

THE CARMARTHENSHIRE ANTIQUARY

THE TRANSACTIONS OF THE
CARMARTHENSHIRE ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY

TRAFODION
CYMDEITHAS HYNAFIAETHAU SIR GAERFYRDDIN



Editor
MURIEL BOWEN EVANS, M.A.

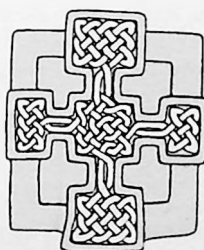
VOLUME (CYFROL) XXXVIII

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The Adams Family of Middleton Hall, Llanarthne

'Aspire, persevere and indulge not'

Conrad Davies

The first mansion at Middleton Hall was built by Henry Middleton who was High Sheriff of Carmarthenshire in 1644. It later passed by marriage to Thomas Gwynne of Gwempa. His eldest son Richard, who was High Sheriff in 1761, inherited the estate. Over the years the family accrued huge debts and in 1787 the estate was purchased by William Paxton. It was Paxton who built a new mansion designed by Samuel P. Cockerell¹ at a different site as a centrepiece of the great parkland landscaped by Samuel Lapidge and James Grier.^{2,3}

Paxton had nine children, yet the estate was offered for sale a few months after his death in 1824. It was bought by Edward Hamlin Adams, who took up residence in October 1825.

EDWARD HAMLIN ADAMS: THE EARLY YEARS

Edward Hamlin Adams was born in Kingston, Jamaica, in 1777. The Adams family from whom he was descended lived in Gloucestershire during the seventeenth century. The family was strong in its support of the monarchy at the time of the Civil War. When Cromwell prevailed many of the family emigrated to the West Indies and the North American colonies. Edward H. Adams claimed that he was a direct descendant of a Lieut. George Adams who had emigrated to the West Indies circa 1648. For several generations following, the Adams family were owners of a number of large sugar plantations in Barbados. The family kept in touch with their cousins in the North American colonies and retained their Royalist and pro-Stuart traditions.⁴

The Adams family intermarried with the Walronds and Maxwells, two other Royalist families, who had

likewise settled in the West Indies. The Walronds were related by marriage to Sir Jonathan Atkins, Kt., Governor of Barbados 1674-1680.⁵

Edward H. Adams was the younger son of William Adams (1729-1781) and his second wife Elizabeth Ann Coxeter. His personal journal provides a good insight into his early upbringing. Referring to the year following his father's death, he writes:

In conformity to my father's will I came to England in the ship *Jupiter* for my education with my mother and brother in the year 1782 and was placed at Mr. John Ward's School, Southampton, together with my brother. We left at 7th November 1789 and embarked from London on 17th November 1789 on the ship *Hibberts*, G. H. Mitchell master, and arrived at Port Royal, Jamaica, where my stepfather was stationed as assistant surgeon to the forces, on 7th January 1790 . . . I wished to be a merchant but could not obtain an eligible situation wherefore I articted myself to Mr. Thomas Cockburn an attorney at law in Kingston with whom my brother had already been fixed.⁶

At this time Edward H. Adams was only some 14 years old but was already ambitious to succeed in life. His training in law was interrupted in 1795, soon after the death of his brother, William Maxwell, at the age of 20, when he was invited to visit his cousin Thomas Maxwell Adams at his estate in Barbados called Adams Castle. This cousin was obviously influential and through his good offices Edward Adams hoped still to realise his ambition of becoming a merchant. Moreover, he had

hopes of inheriting his great great-uncle Maxwell's estates and trusted his cousin could also promote his interests in this direction. His cousin directed him to visit Philadelphia.⁷

By the mid-eighteenth century Philadelphia had become the largest and most important port in the American colonies with 65 docks along the west bank of the Delaware River. It was a major port of immigration, accepting equally large numbers of German, Scots and Irish. It was also a thriving port used for the transport of agricultural products from Maryland, Pennsylvania, New Jersey and Delaware to Europe and the West Indies. Other ships brought manufactured goods from Europe. Here also the founding fathers had framed and signed the constitution of the United States eight years earlier.⁸ It was an ideal place for an aspiring merchant to seek experience.

At Philadelphia he met Miss Amelia Sophia Macpherson, to whom he was married on 15th January 1796. She was the daughter of Captain John Macpherson, descended from the chief of the clan Macpherson and Mary Anne Macneal, descended from the head of clan McChattan. Adams returned to Barbados in May of the same year, leaving his young wife with her mother. Here he learnt that he had no title to the Maxwell estate that he had expected to inherit. Moreover, his cousin, whom he regarded as his mentor, had decided to leave Barbados and settle in Scotland.

Thus I beheld myself in a moment beggared in a strange country with a wife to support and just 19 years old. My cousin advised me to become a barrister in Barbados but on his departure on 3rd July 1796 I clearly saw there was no scope for energy in that land. Therefore I left it on 4th November in the Sandwich Packet, Capt. Tilly, and arrived at Jamaica on 17th November 1796.⁹

Edward H. Adams then entered the counting house of Atkinson, Mure and Boyle. However, Mrs Adam's maternal uncle, Lochlen Macneal, returned to Jamaica with a fortune made in Domingo where he had been acting as agent for Atkinson, Mure and Boyle. Macneal requested Adams to visit America in order to settle business matters. Adams then left for Georgia, South Carolina, Virginia and Pennsylvania, later returning to Jamaica.

His wife Amelia Sophia, who had after the marriage remained with her mother at Philadelphia, joined him in Jamaica in 1800 and he was made a partner in the firm of Atkinson, Mure and Boyle on 1st January 1807.

On 25 September following my first darling child Mary Ann was born. Edward was born 28 April 1809. On 31 January 1811 Sophie was born but died on 11th November following. On 11 April 1812 Caroline was born at Kingston Jamaica . . . On 29th January 1814 the whole of us embarked from Old Harbour on the Ship Ocean arriving at Bristol 1st September following where at Reeves Hotel on 15th Sept William was born. Matilda was born at No 19 Gower Street, Bedford Square at 3 a.m. on 20 December 1815.¹⁰

On settling in England, Edward H. Adams and his family took a large house in Bath. Writing in 1819 he declares that in retrospect he was blessed not to have inherited his great great-uncle Maxwell's estate. He reckoned that he would only have been worth one-fifth of his fortune in 1819 and that the whole of that would have been abroad in the West Indies.

It is evident that he had amassed a very large fortune between the time he wrote as a 19 year old that he was 'beggared in a strange country' and the time he wrote in 1819 as a 42 year old. Nowhere in his journal does he indicate how or where he had made his fortune. During the post-American War of Independence era merchants were engaged in a contraband trade with the Americans in contravention of the Navigation Act which forbade trade with the United States. Americans whose ships were registered before the Declaration of Independence in 1782, and were still in law British subjects, conducted a most lucrative illegal trade with the West Indian islands. It is very likely that Adams was involved in this trade. A decade earlier Nelson had been active in trying to enforce the Navigation Act.¹¹ It has been suggested by Adams's granddaughter, Violet Paget,¹² that he had made much of his fortune by questionable commercial practices during the Napoleonic Wars.

EDWARD H. ADAMS AT MIDDLETON HALL

On 4th October 1825 Edward H. Adams and his family moved to live at Middleton Hall, Llanarthne, which he had purchased shortly after the death of Sir William Paxton in 1824. At the time the estate consisted of

The magnificent mansion, Middleton Hall, adapted for the accommodation of a nobleman or family of the first distinction . . . seated in a

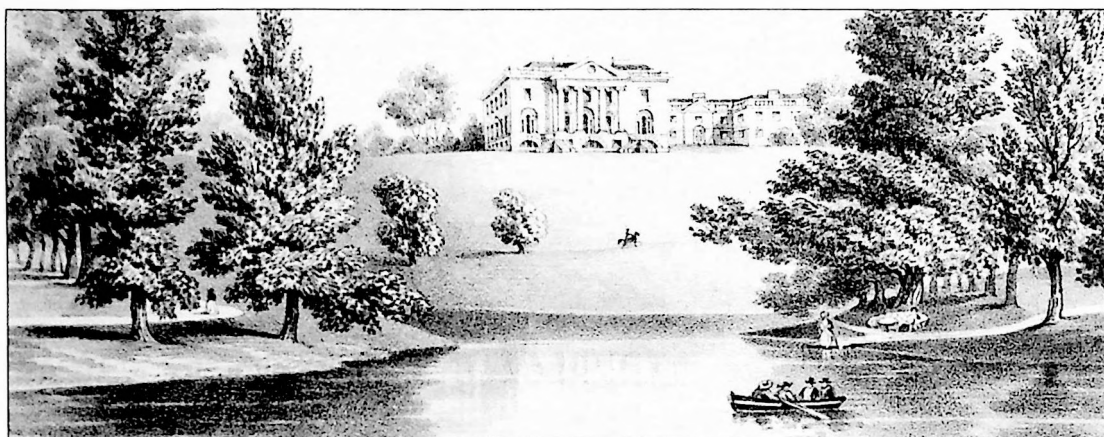


Fig. 1. Middleton Hall Back View: The Seat of Edward Abadam, 1853. Lithograph by Augustus Butler.

Park . . . an extensive lake . . . shady groves and walks, carriage drives and rides, hot and cold chalybeate and vapour baths; capital and extensive range of attached and detached offices – coach house, stable and outbuildings, farmyard and farm buildings, an excellent and extensive Walled Garden, well planted Hot House, Conservatory, Green House, Grapery, Orchards etc. . . . Desirable residence or Home Farm and nearly Two thousand, six hundred and fifty acres . . . with a beautiful Tower erected to the Memory of the Noble Hero, Lord Nelson . . . the Mail Coach passes from London to Carmarthen at Two o'clock and returns at Ten o'clock in the evening.¹⁵

In addition to the Middleton Hall estate Adams possessed land and other interests in the West Indies. Eventually he owned other farms in Carmarthenshire and Glamorganshire,¹⁴ with mining rights together with some houses in Swansea.¹⁵ He also had a large capital sum in Mexican funds.¹⁶

By this time he had realised his first ambition in life – to become a successful merchant and a financial success. He now turned his attention to his second ambition, namely to gain a peerage. It is clear from his journal that this was a consuming passion in his life. He writes at great length attempting to explain and to justify this great desire:

Nothing, indeed but a little (*sic*) I am convinced can ever form a lasting duration for a family great-

ness or ever retain wealth to it and nothing but it (a peerage) will take individuals out of the common herd of mankind . . . It is not this flip-pant vanity that I yearn a little but on account of its intrinsic qualities and reproductive powers.

The same may be said as to rank – Heredity. Rank is so allowing that men in themselves and at all sapient, though without riches, will always obtain in marriage the most desirable women that possess riches.

Adams continues in this vein, concluding by charging his heirs to:

. . . zealously complete the undertaking that I with so much labour, privation, pride and parental solicitude auspiciously begun and rendered easy and pleasant to them to finish . . . One last adieu, shun a gambler, dice, bets, cards, lotteries, horseracing, cock fighting and all games of chance whereby money is to be won or lost – and rather make a present than ever be any man's bail or security.¹⁷

He constantly referred to the family motto: *Aspire, persevere and indulge not*.

Edward H. Adams's dreams for his family were never realised and he would have been devastated had he known that the male line of the family would die out with his own grandchildren. His wife Amelia Sophia died at Florence on 22 April 1831 aged 55 and was buried there.¹⁸

Edward and Sophia Adams had six children.

1. Mary Anne, their eldest daughter, born in Jamaica in 1807, married Thomas Cuff of Bath at Batheston in 1823. She had three sons, Thomas, Edward Adam and Alfred. Mary Anne died at the age of 25 at Madeira and is buried there. According to her father's will¹⁹ the three sons were to benefit substantially at his death but the legacy was conditional on the three grandsons adopting the surname Adams. Accordingly it was announced in the *Gazette* of 22 August 1842 that Thomas Cuff, Edward Adams Cuff and Alfred Cuff had been granted the Queen's authority to adopt the name Adams.
2. Edward, the elder son, was born in Jamaica in 1809. He married Louisa Taylor in 1841 and inherited the Middleton Hall estate at the death of his father in 1842. He had seven children (of whom more later).
3. Sophia was born in Jamaica in January 1811 but died the following November.
4. Caroline, the third daughter, was the last of the children to be born in Jamaica. She married Captain

- Charles Augustus Brooke, son of Sir Joseph Brooke, Bt. of County Tipperary at Coolock Church, Co. Dublin on the 29th September 1859. They had one daughter, Caroline Augusta Octavia. Captain Brooke died in 1861. Caroline and her daughter lived at Middleton Hall for some considerable time afterwards. She died there on 1st May 1873.
5. William, the younger son, who was born at Bristol in 1814, married Agnes, the youngest daughter of Captain Jump R.N. at Walcot Church, Bath in May 1835. His wife was described by one of her nieces as 'an impecunious watering-place belle'.²⁰ They had one daughter, Pauline.
6. Matilda, the youngest daughter, was born in London in 1815. She attended a school for young ladies at Bedford Square. She married a Captain Lee Hamilton, by whom she had one son, James Eugene. Her husband died in 1852. Matilda then moved to France in order to 'avoid the English Sunday'.²¹ She was accompanied by her brother William, who by this time was married. In 1855 Matilda married Henry

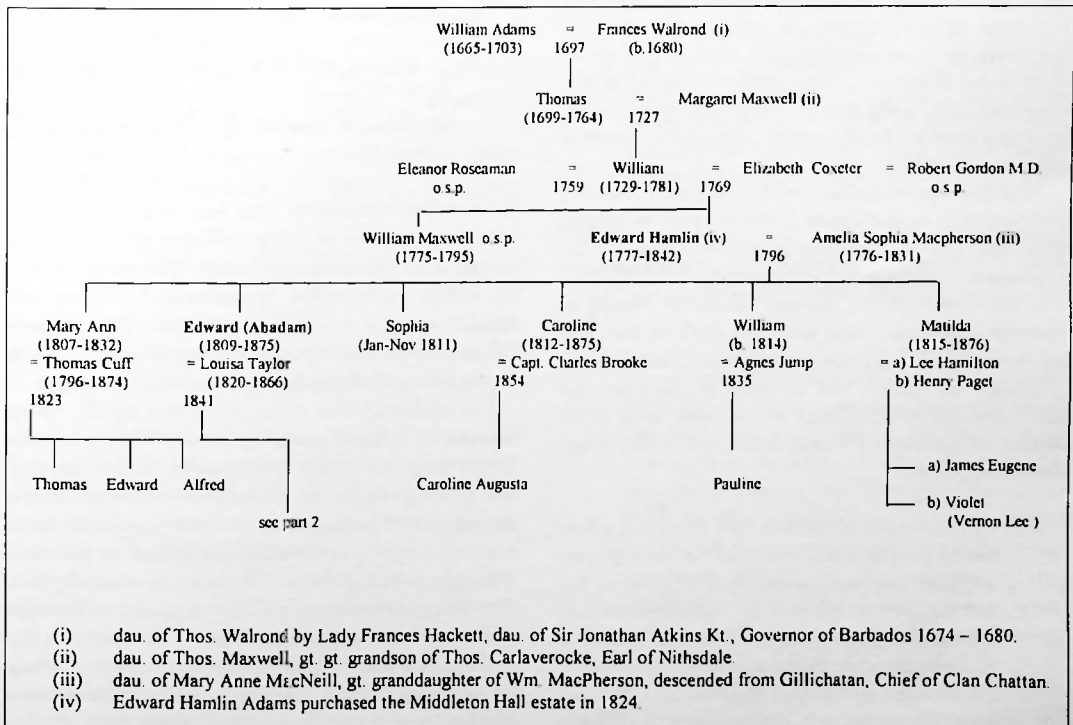


Fig. 2. The Adams Family of Middleton Hall, Part 1.

Ferguson Paget, who for some years had been tutor to her son Eugene. They had one daughter, Violet, born in 1856, who later became a very successful authoress and literary critic, writing under the pseudonym 'Vernon Lee'.²²

The year following the death of his wife Edward H. Adams entered politics and in 1832 he was High Sheriff of Carmarthenshire. The Reform Act of 1832 granted the county two Members of Parliament rather than one, and Adams was elected in January 1833, together with G. R. Rice Trevor of Dynevor. He did not seek re-election in 1835.

Adams's election address, published 17 August 1832,²³ emphasises his very radical political views at that time. He regarded himself as a 'sincere and genuine reformer'. He proposed the 'abolition of all monopolies and sinecure appointments' and the advance of civil and religious liberty. He also advocated the abolition of 'Negro slavery'. He had, of course, had direct experience of slavery during his early years in the West Indies. His extreme radical views are difficult to reconcile with his earlier, almost paranoid, obsession with obtaining all the privileges associated with elevation to the peerage. His eloquent opposition to the established church lost him the support of Sir James Williams of Edwinstow who had previously supported him.²⁴ The general conduct of this election generated great acrimony between candidates, so typical of Carmarthenshire.

As a Member of Parliament Adams found a dining companion in Lewis Weston Dillwyn²⁵ who, in parallel with him, had become one of the two members for Glamorgan in the Reform Parliament of 1832. Dillwyn was the owner of the famous Cambrian Pottery at Swansea. They were both successful business men and represented the Whig party, sharing radical, liberal ideals.

Edward H. Adams was eccentric in character and held views that were certainly at odds with many of his landed neighbours. His granddaughter Violet Paget described him as:

... extremely doctrinaire and moral, an ardent Voltarian who spent much of his time disputing with the local parsons and refusing to pay tithes ... A martinet of the eighteenth century mercantile school, who soon found himself at loggerheads with all the land-owning 'County'. He brought up his sons (Edward and William) according to his own rigorous ideas, forbidding them to enter the army, the church or univer-

TO THE
**Independent Electors
OF THE COUNTY
OF
CARMARTHEN.**

GENTLEMEN,

A REQUISITION having been made to me for the purpose, by a numerous and respectable body of Electors, I beg to offer myself as a CANDIDATE for the honour of being one of your REPRESENTATIVES in the ensuing Parliament: and I seek your suffrages as a man of Independent Principles, and as a sincere, genuine Reformer, who has in view the UTTER ABOLITION of all MONOPOLIES and SINECURE APPOINTMENTS, to LESSEN the TAXES, to REPEAL those LAWS which fetter the Industry, Capital, Agriculture and Commerce of the State, to ABOLISH NEGRO SLAVERY, and especially, to advance CIVIL and RELIGIOUS LIBERTY,—the opportunity to accomplish all of which objects is now completely opened to us by the Reform Bill, enabling the Nation to form a House of Commons wholly composed of Members devoted to those purposes; but that great advantage will be entirely lost to this County, if, by electing one Anti-Reformer or supporter of present Burdens and Oppressions to be either of our Members, we enable him to oppose and to thwart the exertions of our other Member in obtaining a redress of grievances: for, the vote of the one would be continually counterbalanced by that of the other; and the voice of the County be thereby rendered as absolutely of no effect whatsoever in determining any question before Parliament, as if we had no Member at all to represent us.

On every subject, I consider it to be the duty of a Representative to abide by the wishes, and to strive to obtain the objects, of his Constituents;—so that my vote in Parliament would always be regulated by your sentiments, whereby I should hope my conduct would invariably meet with your approbation, which, would be the highest object of my ambition.

I have the honour to be,

GENTLEMEN,

Your obedient humble servant,

EDW. H. ADAMS.

Middleton Hall, August 17th, 1832.

Fig. 3. (Courtesy of Carmarthenshire Record Office).

sity, since he regarded all professions as equally corrupt.²⁶

Since he died before Violet Paget was born she must have formed these views of her grandfather from what she learned from her mother and uncle William, to whom her mother was very close. Moreover, both William and Matilda were on very poor terms with their brother Edward, whom they regarded as a chip off the old block, having inherited all his father's worst characteristics.

The Middleton Hall estate deteriorated rapidly during Edward H. Adams's years, so that by 1841 it was no longer the pleasure park developed by Samuel Lapidge and James Grier for Sir William Paxton. Many of the innovative buildings, such as the chalybeate bathhouses, had deteriorated and some had disappeared by this date. The farm buildings were in a very poor state of repair. The estate farms were also badly neglected and one in particular had not been farmed for four years.²⁷

Despite Adam's lack of interest and neglect of much of the estate, he was acquisitive of land. The Returns of Owners of Land, England and Wales 1873 showed Adams to possess the following land:



Fig. 4. *Edward Hamlin Adams: Engraving by D. Lucas, 1828.*
(Courtesy of Carmarthenshire Record Office).

Owner	Address	Extent of Land	Gross Rental
CARMARTHENSHIRE			
Abadam, Edward	Llanarthney	2,445ac 3r 4p	£2,191-6-0
Ap Adams	Llanarthney	133ac 3r 6p	£56

GLAMORGANSHIRE			
Abadam, Edward	Middleton Hall		
	Llanarthney	93ac 2r 24 p	£90
Abadam, E. H.	Middleton Hall		
	Llanarthney	567ac 1r 31p	£45
Mr. Adams	Llandilo	20ac 3r 15p	£12

Most of the land purchased in Glamorganshire was of a low rental value and possibly purchased as a speculative investment with mineral rights. Much of it was in the Swansea valley, and laid waste agriculturally by its proximity to industrial pollution.²⁸

Whilst showing no enthusiasm for farming, he took a great interest in horses. The estate was equipped with fine stables for 22 horses, a box stable, two large coach houses and a harness room. In front of the stables was a yard with a covered ride. During his time of residence at Bath, prior to purchasing the Middleton Hall estate, he had been a keen steeplechase follower. In 1832 he

was, with Sir James Williams of Edwinstford, steward for the Carmarthen Races held on the 12th and 13th of September.²⁹ His two sons were much involved with horse racing in Bath.³⁰

Adams's earlier exhortations regarding horse racing seem to be forgotten by now and are symptomatic of the many contradictions in his personality.

His youngest grand-daughter Alice recounted that horses played a considerable part in the family's daily life, each child having its own riding horse.

The carriage horses were always de rigueur bright bay with black points. They were housed with some degree of luxury, and each horse had hanging over his head in the stall a wooden label setting forth his name, height, birth-date and parentage. When any tenant, cottager or workman was ill or had met with an accident he could always rely on it that a groom on horseback would be sent post haste to fetch our family doctor, a matter of great necessity before telegrams or telephones. We had special ponies, which fetched our posts from Llandilo, our nearest post town, and later in the day took our post bag back with the letters. When our horses ended their lives of service they were given honourable burial in a part of the Park called Waunlas (Blue Meadow) because of the masses of blue hyacinths that grew there.³¹

During the latter years of his life Edward H. Adams suffered a number of strokes and undoubtedly his eldest son became increasingly involved in estate matters. He died:

... 23 minutes before 2 o'clock on June 2nd 1842 'in the room there numbered and called Mr. Edward's study being the front room downstairs on the left hand side as you enter the large Hall ... at the foot of the great staircase in which he then slept both to avoid the inconvenience of going upstairs and because the house was being repaired, in the presence of and attended by myself (Edward Adams junior), John Hemberry his own constant and personal attendant and William Glanville his butler'.³²

The following account of the funeral appeared in the *Carmarthen Journal*:

On Friday last the remains of the late Edward Hamlyn (*sic*) Adams Esq. of Middleton Hall . . . after having lain in state the previous week, were conveyed to the new family vault in Llanarthne churchyard, where the coffin was placed in a stone chest which was made by Mr. David James, stone-mason of this town. The body was borne on a car, drawn by four horses, and covered with a very handsome velvet pall, on which was emblazoned the deceased's escutcheon. The funeral was attended by nearly 150 of the tenantry and neighbouring gentlemen. The whole line of the road was densely crowded by persons of all classes, anxious to pay the last tribute to their late friend and benefactor. The funeral was ably conducted by our respected townsman Mr. W. G. Jones, Anchor House.³⁵

His son Edward describes how he was buried on the 10th of June in a vault constructed under the large yew tree on the north side of Llanarthne Church.

The coffin was placed in the north-west corner of the vault, the head being to the west and feet to the east towards Nelson's tower and the stream (the Gwynnon) that flows from and through the Middleton Hall grounds at a distance of only yards from his feet.³⁴

The vault itself has wooden doors at the end of a short arched passageway covered over outside with many steps leading to the top of the vault.³⁵ A tablet to the memory of E. H. Adams was erected in Llanarthne parish church in 1843.

Adams left all his children well provided for and according to his will, dated 12th May 1841, his estate was divided into eleven equal parts, two each to his two sons, two living daughters and one each for his three grand-sons by Mary Ann Cuff.

EDWARD ABADAM

Edward Abadam was the eldest son of Edward H. Adams. He adopted the Welsh patronym Ab soon after his father's death, on account of his belief that his family was descended from a Lord Abadam of Beverston Castle in Gloucestershire. He spent a great deal of his time and much of his family fortune trying to find proof of



Fig. 5. View of the Adams family vault at St. David's Church, Llanarthne. A number of the steps slide outwards allowing access to the vault.

unbroken descent from this Abadam and of royal descent. He finally produced a long family genealogy under the title 'Royal Descent of Edward Adams Esq.',³⁶ tracing his ancestors to Pepin the Old, Mayor of Austria, who died in 639 A.D., through all the kings of England from Edward III and Henry I and earlier back to Charlemagne:

Now, February 1860, having proved our noble descent through Lord Abadam and the long use of that name in our own Family I have resumed and sign it

Edw. Abadam 14th July 1863 (*sic*).³⁷

Following this, by 1865 he had acquired his coat of arms



Fig. 6.

which included, on banners on either side of the shield, part of his genealogy as far back as Maxwell through eleven generations.

The response of his niece Violet Paget to his claim of royal lineage was

I am not descended from the 'Kings of England till Edward III, the Counts of Flanders and Hainault and many Kings of France' – I fear not – only from a few inhuman and often rather drunken Jamaican planters.³⁸

It is now generally agreed that the concept of pre-Conquest descent can no longer be entertained.³⁹ In addition to the Adams family claims of Royal descent, claims have also been made to common ancestry with President Adams of the United States of America. This claim, although widely reported, is not proven.⁴⁰

Edward Abadam's family lived in Bath for about sixteen years before moving to Middleton Hall. Little is known of his early education but as a young man he spent some time in France when he studied the works of Rousseau and Voltaire. He described himself as a rationalist and free-thinker. Around 1840 he met a Miss Louisa Taylor.

Refusing to recognise any religious ceremonies he persuaded Miss Taylor to forgo the marriage ceremony and his eldest child Lucy Caroline (born 1840) was illegitimate. After her birth it was pointed out to him that illegitimate children could not inherit the estate.⁴¹

Edward Abadam and Louisa Taylor were married at the Parish Church of St Marylebone on the 18th November 1841.⁴² Afterwards Abadam went to considerable lengths to obscure the date of their marriage and hence the question of the legitimacy of his first daughter. The date of marriage that invariably appears in records is 1836.⁴³ Louisa Taylor was born in 1820 and she was described on her marriage certificate as being of 'full age', and a daughter of John Taylor of York, gentleman.

Shortly before his death Abadam's father had appointed Thomas Herbert Cooke as Forester and Estate Agent. Cooke was a Northamptonshire man of great experience who was to receive a salary of £200 per annum. It was common practice at that time for Welsh landowners to employ managers from Scotland and England.⁴⁴

This appointment is noteworthy because Cooke

regularly corresponded at length with his mother and brother in Northamptonshire. A large number of these letters survived and are now at the National Library of Wales.⁴⁵ These letters provide an invaluable insight into Cooke's relationship with his most eccentric employer and to life on the estate during his six years at Middleton Hall. He arrived at Middleton Hall in late August 1841.

Coming from a devout Anglican background, Cooke's experiences of the Adams family and of his new environment were something of a culture shock. He complained that, apart from the servants, none attended any place of worship and furthermore they were extreme Radicals. Most of the tenants spoke no English and all of the services at his parish church were conducted entirely in Welsh.

In December he wrote that Mr. Adams was not expected to 'live one day after another'. However, Adams did recover and lived until the following June. On 8th May 1842 Cooke first expressed his views on Edward Abadam:

... the life of the elder Mr. Adams hangs as it were by a thread ... then may I mention to you the somewhat extraordinary character of his eldest son, the one with whom I have every sort of business to transact; he knows but little or nothing of business, detests farming, is meanly suspicious of every living creature, is an infidel and frequently a scoffer of religion, is fickle and capricious in the extreme and exceedingly irritable ... He is certainly the most difficult subject you can well imagine or that I have ever had to deal with ... The whole family believe that there is no punishment hereafter – they evidently do not know Sunday from a weekday ... they are all violent enemies of the Church and particularly to tythes and parsons, never paying any taxes but such as they are well aware would soon be enforced.⁴⁶

This was the picture that Cooke drew of Abadam and his family with whom he had to work until he left in 1847. Relationships did not improve and his stay at Middleton Hall was not a happy one. Because of this his frequent and lengthy correspondence with his mother and brother was important to him. In one letter he exclaims 'praise be to the penny post'.

During the Napoleonic wars farming had enjoyed a period of marked, if artificial, prosperity accompanied

by increased rents. Landlords were most reluctant to reduce these rents in the post-war slump. Abadam was one of the most reluctant and Cooke had great difficulty in renting the estate farms. He wrote:

... and now the bad times and low prices again beset me in my farming affairs reminding me of former misfortunes. These joined to Mr A's (*sic*) downright abhorrence of farming ...⁴⁷

Additionally, 'Rebecca' was extremely active in the Llanarthne and Llanddarog area during 1843 and seriously disrupted work on the estate. One of Rebecca's major causes was the high rents imposed on tenant farmers. Rebecca carried on a personal vendetta against Cooke and pressed on Abadam to get rid of him. On the 24th of August 1843 Cooke, in a letter to his mother, wrote:

... every night I go to bed I lay three loaded pistols within reach also a brace of swords and a dagger.⁴⁸

Abadam's daily pattern of life made Cooke's efforts to organise his work most difficult:

The hours he (Abadam) keeps and expects me to keep are most abominable. For many nights in succession we are up all night till 3 or 4 in the morning and when I leave him he takes coffee and smokes cigars frequently till 6 or 7 after which he goes to bed and sleeps till 2 in the afternoon and then gets up fresh for 10-12 hours.⁴⁹

Despite this neglect of the farms on the estate Abadam spent extravagantly on other matters. During 1843-44 he was complaining to Cooke that his means were diminished and wanted to reduce Cooke's salary or even dispense with his services altogether. At the same time he had the expense of maintaining two establishments besides Middleton Hall, an expensive lodging in Regent's Park and a house at Clifton. The mansion was undergoing expensive improvements, especially the interior, using London painters, paperhangers from Bristol and a legion of masons, carpenters and labourers. Outside there was extensive laying of lawns and flowerbeds, together with new walks, driveways and approaches to the Hall. New furniture was purchased together with a number of new carriages.⁵⁰ Much of the furniture was



EDWARD ABADAM, SENR.
MIDDLETON HALL, CARMARTHENSHIRE.

Fig. 7. Edward Abadam's bookplate, 1865.

embellished with the family crest. He also modified the crest for use as a bookplate.⁵¹

During this period Clearbrook Cottage, a large house nearby, was being renovated, a new house was being built at Brynhawddgar and, considerably later, another at Gwynnondale. These three properties were used at different times by members of the family. He also built a large new house at Lan Farm with a view to persuading Cooke to take over the farm and forego his salary.⁵² This spending spree was undertaken in the first few years after his father's death.

During this period of continuing low returns from farm rentals and his profligate spending Abadam would have appreciated the value of the timber on his estate. The *Carmarthen Journal* of 2 May 1862 carried the following notice:

Sale of Timber at Boar's Head on 10/5/62 from Heolfawr, Pistyll dewy, Wick, Gelludu fawr, Gelludu fach, part of Middleton Hall estate.

Suitable for ship building, colliery and railway purposes. David Jones, the Woodward of Middleton Hall, will show the different lots.

Lot 1	Heolfawr Wood	17 oak timber trees, 4 firs and 315 poles
Lot 2	Pistyll dewy Wood	106 oak timber trees, etc. (ash, fir, etc.)
Lot 3		100 oak timber trees, etc.

Lot 4	90 oak timber trees, etc.
Lot 5	110 oak timber trees, etc.
Lot 6	6 oak timber trees, etc.
Lot 8 Wick Farm	92 oak timber (those marked with red paint reserved)
Lot 9 Gelludu Fawr Wood	450 oak, ash and other poles

Lot 10 Gelludu Fach Wood	and dingle 76 oak timber trees, 412 oak poles (those marked with red paint reserved).
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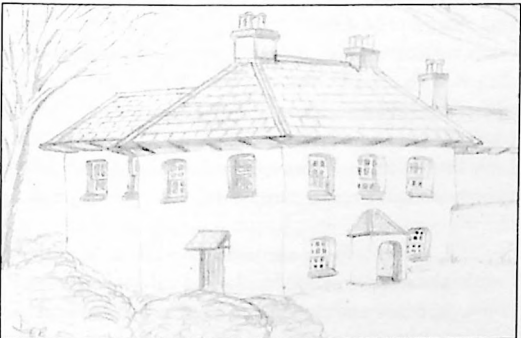
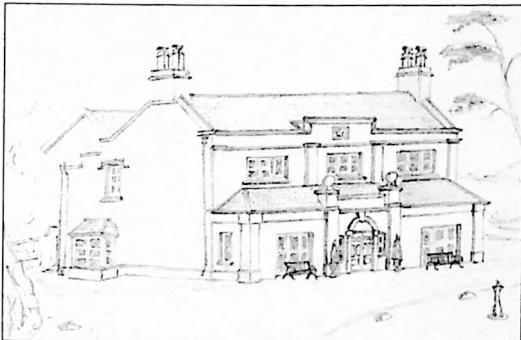


Fig. 8. The three estate houses, top to bottom: Clearbrook Hall, Brynhaudgar and Gwynnondale. Sketches by D. Eirwyn Bennett.

As well as his extravagant spending on the mansion and park, Abadam had undertaken two further activities which contributed to a drastic reduction in the family fortunes. His attempts at establishing his 'Royal Descent', mentioned earlier, had been very costly. Very soon after inheriting the estate he had the bizarre idea of challenging the legitimacy of his brother William's offspring. This legal battle was fought in a Chancery action. The unpleasant case *Abadam v. Abadam* dragged on for many years and was not finally settled until 1860. Edward lost the case and the enormous cost fell on the estate. His youngest sister Matilda supported her brother William in this dispute and Edward turned on her also and questioned the legitimacy of her children. To emphasise his displeasure he, as a trustee, held back the inheritance due from her father's estate.³¹ This unsavoury action of Edward Abadam is made more reprehensible when one remembers that his own first daughter was born out of wedlock.

Abadam was elected High Sheriff of Carmarthenshire in 1855, a post his father had held in 1831. He did not aspire to become a Member of Parliament, perhaps he realised that his lack of funds would make this impossible. We know that he was active in support of his father's election campaign in 1832. During that election Abadam, some suggest on his father's behest, took great offence to some remarks made by a Llandeilo solicitor, Leyson Lewis, on the hustings. A prolonged exchange of letters ensued involving Johnnes of Dolaucothi, William Chambers of Llanelly House and others. Ultimately Abadam did not obtain satisfaction and copies of a notice were displayed at Llandeilo and Carmarthen declaring Lewis to be a coward.³²

Although his father did not contest the 1835 election Abadam produced a seditious pamphlet which must have riled his land-owning neighbours. In it he encouraged tenants to fight for a free vote, pointing out that at that time the landowners had a great need to retain their tenants since farms were difficult to let. The pamphlet was signed 'Iorwerth fab Adda'.³³

A number of contemporary reports in the *Carmarthen Journal* and *The Welshman* illustrate Abadam's complex and often contradictory character. An account in *The Welshman* in July 1847 notes a:

Mr. EDWARD ADAMS, Junior, of Middleton-Hall, having personally, as well as through his friend, repeatedly and unsuccessfully required from Mr. LEYSON O. LEWIS, of Llandilo, the satisfaction due to a Gentleman, is desirous of thus publicly holding him up to the contempt of the world, and of declaring him to be a Coward.

Middleton Hall, December 31st, 1862

PRINTED BY J. P. DAVIES, KING-STREET, CARMARTHEN.

Fig. 9. (Courtesy of the National Library of Wales).

ANERCHIAD

AT

ETHOLWYR SIR GAERFYRDDIN

YN

PLEIDIO Y TUGEL,

GAN

DDIWYGIWR TEYRNGAROL,

A

CHYFAILL I'R YMNEILLDUWR
A'R FFARMWR,

SEF

EDWARD ABADAM.

FOR CIRCULATION*

CAERFYBDDIN:

ANGRAFFWYD GAN EDWARD JOSEPH, SWYDDFA'R "REPORTER."

1835.

Fod i chwí gyrhaedd y dyben hwn, a thrwy gyfrwng y TUGEL sicrháu i chwí y rhagorffraint hono ag sydd mor anwyl i galonau pob Brython rhydd-anedig, sef yr hawl i gael eich cynrychioli yn deg a gonest yn y Senedd, yw dymuniad didwyl

Eich Cyfaill gwirioneddol a'ch Brawd Etholwr,

IORWERTH FAB ADDA.

Fig. 10. Address to the voters of Carmarthenshire, 1835. (Courtesy of Carmarthenshire Record Office).

... gathering of the Tectotallers at Nelson's Tower, Middleton Hall Park, to celebrate the anniversary of the Coronation of our gracious Queen and to advocate their high moral and religious principles ... hoisting the flag ... band ... numerous gay and respectable assemblages quickly mustered. E. H. Adams accompanied by his lady and lovely family ... Proceedings of the meeting were opened by Rev. J. Morgan Williams of Margam Cottage, chair taken by Richard Williams Esq. of Gellydeg ... Welsh ministers made powerful appeals in their native tongue ... Adams then condemned the sin of drunkenness ... all took about four hours.⁵⁶

Abadam was not alone amongst the Carmarthenshire squirearchy in his support of the temperance cause.⁵⁷

Among the Middleton Hall Collection now housed in the Carmarthenshire County Museum is a collection of 30 Wedgwood ware labels used for hanging over the beer, wine and spirits bins in the cellars.⁵⁸

Other reports in the *Carmarthen Journal* refer to Mrs. Adams of Middleton Hall presenting a rich crimson velvet cushion and handsome pulpit cloth to the parish church.⁵⁹ The family had also been liberal contributors to the improvements made in the church. A letter to the editor written by a traveller spoke of Edward Adams's lively interest in the improvements of the church. Adams (Abadam) had also spent much on:

... beautifying the external appearance of the churchyard. He had planted all sorts of shrub-beries round the wall and made fine walks and a 'parterre' over his good father's grave with choicest plants.⁶⁰

In 1867 he gave the ground on which Saron Independent Chapel, Llanarthne, is built. A most unusual feature of this chapel is that the Abadam crest appears high above the front door. A similar crest was placed on the front of Bethlehem Chapel, Porthyrhyd, but this has now disappeared. These reports seem to indicate that there had been a certain change in Abadam's great antipathy towards religion and the church.

Herbert Vaughan, in his *Squires of South Wales*, significantly included Abadam in a chapter titled 'Oddities and Quiddities'. In his youth Vaughan had stayed as a guest at Middleton Hall. He remembered Abadam as a cultured man with a considerable knowledge of



Fig. 11. *Edward Abadam.*
(Courtesy of the National Library of Wales).

archaeology, heraldry and foreign literature. The tutors and governesses employed for the family had to be French or German. Abadam was a vegetarian, which was almost unknown in his class at that time. Vaughan was also impressed by the presence of a lift – probably the only one in domestic use in Wales at that time.⁶¹

Abadam's interest in archaeology and antiquities is reflected in the collection of antiquarian and other objects he acquired. Alice Abadam recalled 'the old antiquary, John Griffiths, bookseller by trade and antique dealer by temperament. He searched the county for ancient objects and brought them in triumph to my father'.⁶²

Many of these are now in the Carmarthenshire County Museum, having been generously donated to the Carmarthenshire Antiquarian Society by Major W. J. Hughes, one of the early members of the Society, before he disposed of Middleton Hall. Several of the objects had descriptive labels on parchment attached which Abadam had carefully written himself.⁶³

Edward and Louisa Abadam had seven children:

1. Lucy Caroline, born 1840, was married on 14 September 1875 to the Revd. Richard Gwynne Lawrence, of Tong, Shropshire. He was the son of

Henry Lawrence, a Carmarthen physician who was one of the first doctors at the Infirmary. Lucy Caroline took over the Middleton Hall estate by a settlement after her father's death in 1895. She died in 1902 without issue.

2. Adah Constance, born 1842, was Abadam's first legitimate child. She married Captain John William Hughes (1845-1888), the second son of William Garnons Hughes of Glancothi in 1878. She inherited the Middleton Hall estate on the death of Lucy Caroline. Adah had three children, William John (of whom more later), Evodie Constance Vernon (1882-1925) did not marry and lived with her family at Llanarthne, and Charles Williams, who was born in 1883.

Charles emigrated to Canada, where in 1912 he married Minnie Hewitt. They had three children, Katherine, Nina and Gwynne, whilst in Canada and twins, Peter and Margaret, after returning to Wales in 1922. According to Major W. J. Hughes, Charles's uncle Col. Gwynne Hughes, of Glancothi, who had no children, had intended that Charles would inherit the Glancothi estate since his elder brother would inherit Middleton Hall. In the event he did not inherit Glancothi and the estate was sold.⁶⁴

3. Edward Hamlin, born 1843, was the first-born son and therefore the natural heir. Sadly he died of a fever at the age of twenty-two. This was a grievous blow to the family and his sister Alice records in her memoirs:

A room was set aside as a 'chapelle ardente', hung with black from ceiling to floor, the coffin set on a catafalque, and brilliantly lit with large numbers of candles. Men took it in turns to watch until the funeral.⁶⁵

He was buried in the family vault.

4. Conrade Maxwell Macpherson Middleton, the second son, was born at Clifton in 1845. On 5th August 1868 he married Susanna Mary, eldest daughter of Francis David Saunders of Tymawr and Glanrhydwr at Cilcennin Church, Cardiganshire. Conrade married without his father's consent. Abadam had quarrelled with David Saunders and Conrade's marriage was the cause of a serious rift between father and son. Furthermore, Conrade had earlier visited America against his father's wishes, and this was another cause of displeasure.⁶⁶ Five years after his marriage Conrade again visited America. Tragically, during this second

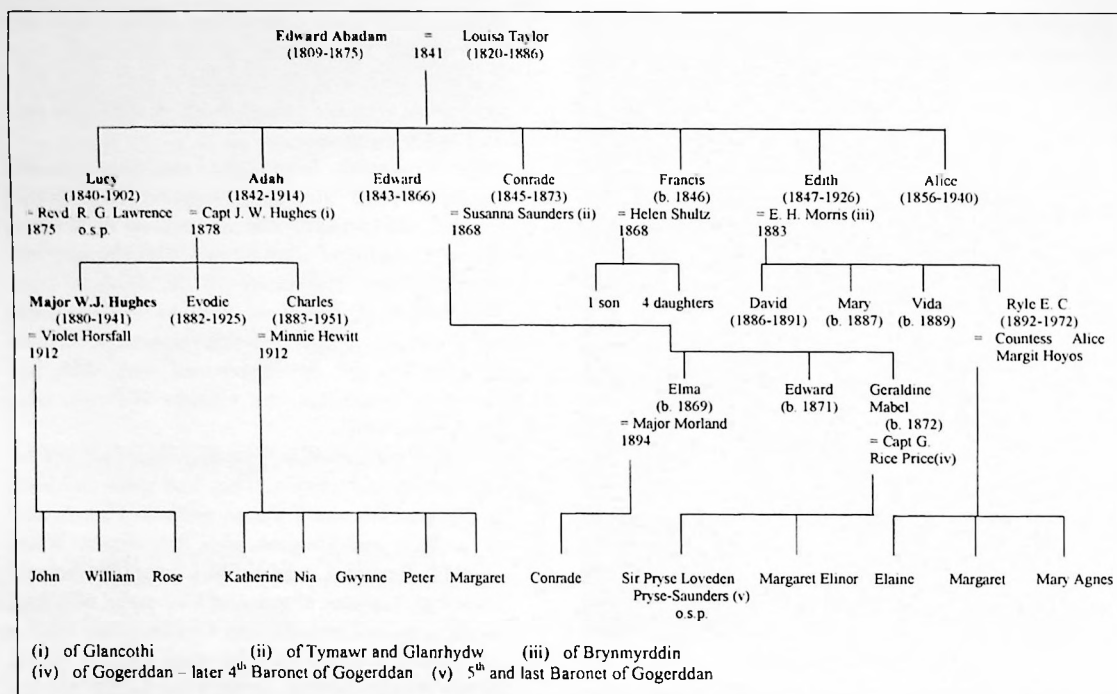


Fig. 12. *The Adams Family of Middleton Hall, Part 2.*

visit, he died in a shooting accident. This was reported in the Jefferson (Iowa) local paper:

Accidental Death

On Tuesday evening a young and wealthy Welshman, named Conrade Abadam, hither from Wales direct on a pleasure trip, was accidentally shot about six miles north of Jefferson, causing his death at five o'clock Wednesday morning, at the residence of Mr. N. M. Steele, where he had been taken after being shot. The accident was caused by the dropping of a gun through a hole in the bottom of the buggy, the hammer striking and causing an explosion of the cap, the charge taking effect in the right side, extending into the pleural cavity. Dr. Enfield was called but could do nothing to save the unfortunate man. The deceased was the eldest son of the Hon. Edward Abadam,⁶⁷ of Middleton Hall, Caermarthen, Wales, a rich land-owner and prominent man; was twenty-five years of age,⁶⁸ and leaves a wife and two children in Wales. Telegrams were sent via cable to the family and to a relative

resident of Nova Scotia. Dr. Enfield embalmed the body so that it will be well preserved by the time it reaches Wales, the wife having telegraphed that the body be forwarded and which was complied with yesterday.⁶⁹

Conrade and Susanna had three children. Elma Alice Maud was born in 1869, married Major Bernard Morland at Court Henry church in 1894 and had one son, Conrade. The second child, Edward Hamlyn Macpherson, was born in 1871, died in infancy and was buried in the family vault. The third child, Geraldine Mabel, born in 1872, married George Rice Pryse of Gogerddan (later Sir Ryce Pryse, 4th Baronet) on 12th June 1895 at Llangyndeirn church. They had two children, Sir Pryse Loveden Pryse-Saunders, the fifth and last Baronet, who died without issue, and a daughter, Margaret Angharad Elinor, who married Godfrey S. Briggs. In 1878, five years after the death of Conrade, Susanna married Capt. F. F. Rudman, who died in 1884 without issue. On her brother's death in 1910 Susanna assumed the name and arms of Saunders.^{70, 71}

5. Francis Walrond Maxwell, born 1846, was Abadam's youngest son. He was on even worse terms with his father than Conrade. He has been described as a wastrel, who never did any work, ran into debt and dissipated all the capital he could get from his father, reputed to be about £10,000. Finally, in 1865, he married, in Rochford, 'a woman of doubtful character named Schultz, the daughter of a lodging-house keeper in London'.⁷² He was disowned by his father and eventually died at a comparatively early age, leaving four daughters, the only son having died in infancy.
6. Edith, born in 1847, married Edward Harold Morris, the third son of Thomas Charles Morris of Brynmyrddin, in April 1885 at Llanarthne Church. Whereas the weddings of Lucy and Adah had been rather quiet affairs, Edith's was a very grand local occasion:

... a day of great rejoicing. Tenants of the estates jointly subscribed over £50 for a wedding present. Mr. C. A. Cooke of Christ Church Carmarthen was the organist and master of the Choristers, several volleys of cannon were fired and church bells rang out from Carmarthen town along the Tywi as far as Llandeilo. The reception was held at Middleton Hall where a banquet had been prepared by Messrs. Fortnum and Mason. A tea party was given at Llanarthney school for all the children of the neighbourhood, and abundance of 'cwrw da' was provided, according to a local journalist. The merrymaking reached its climax with bonfires and fireworks on Merlin's Hill and over towards Paxton's Tower.⁷³

The Brynmyrddin mansion and paternal estate had been settled on E. H. Morris by his father. Edith and E. H. Morris had four children. David, born in 1886, died in infancy. Mary Edith, born in 1887, remained unmarried. Vida Emily, born in 1899, became a nun and Ryle Edward Charles (1892-1971) married Countess Alice Margit Hoyos of Castle Soos, Austria.⁷⁴

7. Alice, Abadam's youngest daughter, born in 1856, did not marry and settled in London. During her lifetime she was an active and well-known feminist lecturer.⁷⁵ 'The Revd. T. Jenkins's 'Llanarthney: the parish and its people', contains a chapter written by Alice recounting her memories of Middleton Hall. This gives an invaluable first hand account of life on the

estate. Alice died at Brynmyrddin on 31st March 1940.

Edward Hamlin Adams had charged his children to conduct their lives in accordance with the family motto 'Aspire, persevere and indulge not'. Edward Abadam failed to heed the 'indulge not' injunction in a spectacular manner. Nevertheless, he had brought up his children to regard their grandfather with reverence and affection.

Alice recalls that portraits of her grandparents hung in the dining room at Middleton Hall. He was in court dress with powdered hair and she in white muslin and broad blue sash. Both at Christmas and on their birthdays special candles were lit beneath the portraits as an act of homage. In the front hall of the mansion was a marble bust of her grandfather. She remembers that as a child she was lifted to kiss it on his birthday.⁷⁶



Fig. 13. *Edward Hamlin Adams. M.P.*
White marble bust by W. Behnes, 1833.

(*'Middleton Hall Estate Guidebook'*, Dyfed County Council).

The death of Edward Abadam in 1875 saw the passing of the most turbulent, unpredictable, enigmatic, eccentric yet cultured Carmarthenshire landowner of his time. His wife Louisa survived him for eleven years. Both are buried in the family vault.

The result of all Abadam's extravagances, which were discussed earlier, was that whereas his father had left all his children well provided for, his own children suffered for his imprudence and were left in relatively impoverished circumstances.

THE POST-ABADAM ERA

Succession to the estate after Abadam's death was not straightforward. Normally the eldest son would inherit, however, all three sons had predeceased their father and none of them had a surviving male heir. The Middleton Hall estate being settled on the children, Abadam could not leave it to his eldest and favourite daughter Lucy, as she was not legitimate. According to Major W. J. Hughes:

My Mother (Adah) as a girl and young woman was an invalid for many years having damaged her spine when 16 years old by a fall from a young horse she was breaking. She never thought she would be fit to marry and being very fond of her sister Lucy gave the M.H. estate to her together with half the income from the mineral rents on condition that if Lucy died without children the estate should revert to my mother . . . Several years after Lucy's marriage my Mother's health improved very much and she married my Father.⁷⁷

Consequently, Lucy Caroline inherited the estate at the death of her father on 27th November 1875. She had married the Revd. R. G. Lawrence two months previously. Her wedding was, at her father's request due to his illness, a very quiet affair.

There is a paucity of records regarding activities on the estate during the Lawrence's stewardship. It is known that in June 1879 a large part of the estate was offered for sale by public auction at the Assembly Rooms, Carmarthen. Some twelve farms, ten cottages and a public house were included in the sale. Part of the money from this sale was settled on Louisa Abadam and also on the children of Conrade Abadam.⁷⁸

In contrast to her father who had steadfastly refused to reduce farm rentals, in 1886 *The Welshman* reported:

Llanarthney Reduction of Rents

We are greatly pleased to state that Mrs Lawrence, Middleton Hall, has allowed a reduction of 12 and a half per cent on her last rental. It need not be noted that her tenants are sincerely grateful to their considerate landlady for such an act of conspicuous generosity. Mrs Lawrence is in this case deserving of special praise, for though she is the staunchest of Conservatives, while many, perhaps, of her tenants are known

to be opposed to her in this respect, yet she has not in the least allowed such considerations to weigh with her. Liberal landlords cannot after this, as they now seem to do, claim a monopoly of generosity in this matter.⁷⁹

This account emphasises the very strong Conservative stance of *The Welshman*. It did not report the fact that most other landlords had also reduced rents, many by a considerably greater percentage. By this time Lucy had abandoned the strong Whig tradition of the family.

She died on 3rd June 1902 without issue. Accordingly the estate reverted to Adah Constance, who by this time was widowed with three children and living at one of the estate houses, Gwynnondale. The estate was settled on her elder son William John Hughes almost immediately.⁸⁰

When W. J. Hughes was born in 1880, the family lived at Llanfair, Llandovery, which was one of the possessions of Gwynne of Glanbrân.⁸¹ Adah's three children were born there and all were baptised at Llanfair-ar-y-bryn. Hughes was eight years of age when his father died and both his mother and his aunt Lucy brought him up as heir to the estate. He joined the Royal Welsh Fusiliers and fought in the Boer War as a Second Lieutenant. It was at the end of that war that he took over the estate. He was made a J.P. and joined the County Militia – the Carmarthen Royal Garrison Artillery until it was disbanded under Haldane's Army Territorial Scheme. Hughes noted that:

I was rather hard up at Middleton, but nurtured the estate, paid off some of the mortgage (£19,950),⁸² sold some outlying farms and bought land nearby to round off the property . . . But I realized that the days of the county squires and landed gentry was coming to an end.⁸³

In 1912 Hughes married Violet Stewart Horsfall of Ballamoor in Staffordshire. In 1914 he volunteered for army service and was posted to Malta. Whilst there he was promoted to the rank of Major. He was later invalided home, afterwards being posted to coastal defence duty.

After the War I found my income reduced by half owing to the very heavy rates and taxes while wages, repairs and expenses of living have all doubled in cost.⁸⁴

The farms were sold privately to the tenants and Middleton Hall and Park were sold to Colonel William N. Jones of Ammanford. One of the estate houses, Clearbrook Hall, together with a few acres around it, was retained, together with Nelson's Tower and the woods. The family lived at Clearbrook for a short while, but having sold the estate, Hughes found it very difficult to settle. He first moved to Rhodesia, then rented a small estate in Suffolk and finally after a brief return to Clearbrook, decided to emigrate. In December 1927 Major and Mrs Hughes embarked for Durban taking their daughter Rose with them and leaving the two sons, John and William, at school in England. The last link between the Adams family and the Middleton Hall estate at Llanarthne was broken.

On 31st October 1931 the mansion was completely gutted by fire and *the shady groves and walks* became neglected and overgrown.

Mievi lle bu mawredd.

This article is dominated by two members of the family, Edward Hamlin Adams and his son Edward Adams, who later adopted the name Abadam.

In order to avoid confusion the father is referred to throughout as Edward H. Adams and the son as Edward Abadam. Unfortunately, many contemporary references have confused these names, even after the father had died. Again there are many references to E. Hamlyn Adams. The correct version is E. Hamlin Adams.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

My thanks are due to Mrs Blodwen Flemington of Underberg, Natal for permission to use the unpublished family notes of her grandfather, Major J. W. Hughes and also for more recent additional information. Thanks also to Mr Eirwyn Bennett for the delightful sketches of the three Middleton Hall properties, one of which he drew especially for this article.

NOTES

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2. Huw Thomas Davies, *Griens of Llanarthne Sir Gaerfyrddin*. Private publication, 2002.
3. Conrad Davies, 'Nelson's Tower in Image and Word', *The Carmarthenshire Antiquary*, Vol. XXXIV, 1998.
4. CRO Morris Collection, Bryn Myrddin 121. Family History of the Adams family - copy made for Conrade Hamlin from his father. Edward Abadam, July 1865.
5. James Buckley, *Genealogies of the Carmarthenshire Sheriffs*, (Carmarthen, Spurrell 1913), 79.
6. CRO, Bryn Myrddin 121.
7. Ibid.
8. John T. Humphrey, *Life in Mid-Eighteenth Century Pennsylvania*: <http://genealogy.about.com/hobbies/genealogy/library/authors/uchumphreyb.htm>.
9. CRO, Bryn Myrddin 121.
10. Ibid.
11. It was at this time that Nelson married Frances Herbert Nisbet at Nevis on the Leeward Islands on 11 March 1774.
12. Peter Gunn, *Vernon Lee - Violet Paget, 1856-1935*, OUP 1964.
13. Middleton Hall Sale Catalogue, 1824.
14. Returns of Owners of Land England and Wales 1873, Land Government Board, 1875.
15. CRO, Bryn Myrddin 121. Report of the Swansea Paving Commissioners: . . . that there existed formerly near the bottom of Morris's Lane a very good spring, from which the shipping procured a supply of water. As Mr Clark's Report referred to the difficulty experienced by the poor in many parts of Swansea in obtaining water he begged to know whether steps had been taken to keep open that spring for the use of the public. Mr W. Edmonds (one of the Commissioners) said that the spring in question belonged to him but was claimed by Mr Adams of Middleton Hall, the owner of an adjoining house. He (Mr Edmonds) was quite willing to give up the spring to the public, provided the commissioners would protect him from Mr Adams's encroachments.
16. E. H. Adams, will 2 October 1839 (not his last will).
17. CRO, Bryn Myrddin 121.
18. From the 'Alphabetical register of the tombs in the Protestant Cemetery of Florence, called "The English Cemetery", I:A through D. Piazzale Donatello, 38, 50132 Firenze', www.uniltra.net/cemetery1.html.
19. E. H. Adams, will, 12 May 1841.
20. Peter Gunn, op.cit.
21. Ibid.
22. Ibid.
23. NLW, Dolaucothi MSS, L1665.
24. *Carmarthen Journal*, 31 August 1832.
25. NLW, Lewis Weston Dillwyn (3), 36 diaries, 7 May 1834.
26. Peter Gunn, op.cit.
27. NLW MSS 21209C, Cooke's Letters.
28. There appears to be a complete confusion of names in the Report. When the survey was conducted in 1873 Edward H. Adams was alive and well and at no time used the surname Abadam. The Report, however, was not

- published until 1875. Adams died in November of that year.
29. *Carmarthen Journal*, 31 August 1832.
30. CRO, Carmarthenshire Antiquarian Society, All ii, E. H. Adams scrapbook.
31. Rev. J. Jenkins, *Llanarthney: The Parish its People and Places* (Carmarthen, Spurrell 1939).
32. CRO, Bryn Myrddin 121.
33. *Carmarthen Journal*, 17 June 1842.
34. CRO, Bryn Myrddin 121.
35. D. L. Baker-Jones, 'Christian Sepulchral Monuments In and Around Carmarthenshire', *The Carmarthenshire Antiquary*, Vol. IV, Part 3.
36. CRO, Bryn Myrddin 119.
37. CRO, Bryn Myrddin 121
38. Peter Gunn, *op.cit.*
39. D. L. Baker-Jones, 'The Morris Family of Carmarthenshire', *The Carmarthenshire Antiquary*, Vol. VII, 1971. See footnote 36, referring to Sir Anthony Wagner, *English Genealogy*, OUP 1971.
40. Private correspondence with the secretary of the Adams Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society, contains the quotation: 'Henry Adams, the progenitor in New England of a distinguished American family, (that of President John Quincy Adams) was born about 1583 in Barton St. David, Somersetshire, England, and was son of John and Agnes (Stone?) Adams, grandson of Henry Adams and great-grandson of John Adams, all of Barton St. David. Neither from sceptred race of kings nor noble lineage of baronial castle was derived this Adams family in England. They were a race of sturdy yeomen who lived for generations in Barton St. David and its vicinity, subsisting by cultivation of leasehold farms and raising sheep and cattle, and residing in simple, stone, thatched cottages'.
41. W. J. Hughes, Unpublished MSS *Notes on our Family History*, June 1931
42. Copy of marriage certificate.
43. For example, Thomas Nicholas *Annals and Antiquities of the counties and country families of Wales*, 1872, and James Buckley, *op.cit.*
44. Richard Colyer, 'The land agent in nineteenth century Wales', *Welsh History Review*, No. VIII, Dec. 1927, No. 4. (See particularly footnote 42, pg 415, for a most scurrilous view of the absentee landlord).
45. NLW MSS 21209C.
46. *Ibid.*
47. *Ibid.* Letter dated 25 December 1842.
48. *Ibid.*
49. *Ibid.*
50. *Ibid.* Letter dated 30 June 1845.
51. Herbert Vaughan, 'Bookplate of Edward Abadam of Middleton Hall', *Transactions of Carmarthenshire Antiquarian Society*, Vol. XIII, 26.
52. NLW MSS 21209C.
53. Peter Gunn, *op.cit.*
54. NLW, Dolaucoth MSS L 3168.
55. CRO, Morris Collection, Bryn Myrddin 142.
56. *The Welshman*, 2 July 1847. Note – E. H. Adams died in 1842. This account should refer to Edward Abadam.
57. Col. Wm. Gwynne Hughes (b.1841) of Glancothi, J.P. and Deputy Lieutenant was a frequent supporter of temperance. It was he who abolished the practice of supplying drink at country auctions. He later bequeathed £1,000 to the parish church, the interest from which to be paid to the vicar provided he preached a sermon on temperance annually. This sermon is still preached today.
58. *Transactions of Carmarthenshire Antiquarian Society*, Vol. XIII, pgs. xiii-xiv.
59. CRO, Carmarthenshire Antiquarian Society, All ii.
60. *Ibid.*
61. Herbert Vaughan, *The South Wales Squires*, (London 1926).
62. Rev. J. Jenkins, *op.cit.*
63. Carmarthen County Museum Accessions Register.
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65. Rev. J. Jenkins, *op.cit.*
66. W. J. Hughes, *op.cit.*
67. He was not 'The Hon' – despite his father's ambitions.
68. He was 28.
69. Jefferson Bee, Iowa, Saturday 6 September 1873.
70. John Lloyd, 'The History of Court Henry and its families', *Carmarthenshire Antiquary*, Vol. XXVII, 1991.
71. Francis Jones, *Historic Cardiganshire Homes and their Families* (Brawdy Books 2000).
72. W. J. Hughes, *op.cit.*
73. *The Carmarthenshire Antiquary*, Vol. VII, D. L. Baker-Jones, *op.cit.*
74. Rev. J. Jenkins, *op.cit.*
75. *The East Kent Times*, 13 October 1909, reporting on a feminist meeting, states that 'Miss Abadam also delivered an eloquent and feeling address'.
76. The bust is now in the library of Carmarthen County Museum.
77. W. J. Hughes, *op.cit.*
78. Sale Catalogue, Howell, Thomas and Thompson, Auctioneers, 19 June 1879.
79. *The Welshman*, 22 January 1886.
80. It is interesting to note that when the Bishop's Palace, Abergwili, was damaged by fire in 1803 Bishop John Owen and his family went to live at Middleton Hall, where they remained until the Palace was restored.
81. Francis Jones, *Historic Carmarthenshire Homes and their Families* (Carmarthen 1987).
82. Middleton Hall Estate, Supplemental Abstract of Title, No. 2, Lovell Son and Pitfield, 3 Grays Inn Square, W.C. 1907.
83. W. J. Hughes, *op.cit.*
84. *Ibid.*