress.

Following the death of Robert Jones, Glanbran, now thoroughly renovated and improved, was put up for auction at the King's Head Hotel, Llandovery in June 1879²¹ and in the following year a York-

17. Llandingat Church Register of Burials.

18. A record in the Probate Registry, Carmarthen shows that her will was proved at the Principal Registry in London on 15th May 1876.

19. Llandingat Church Register of Burials.

20. Probate Registry Records at Carmarthen show that his will was proved at the Principal Registry on 11th January 1878.

21. This according to the sale brochure, but in *Old Wales*, vol. iii, p 304 it is stated that Haley purchased on 4th May 1880 for £16,000 to £20,000.

shire businessman took up residence. Joseph Haley, the new owner, encouraged farming and stock-raising on a large scale, but he had already passed his prime and died after a few years, to be succeeded by his son Isaac. This second Haley lived at Glanbran for nearly fifty years and was the last to occupy the mansion. He seems not to have been attracted by the field sports and extravagant social life aspired to by the gentry and pursued less likely hobbies such as book-binding, printing and photography.²² He died a bachelor on 2nd February 1929 a few weeks before his eighty-sixth birthday and left a fortune of nearly £100,000 as well as a number of nephews and nieces, of whom a nephew and two nieces by the name of Whitehead lived at Glanbran. Isaac Haley was buried at Bramley, near Leeds, wherefrom the family had come almost half a century before. Soon Glanbran passed by purchase to Mr. Rhys Gibbins of Llanwrtyd Wells, but the house had already deteriorated and as no further use could be found for it the building was demolished in 1930 save for the forlorn stacks of stone that still stand.

The house acquired by Robert Jones was raised by Roderick Gwynne shortly before his death, lapidary evidence of which fact still survives, though incompletely, in the rear wall. On a stone set in a fragment of masonry the following testimony is inscribed :

THIS PILE OF
BUILDING WAS
ERECTED BY
RODERICK GWYNNE
OF GLANBRAN ES[Q]
[IN] 17[~*]²³

It is believed that Roderick admired Taliaris Park, the seat of his kinsman, and decided that his new home should rival it. Bath stone was hauled from Somerset for the facing work, but it seems to have been of inferior quality and had already started to crumble by the time Glanbran was demolished.

22. *Who's Who in Wales*, Cardiff 1921.

23. A number of printed sources say that Roderick Gwynne died on 29th July, 1774, but the memorial in Tirabad Church, examined on 2nd November, 1972, states that he died on 29th June, 1777. A local man with no knowledge of this gives an assurance that the date on the commemorative stone at Glanbran was 1777. As the stone may have been erected during the earlier stages of construction, it is possible that the house was not completed until after Roderick's death.

Richly Decorated

For a few years before Robert Jones bought it, Glanbran had been vacant and neglected, and but for his arrival it might well have fallen into total decay. Blessed with ample resources, the new master ordered restoration work to be undertaken without stint. Parts of the building were remodelled and artist co-operated with architect to embellish the recaptured glory. And when all was finished the house was richly furnished.

A description of the house as Robert Jones left it is preserved in the sale brochure, copies of which are still extant. The approach was said to be along a carriage drive through a finely timbered park, the house commanding beautiful views over a lovely valley flanked by hanging woods, with mountain landscape in the distance. Lawns and pleasure grounds around the house were shaded by plantations, but there is no mention of peacocks and fallow deer that were said to have graced the grounds and ranged the park in the time of the later Gwynnes. The outer porch of the mansion communicated with an impressive entrance hall and vestibule, described by the brochure as noble. The hall, measuring 28ft. by 19ft. 6ins., had panelled walls twelve or thirteen feet high, was paved with marble, and provided with a large stove. The panels of the ceiling were painted with representations of mythological subjects and the whole was enriched with a gilt cornice. The principal staircase, made of Spanish chestnut, was the product of excellent craftsmanship.

The drawing room, 31ft. 6ins. by 19ft. 6ins., was a handsome apartment, possessing a fine old marble mantel with a polished steel stove mounted on ormolu. Leading from this was the dining room, about 22ft. by 19ft. 6ins., provided with a sideboard recess and fitted with a 'choice old sculptured marble mantel'. The morning room, measuring about 19ft. by 18ft., also had a marble mantel. In addition there was a library or gun room. The reception rooms had panelled walls and ceilings, the walls being decorated with elaborate gilt enrichments, and the mahogany doors augmented with extra baize-covered doors to the drawing and morning rooms.

On the first floor, the three principal bed chambers measured respectively about 19ft. by 18ft., 21ft. by 19ft. 6ins. and 22ft. 3ins. by 19ft. 6ins., there being also a dressing room and bathroom with mahogany fitted lavatory and bath, both with hot and cold water supplies. An elegant boudoir, about 28ft. by 19ft., was decorated with panelled walls and fitted with a statuary marble mantel and polished steel stove.

There were another five lofty and spacious bedrooms on the second floor, plus a dressing room. On this floor there was also a library about 28ft. 6ins. by 20ft. The accommodation on the top floor included two large attics and there was a way out to the roof, where it appears there was a roof-garden at one time. The servants' bedrooms were off the secondary staircase on the first floor. In the basement there was a large kitchen, scullery with hot and cold water laid on, larder, servants' hall, a large storeroom, extensive dry cellarage, coalhouse, dairy and other domestic offices. Stoves and mantels notwithstanding, the house was heated by a hot air apparatus.

The spacious outbuildings, stone and slated, comprised a laundry and wash-house with two large coppers and a pump. Included in the stable block were four-stall and two-stall units, two loose boxes, a saddle room, lofts and granary over. The enclosed farmyard was surrounded by stables, cowsheds, piggeries, waggon sheds and a double barn, and there was also a large dovecote. A sawing shed was provided with an overshot water-wheel. In addition to the walled kitchen garden there was a large vinery, as well as an orchard, complete with toolhouse.

The estate put up for sale after Robert Jones's day amounted to about 2,675 acres and included several farms, besides many cottages and homesteads; there was also the Glanbran corn mill served by an overshot water-wheel driving two pairs of stones. Yet this was but a small part of the extensive lands between Rhandirmwyn and Gwynfe which formed the Glanbran estate in the heyday of the Gwynnes, when the little town of Llandovery was the capital of their sphere of influence and its chief offices were filled by Glanbran nominees.

It is persistently rumoured that the glory of Glanbran was consumed at last by fire—early in the present century, according to some—but people of long personal and family association with the neighbourhood are unaware of such a calamity and know only that the house survived intact until after the death of Isaac Haley in 1929. One of the show-pieces, a handsome gilt bed supposed to have been Marie Antoinette's and a survival from the time of Robert Jones, was still there up to the time of Haley's death. When the house was dismantled in 1930 the principal staircase was removed, cut in two and the parts re-installed, one at Cwm Irfon Lodge, Llanwrtyd Wells and the other at Clynsaer about two and a half miles north-east of Glanbran.

[I wish to thank Mr. D. S. Davies, Delfan and Mr. J. S. Davies, Glanbran, Cynghordy for sight of manuscript notes and other material, which, in particular, led me to the story of Robert and Emma Jones. I also wish to thank Mr. Guy V. Lloyd, J.P., D.L., Cynghordy Hall and Mrs. L. E. Blandy, Dolaubran, Cynghordy for their assistance generally and the Rev. Canon Cyril Thomas, M.A., Llandovery for helping to authenticate Robert and Emma Jones. For helpful advice I am indebted to Major Francis Jones, C.V.O., Wales Herald of Arms.]

The Carmarthen Eisteddfod of 1867

By D. L. BAKER-JONES, M.A., J.P.

THE National Eisteddfod of Wales was held at Carmarthen during the first week of September 1867.¹ A contemporary, described it as a 'grand meeting of bards, literati and others interested in the prosperity of Wales and in its material and intellectual improvement'. The week's activities included ceremonial processions, competitions, concerts, exhibitions and public lectures. The gentry of the county played a prominent rôle and their presidential addresses covered a wide variety of social and political problems. Among the patrons and speakers were—David Pugh, Esq. (M.P. for Carmarthen), Judge John Johnes of Dolau Cothi (Chairman of the Carmarthenshire Quarter Sessions), H. Lavallin Puxley, Esq. (a former High Sheriff of the County) and the Rev. John Griffiths (Vicar of Neath). In spite of the generally festive atmosphere there was sharp division between Cynddelw and Caledfryn concerning the award of the chair for the 'awdl' and John Ceiriog Hughes was selected as a referee who later awarded the prize to the Rev. Richard Parry (Gwalchmai).

The principal figure in the evening concerts was Brinley Richards who had engaged many professional singers from the London stage. In fact this was strongly objected to in some quarters as 'too much prominence was given to foreign productions to the exclusion of the efforts of the Cambrian muse'. There was some display of feeling on account of this, yet the crowds conducted themselves with reasonable decorum, and as one reporter summed up the situation—'if a large miscellaneous assembly met in an English town the probability is that half of the multitude would engage in dog fighting, rat killing, duck in the hole, or some other dehumanising sports and the result would be a considerable addition to the business of the police court'. Others were concerned not so much with the merits of individual competitors, as with the discomforts of the pavilion, the rickety state of its roof and the appallingly wet weather.

The Eisteddfod had been eagerly looked forward to for a year and heralded as a 'most auspicious occasion in the annals of the town'. One observer contrasted the modern arrangements for the assembly to meet under a pavilion with the open air gatherings of the past. The ancient Gorsedd deserved praise, too, but there had

been a marked change from the time when—'wild looking men attired in night gowns met together to play harps and recite poetry not understood by one half of the persons who heard it'. Another said there was danger that the Eisteddfod, and the Gorsedd especially, would eclipse itself in its own grandeur. Some bards were attacked because they used the Eisteddfod to air views which had nothing to do with Welsh music, literature or culture. Controversy arose about the place of the Welsh language in the proceedings. The *Carmarthen Journal* believed that Carmarthen deserved credit for introducing 'what was much required—an English element—into the meetings, to an extent far greater than has ever been attempted'. There had already been enmity between the Welsh and English press. According to the latter 'some wished to keep their institution exclusive and manifest such contempt for the assistance of those they wished to propitiate . . . In times such as the present, it is very clear that anything like narrow-mindedness amongst a people as a body should be discouraged'. Notwithstanding the duty of every Welshman to support his native language and literature, it had to be remembered 'that we are serving one government, and that we love, honour and obey the Queen, foster peace and goodwill between England and Wales and in short love our neighbours as ourselves'.

As we shall see later the lectures and discourses of the Social Science Department, were an important feature of the Eisteddfod, and were even compared by some to the meetings of the British Association. Other attractions were exhibitions in the fields of Antiquities, Natural History, Art and Industry.

The guiding light in the organisation of the Eisteddfod was the Rev. Latimer Jones, Vicar of St. Peter's, Carmarthen, 1863-78. As president of the committee he had ensured the success of the Eisteddfod, it was claimed, in spite of a vociferous group, who being anti-English, had their own ideas about organising a 'national' Eisteddfod. In this he had been 'ably' assisted by two active secretaries, Mr. Edward Joseph and Mr. Roose Jones.

In the account that follows the Eisteddfod is recalled day by day according to the programme of events arranged for the occasion.

* * *

MONDAY EVENING — GRAND CONVERSAZIONE

The first important event during the week was the Grand Conversazione, held at the Town Hall at 7.00 p.m. on Monday evening. The room had been elaborately decorated with flowers and plants from the gardens and conservatories of Golden Grove, Dynevor Castle, Edwinstford and other country mansions. Indeed, because of

1. *The Cambria Daily Leader*, the *Carmarthen Chronicle*, the *Carmarthen Journal*, the *Carmarthen Weekly Reporter*, *The Times* and *The Welshman*.

the fragrance of the flowers and the perfume of the ladies, 'it was difficult to breathe and excursions to the refreshment room were very frequent'. There was an impressive gathering of county gentry and principal figures in Welsh literary and musical circles. The entertainment was provided by the militia band as well as by the many 'vocal performances of several ladies and gentlemen'. The Misses Roberts and their brother Dr. Roberts sang a trio, and the latter obliged the audience with two encores—'Good night my Love' and 'The Death of Nelson'. Herr Hauptmann² was the guest artist giving many solos on the violin, while the local choir was conducted by Mr. D. Francis.

At about 8.00 p.m. the literary proceedings started with a presidential speech by the Rev. Latimer Jones. He described the Eisteddfod at Carmarthen as a place 'whence radiate in all directions, beautiful rays of literature, science and art, and whence goes forth beautiful kinds of music and of song, which find an echo in every home and in every heart'. The Eisteddfod was a Welsh institution, the true outgrowth of the Celtic mind, but the important question was whether it was to be kept up for pernicious or for useful purposes, and was its policy going to be 'exclusiveness or generous amity and goodwill'? There was a danger of lack of sympathy from outside because of narrow nationalism within. He went on to say of the Eisteddfod: 'It is the channel for the flow of the Celtic genius—it illustrates national life but does not desire a separate national language, a separate nationality nor a separate and distinct existence'. The president continued unwisely in this vein, and had quoted from Matthew Arnold to the effect that Wales could learn much from Celtic and other contiguous nations. During these remarks there were noisy interruptions in spite of the noble sentiments about Welsh people—'their love of beauty, charm and spirituality'. After praising the bravery of Welshmen and the valour of their soldiers, the speaker pleaded for more education in natural history, because hitherto, there had been gross neglect in teaching schoolboys the names of birds, plants, flowers and grasses. Lastly, the Eisteddfod could do much for the commercial and industrial problems of Wales.

Two other speakers followed. Mr. Salter,³ F.R.G.S., described the pleasures of natural history and the delightful study of butterflies and moths. Concerning social progress, he stressed that the time had come for —'the lower classes to acquire the intellectual hobbies and

2. Moritz Hauptmann 1792-1868; b. Leipzig, pupil of Spohr; cantor at Thomas Schule Leipzig; teacher of Joachim; composer and violinist.

3. John William Salter 1820-1869, F.R.G.S., geologist and writer on natural history.

interests of the upper classes'. There followed a lecturette by Mr. Bartlett, manager of the Zoological Gardens, London, on the subject of snakes and serpents and the proceedings ended at 11.00 p.m.

This was the first of many such meetings. Hitherto insufficient attention has been given to these gatherings at the Eisteddfod, and to the stimulus they gave in moulding public opinion on vital social and political matters. They provided a forum to air views on friendly societies, life assurance, building societies, emigration, labourers' cottages, the extension of day schooling, mining and the mineral wealth of Wales, the depopulation of the countryside and the influx of workers from the countryside to the towns.

The problem of improved wages and working conditions emerged, so that people could enjoy the 'necessaries of life' more and more; thereby, as one speaker said, the taste of the 'masses could be refined, extended and elevated and their morals guarded and strengthened'.

TUESDAY

Before the competitive meetings in the Pavilion commenced, the Social Science Department met under the presidency of Hugh Owen.⁴ This branch of the Eisteddfod was a recent innovation, only since the Aberdare Eisteddfod in 1861. It had become a regular feature at Swansea 1863, Llandudno 1864, Aberystwyth 1865 and Chester 1866. These meetings, the speaker said, had been useful for airing important aspects of Welsh affairs and for giving new and untried speakers their first public opportunity. One notable example quoted was that of the young Anglesey schoolmaster who had read a paper on philology. Present at the time was the Rev. Chancellor James Williams,⁵ who induced the speaker to proceed to Oxford as a student of Jesus College. Hugh Owen was referring to Sir John Rhys.

But the longest and most controversial paper read that morning was given by the Rev. Henry Solby, London, on 'Working Men's Social Clubs in Wales'. He argued that properly organised clubs could wean men from the grog-shop to clubs selling tea or coffee and allowing a five-shilling bonus for every pound saved. Solby pleaded for more 'temperate habits' among the working classes so

4. Sir Hugh Owen 1804-1881; educationist; pioneer of university education, especially the foundation of U.C.W., Aberystwyth 1872; prominent Eisteddfodwr and leading member of Hon. Soc. of Cymmrodorion.

5. Rev. James Williams 1790-1872; Fellow, Jesus College, Oxford 1813-22; chancellor of Bangor Cathedral; interested in agriculture and the Eisteddfod; prepared the way for (Sir) John Rhys, then a Schoolmaster in Anglesey, to go to Oxford.

that their wives and children could be saved from poverty and misery. The paper was so well received that Mr. Samuel, Llandeilo, wanted it translated into 'popular Welsh'.

Preparations for Tuesday's events had been severely marred by a storm of thunder and lightning during the small hours of the morning, so that paper decorations and garlands were completely ruined. Later on the storm abated and the procession, led by the militia band, moved towards the Pavilion. Some two thousand people assembled behind The Three Compasses Inn in Lammas Street, many bearing the flags and banners of Odd Fellows and Ivorites. Many 'respectable' men wore their military insignia, while the Corporation and committee displayed leeks. Mr. Davies, the Keeper of the Shire Hall, was attired in a black coat trimmed with scarlet and a hat with a gold band. He carried the Corporation's sword which (according to an observer) was as grand as the Lord Chancellor's. The procession was martialled as follows:

Police ;
Artillery Band ;
Mayor in robes (Edward Bowen Jones, Esq.), and Recorder (J. Johnes, Esq.) ;
The ex-Mayors in robes ;
The Councillors ;
The Rev. John Griffiths, Neath ; The Rev. Latimer Jones ;
H. Lavallin Puxley, Esq. of Llether Llesty ; Archdeacon Williams ;
The Eisteddfod Committee ;
The Inhabitants of Carmarthen ;
Oddfellows and Ivorites.

Among slogans displayed on shops and commercial establishments were: "One and All", "Commerce and Philanthropy make all the world akin", while above The Ivy Bush were these mottoes—"Home of the Bards, Old Ivy Bush", "Happiness" and "Welcome to Strangers". There was an air of jollification with the bells of St. Peter's pealing incessantly, and at the Gorsedd gathering Ieuan Morgannwg quoted Welsh proverbs and slogans. He concluded the ceremony by reciting the englyn:

Gorsedd, nac urdd, na gwersi—ni wna fyth
Ddyn fardd o ynni ;
O anian rhaid ei eni
A'i ddawn ynddo yn llawn felly.

Then the competitions followed in the Pavilion,—a structure built by Mr. John Lewis, Timber Merchant, for £700. Gas lighting had been installed by Messrs. Lewis and Rogers and the decorations

were in the charge of Mr. Llewelyn, Cabinet Maker. There were many 'fancy adornments'—festoons of flowers and evergreens, painted escutcheons of Welsh royal and princely tribes, and mottoes such as:

'Oes y Byd i'r Iaith Gymraeg'
'Duw gadwo'r Frenhines'
'Tra môr tra Brython'
'God bless the Prince of Wales'
'Cas gŵr na charo'r wlad a'i mago'.

Over the platform were the arms of gentry and nobility—Prince Lucien Bonaparte ; Lt. Col. Pryse, M.P., Lord Lieutenant of Cardiganshire ; Sir Thomas Lloyd, Bart. of Bronwydd ; John Johnes, Esq., of Dolau Cothi ; George Hasper Morgan, Esq., of London ; Rev. John Griffiths, Neath ; John Williams, Esq., Chairman of Anglesey Quarter Sessions ; William Bulkeley Hughes, Esq., M.P.

In his presidential address David Pugh⁶ spoke of the worthy interest of his audience in intellectual pursuits and punctuated his oration with many grand phrases in Latin. He praised the 'Britons' for their intelligence and said he would like to see first-class schools in Wales, equal to those in Scotland and Ireland. Like other speakers at this eisteddfod, he urged 'fusion rather than isolation' in matters of industry, language and culture. There were benefits from the juxtaposition of agricultural Carmarthenshire with industrial Glamorgan, and similarly Welsh trade could not thrive except by co-operation with England. There was loud cheering when he concluded with:

"Of genius emulous to soar on high
With noble souls in noble arts to vie ;
On worthy toils to see suns set and rise,
The strife is glorious and the world the prize".

Three bards composed englynion to the President and Llew Llwyfo⁷ sang with great gusto 'Cambria's Holiday'. The crowd was extremely disappointed when the compere, Mr. D. Seys Lewis (Mynydd Islwyn), prevented an encore from Llew in order that the proceedings should not be prolonged. This was the beginning of much bitter wrangling concerning Llew Llwyfo's stage appearances.

6. David Pugh, Manorafon, Llandeilo ; educated at Rugby and Balliol College, Oxford ; J.P. and D.L., M.P. for Co. of Carmarthen 1857-1868 ; called to the bar at the Inner Temple ; H.S. Carmarthenshire 1874.

7. Lewis William Lewis (Llew Llwyfo) 1831-1901 ; b. Llawen llwyfo, Anglesey ; poet, novelist, musician, and journalist ; won chair eight times at the National Eisteddfod ; prolific writer and one of the most remarkable Welshmen of the nineteenth century.

During the afternoon Mr. Owen Jones of the British School, Treherbert, won the prize for an essay on 'The Flemings' and was invested by the Rev. John Griffiths.⁸ Ceiriog won the poem on The Coracle and was invested by Miss Jones of Pantglas. G. Osborne Morgan,⁹ the London barrister, considered the Rev. D. Griffiths, Dinorwig as the winner for the essay on 'The Best Defence of the Welsh against English critics'. In the music section fourteen year old Miss Moulding of Swansea had shown remarkable promise as a pianist, playing 'La Mia Letizia'. Others gave quite competent renderings of such pieces as 'The Ash Grove' (varié) and airs from 'Der Freischutz'. Mr. Brinley Richards recommended short pieces in future and an exciting competition ended with the Mayor investing the winner. The only choir competing in the part song was the Merthyr Choristers. They were praised for promptitude and boldness in being in their places at the right time, while Mynydd Islwyn had some sharp remarks for late competitors.

During an interlude Mr. Brinley Richards explained that he was making his last professional appearance at the "Grand National Eisteddfod" by playing some of Mendelssohn's 'Lieder on Vorte'. Mr. Llewellyn Williams¹⁰ was the only competitor on the triple harp and Pencerdd Gwalia¹¹ described his playing as a talented performance but bemoaned the lack of interest in Wales in its national instrument.

Competitions were mixed with several speeches and the Rev. J. R. Morgan (Lleurwg)¹² in a panegyric on the Eisteddfod showed how it fostered reading and love of knowledge, fanned the flame of patriotism and supported the movement towards a Welsh university. He hoped for a new Ifor Hael to appear as patron of Wales's national culture. It was so rich and varied in spite of limited

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8. Rev. John Griffiths 1820-97, cleric and educationist; b. Parc-y-Neuadd, Aberaeron, Cards. Eisteddfodwr and enthusiastic supporter of the university colleges at Aberystwyth and Cardiff. With Sir Hugh Owen and others, campaigned for the reform of the National Eisteddfod.
 9. G. Osborne Morgan 1826-97, politician and reformer; held office in Gladstone's ministry; created a baronet in 1892.
 10. Llewellyn Williams 1822-72, Pencerdd y De; gained repute as a harpist; son of Zephaniah Williams, the Chartist transported to Tasmania.
 11. John Thomas 1826-1913, Pencerdd Gwalia; proficient harpist; F.R.A.M.; toured many European countries; harpist to Queen Victoria 1871; composer and editor of music.
 12. John Rhys Morgan, 1822-1900, Lleurwg; Baptist minister, lecturer, poet and litterateur; b. Maes-y-felin, Lisvane, Cardiff; eisteddfod adjudicator and Liberal campaigner.

territory:

Os bechan ydwyf Gymru wiw,
Os cyfyng yw dy le
Cyd gasglwyd ar dy lannerch bêr
Bob ceinder is y ne'
Ein rhandir yn eangach fu
Ond digon dy amrywiaeth di.

Several more laudatory stanzas followed ending on a challenging note:

Tra twynno seren yn y nen
Yn uwch, uwch, uwch—aed Cymru wen.

Another speaker during the afternoon was the Rev. John Griffiths, Neath. His concern was the neglect of Welsh speaking congregations by the Church. He spoke with gratitude of the labours of Dissenters but wished they would show more love towards the ancient church of Dewi Sant. There were too many social distinctions within the church itself. There should be free and unappropriated pews in churches, no class distinction between its members, and greater understanding between English and Welsh speaking congregations. As a result of these remarks the Rev. John Griffiths was the target for some barbed comments from *The Times*.

The day's proceedings had been very harmonious until the band competition, in which the Aberamman band was awarded the prize. But the leader of the Carmarthen Militia Band angrily questioned the decision from the floor of the Pavilion. Feeling was running high and it was left to the wholehearted voice of the audience to decide in favour of Aberamman. The leader of the Carmarthen band then refused to come forward to be invested with the second prize and a turbulent scene followed. The crowd in the back seats jumped over the barriers and order was restored at last through the intervention of the Rev. John Griffiths. After eulogies to the president and various participants, the proceeding came to an end about four o'clock.

The evening concert was well attended and the programme consisted of the following principal items:

Choir—'I'r Awen'.
Miss Edmonds—'La Partonella' and 'Deep in the Forest Dell'.
Mr. Brinley Richards—'Fantasia on Welsh Airs' (on the grand Mr. Lewis Thomas—'The Mill Wheel'.
forte-piano).
Madam Patey-Whytock—'Scenes of my Youth'.
Mr. Cummings—'Sound an Alarm'.

Quartette—'Un di si ben rammento mi'.

Choir—'Yr Haf'.

Grand Duo—Mr. Richards and Mr. Lazarus¹³ (piano and clarinet).

Richards also played selections from Weber but "alas it was not appreciated by the mass and there was a busy hum of conversation throughout the performance".

WEDNESDAY

The Social Science Department was addressed by the Rev. John Griffiths who read out Mr. Tomkins's (of the London Society) paper on 'Friendly Societies'. Several interesting facts are worth mentioning. Since 1793 Wales had established some 2,461 societies. In the three counties of Cardigan, Carmarthen and Pembroke the figures were as follows :

| County | No. Established | No. Dissolved | Existing Societies |
|------------|-----------------|---------------|--------------------|
| Cardigan | 109 | 32 | 77 |
| Carmarthen | 197 | 22 | 175 |
| Pembroke | 102 | 45 | 57 |

Since 1857 about 460 new societies had been formed, and the strength of some of them is reflected in this table :

| Society | Total Contributions £'s | Total No. of Members | Approx. Individual Contribution £'s |
|--------------------------------|-------------------------|----------------------|-------------------------------------|
| Ystradgynlais (St. Gualais) | 400 | 50 | 8 |
| Aberaeron (Equity) | 1,246 | 176 | 7 |
| Llanegwad (Friendly) | 943 | 120 | 8 |
| Llanelli (New Friendly) | 784 | 100 | 8 |
| Pembrey (Pride of the Village) | 969 | 120 | 8 |
| Carmarthen (Merlin) | 1,341 | 199 | 7 |
| Llanelli (Britons Mechanic) | 1,203 | 134 | 9 |

13. H. Lazarus 1815-1895 ; b. London, where he spent most of his life ; distinguished clarinet recitalist.

In addition there were many other societies attached to the Ivorites, Foresters, Oddfellows, Druids, Manchester Unity and so on.

A discussion followed and strong feelings were expressed on the undesirability of societies holding meetings in public houses. Very often, it was claimed, there was agreement between the members and the landlord that a certain quantity of drink be consumed, so that there was excessive drinking and hardship to many families. The teetotalers in the audience thought that these friendly societies should meet in chapel vestries, while others disagreed with the allegations against public houses. At one point there was a lengthy argument on the relative merits of a glass of ale and a basin of soup !

The morning's meeting concluded with a paper on 'Night Schools for Wales' given by Mr. David Williams of Llanelli, British Schools Inspector for South Wales. Hitherto, it was pointed out, there had been lack of state aid for such purposes, though much needed to be done to give technical education and instruction to young workers. The attention of the latter also needed to be drawn to 'good and wholesome literature which would allure them from the unworthy and seductive recreations so prevalent in the present day'.

At the Pavilion the proceedings were attended by Judge Johnes of Dolau Cothi,¹⁴ Bishop Connop Thirlwall¹⁵ and David Pugh. In his presidential address Johnes, like some of the other speakers, displayed a certain ambivalence towards the Welsh language. His support for the Eisteddfod would cease 'if its aims were to set race against race or for the suppression of the English language among the people of Wales. English was not only the dominant language of this realm but the most extensively spoken language on the face of the globe'. He added many *obiter dicta* on the characteristics of the Welsh people—their learning, wit, quick repartee, and 'a certain flippancy, perhaps, thought by some as lacking in good breeding.' Decrying any attempt to set race against race, Mr. Pugh said that there were advantages in having two languages ; the Eisteddfod could bring rich and poor, learned and unlearned together into one arena to enjoy literature, poetry and music from many lands as well as Wales. There was need for more understanding and friendly discussion in the pursuit of truth.

14. John Johnes 1800-76, barrister-at-law and county court judge ; recorder of Carmarthen 1851-72 ; chairman of quarter sessions for Co. Carmarthen 1853-72 ; keen agriculturalist and antiquary ; murdered by his Irish butler at Dolau Cothi.

15. Connop Thirlwall 1797-1875, Bishop of St. Davids ; distinguished cleric and scholar ; buried in Westminster Abbey.

Afterwards Mr. Brinley Richards spoke of the rapid advances in pianoforte playing in Wales, and Mr. Leslie said that the English had nothing but goodwill toward Welsh choirs. The Merthyr Choir won 'by a neck' with Newcastle Emlyn in the second place. In honour of the latter Ioan Emlyn¹⁶ arose to recite an englyn:

Gwŷr amlwg gôr Emlyn—hedd
Am yr haeddent gael englyn;
Gan Iago, hen blanhigyn,
Rhy' hwn glod i gôr r'un glyn.

Frequent spontaneous speech making seemed a characteristic of this and other eisteddfodau Talhaiarn¹⁷ was given time to answer the criticisms of *The Times* and traced the history of the Eisteddfod back to Gruffydd ap Nicolas, under whose patronage the 1451 Eisteddfod was held at Carmarthen.¹⁸ He even quoted (on what grounds it is difficult to imagine) from a speech by Dafydd ab Edmwnd. Nevertheless he made an important remark aimed at Welsh nonconformity and its puritanical outlook—'. . . the Welshman's mind has been forced into an unnecessary gloom for the past hundred years. I should like to see this swept away and exchanged for more recreation and amusement. You may depend upon it the Almighty would not have given us risible faculties if He had not intended us to enjoy them in a rational manner'.

The remainder of the afternoon included a lengthy adjudication by D. A. Williams and W. Spurrell¹⁹ on the entries for the essay on the 'History of Carmarthen' won by Alwyn C. Evans who was invested by the Bishop of St. David's. Mrs. Matthew of Mountain Ash, a winner at Llangollen, came first in singing 'The Rising of the Lark'. During an interlude Llew Llwyfo sang a Welsh aria and

16. John Emlyn Jones 1818-1873; Baptist minister, poet and man of letters; b. at Newcastle Emlyn; hon. LL.D. of Glasgow University 1863; author of *Bedd y Dyn Tylawd*.
17. John Jones, Talhaiarn 1810-1869; architect and poet; b. at The Harp Inn, Llanfair talhaearn, Denbs.; worked with Sir Joseph Paxton and other architects; one of the superintendents of the building of the Crystal Palace; the mansion of Baron de Rothschild, Menton, France and other famous houses; prolific writer and keen eisteddfodwr.
18. See article *D.W.B. Gruffudd ap Nicolas fl. 1425-56*. There are conflicting dates and details of the 'Carmarthen' eisteddfod—reports vary between 1451 and 1453. Some maintain that it lasted three months at Dynevor and others that it lasted a fortnight at Carmarthen. It is agreed that Gruffudd ap Nicolas was judge over the poets and that the chair was awarded to Dafydd ab Edmwnd.
19. Rev. D. Archard Williams, Archdeacon of Carmarthen. William Spurrell 1813-89; b. in Quay Street, Carmarthen; printer, publisher, author, lexicographer.

then had the audience in convulsions with his rendering of a comic song—'John Jones and John Bull'. Llew Llwyfo was considered a 'very bad singer' by many contemporary musicians, but his 'rabid patriotism' made him a favourite with Welsh audiences. One critic said his performances were an insult to English professionals, while his supporters were alleged to be the obstreperous ringleaders in the concerts. During one meeting, the unruly crowd had shouted 'Llew, Llew' and Brinley Richards had had to apologise for excluding him as there were many in his favour because of his eisteddfodic record 'as poet, essayist and novelist'. But others, including Madame Patey-Whytock,²⁰ one of the guest artists, regarded him more as 'a suitable specimen for a menagerie'. Llew Llwyfo was deeply hurt and to atone for the insult Ceiriog organised a public collection through which he was presented with a gold watch and chain and twenty-five guineas. Another result was a resolution to have in future 'more Welsh music and greater variety and scope to native talent'.

But to return to the Eisteddfod. Mr. Yates, a London journalist, gave his adjudication on the composition of a new song or poem. Some one hundred competitors had submitted poems, and Mr. Yates fell foul of his Welsh audience on account of his remarks about the compositions. Too much attention had been given to the ludicrous; the style of the majority at best was that of cheap English periodicals. He withheld the prize of twenty pounds and a silver medal, saying that a profusion of national fervour could not make up for genuine creative talent. Later on, the disappointed bards met in the coffee room of the Ivy Bush and made up scurrilous verses about Mr. Yates. Among 'Ha, ha's' and 'Ho, ho's' they chanted:

Hear Edmund Yates! Pray, who is he?
The one who scorned the ninety-three.

On Wednesday evening the concert was literally a wash-out; heavy rain and strong wind blew part of the roof off the Pavilion so that many of the audience had their umbrellas opened. The programme included such items as:

Choir—'Who will o'er the Downs?'
Miss Edith Wynne—'Softly sighs' and 'Oh, fair would I recall'.
Mr. Lewis Thomas—'Largo al factotum'.
Duet (Miss Wynne and Madam Patey-Whytock)—'Quis est homo'.
Mr. Lazarus—'Swiss airs on the Piano'.

20. Madame Patey-Whytock 1842-94; contralto singer; b. Holborn, London; pupil of Ciro Pinsuti and Sims Reeves; made first appearance in Birmingham 1860; toured Europe, America, Australia, N. Zealand and the Far East.

Mr. Cummings—'Cuius animam'.
Miss Hewson of Carmarthen—Fantasia from 'La Lucia di
Lammermoor'.

Madame Patey-Whytock made a great hit with 'The Bailiff's
Daughter' but during her singing of 'The Storm' part of the Pavilion
roof was blown off. The prima donna was very annoyed because
of the rain, the shocking state of the pavilion, and the—'complete
disorder that reigned among the audience'. Another artist com-
plained of the audience's inattention during instrumental items and
said the Welsh mind sadly needed cultivation in that respect. But
the stage appearances of Miss Wynne and Miss Edmonds more than
compensated for the mishaps of the evening. Both were greeted
with laudatory stanzas from the bards Deheufardd and Caniedydd.
Of Miss Edmonds Deheufardd said :

Dyrchafer clod Miss Edmonds fwyn
Gan feirddion Cymru dawel,
Ehedydd Gwalia ydyw hi
Ei henw sy'n aruchel ;
Ei seren ymddisgleirio wna
Yn entrych hardd cerddoriaeth,
Ei phlentyn annwyl, annwyl yw
Hi swyna bob cym'dogaeth.

Rhyw adsain o ganiadau gwawl
Yw difyr gân o'i genau,
Ac odlau ei hacenion pêr
Yn nefol sydd i'm clustiau ;
Ei llonder deiff i bob gwedd
Caiff hi ei llwyr edmygu,
Ei nefol wên orchfyga'r llu
Hi wna i bawb i wenu.

Anrhydedd yw i Ddyfed gu
Ei chlod aeth trwy y gwledydd,
Ei seiniau pêr a swynant dorf
I'r eos dug gywilydd ;
Hir oes a gaffo'r feinir deg
Hir oes o glod rhagorol,
Ac wedi gadael daear lawr
Derbynied fri anfarwol.

According to Caniedydd Miss Wynne was second to none of the
great artists of the day—Mesdames Linda Goldschmid,²¹ Sainton
Dolby,²² Parepa,²³ Grisi²⁴ and Patti.²⁵

Angyles dawn yng ngawl y dydd,
Berorodd bur arwyrain—
Ar enedigaeth rian deg,
Ry' odiaeth fri i Frydain :
Yn eirian wawr ei seren hi
Y gwelir pelydr Gwalia :
Ac yn ei gwên hollgeinion cân,
Yn glir i bawb ddisgleiria.

Ond pwy sydd fel ein dwsmel deg ?
Min awen gu mwyn Eos,
Ein Hedith sydd â'i hodiaeth sain,
Yn eurwen pawb yn aros ;
Alawon nef a lunia hon
Mewn adlef a mwyn odlau ;
Hi swyna fyd ! Pa sain o fath
Ei pharabl a'i hoff eiriau.

THURSDAY

Mr. Hugh Owen took the chair at the meeting of the Social
Science Department when an interesting paper on night schools for
agricultural workers was read by Mr. James of St. John's Hall,
London. The purpose of these schools was 'to ameliorate the con-
dition of agricultural workers'—especially those who had not received
day school education—as well as to provide extension courses for
those who had had some basic schooling. Mr. James criticised
some academies where mathematics was taught 'far on into Euclid

21. Jenny Lind (Mme Otto Goldshmid) 1820-89 ; b. in Stockholm ;
studied in Paris under Garcia ; appeared in Berlin and the Gewand-
haus Leipzig in many operatic rôles ; her husband was conductor of the
Bach Choir.
22. Charlotte Helen Sainton-Dolby 1821-1885 ; celebrated contralto and
composer ; studied at the Royal Academy ; appeared in Mendelssohn's
St. Paul at the Gewandhaus, Leipzig ; made European tours ; married
M. Sainton the celebrated violinist.
23. Euphrosyne Parepa-Rosa 1836-1874 ; b. in Edinburgh ; eminent soprano
in oratorio ; toured Europe and America ; married Carl Rosa.
24. Giulia Grisi 1810-1869 ; eminent operatic singer ; b. in Milan ; studied
at the Conservatorium ; made appearances in London and European
capitals.
25. Adelina Maria Patti 1843-1919 ; b. in Madrid ; appeared in principal
operatic rôles in world capitals ; had great public adulation ; died at
Craig-y-Nos in the Swansea Valley.

and Algebra, while the farmer's son never hears a word about agriculture; the mechanic seldom works a problem in practical geometry; the quarryman learns nothing about geology'. A school of mining was needed, and an establishment where young women could learn reading, writing, orthography, history, social studies, domestic economy and housekeeping duties. But these suggestions were difficult to put into practice because of the indifference of farmers and employers, insufficient teachers, parental ignorance and poverty. Hours of work were too long and Mr. James suggested a maximum working day of ten to twelve hours!

Mr. James thought a system similar to Sunday School might be the answer, with voluntary teachers and a parochial collection for their maintenance. He even suggested a tax on wages, assistance from the council of the National Eisteddfod, and the grouping together of 'three or four contiguous farms to form a night school district. Classes could be held in farm houses and young workers would learn to use their spare time wisely. Was it not true that many a banker, merchant, physician and even a peer had been once a peasant boy?' Among the merits of night school education he included the teaching of values, the dignity and pleasure of honest labour and the removal of indiscriminate charity which often led to indolence.

The remainder of the Social Science meeting was taken up with a paper by Mr. J. Thomas,²⁶ Civil Engineer, London, on the state of Welsh railways. In a survey of railway expansion after Stephenson's time he noted that in Wales some fifty new companies had been in operation since 1853. He estimated that to spend £22,000 on laying down one mile of railway was excessive. There were topographical difficulties, yet, with better planning and co-ordination between the various railway companies, the cost could be reduced to about £8,000—£10,000 per mile, with shareholders' dividends considerably higher. Mr. Thomas had much praise for David Davies²⁷ system and the pioneer work of Mr. Savin.

Other papers dealt with Mr. Bruce's²⁸ Education Scheme in relation to the industrial classes in Wales. Lastly, the Rev. John

26. James Lewis Thomas 1825-1904; architect and surveyor to the War Office; designer of the military hospital at Netley; prominent member of the Society of Ancient Britons.

27. David Davies, Llandinam 1818-1890; industrialist; M.P.; builder of railways; docks; coal owner, etc., etc.

28. Henry Austin Bruce, 1815-1895; 1st baron Aberdare; Liberal politician; Lord President of the Council; F.R.S.; social reformer and educationist; 1st president of U.C.W., Cardiff and first Chancellor of the University of Wales.

Mills spoke on the possibility of establishing a Welsh settlement in Palestine. He had lived in the Holy Land for some years, and could say from experience that 'the country was like a large farm' with excellent soil capable of yielding abundant crops and its geographical position was commercially very advantageous. He had been in communication with the Turkish government on the subject, and had received assurances that facilities would be afforded for carrying out such a venture!

The president of the Eisteddfod was the Rev. John Griffiths, who gave a resumé of the history of the Eisteddfod throughout the ages. Speaking alternately in Welsh and English, he traced the Eisteddfod back to King Arthur and referred to the patronage of Maelgwn Gwynedd, Gruffydd ap Cynan and others. Turning to Lord Dynevor, next to him on the platform, Griffiths spoke of the enterprise of Gruffydd ap Nicholas (ancestor of his lordship) who had invited the bards to Carmarthen in 1451,²⁹ when a galaxy of illustrious personages had attended, including Dafydd ab Edmwnd,³⁰ Ieuan Llawdden³¹ and Gutun Owain.³² Griffiths's address continued with many supposedly authentic anecdotes of the Eisteddfod of 1451. One local bard challenged Dafydd ab Edmwnd on his arrival—'Pwy yw'r hwrdd yma?' to which the poet promptly replied:

Da yw fy hawl, nid wyf hwrdd,
Dywed o fodd, ydwyf yn fardd,
Beth ŵr mwyn glo cadwyn cerdd?

whereupon he was invited to join Gruffydd ap Nicholas at 'his round table'.

Another story which entertained the audience immensely, was about Gruffydd ap Nicholas on his way to St. Peter's Church, Carmarthen, when he met Dafydd ab Edmwnd and asked the poet the following questions:

29. See note 18.

30. Dafydd ab Edmwnd, fl. 1450-90; gentleman and bardic master; final authority on all matters of language and metre; his works bear the imprint of a master with a splendid vision and expert technique, etc., etc.

31. Llawdden or Ieuan Llawdden, fl. 1450; a writer of 'cywyddau' to prominent families of the period; In the Eisteddfod of 1451, he is known to have accused Gruffudd ap Nicolas of being bribed to give the chair to Dafydd ab Edmwnd.

32. Gutun Owain, or Gruffudd ap Huw ab Owain, fl. 1460-1498; poet, transcriber of MSS, genealogist; pupil of D. ab Edmwnd; master craftsman in verse especially 'court poetry' praising splendid mansions and noblemen.

Beth a weli di o'th faen?—Melin.
 A pheth sydd yn y ffenestr acw?—Elin merch.
 A pheth sydd yn yr un yna?—Gŵydd lwyd.
 Beth a weli di tu draw i'r afon?—Murddyn.
 Beth sydd yn y murddyn?—Aelwyd a phentan.
 Beth sydd uwch ei ben?—Cronglwyd.
 Beth sydd uwch ben y cwrwg acw ar yr afon?—Pont.
 Beth sydd o bob tu i'r march acw?—Coes a morddwyd.
 Beth a glywi yn yr eglwys?—Gweddi.
 A fedri enwi y cyfan ag englyn?—Mi a'i hamcanaf ebe Dafydd
 ab Edmwnd.

And this *tour de force* was the result :

Melin ac elin ac aelwyd,—a phont
 A phentan a chronglwyd,
 Murddyn a choes a morddwyd,
 A gweddi lân a gŵydd lwyd.

From that time, Griffiths went on, there had been a decline of the eisteddfod in Wales, especially during the rule of that arch-philistine Cromwell. But there had been a rival since the Carmarthen Eisteddfod of 1819, held under the patronage of Bishop Burgess³³ who was installed a Druid by the great Iolo Morgannwg himself. The Eisteddfod was 'the Welshman's holiday' in spite of the jibes and taunts of the 'London thunderer', namely *The Times*. Other Englishmen had in their way denigrated the Welsh, and he mentioned two very strange bedfellows—John Bright and Benjamin Disraeli. But there was no need for despondency—the Welsh language is pretty well able to look after itself. In spite of the anglo-philes present, the Vicar of Neath made the point quite unequivocally that to hold Eisteddfod meetings in English was totally inconsistent with its purpose and history. He concluded by thanking the English people present for their help, but in a resounding peroration urged Welshmen everywhere to love their native land and the Welsh language. After he had sat down to a tumultuous ovation, he was thanked in spontaneous verse by three bards—Ieuan Morgannwg, Dafydd Ddu and Caeronwy.

Other events of the afternoon may be mentioned. John Coke Fowler of Long Castle, Neath, stipendiary magistrate for Merthyr, was announced the winner of the competition for an essay on 'A

33. Thomas Burgess, 1756-1837; Bishop of St. Davids; prime mover in founding St. David's College, Lampeter; patron of literary clergy and Carmarthen Eisteddfod of 1819, translated to Salisbury in 1825 where he died in 1837.

Comparison of the Administration of Justice in Wales in 1860 and 1867' and Mrs. Pryse of Glanrhydwy invested him with the prize. Mr. Cummings sang 'The Bay of Biscay' whereupon there was much excitement; the crowd cheered and whistled and this ululating continued during another solo by Pencerdd Gwalia. The president had to intervene and said, 'It is only through empty heads that the wind whistles'. Hwfa Môn³⁴ gained the prize for a poem on Owen Glyndŵr, a composition described as 'burning poetry, as rich as Wales, simple as nature, great as Snowdon'. Then it was announced that the best essay on 'Schools of Art' was won by Mr. Henry Giles of *The Welshman*, Carmarthen. In between adjudications Mr. Llwyfo Lewis sang 'Home they brought their warrior dead' and Mr. Brinley Richards and Mr. Lazarus gave a piano and clarinet duet.

Owing to the disagreement between Cynddelw³⁵ and Caledfryn³⁶ concerning the award of the chair for the awdl, Ceiriog³⁷ had been invited to act as an independent adjudicator. He decided that the best entry was from the pen of the Rev. Richard Parry (Gwalchmai).³⁸ At the churning ceremony the customary greetings were given and Gwrgant³⁹ recited his stanza;

Credwch chwi feir ceredwen,
 Na fradychwyd awen fryd uchel,
 Cadeiriwyd mewn coed derwen,
 Y bardd a farnwyd yn ben.

In addition Cynddelw accepted Ceiriog's verdict and acclaimed the bard in almost incomprehensible language :

-
34. Rowland Williams, Hwfa Môn, 1823-1905; Independent minister and archdruid of Wales; won number of major eisteddfod awards; published volumes of poetry; reformer of the Gorsedd.
35. Robert Ellis, Cynddelw, 1812-75; Baptist minister, preacher, poet, antiquary and commentator; wrote awdlau and other poems, the best probably being 'Cywydd y Berwyn', etc., etc.
36. William Williams, Caledfryn, 1801-69; Congregational minister, poet and critic; wrote and edited many books of poetry, criticism and grammar; edited many periodicals supporting Liberalism, Temperance movements, etc.; eisteddfod adjudicator.
37. John Ceiriog Hughes, 1832-1887; lyrical poet; collector of folk songs and melodies, etc., etc.
38. Richard Parry, Gwalchmai, 1803-1897; Independent minister, poet and man of letters; one of the most prolific writers of the 19 century; 'Considered winning at the Eisteddfod an achievement in itself . . . with a cluster of medals on his chest'.
39. William Jones, Gwrgant, 1803-1896; London solicitor; eisteddfodwr and writer to magazines; active with London Welsh societies—Cymreigyddion and Cymmrodorion.

Tra thynwr trwy warth awen,—diorfod
 Fo'r cadeirfardd trylen ;
 Caeddeir res fel Catterwen
 Yn Nyfed bydded yn ben.

Lastly, Alltud Eifion⁴⁰ concurred by saying :

Gyda ryw hwyl, gadair hon—a roddwn
 I'r haeddol gynhyrchion ;
 Gwalchmai'n ddilai lon,
 Yw'r gŵr a biau'r goron.

The meeting ended at half-past three with votes of thanks to the President given by Col. Sir James Hamilton of Plas, Llansteffan and seconded by David Pugh.

For the evening concert the pavilion was filled to capacity and the proceedings went well except for 'disgraceful hooting now and again'. This concert was adjudged 'richer in quality than any of its predecessors'. The programme included :

Madame Patey-Whytock—'Kathleen Mavourneen', 'Come lasses and lads'.

Miss Edmonds—'Should he upbraid?', 'Coming through the rye'.

Mr. Lewis Thomas—'Oh ruddier than the cherry'.

Mr. Brinley Richards and Mr. Lazarus—'Elisir d'Amour'
 (for piano and clarinet).

Mr. John Thomas (Pencerdd Gwalia)—Harp recital.

Mr. Brinley Richards and Miss Hewson—Piano Duet. 'Andante Con Variazioni' (Mozart).

The concert ended with a 'precise and spirited rendering' of 'Phoebus' and 'The March of the Men of Harlech' by the choir.

FRIDAY

In the morning the Eisteddfod Council met at the Shire Hall and received the financial report from the treasurer when the following information was given for the year ending 31 December 1866.

40. Robert Isaac Jones, Alltud Eifion, 1813-1905 ; pharmacist, litterateur and printer ; began publishing *Y Brython* ; later became an Anglican and edited *Baner y Groes* ; wrote articles to *Yr Haul*, *Y Llan*, *Cymru*, etc.

Expenses of the Chester Meetings 1866

| | | | | | | | | | |
|---------------------|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|--------|-----|-----|
| Prizes | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | £245 | 7. | 0. |
| Concerts | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | £652 | 0. | 11. |
| Pavilion | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | £732 | 16. | 2. |
| Secretary | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | £170 | 9. | 2. |
| Printing, etc. | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | £146 | 2. | 5. |
| Exhibition | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | £57 | 1. | 11. |
| Incidentals | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | £92 | 18. | 10. |
| Llandudno arrears | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | £39 | 3. | 0. |
| Aberystwyth arrears | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | £164 | 2. | 2. |
| Other arrears | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | £33 | 4. | 5. |
| | | | | | | | £2,333 | 6. | 0. |

Income of Chester Meetings 1866

| | | | | | | | | | |
|---|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|--------|-----|----|
| Subscriptions per Secretary and Treasurer | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | £295 | 10. | 6. |
| Subscriptions per Chester Local Committee | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | £436 | 17. | 0. |
| Sale of tickets at Chester | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | £1,213 | 10. | 6. |
| | | | | | | | £1,945 | 16. | 0. |
| Excess expenses over receipts | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | £387 | 8. | 0. |

Owing to mounting debts incurred by the Eisteddfod, the Council recommended economies in future, especially in the concerts and music activities. It was suggested that subscriptions be canvassed well in advance, that buildings be less costly, and organisation improved, as a lapse of eight to ten months between one Eisteddfod and committee meetings for the next one was too long. The council also passed a vote of censure on the local committee of the Caernarfon Eisteddfod for not handing over the surplus of £800 which they still held.

In the afternoon the competitive meeting was chaired by H. Lavallin Puxley,⁴¹ Esq. of Llether luesty and supported by William Morris of Cwm,⁴² M.P. for Carmarthen, David Pugh, M.P., and Judge Johnes of Dolau Cothi. It is worth noting that in the

41. Henry Lavallin Puxley of Llethr luesty near Llanddarog and Dunboy Castle, Co. Cork ; educated at Eton and Brasenose College, Oxford ; sometime High Sheriff and J.P., Carmarthenshire and Co. Cork.

42. For an account of the Morris see my article in *The Carmarthenshire Antiquary*, vol. vii, 1971—'The Morris Family of Carmarthenshire'.

revival of the Eisteddfod early in the 19th century, the gentry had played an important rôle. It is true to say also that the eisteddfodau of the day were 'Shows' more than anything else with dinners and festivities for the gentry and their friends. Yet they did good work because the regional societies responsible for promoting an Eisteddfod were made up largely of gentry and clergy, while the bards had very little hand in them. Moreover the contribution of the gentry, squires and clerics has been somewhat belittled. Indeed they treated the bards handsomely. They provided trophies and prizes with which they 'invested' the winners, and this tradition continued in Carmarthen as may be seen from this account. Lastly they felt responsible to a marked degree for the success of these gatherings. In this respect they fulfilled the function of earlier 'uchelwyr' although by now they had become almost entirely anglicised. The privilege of social position also carried its duties and obligations; their speeches reflect their political affiliations and cultural outlook. Some were anglo-philic; others like Mr. Puxley were forthright in expressing unambiguously their loyalties. Mr. Puxley addressed the audience and in a very erudite and forthright speech said that the Eisteddfod was a grand gathering of the clans 'for the true development of national resources, national power and for the cultivation of a purer taste'. He was very critical of the pursuit of pleasure much in vogue at the time and he had in mind 'some of the gentry whose large estates and families were ruined by a day at Epsom or the cast of a dice'. Ease and luxury ought to be replaced by a less sophisticated way of life. Whereas he favoured equal status for Welsh and English, he criticised the 'glorified insularity' of the Englishman who despised the rest of Europe. 'His country is an island, his county is an island, his household is an island . . . and to complete the whole, each stubborn strong-backed Englishman is an island himself, surrounded by a misty and tumultuous sea of prejudices, utterly repudiative of a permanent bridge. This insularity of character checks any flow of sympathy in favour of our Celtic gathering'. He was himself an Irishman of the same stock as the Welsh Celts. The Eisteddfod could help to restore the early purity of Celtic literature. There was too much artificiality in poetry; art had become artifice and 'painting had been prostituted into an art of voluptuous colouring, music was degenerating into trickery and legerdemain' in contrast to the classical restraint of earlier times. Even religion, too, contained an excess of external forms and symbols, pleasing to the eye but repulsive to the thoughtful mind. But the Bards of Wales should commit to memory the history of their people and the valour of their illustrious dead. Like Homer and Virgil, their aim should be—'Arma virumque cano'.

Mr. Puxley showed much classical learning in his speech and also described the great names in Celtic tradition—Macpherson, Ossian, the Ard Fileas, Brehons, Seanachies of Erin, the law makers, antiquaries and genealogists. He quoted freely from the Welsh 'cynfeirdd'—Talesin, Aneirin and Llywarch Hen. He spoke of the great 'uchelwyr' like Gruffydd ap Cynan, arbiters of poesy, the patrons of bards and law givers. Edward I had reduced Wales into subjection and Welsh poets had exhorted their compatriots to revolt like Demosthenes in the face of the Macedonian peril. It was the poets who kept the Welsh national spirit alight. They sang the praises of Glyndwr and looked forward to a golden age to come. But Welsh national aspirations had foundered on the rocks of animosity and rivalry, factions, strife, disloyalty and greed. Against this tragic background, he concluded, Welshmen must unite in support of the Eisteddfod, a Welsh institution and the strongest bastion of Wales's language and culture.

Among the principal winners, the following may be mentioned: Essay on 'High Class Farming'—Mr. W. Samuel of Carreg Cennen, who also won the prize for an essay entitled 'The Importance of Milford Haven'. Mr. Shackell was given the prize for the best Collection of Insects and Mr. Bassett Jones was given high credit for his model of a cottage and musical instrument made by a Welshman.

The afternoon proceedings had to be abandoned because of the rain but not before Mr. Brinley Richards⁴³ had assessed the musical standard of the Eisteddfod. He said that notwithstanding criticism from Printing House Square, London journalists had to admit that he had tried to raise the standard of music at the Eisteddfod. Their sarcasm need not be taken seriously. They were critical of everything from a royal occasion to the Lord Mayor's show. He had engaged the best London artists, and in spite of local criticism, there had been 'a variety of excellent music' in the concerts. Judiciously prepared, they had elevated the taste of the people. There had been pressure from officials to engage local worthies, and foreign music, such as that of Weber and Mendelssohn, had been attacked by many a 'base scribe' of the local journals. Consequently Mr. Richards said he had felt bound to resign as musical director of the Eisteddfod and *The Athenaeum* regarded the insults which had been hurled at him as 'the death warrant of the institution to which Welshmen profess devotion'.

43. Henry Brinley Richards, 1819-85; musician, composer and pianist; native of Carmarthen; friend of Chopin. For full account see *D.W.B. and God Bless the Prince of Wales* by Major Francis Jones, Carmarthenshire Community Council, 1969.

One other aspect of the Eisteddfod's activities deserves attention, viz. the exhibitions and displays in the public rooms. These dealt with Art, Natural History, Antiquities, Industries, Crafts and even curios from private collections were displayed. Mr. Propert, Organist of St. Davids Cathedral, assisted by Mr. Salter, was in charge of the Science Exhibition where samples of coal seams from the Gwendraeth valley as well as fossils from Mynydd Mawr were on display. There were slates from the Glog and Whitland quarries, geological maps and charts, crystallised minerals, flowers, plants as well as fish in an aquarium, a cage of singing birds, a fine fox and the massive door of St. Peter's Church, with its wrought iron hinges and lock made by Mr. Rhys Jones.

The picture gallery was in the charge of Mr. Hosford, the Master of the Government School at Carmarthen. On show was a copy of Mr. Leslie's picture 'Uncle Toby and the Widow', together with the following original works: 'A Scene in the Desert' (A Cooper, R.A.); 'Italian Peasants' (A. Elmore); 'The School Teacher' (R. Redgrave); 'View of St. Davids Cathedral' (Aston); and 'Chale Bay, Isle of Wight'; 'Early Winter in North Wales'; and 'A Swiss Village' in crayon by H. Bright. The South Kensington Museum lent many exhibits, e.g. 'Hastings Fish Market' by J. Barnett; 'Blackheath' (J. Holland) and 'The Gleaner' (E. H. Corbould). Other pictures came from the private houses of Miss Gardner, Messrs. Spurrell, J. L. G. Poyer Lewis of Henllan, Kyrke Penson the architect, Buckley of Penyfai, Johnes of Dolau Cothi and the Rev. Bagnall Evans.

There were dozens of exhibits in the Antiquities department and some of them may be mentioned: MSS. list of Pembrokeshire sheriffs, a lady's patch box, a half noble of Edward III, silver coin of Edward I, stone celt, Roman lamp and coins, a crown of the time of William III, a dollar of Pope Gregory XVI, a black letter Bible of 1613, Camden's Britannia 1610, a letter of Christmas Evans, Nantgarw china, Martin Luther's drinking cup, card case from timber of George III's yacht, the great seal of England (temp. Commonwealth), carved model of Cydweli castle, fourteenth century Hours of the Virgin on vellum, stirrup irons of Sir Rhys ap Thomas, shoes worn by Twm Shôn Cati, old charters of Haverfordwest, two maces and a portrait of Sir John Perrott lent by the Council of Haverfordwest, etc., etc. Miss Jones of Ystrad showed a snuff box with a portrait of Charles Edward Stuart, presented to ancestors of the late John Jones, M.P., and Mr. Morgan, shoe manufacturer, exhibited valuable Indian curiosities.

In the Botanical Dept., there were flowers and ferns from Golden Grove, Dynevor and Ystrad together with many exotic plants. In addition there were examples of marine algae, British butterflies, Chinese insects and birds from Penyfai House. Mr. Frank Buckley showed a series of objects, illustrating the development of the salmon and oyster, casts of puff adders as well as drawings of tigers, bears and other wild animals.

The geological and industrial sections gave prominence to examples of rock from the Cambrian, Silurian and other systems. There were examples from submerged forests, as well as flint knives, cave bones, collections of copper and iron axes from Mr. Wilson, Cwmffrwd, brasses and iron ore from Ebbw Vale, blocks of patent fuel, specimens from the Carmarthen Tinworks and the products of the chemical works of Mr. Chivers, Carmarthen. Other local products were boots and shoes by W. O. Morgan and a 'case of boots' by Henry Bona of Spilman Street, a stone chimney piece by Mr. Davies of Lammas Street as well as examples of woollen goods from Messrs. Lewis and Jones, Lower Water Street, book binding from Spurrells, embroidery, geometrical wood turning, a musical instrument by Mr. Thompson of Thompson and Shackell,⁴⁴ a violin by Rees Rees, joiner of Wood's Row, and leathers and furs from Mr. Griffiths, Llanelli.

* * *

Brickbats and Bouquets

It is worth noting some of the observations which appeared in the local and national press concerning the merits and defects of the Carmarthen Eisteddfod of 1867.

Most were critical of the proceedings. For example, the *Daily News* considered the activities of the Social Science sections as 'mere entertainment' compared to the learned meetings of the British Association. The ceremonies and bardic processions were singled out as the 'most ludicrous features'. On the other hand many benefits had resulted from the institution, e.g. 'The Literature of the Cymry' by Thomas Stephens was a product of the national Eisteddfod while in Ireland the people were more interested in 'Catholic or Orange demonstrations'. *The Illustrated London News* praised the fervour and enthusiasm of the eisteddfodwyr at Carmarthen, saying that 'the proceedings had been carried on with the greatest spirit,

44. E. W. Shackell was born (1841) in Carmarthen, where the family had a shop in Guildhall Square.

but too much place was given to nationalistic speeches and diatribes against the Saxon press'. But there were further remarks calculated to disparage Wales's national festival. Some spoke of the folly of these assemblies. The bawling out of idle songs in an unknown tongue was regarded as an 'olympian game by fish wives on the banks of the Styx'. In many ways the Eisteddfod was said to resemble 'an antediluvian parliament' with the presidents behaving like 'monomaniacs' and making their speeches which grossly exaggerated Welsh culture to give the impression that the English were vastly inferior and that Welsh audiences were *la crème de la crème*. It was complained that much had been said about the fine qualities of the Welsh, whereas what had been most evident at the Eisteddfod was 'the shrieking of palpably bad verse'. Another lament was that Mr. Yates had read 93 poems and all of them were bad, yet the competitors had refused to accept his decision. It was remarked, too, that Mr. Llew Llwyfo's performances befitted a 'menagerie' rather than a musical festival. According to a writer in *The London Review* the only progress possible for Wales lay in the Principality being 'one with England in its interests, aspirations and language'. He went on to say 'that the Welsh were more immoral, ignorant and wretched than any other Englishman of the same class and opportunities'. The writer continued by calling the Eisteddfod 'a piece of vulgar charlatanism' and even gloated over the fact that the rain had been so heavy during the week! Scathing phrases were added. The Eisteddfod was 'a wild-beast show', a 'recital of primitive poetry of semi barbarians'. And finally: 'Wales has added nothing (in spite of Matthew Arnold's regard for her superior culture) to the empire of English letters—Where is the Welsh Scott or Burns, Burke or Goldsmith? Perhaps some member of the Eisteddfod will tell us?' *The Times* as well as *The Imperial Review* took much the same line as *The London Review*. *The Musical World* was generally more moderate but had little praise for native Welsh music. *The Athenaeum* emphasised the need for higher critical standards in Welsh poetry and music. *Punch* printed several satirical verses; for example

'Clang then the cymbals
Dance ye all nimbles,
Discard for this day your thimbles
Maidens of sunny Wales.

Cast away your bales
Ye merchants drop your sales,
And one cheer more
Now and before
We seek the climes of Wales.

Take from me my pen
My ink and then
Leave my hands and nails
I'll write and sing of Wales.

I remain, Sir, Yours,
The Chief Bard Morgan
Who plays on the Organ.

N.B.—If the above isn't a rhyme
I don't know what is. M.'

On the other hand, the correspondent of *The Orchestra* praised 'Cambrian fanaticism' and contrasted Welsh peasants with 'the English lower orders who remain lumpish and indifferent to every manifestation of art'.

Many letters to the press followed but these gave varying verdicts on the Eisteddfod. Some spoke of the parochialism, egotism, vanity and conceit of incompetent amateurs. There was lack of 'musician's music', items were described as 'wishy, washy' and 'namby, pamby'. Adjudicators and competitors formed a 'mutual admiration society' and there was lack of training in music. On the other hand, some complained of the absence of Welsh songs, of the presence of English artists and the lack of music 'for the mass' in this allegedly Welsh festival.

Looking back at the Carmarthen Eisteddfod of 1867, it seems that certain major criticisms remain valid. The musical taste of the mid-Victorian period was represented at its worst. Even the recitals of Brinley Richards and his London artistes reflected contemporary popular fashion for drawingroom ballads, music hall turns and virtuoso performances.⁴⁵ The names of the great European composers hardly appeared on the programmes of Wales' national festival, while Welsh composers of instrumental and choral music capable of competing with the masters were virtually non-existent. The disciplined study of Welsh native and folk music had not yet reached fruition. National pride could not make up for the narrowness and ignorance of home-bred songsters. At best Owain Alaw, Ieuan Gwyllt and Llew Llwyfo were unskilled amateurs compared to Handel and Bach, Mozart, Beethoven and others. A thorough education in music in its varied aspects was not available. The

45. For a general introduction see *Music in England*, Eric Blom, Penguin.

musical renaissance which produced Stanford, Parry and Elgar in England and which was to influence Wales had not yet taken place.

The poetry produced for this and other eisteddfodau was also of poor quality. A modern critic and literary historian claims that the 'awdl' reached its lowest level at this time.⁴⁶ The stanzas already quoted in this article display the taste of the time for the affected and sentimental, the banal and the commonplace. Indeed much that was composed was almost incomprehensible. In some ways the Carmarthen Eisteddfod was just another 'grand show'. There was much lack of order and it was a cockpit of petty jealousy and parochial bitterness.

Nevertheless it did much to foster Welsh culture and was an important milestone in the history of a unique institution. Encouragement was given to study and research; the need for universal education was stimulated; works of scholarship emerged on Welsh history and antiquities, politics and religion, and contemporary social problems were given a thorough airing. We find, too, that the Eisteddfod worked hand in hand with learned societies, enjoyed the support of cultured clergy and gentry and was becoming more and more a *national* gathering with the leaders of nonconformity and radicalism as prominent participants. It kept alive what had commenced under royal patronage in Cardigan Castle in 1176. It recalled the gatherings of 'uchelwyr' at Carmarthen and Caerwys. It was inspired, too, by the meetings of bards and dilettanti in eighteenth century coffee-houses and taverns. Lastly it helped to hand down to us a national festival, held in great honour among all true Welsh people and making no distinction of party, class or creed.⁴⁷

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46. *Hanes Llenyddiaeth Gymraeg* gan Thomas Parry, Gwasg Prifysgol Cymru, Caerdydd 1944. See also *Safonau Beirniadu Barddoniaeth yng Nghymru yn y Bedwaredd Ganrif ar Bymtheg* gan H. Llewelyn Williams, Foyle. N.D.
47. For an outline of the history of the Eisteddfod see—*The Eisteddfod of Wales—A Handbook for the children of Wales (Eisteddfod y Cymry etc. . . .)* Hugh Evans, Liverpool. N.D.



Modes and Manners in Another Age

By T. L. EVANS, B.A.,

Queen Elizabeth Grammar School for Boys, Carmarthen.

RESearch into the history of the Queen Elizabeth Grammar School involved perusal of the *Carmarthen Journal* files and I found it impossible to ignore interesting items which were not relevant to my special field of enquiry. As a result I made copious notes on various facets of life in Carmarthen and district which present a picture, albeit incomplete, of life during the period from 1811 to 1835.

The Napoleonic Wars were a period of great stress and there was an appeal for money to buy barley for the poor. Four years later, in 1816, the Corporation subscribed £20 towards reducing the price of barley to the poor. Conditions had not basically improved by 1823, when the news was reported that a Carmarthen woman who had left her baby at home for a short while at Fountain Hall returned to find the child's head in the mouth of a half starved pig kept by neighbours. The child died in agony the following day and there was an outcry against the number of ravenous pigs in the town.

Poverty may have encouraged crime even though the penalties were severe, as illustrated by the sentences handed out by the Great Sessions in Carmarthen in 1819: Thomas Jenkins, stealing two horses—sentenced to death; John Rees, stealing clothes—death; Thomas Jones, stealing from a shop—transportation for seven years; David Evans, stealing sheets and blankets—death, but the sentence was expected to be commuted to transportation for life. There were more heinous crimes, for the resurrection men were busy in Laugharne in 1828 when they robbed the grave of the body of a crew member of the *Emma*, wrecked on Cefn Sidan. As Carmarthen was a busy seaport it is not surprising to find evidence of an ancient trade being practised, for in 1830 Charlotte Jones, one of the 'fair Cyprians' of the town preferred a complaint against William Brown one of her 'fancy men', for a violent assault.

Pistols for Two

The affluent had a much more comfortable time. County families had their town houses in Quay Street, King Street and Spilman Street for the winter season. According to a contemporary, the Rev. D. Archard Williams, it was to attract the support of the gentry that the political parties started two Hunts, the Red Coat Hunt, the hounds being kept in what became known as Red Street,

and the Blue Coat Hunt, the hounds of which gave their name to Blue Street. Winter balls were held in the larger hosteleries like the White Hart in Queen Street, tickets costing 7s. 6d., equal to a week's wage for a labourer. A pointer to the social importance of Carmarthen was an advertisement in the *Carmarthen Journal* in 1819 by the famous portrait painter Romney, whose price for painting a miniature on ivory was one guinea. He must have had great response, for he extended his stay by another week. That the gentry were *au fait* with manners as well as modes is illustrated by the account in 1819 of a duel; 'in consequence of a dispute Col. Gwynne of Glanbran Park in this County and Capt. Holford of the 1st Guards, a meeting took place on Thursday, 29th, when after an exchange of shots the seconds interfered and the parties shook hands'.

While there was the theatre to visit, a rarer occasion was the display of 'Chinese Fireworks' by Signor de Motram (from Vauxhall) held at the Waterloo Tennis Court on the Quay, prices of admission being two shillings for a box and one shilling for the pit. By 1821 there is evidence of a Reading Room; among the papers available were *The Courier*, *Star*, *Chester Chronicle*, *The Observer*, *Bath & Gloucester Journal*, *Bell's Weekly Messenger*, *John Bull*, *North Wales Gazette*, *True Briton*, *St. James Chronicle*, *Hereford Journal*, *Cheltenham Chronicle*, *The Cambrian* (Swansea), *Bristol Observer* and *Bristol Mercury*.

According to the Rev. Archard Williams, the Council, about 1826, followed the custom of beating the bounds and holding *pie poudre** courts at regular intervals, including one at Llanllwch bridge, where several baskets of apples were tilted into the stream for the urchins. Other Common Council activities were not always commendable, for it was a time when the Council sold off Corporate property and treated themselves to banquets. During the period there were frequent advertisements of the sale of municipal property, which was extensive on a Carmarthen map of 1785. According to Archard Williams, the outgoing Mayor, Capt. Davies, handed over a balance of fourpence when the Municipal Reform Act of 1835 came into operation. A sum of £2000 was spent on building a Dry Dock which was never used because the entrance was blocked by the constant accumulation of mud. Much money appears to have been squandered in civic and partisan litigation. On the credit side,

*Variants are *Piedpoudre* and *Piepowder* (from Old French *piepoudreaux*, a pedlar or petty chapman frequenting markets and fairs). It was a court of record by which the owner of a toll could, through his steward, make on-the-spot decisions regarding disputes and offences relating to fairs and markets.—Editor.

however, public works included the extension of the Quay, widening of the Bridge, and the building of a Borough gaol, slaughterhouse and workhouse.

In this period Carmarthen was a busy port, mainly concerned with the coasting trade with the major and many of the minor ports of Scotland, Ireland and England. During the week in which the Battle of Waterloo was fought on the 16th and 17th June, 1815, arrivals included one from Gloucester with salt, one from Swansea (sundries), two from Bristol, an important connection (sundries), one from Tenby (coal), one from Llanelly (coal), four from Kidwelly (coal). Departures included one for Newport, one for Cardigan, one for Kidwelly, one for St. Ives, one for Llanelly and eight for Bristol, among the cargoes being oats, timber and tinplates. Road transport was slow, uncomfortable and expensive. A single fare to London on the outside of the coach in the 1830s cost £1. 16. 0.; inside it cost £3. 12. 0. In 1834 the *Paul Pry* departed at 5 a.m. and reached Cheltenham at 7 p.m. for an overnight stop for London passengers. The *Picton* departed at 2 p.m. every day for Swansea via Kidwelly; the *Regulator* for Tenby and Haverfordwest every Monday, Wednesday and Saturday at 1.30 p.m.; the *Collegian* for Lampeter and Aberystwyth on Tuesday, Thursday and Saturday at 1.30 p.m.; the *Collegian* for Brecon, Hereford, Worcester and Birmingham on Tuesday, Thursday and Saturday at 1.30 p.m. All these coaches started at the Ivy Bush. Goods were often transported by wagon. The great impact on transport did not come until 1852, when the South Wales Railway was opened, one of its effects being the anglicising influence on the lower and middle classes who were Welsh-speaking or 'Cymro uniaith' as the editor of the *Carmarthen Journal* called them.

Slow Postman

The Post Office in 1822 was in Spilman Street. Two mails for London left every night at 9 o'clock, one through Swansea and the other through Brecon. Mails for Milford and Ireland left every morning at 4 o'clock. A horsepost left for Cardigan on Sunday, Tuesday, Wednesday and Friday mornings at 4.30, returning the same evening. Go-slow postmen were severely punished, as this 1819 report shows: 'On Saturday Sennight* the Postman conveying the mail from Aberystwyth to Aberayron was committed to the House of Correction for one month for loitering on the road and not performing his ride within the limited time.'

* That is 'On Saturday Week', sennight being a contraction of seven nights (cf. fortnight).

There is much information to be gleaned about education, though I shall refrain from quoting references to my own special field of study, the Queen Elizabeth Grammar School, which requires an article all to itself. In the primary sector it was decided on the 19th February, 1813 to form a Lancastrian School (I think boys of the present Penrepoeth School were called 'Lankies' in the 1930s), but the Royal Free School of the British and Foreign Schools Society had already been established and was teaching reading, writing and arithmetic. The young ladies had their own seminaries and were taught French, music, dancing and drawing. An interesting advertisement was that of M. W. Johns, who had a Classical, Commercial & Mathematical Academy in King Street in 1825. The subjects taught were : elocution, rhetoric, logic, versification and theme writing, orthography, mathematics, book-keeping, French, Italian, Spanish, Portuguese, German, Oriental languages, Latin, Greek and Hebrew. A formidable list, but I cannot vouch for the standard.

There are many interesting references to local industries. In November 1827 there appeared an advertisement which offered to let the Tin Mills, Charcoal Iron Furnace, Forge, Bar Iron & Rolling Mill, the 'country abounding in Ironstone, Cordwood and never failing supply of water (via Pondsides from the Gwili)'. On the same mill leet and contiguous to the Tin Mills was an ancient water corn grist mill, with four pairs of stones fully employed. Exaggerated claims were made for the quality of slates quarried in the neighbourhood ; geologically, they were semi-slates. An advertisement of the period refers to the Pant-y-glien Slate Quarry (largest slates 24" x 12") within quarter of a mile of Whitemill and on the Turnpike.

Among many random jottings reference may be made to the Bittern, span 3ft. 3ins., shot in Pembrey Woods ; and finally to an account of a poet who had imbibed too much wine. Returning from a fair, he fell into a ditch and could not get out. He called for help and when asked who was there he replied impromptu :

Twm o'r Nant mae cant yn fy ngalw
Ond Thomas Edwards yw fy enw
Y brandy goch a laddwys gant
Roes godwn teg i Twm o'r Nant.

A neat effort, considering his state and predicament.

William Jenkins Rees 1772-1855

William Jenkins Rees was a member of a notable family of scholars and publishers who brought more than a local renown to the little town of Llandovery in the nineteenth century. He was born the son of Rice Rees at Llandovery on the 10th January, 1772. After attending Carmarthen Grammar School, he went to Oxford and graduated from Wadham College in 1795, taking his M.A. degree in 1797.

Following ordination in 1796, he held curacies in Herefordshire during the next ten years and in 1806 became rector of Cascob in Radnorshire, where he spent the rest of his life. In 1820 he was made a prebendary of Christ College, Brecon. Although he spent much of his life away from his native county, he retained close family ties with the town of his birth and when his father died in 1826 he inherited property in Llandovery.

Rees was a man of great industry, whose letters form a large collection; in addition, he left a great output of printed works. Early among his published works was *A Short and Practical Account of Christianity* (1803), followed by essays on clerical elocution and pastoral work. But if he is remembered nowadays it is probably for his work as an editor for the Welsh MSS. Society, though his scholarship has since been criticised. He was, however, esteemed as an antiquary far beyond his adopted county of Radnor and in 1840 he was elected a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries. He should be remembered too for his part, with other clergymen, in giving new life to the Eisteddfod and reviving the Cymmrodorion Society.

In 1839, he inherited the task of editing an edition of the *Liber Landavensis* for the Welsh MSS. Society, a work left unfinished by the sudden death of his brilliant nephew, Rice Rees (1804-39), a professor and librarian at St. David's College, Lampeter, who had earlier written *The Welsh Saints*, long afterwards approved by J. E. Lloyd as a "full and luminous" essay. The new edition of the *Liber Landavensis*, which appeared in 1840, was printed by another nephew, William Rees (1808-73), who brought his measure of distinction to the Rees of Tonn family by printing many of the more important books of his time, including Lady Charlotte Guest's *Mabinogion* in three handsome volumes.

Rees later edited *The Lives of the Cambro-British Saints* for the Welsh MSS. Society, a work which was printed in 1853 by William Rees, who was responsible for bringing out all the society's books. But in neither case has his scholarship altogether stood the test of time, and had he been spared to enhance the brilliance of his early promise it is likely that his nephew, Rice Rees, would have been much more successful.

William Jenkins Rees died at Cascob on the 18th January, 1855, a week after his eighty-third year.

Apostle and Benefactor

Three and a half centuries ago a mercer's son who was to enrich the lives of his countrymen, though not with silks and fineries, was born in the town of Carmarthen. Like most of our knowledge of his early life, the year of his birth is uncertain, but it is generally thought to be 1622. He grew up to become an apostle and benefactor, but not without suffering the persecutions of an intolerant age. His name was Stephen Hughes.

He was the son of John Hughes, who was to be an alderman and, in 1650, mayor of Carmarthen, and it is possible that he was a pupil of the grammar school that had been founded by Queen Elizabeth in the town during the previous century. Little more is known about his activities until he received the living of Meidrim in 1654, though it is probable that he served earlier in the neighbouring parish of Merthyr. These livings he received following the ejection of the clergy during the earlier years of the Commonwealth, but after the Restoration it was the turn of Hughes and his fellow Dissenters to be ejected and he was deprived of his living in 1662. Later he married a devout and industrious woman in Swansea, where he settled for the rest of his life.

Despite his move to Swansea, Hughes continued to preach in Carmarthenshire, establishing new churches and tending those which he had set up earlier from about the year 1650. He travelled tirelessly all over the county and into south Cardiganshire, and among the congregations he gathered together were those at Carmarthen, Capel Isaac, Henllan, Pantteg, Pencader, Llanybri, Llanedi and Trelech. Most of the Congregational churches in the county are offshoots of these early foundations.

The first decade of the Restoration was a difficult one for Dissenters and meetings had perforce to be shrouded in secrecy, usually in remote places. Associated with Hughes during this period was the cave at Cwmhwplin near Llandysul. A story is told that while on his way to preach there he saw a company of people dancing in a field and to their leader he said, "If you will accompany me over the mountain, you shall have a better amusement than you can get here." The man accepted the invitation and was astonished to see so large a number in such an inhospitable place. Nevertheless, he was greatly affected and remained a follower of Stephen Hughes. But Hughes was always in fear of arrest, a fate which at last overtook him, with the result that he was incarcerated at Carmarthen "to the prejudice of his health and hazard of his life".

Educating the Peasantry

In the following decade, however, the laws against Dissenters were relaxed a little and in 1672 Hughes received a licence to be a Congregational teacher at Evan Morris's house in Llanstephan; it is claimed by some that this house was Pantyrathro, which name is said to be a corruption of *Pentre athraw*. It is probable that Hughes kept a number of schools during the years of the Commonwealth and perhaps earlier, for it was his purpose to educate the peasantry, a task he undertook with a dedication which matched that of Griffith Jones in the following century. To this end he published about twenty books in Welsh, some of which ran into several editions; at the end of many of them he printed the Welsh alphabet and simple aids aimed at assisting people to read. This was at a time when there were no printing offices in Wales, and prolonged visits to London had to be made to supervise the production of his works.

Hughes encouraged the more literate to teach their children and servants to read and persuaded many to teach their neighbours; he even succeeded in getting many to learn to read at forty or fifty years of age. To him we owe the appearance of Vicar Prichard's verses in print, for he realised the value of their simplicity and popular appeal. These he published in four parts over a period of years, but brought them into one volume in 1672; in 1681 he produced a further edition of this volume, which he named *Canwyll y Cymru* (The Welshman's Candle), by which title Vicar Prichard's verses have ever since been known. Having published a cheap edition of the New Testament and the Psalms in 1672, he was able in 1677 to fulfil his most earnest wish—the publication of the whole Bible in Welsh at a price which would ensure the widest distribution. This Bible was much better for accuracy and presentation than any other previously published in the language.

Although he received the aid, financial and otherwise, of Thomas Gouge, a Londoner whose Welsh Trust was the means of introducing benevolent works to Wales, Hughes spent much of his own resources in supporting these enterprises, which not only disseminated religious knowledge but helped to conserve the Welsh language; he was the foremost of his time in his efforts to preserve the native language and culture, which some would have allowed to suffer to the advantage of English.

In his work of bringing education to humble folk, Hughes anticipated Griffith Jones of Llanddowror, but his countrymen have not given him the same measure of recognition that has been lavished upon his more famous successor. In other respects the two men had

little in common: whereas Jones could be difficult and even cantankerous, Hughes was a modest and benign man who refused to be embittered by persecution and knew only that he must remain steadfast in his chosen work.

He died at Swansea in 1688—the year before the Toleration Act, which legalised Nonconformity—and was buried in St. John's in that town. No memorial marked his grave, but he is remembered as the Apostle of Carmarthenshire, who in his time was one of the great benefactors of his people.

* * *

Other anniversaries in 1972 are:

W. Llewelyn Williams (1868-1922), a native of Llansadwrn, member of Parliament, lawyer and author, best known for his books *'Slawer Dydd* and *The Making of Modern Wales*.

'Eliza Carmarthen' otherwise Eliza Phillips Williams (1825-72), daughter of a Carmarthen currier, whose shop was in King Street. An accomplished woman, she was famed for her poetic and musical talent. She died at Hirwaun, where her second husband, John Thomas, was curate, and was buried at Aberdare.

Titus Lewis (1822-77). Not to be confused with his more famous namesake, this Titus was a native of Llanelli who moved to Glamorgan, where he became an antiquary of much repute and was elected FSA. An authority on Welsh literature, he also wrote English verse, much of which was published. He died at Llanstephan.

Sir Richard Steele (1672-1729), literary luminary who spent his last years at Llangunnor and was buried in St. Peter's, Carmarthen.

Before It's Forgotten

A Famous Conductor

The enquiry by Mrs. C. Lewis, Gwynea, Llandeilo in Volume VII of *The Carmarthenshire Historian* regarding the history of the house known as New Inn on the outskirts of Llandeilo and on the road to Talley, prompts me to submit the following information.

During the nineteenth century a family named Wood lived there. In Llandeilo Parish Church there is a wall memorial in the nave inscribed

Sacred to the Memory of
John Wood of Cardiff
in the county of Glamorgan, Esquire
who died April 21, 1846
and was interred in the New Inn Vault
Underneath this Church.

Through the courtesy of Mr. D. J. Hughes, Churchwarden I was able to go down under the church, but there was no evidence of the New Inn Vault there.

Returning to the church itself it was good and pleasant to examine and admire a beautiful stained glass window in the Glan-cennen chapel, a triptych depicting Faith, Hope and Charity and inscribed

To the Glory of God and in Memory of
Edward Robert Wood
Born February 10, 1810
Died September 27, 1876.

The inscriptions and the nature of the memorials indicate that the family was an established and a landed one. This is further borne out by information concerning the family which I heard from the late Mr. Carey Morris, the Llandeilo artist. He recounted how at a musical conversazione in Chelsea early in this century he had met the conductor, Sir Henry Wood. When Mr. Carey Morris said he was from Llandeilo Sir Henry became very excited and asked for much information and explained that he had invariably spent his childhood holidays at Llandeilo with relatives, members of the Wood family, at New Inn.

I recall that the late Mr. Robert Morris, brother of the artist, had in his possession a large number of old parchments, maps, deeds, tithe returns etc. relating to the Wood family of New Inn.

EIRWEN JONES,
Noddfa,
Llandeilo.

A Carmarthen Oddity

'A few old Flemish houses may be observed in the more ancient parts of the town. Their characteristic feature is the awkward size and position of the chimney, which occupies a prominent position in the front wall. The Old Plough in Lamma Street . . . is a striking example.'

So wrote William Spurrell in *Carmarthen and Its Neighbourhood* when it was first published in 1860, and in view of its projected demolition to make way for a proposed new carriageway past Friar's Park to Blue Street one wonders whether the building shown in the accompanying picture and forming part of Bowen's Garage is the one to which Spurrell referred.

Older people will remember the Old Plough a couple of doors further west beyond the garage entrance, where there used to be a little shop in the end house before the street-line falls back to the Falcon Hotel. The name Old Plough painted on the wall of this house may still be discerned under later coats of paint.



Photo : V. G. Lodwick.

But a street plan (deposited in the County Record Office, Carmarthen) prepared in 1786 by T. Lewis in surveying property belonging to John Vaughan of Golden Grove describes the whole block of buildings between the access to Friar's Park and the Falcon Hotel as 'The Plow &c—Richard Archard'. It is therefore likely that Spurrell was referring to the building shown in the picture.

The building certainly has the 'characteristic feature' described by Spurrell, an additional curiosity being the display window which has been constructed in the chimney breast. It may have been refaced since Spurrell's time; otherwise the building seems to fit his description. But whether it is a 'Flemish house' is a question I leave to competent authority to answer, bearing in mind that somebody has more recently discounted the view that buildings of this type in south-west Wales are Flemish.

GWERNEN,
Carmarthen.

SKEEL GOES MARCHING ON

"I found this story most fascinating," writes Mr. A. L. Kipling of Aldershot in referring to an article in Volume VII of *The Carmarthenshire Historian* by Major Francis Jones, Wales Herald Extraordinary under the title 'Marching With Thomas Skeel', which incorporated the journal of an early nineteenth century soldier from Laugharne.

"As I am the Hon. Editor of the Journal of the Society for Army Historical Research, I would like very much to reprint it in this Journal," adds Mr. Kipling.

Permission to reproduce the article has been willingly granted—if only for the sake of Thomas Skeel. They say old soldiers never die, but Skeel, bless him, refuses to fade away too.

REVIEW

The Story of Carmarthen

By Joyce and Victor Lodwick

V. G. Lodwick & Sons Ltd., Carmarthen. £2.40

It is a pleasure to give a new welcome to the familiar and colourful jacket adorning Lodwick's *Story of Carmarthen*, this time enclosing a revised and enlarged edition which comes out just as *The Carmarthenshire Historian* goes to press.

Eighteen years have gone since Malcolm and Edith Lodwick's book was received with great interest and the new edition is assured of an equally enthusiastic reception. Carmarthen's recorded history extends over eighteen centuries and seventeen of these passed before William Spurrell brought out the first printed work concerning the town's story in 1860. In the relatively short period since the Lodwick family brought out their first book there have been changes which made the production of a new edition desirable, and at the same time the opportunity has been taken to expand the work, which now has nearly seventy more pages and twice as many illustrations.

Most important of the revisions is, of course, the chapter on Roman Carmarthen, which has been very largely re-written in consequence of the excavations of 1968-9 that demonstrated for all to see the freshly revealed significance of the site as a civil town as well as a military garrison. But throughout the book there are additions and deletions that enhance its original value and interest, though the format and arrangement of the chapters—which facilitate pleasurable browsing—are retained, yet even in the latter respect one or two new ones have been inserted.

Joyce and Victor Lodwick have undertaken their task with diligence and the result is commendable. A few familiar illustrations have disappeared, but many new ones swell the assorted wealth liberally distributed throughout the book. Some of the late Malcolm Lodwick's drawings are retained; the rest for the most part are from the pen of his wife, Edith Lodwick, whose work regularly graces the pages of *The Carmarthenshire Historian*.

The Story of Carmarthen is very much a family effort, having been written, illustrated, printed and published by the Lodwicks, who now take their place among the town's historians. One sees a steady demand for their book and there comes easily to mind the prediction that by next Christmas *The Story of Carmarthen*, newly garmented, will have spread far and wide.

Editor.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

'THE BEST HISTORIAN'

Sir,

Whilst in the remote country churchyard of St. Paulinus at Ystradffin, I observed the following monumental inscription relating to William Jones of Dalarwen, who died on the 9th October, 1880 at the age of 76 :—

Yr oedd yn darlennydd mawr yn meddu cof rhagorol ac yn hanesydd ac hynafiethydd lleol goeu yn ncheudir Cymru, yr oedd yn hollol hyddysg yn achau holl brif deuluoedd ein gwlad a'u gysulltiadau. Yr oedd hefyd yn wr o wybodaeth gyffredinol, a safai yn uchel ei barch yn y wlad.

which I translate as—

He was a prolific reader, with an excellent memory, and the best historian and antiquarian in South Wales, being fully conversant with the ancestors of all the noted families of our country and their associations. He was also a man of wide knowledge, and was greatly esteemed in the country.

This may perhaps be of interest to your readers, and it may be that there are some among them who could tell us more about this old genealogist.

DAVID OWEN,

114, Grand Drive, Raynes Park, London, S.W.20.

WHERE IS FOY?

Sir,

I understand that there is a photograph of Coalbrook House [Pontyberem] and information about it in *The Carmarthenshire Historian*, Volume III. Is it possible to obtain a copy? Coalbrook house was the home of my great-great-grandfather, Robert Rees.

If any of your readers know anything of the Rees family from 'Kilverry' (or Kilveiny), 'Kilymaenllwyd' [Pembrey] or 'Colebrook' I would like very much to hear from them.

Can anybody tell me the location of Foy? I think there is a church called St. Faith which at one time was Tyfoe. Perhaps St. Faith is called something else now.

(Mrs.) LILIAN REES SNYDER,

3323, South Utica Avenue, Tulsa, Oklahoma 74105, U.S.A.