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EDITORIAL PREFACE

This number of *The Carmarthenshire Antiquary* has been produced under the cloud of the severe illness of Mr Terrence James who died on 21st January, 2007. I would like to pay my personal tribute to Terry and Heather for their contributions to this issue made at a time when others might have asked to be excused. The study of the subscribers to the Lewis Morris Charts and the detective work on J. F. Jones's slides, Terry's last completed projects, will I know be read with pleasure. This editor has profited greatly from Terry's knowledge of book production and last year's special number of the *Antiquary* would not have been such an attractive volume without his enthusiastic support. A special word of appreciation is owed to Heather who looked after the reviews with her usual professionalism.

We recall others: Mr Graham Jones, a former member of Council and loyal supporter of Society events and Dr Richard Avent, Chief Inspector of Ancient Monuments for Wales and well-known locally for his excavations at Laugharne Castle.

Encouraging recent developments in the sphere of local history and heritage include the launch of *Carmarthenshire: The Concise History*, the work of Dylan Rees, the establishment of Llandeilo Fawr Gospel Book exhibition at the Church of St Teilo and the launch of the local Pevsner Architectural Guide, *Carmarthenshire and Ceredigion*, compiled by Thomas Lloyd, Julian Orbach and Robert Scourfield.

'Capel', the Chapels Society, will be holding its Annual General Meeting in Carmarthen on 12th May and the Cambrian Archaeological Association will be here in the week of 12-18th August, focusing on the Tywi Valley.

In conclusion, my thanks to everyone who has contributed to this number of the *Antiquary* and to Mr Eddie John and all at Gwasg Dinefwr Press for their patience and care.

MURIEL BOWEN EVANS

NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS

NOEL GIBBARD was originally a Congregational Minister, then became a lecturer at the Evangelical Theological College, Bridgend.

TIM MORGAN-JONES was born and brought up in St Albans, Hertfordshire. Many of his leisure interests are closely allied with his professional work as an architect. His historical and geographical interests have finally lured him into finding out more about his own antecedents.

EDNA DALE-JONES is a member of Council and Organiser of Membership and Distribution; her main research interest is in the development of Carmarthen from the 18th century.

TERRENCE JAMES was a Vice-President and Technical Editor of the *Antiquary*.

J. D. DAVIES, a native of Llanelli, is an independent historian based in Bedfordshire, and was formerly Deputy Headmaster of a large public school in Bedford. Usually specialises in naval history having published *Gentlemen and Taraulins: The Officers and Men of the Restoration Navy* together with many articles and essays. He is currently working on a book about the Stepney baronets of Llanelli.

LOWRI ANN REES is a Ph.D. student in the Department of History and Welsh History at the University of Wales, Aberystwyth. Her research focuses on the late 18th and 19th century history of the two Carmarthenshire country estates of Middleton and Aberglasney.

ARFON L. REES, a retired B.T. engineer with an interest in the industrial history of Llanelli, is a past programme secretary and has been chairman for two periods; currently press officer.

J. GRAHAM JONES is senior archivist and head of the Welsh Political Archive at the National Library of Wales.

Religious beliefs and drinking habits at Middleton Hall, 1825-1875

Lowri Ann Rees

During the half century between 1825 and 1875, two landlords presided over the Middleton Hall estate in the parish of Llanarthney; they were Edward Hamlin Adams and his son Edward Abadam. E. H. Adams was born in Kingston, Jamaica on 30 April 1777. Although trained in law at Kingston, his ambition was to become a successful merchant. Somehow or other, he managed to generate enough wealth to enable his family in 1814 to relocate to Britain where he purchased a substantial amount of land and property. The family lived in the fashionable spa town of Bath until Adams purchased the Middleton Hall estate, which had been placed for

sale after the death of the previous owner, Sir William Paxton in 1824. On 19 August 1824 Mr Robins of Warwick House, Regent Street sold the estate by auction at Garraway's Coffee House in London to Adams for the sum of £54,700.¹ E. H. Adams was to be landlord of Middleton Hall until his death on 2 June 1842, followed by his eldest son Edward Abadam, who took over the running of the estate until his death on 27 November 1875. The younger Edward had changed his surname to Abadam, believing he was reverting back to the original spelling of the family name.

E. H. Adams and Edward Abadam were both complex



Fig. 1: *Print of Middleton Hall by Augustus Butler, 1853.*
(Private Collection).

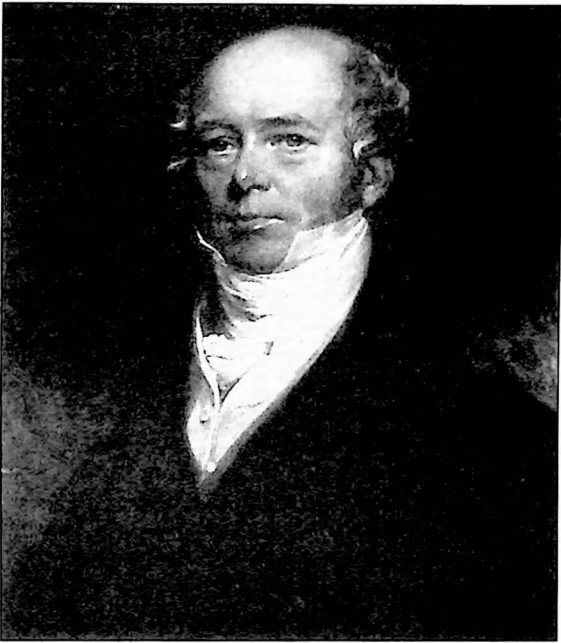


Fig. 2: *Edward Hamlin Adams, 1828.*
(CRO, Museum 463. By permission of Carmns. Archives Service).

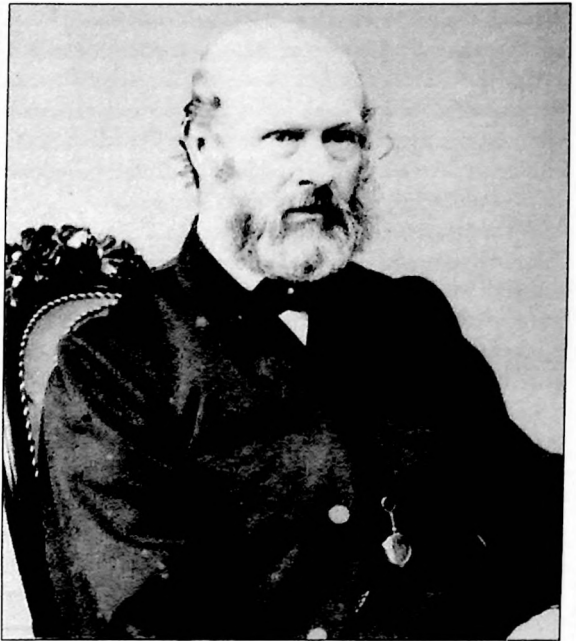


Fig. 3: *Edward Abadam, 1862.*
(CRO, Carmarthenshire Antiquarian Society Collection.
By permission of Carmns. Archives Service).

characters. Some accounts portray them as paternalistic landlords, according to the principles explained by Matthew Cragoe:

Paternalism was the code of an elite who felt themselves to be natural leaders, impelled by a sense of duty to public service, and bound by the mores of the gentlemanly ethic to behave honestly and humanely towards their dependants.²

However, other accounts shed a different light on the matter, suggesting that perhaps they did not fit this code as accurately as they may have aspired. More specifically, the themes of religion and temperance highlight several contradictions in their characters. It seems that they held views on religion that are not traditionally associated with the Carmarthenshire gentry, whilst Edward Abadam may have had double standards in relation to the temperance cause. This article will explore what is at the root of these inconsistencies.

The traditional view of the Carmarthenshire gentry during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries is that

they were supporters of the established church and its rights and privileges, and that they attended its services. Some idea of the truth of this can be discovered by detailed research of local history. The private beliefs of many of this class, as indeed those of many of the rest of the population, remain unknown. The 1851 Religious Census showed that nearly half the adult population of Wales did not attend any church or chapel service on the relevant day. Secondary literature relating to irreligion in England and Britain as a whole is quite sparse. By the end of the nineteenth-century, a greater number of people began to doubt and question the Christian faith. This uncertainty was not unique to Wales, for across Europe Christianity was being challenged. As R. Tudur Jones claimed: 'The attack on God came from many directions and took many forms'.³

In a letter dated 6 November 1841 the Middleton Hall land agent writes that E. H. Adams had been disputing the payment of tithes for a period of over twenty years.⁴ This was a hotly debated issue, with the Adams family making their stance clear, which certainly annoyed the *Carmarthen Journal*, who were firm supporters of the Tory cause and everything that the party stood for, including the established church.⁵

During the 1832 election campaign, Adams did not attempt to conceal his unhappiness regarding the established church. Due to the passing of the 1832 Reform Act Carmarthen had been given an extra parliamentary seat, therefore there would be two representatives of the county in Westminster. Vying for one of these two seats was Adams, who represented the Whig party. The other two candidates were Colonel George Rice Trevor of Dinetwr, who had returned to the political arena from his retirement only the year before, and Sir James Hamlyn Williams of Edwinsford, who declared himself an Independent candidate, even though he had been the Whig Member of Parliament for the county in 1831. In his election address Adams made clear his radical political views and stressed that he was a 'sincere, genuine Reformer' who wanted:

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.⁶

Adams appealed to the voters not to vote for a candidate who was an 'Anti-Reformer or supporter of present Burthens [sic] and Oppressions.'

During the course of the election campaign, it appears that Adams had been canvassing for votes amongst the tenants of his opponent, Sir James Hamlyn Williams. Due to the significant influence of property in this rural area of Wales, it was considered good practice for a candidate to seek permission from the landlord before he or his committee commenced canvassing amongst the said landlord's tenants. Attempts to canvass amongst the tenants on behalf of a candidate or political party whom the landlord opposed would certainly generate bad feeling and could often sway public opinion.⁸ A gentleman who openly condemned such practice was Lord Cawdor's father-in-law, Sir Thomas Thynne, second Marquess of Bath, who considered 'an attempt to create dissensions between Landlord & Tenants . . . both unwise & improper'.⁹ Any attempt to persuade the tenant to break his political alliance with his landlord was considered to be deceitful and devious.¹⁰ It seems that Adams made an appearance at the rent meeting at Talley, where he made 'long speeches' about his political agenda. Rumour abounded that many of

the tenants offered their support to Adams on the spot.¹¹ However, John Johnes in a letter to D. J. Edwards, Rhydygors, claimed that Adams' address was full of contradictions. Although Adams claimed that Williams was at Talley and thus fully aware of his presence, Johnes states that Williams was only at Talley for a few minutes in the morning to give instructions to his agent regarding rents, and this was several hours before Adams' arrival.¹²

During the Talley rent meeting Adams spoke of his views on the established church. Williams wrote in *The Welshman* that Adams had declared that ministers should only be supported financially by followers of their own denomination. He went on to claim that Adams condemned tithes, stating it was unfair that the clergy took a tenth of all the country's produce. Adams was then accused of launching a scathing attack on the clergymen themselves, declaring:

What is it they do for all this? They go to their Churches, mount their Pulpits, sit there perfectly careless whether they preach or not: and if they do preach, no one understands them, they preach such Doctrines as people never heard of before.¹³

Whether Adams actually did say this is unclear, after all, Williams was not at the meeting and had probably based his report on an eyewitness account, by someone who might have elaborated on the content of the speech. Nonetheless, Williams claimed that he could not support someone who was so opposed to the established church. Williams believed that the church needed to be reformed, but not annihilated as Adams was said to have advocated.¹⁴ As for the Tories, although Colonel Trevor, as an Anglican, was against reform, the Tory voters were divided over the matter.

Adams soon launched his own defence, claiming that Williams' account was a 'gross misrepresentation' of his speech.¹⁵ In his response Adams stated that his policy on religious liberty was that every religious sect should be supported by its own followers, 'for, no one but the Almighty could determine whose opinion was right, or whose was wrong'.¹⁶ He stated that it was unfair that Dissenters had to contribute financially to support a church that they did not even attend. Although he did not phrase his views as bluntly as Williams claimed he had, Adams believed that the clergy of the established church received too much

money, and condemned those who received huge salaries and were frequently absent from their parishes. Adams claimed that even when the clergymen were present, their sermons left most of the congregation confused, with many of the clergymen unable to speak Welsh and the majority of the congregation only understanding Welsh. Surprisingly enough, Adams claimed to be warmly attached to the doctrines of the established church, but that he was anxious to see reform and not annihilation, as Williams seemed to have suggested.¹⁷ Adams emphasized:

As to the aspersions levelled at me respecting the Church, I reply, by avowing myself to be a firm adherer to it; and although I am unquestionably in favour of a Reform of the abuses in it, yet I am that enemy to its annihilation [*sic*], as to pledge myself to its support.¹⁸

However, the damage had already been done and Adams lost Williams' support. Adams' radical religious views would certainly have alienated several other potential supporters.

Valuable information regarding E. H. Adams and Edward Abadam's religious tendencies is gleaned from the Middleton Hall land agent's letters to his family in Northamptonshire, written between 1841 and 1847. It is important to remember that Thomas Herbert Cooke was a deeply religious man. He was appalled when he attended a Sunday afternoon service at Llanddarog parish church, criticizing the service as it was delivered in Welsh 'which grated on my ears like the filing of a saw'¹⁹ and mocking the standard of the singing:

I actually meditated a bolt out of the Church; for *they actually sang* the two first verses to the first half of the tune; and the 3rd & 4th verses, to the last half of it.²⁰

However, Cooke had managed to persuade the clergyman to promise that there would be one English service a month held at Llanddarog. In the meantime Cooke vowed that he would read the church service and a sermon to his family at least once a day. Changing the language of service from Welsh to English in order to accommodate the requests of a local gentry family was not uncommon in this period. Another example of English being introduced into a church

service in a Welsh parish was found in Manorowen in Pembrokeshire. Although the service in the church had always been in Welsh, the curate John Bowen introduced an English service at eleven in the morning on alternate Sundays for the benefit of a gentleman and his large family who were regular attendants at the church.²¹ In the archdeaconry of Carmarthen, Welsh services were held in all but twenty-three of the churches in 1828. It appears that the language in which the service was conducted, whether Welsh or English, depended on the need within the parish.²²

Cooke was horrified by the religious attitudes of the Middleton Hall family. He declared that only the servants went to a place of worship and that the family never read the Bible and did not 'know Sunday from a week day'.²³ He explained that although they believed in a God as a maker and ruler of everything, they did not believe in the existence of a devil or place of punishment.²⁴ In a letter written a few years later, Cooke referred to Edward Abadam's wife, Louisa being seriously ill; she was in fact suffering from 'puerperal madness',²⁵ nowadays known as post-natal depression. Cooke feared that if she were to die, it would break Abadam. Unlike Cooke, Abadam did not believe in an afterlife, therefore Cooke assumed that he would not be able to gain comfort from this belief if he were to lose his wife: 'The consolations of religion being to him a dead letter, & all his hopes being of this world'.²⁶

As a result of E. H. Adams' views on religion, it is no wonder that within the locality unpleasant rumours regarding the family circulated. One such story was regarding Adams' final resting place. Some believed that Adams was not actually interred in the newly constructed family vault at Llanarthney parish church. Instead, they suspected he was buried on the Middleton Hall estate itself, stating that a map of the estate showed the presence of a vault. It was claimed that the coffin placed in the family vault was in fact filled with stones.²⁷ This theory was fuelled by a report in the periodical *Yr Haul*, the following notice of Adams' death appearing in the July 1842 issue:

Mehefin 2, Edward Hamlin Adams, Ysw. Middleton Hall, ger Llanarthney, swydd Gaerfyrddin. Claddwyd ef yn ei barc.²⁸

[June 2, Edward Hamlin Adams, Esq. Middleton Hall, near Llanarthney, Carmarthenshire. He was buried in his park.]



Fig. 4: Abadam family vault, Llanarthney Parish Church.

However, this entry was amended in the September issue. The heading is underlined in the original:

Camsyniad. Digwyddodd camsyniad yn yr hanes a roddasom o farwolaeth E. H. Adams, Ysw. Middleton Hall, lle y dywedir iddo gael ei gladdu yn ei barc: oblegid ymddengys iddo gael ei gladdu yn anrhydeddus ym Mynwent Llanarthney.²⁹

[*Error.* An error occurred in the account of the death of E. H. Adams, Esq. Middleton Hall, where it was said that he was buried in his park; it appears that he was honourably buried in Llanarthney Cemetery.]

This mistake was bound to arouse suspicions. Perhaps it explains why his son Edward went to considerable lengths to stress that his father was buried in the grounds of Llanarthney parish church in the new family vault. He referred in detail to the positioning of the coffin within the vault whilst writing the family history for his son Conrade:

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.³⁰

Another example of Abadam emphasizing his father's burial in the churchyard appears in the following inscription on the memorial plaque at Llanarthney parish church, stating that E. H. Adams:

WAS BURIED ON FRIDAY THE 10TH OF JUNE, IN A VAULT THEN BUILT, BY THE DIRECTION OF HIS ELDEST SON UNDER THE LARGE YEWE TREE, ON THE NORTH SIDE OF THIS CHURCH.³¹

Along with several other tales is the gruesome legend of the black baby of 'Pond Du'. One of Edward Abadam's grand children was said to have died in infancy in India, and according to the story, the child's body was brought to Middleton Hall on Abadam's

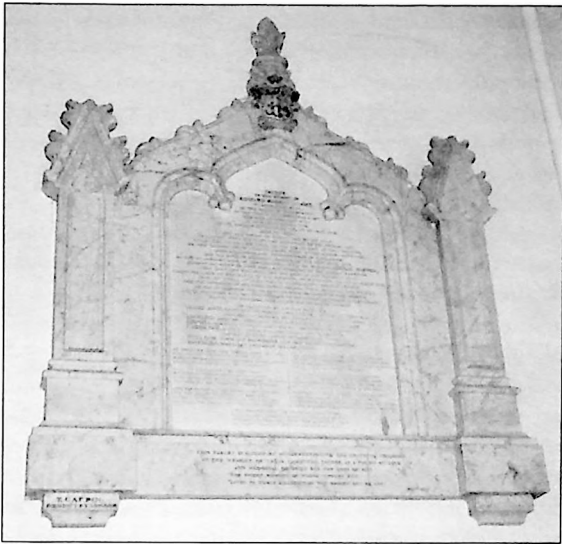


Fig. 5: Memorial plaque erected in memory of Edward Hamlin Adams within Llanarthney Parish Church.

request. However, the body was poorly mummified and consequently by the time it arrived had turned black. On seeing the body, Abadam refused to believe that it was that of his grand child and ordered the child and coffin to be thrown into the deepest lake on the estate, 'Pond Du' (Black Pond). Some believed that this was how the pond gained its name.¹² It is difficult to tell whether this story is true or not, but records show that one of Abadam's grandchildren did die during his lifetime. However, it is believed that the child (Conrade Abadam's only son Edward H. M. Abadam, who died on 16 September 1871 aged five months) was buried in the family vault.¹³ Perhaps this is an example of the mixing of facts concerning Middleton Hall, as it was Paxton who had connections with India.

Contradictory accounts arise to cast doubt over the extent of Adams and Abadam's aversion to religion. It seems that Edward Abadam funded improvement work carried out at Llanarthney parish church. In an article that appeared in the *Carmarthen Journal*, it was claimed that: 'The family have also been liberal contributors to the improvements lately made in that church'.¹⁴ Abadam had spent more than thirty pounds 'beautifying the external appearance of the churchyard'.¹⁵ It seems that shrubs had been planted alongside the walls and walks created, and an ornamental garden with paths between the beds laid out above the family vault. Along with these improvements, Louisa Abadam had donated a

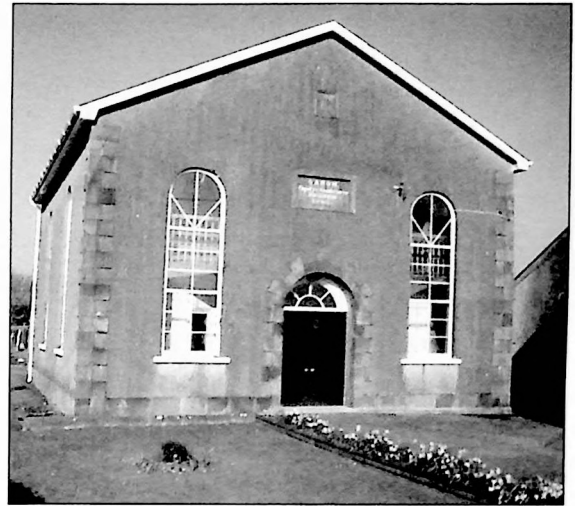


Fig. 6: Saron Independent Chapel, Llanarthney.

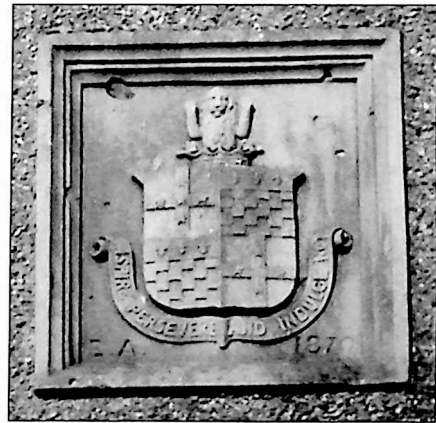


Fig. 7: Coat of arms above the doors of Saron Chapel.

cushion and pulpit cloth of rich crimson velvet to the church. It was not only the parish church that benefited from Abadam's help. Abadam donated a plot of land from the Middleton Hall estate for the building of Saron Independent chapel and burial ground in Llanarthney. However, Abadam only consented to this as long as the family coat of arms was positioned at the front of the building and that those who worshipped in the chapel were to thank him for his benevolence in their prayers. In addition, Abadam asked that Saron's worshippers included the residents of Middleton Hall in their prayers once every month.¹⁶ The Abadam crest was also placed at the front of Bethlehem Baptist chapel in Porthyrhyd. Work began on the chapel in 1817 and

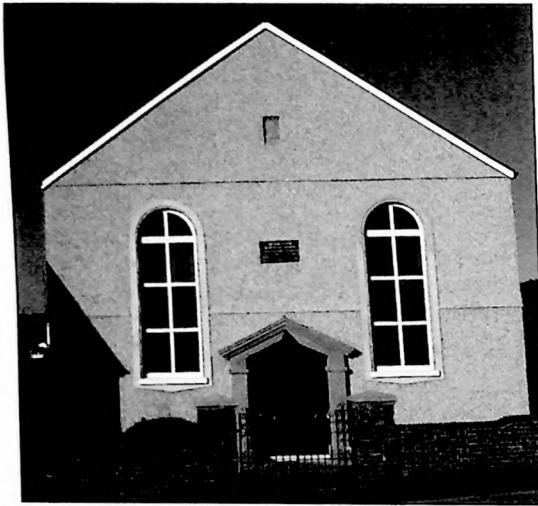


Fig. 8: *Bethlehem Baptist Chapel, Porthyrhyd.*



Fig. 9: *Crest above the doors of Bethlehem Chapel.*

finished in 1823, the land on which the chapel was built having been given by the previous Middleton Hall owner, Sir William Paxton, on a 999-year lease. The chapel was rebuilt in 1842, and this is the date seen below the crest, next to the initials 'E.A.'³⁷ This suggests that Adams or Abadam aided the rebuilding of the chapel.

What would have been the response of the deeply religious of the locality to these unconventional views on religion? The majority of people's lives revolved around the church or chapel, and the various festivals and events. As Abadam did not attend any place of religious worship, why did he fund the improvements at Llanarthney parish church, aid the establishment of

Saron chapel and allow the family crest to be displayed on the front of two chapels in the vicinity? Above all, if the family were so deeply irreligious, why was a family vault erected in the churchyard at Llanarthney and a grand memorial tablet placed within the church? Did it signal a change of heart and a move away from the antipathy towards religion? Or was it merely an attempt to conform to the image of the paternalistic landlord, benevolent and charitable, but most importantly, devoutly Anglican? Perhaps the acts of goodwill were merely attempts at winning support and keeping up appearances in the locality.

Another theme that reveals further contradictions in the characters of the Middleton Hall landlords is that of temperance. There is a lack of secondary sources relating to temperance in Wales; the main work on the subject is by W. R. Lambert.³⁸ Lambert suggests that when historians have studied nineteenth-century social history they seem to have focused on work rather than leisure, and drink was at the core of leisure during the nineteenth-century, fulfilling many social functions in society. He goes on to mention that during the nineteenth-century, temperance was seen as a way of self-improvement that emphasized thrift and self-control. Edward Abadam appears to have been a supporter of temperance and was keen to save his money for the benefit of his family, though whether he did so is another matter as he was prone to irrational spending.

It is clear that there were contradictions in society in general regarding the drinking of alcohol. In early nineteenth-century Britain, drinking alcohol was often safer than consuming water; this was especially true of the industrial towns where the water supply was often polluted by the industrial works nearby or contaminated by sewage. The water used in alcohol had either been boiled or was pumped from deep underground wells.³⁹ As well as being safer to drink, beer was a cheap drink to procure, cheaper than tea, which was rarely drunk by the Welsh working class.⁴⁰ Many myths surrounded the influence of alcohol and that it afforded more than a method of quenching thirst. It was believed that alcohol provided physical stamina, and it was especially linked with strenuous trades, dulling the fatigue resulting from long hours of hard labour.⁴¹ Those recently converted to teetotalism during the 1830s and 1840s revealed their surprise that they were not weakened by the lack of drink.⁴² It was also believed to give confidence when most needed, and was often

used by public speakers and politicians before a speech. Alcohol was also used to numb pain, since it was believed that the pain was the disease and not a symptom of the disease. It was used by women weakened by successive pregnancies and childbirth, and was also used as an anaesthetic and as a means to quieten babies and young children.⁴⁵ As W. R. Lambert claimed: 'Drinking was bound up with the cultural life and tradition of Wales'.⁴⁶

Drinking habits developed into important customs, especially in rural areas of Wales. Russell Davies states that drinking was one social activity of particular importance in Carmarthenshire.⁴⁵ Elfyn Scourfield claims that regions of west Wales almost took advantage of social occasions in order to celebrate with home-brewed beer. Farm labourers would be provided with beer and cider during harvest time to quench their thirst; this was an important tradition in Carmarthenshire, which prevailed well into the twentieth century.⁴⁶ Another of these traditions was the 'cwrw bach', whereby relatives and neighbours arranged a feast with plenty of food and home brewed ale when there was a need to raise money for a family suffering from poverty or other unfortunate circumstances. Individuals were expected to pay for the food, however the ale was served free of charge in order to avoid punishment for selling alcohol illegally.⁴⁷ Local craftsmen, such as the blacksmith, builder or carpenter, were usually supplied with beer and food as a gesture of appreciation for the arduous work that had been carried out; the beer brewed especially for the occasion was called 'cwrw bando'. 'Cwrw bwtschw' was brewed when pigs were slaughtered, with some superstitious folk believing that the pig would not die or would be difficult to salt if no beer was available for the slaughterer. To celebrate the completion of the timbering of a roof, 'cwrw cwple' was made.⁴⁸ Alcohol was drunk during social gatherings and occasions such as special meals, baptisms, funerals, fairs and markets and especially at Christmas and New Year. During public meetings and fair days, people would gather at drinking establishments.⁴⁹ Drinking was an excuse to congregate at the public house where companionship was to be found.⁵⁰ In 1822, Carmarthen had eighty-three taverns and public houses, four inns, nine maltsters, nine liquor dealers and two wine and spirit dealers.⁵¹ Lambert states that the taking of drink was like an unwritten law.⁵² Considering the strong drink culture that prevailed in nineteenth-century Wales, Brian Harrison comments that:

Alcohol the thirst-quencher, the reliever of physical and psychological strain, the symbol of human interdependence, was a formidable antagonist for temperance reformers to tackle.⁵³

The temperance movement was religious in its origins, the idea of an anti-spirits association having been founded in the late 1820s in America by Scottish and Irish evangelicals, and was soon brought over to Britain, Wales being one of the last countries it encountered.⁵⁴ The movement had initially promoted absolute abstinence from spirits, but allowed the consumption of other intoxicants in moderate amounts.⁵⁵ However, by the late 1830s, teetotalism had almost completely replaced moderation as a method of tackling the British drink problem. This idea had largely originated from Preston, Lancashire in the early 1830s and not America.⁵⁶ The first Welsh temperance activities took place in Liverpool and Manchester among the resident Welsh. The aim of the movement in Wales was to foster a high level of moral perfection in men, grouping together social and economic success with moral virtue by stressing self help.⁵⁷ The first Welsh teetotal society was formed on 8 March 1835 at Rose Place, off Scotland Road, Liverpool and it was on 5 May 1835 at Tabernacle chapel, Bangor, that the first public meeting advocating teetotalism in Wales was held.⁵⁸

The first teetotal society in south Wales was formed in Cardiff in October 1836 and the second in Carmarthen on 20 December in the same year.⁵⁹ The Carmarthen Temperance Society was established 'on the principle of Total-abstinence from all intoxicating drinks'.⁶⁰ On signing the register, each member of the Carmarthen branch had to take the following pledge, which was available in Welsh and English:

I voluntarily engage while a Member of this Society to abstain from Distilled Spirits, Wine, Ale, Porter, Cider, and all other intoxicating Liquors except for medicinal purposes, or in a religious ordinance, and to discountenance the causes and practice of Intemperance.⁶¹

Edward Abadam appears to have been involved in temperance work in south Wales, as an article in *The Welshman* seems to suggest. It is an account of a temperance meeting held at Nelson's tower on the Middleton Hall estate to celebrate the anniversary of Queen Victoria's coronation and to advocate the 'high moral

and religious principals' of the Carmarthenshire teetotallers.⁶² Rev. J. Morgan Williams of Morgan Cottage opened the meeting whilst Richard Williams of Gellydeg took the chair. Abadam and his family were present at the proceedings, which carried on for four hours. A flag was raised and a 'spirit-stirring band' performed the 'National Air' during the ceremony.⁶³ The use of banners, badges and such regalia as well as songs and music attempted to make membership appear more attractive, being all part of the recreation and propaganda associated with the temperance movement.⁶⁴ Several men spoke in English and Welsh for the temperance cause; all referred to the idea that 'no drunkard can inherit the Kingdom of Heaven'.⁶⁵ As Lambert points out, this is an allusion to 1 Corinthians vi, 10 'No drunkard . . . shall inherit the Kingdom of God'. The temperance movement took on a religious tone in Wales, therefore the movement focused on the religious and spiritual aspect, rather than on the more practical social and human side of alcoholism.⁶⁶ Temperance reformers found it easier to attribute the problems in society solely to drink rather than address the many other problems and inequalities that existed.

In the meeting, Abadam himself spoke against the perils of alcohol, claiming that no master could put trust in his workers if they succumbed to drink and that wives and children were often abused as a result of drunkenness 'and all for what? For a dirty cup of beer'.⁶⁷ It was a common belief amongst temperance supporters that wife beating was widespread amongst the working class due to a combination of drinking, poor living conditions and the husband's guilt stemming from his neglecting his family.⁶⁸ Drink was portrayed by the temperance societies as the foundation of a myriad of social evils that destroyed men.⁶⁹ Importance was placed on the speakers at temperance meetings, in order to spread the society's message amongst the illiterate. As Lambert states:

Enthusiasm was the fundamental principle of the teetotal faith and it found graphic expression in Welsh teetotal oratory. Teetotal speeches were generally very lively and animated.⁷⁰

However, Lambert also states that teetotal speeches were full of self-righteousness and often extremely repetitive, over-serious and tedious.⁷¹ The Justice of the Peace and Deputy Lieutenant Colonel William Gwynne Hughes of Glancothi was a keen temperance supporter.

He believed that drunkenness invariably led to evil; his views stemmed from his work as a magistrate and visits to Carmarthen gaol. Amongst his temperance activities was stopping the tradition of supplying alcohol at country auctions. As Lambert claims:

Some drinking usage were a result of the exploitation of the intoxicating effects of beer, particularly, of course, on occasions when a person's judgement had to be used.⁷²

During sales and auctions, people could be plied with drink and encouraged to make bids, then for each bid they made they were given more beer. This beer, known as 'cwrw achon', was much stronger than regular beer, as the aim was to ensure the buyer become so intoxicated, that he was unaware that he was being taken advantage of.⁷³ Col. Hughes bequeathed £1,000 to Llanegwad parish church; the interest from this sum was to be given to the vicar, as long as he preached a sermon advocating temperance once each year.⁷⁴

Temperance societies would relentlessly entreat the upper classes to set a good example for the lower classes. It was believed that the higher up the social scale one was, the higher one's moral standards ought to be.⁷⁵ The impression given by the article in *The Welshman* is that Abadam was strongly supportive of temperance; however, other sources tell a different story. It seems that Abadam had not been practising what he had preached. A letter written by the land agent, Cooke on 22 February 1844 claimed that Abadam would sit up until the early hours 'takes 2 or 3 glasses of wine, becomes very lively pleasant and chatty on all sorts of subjects'.⁷⁶ This evidence conflicts with the account of the temperance meeting at Nelson's tower. Could Abadam have turned teetotal sometime between 1844 and 1847? Or was he being deceitful in public, in an attempt to conform to an image of a respectable and sober landlord? During the nineteenth century drinking at home was considered more respectable than attending a public house. By the mid-nineteenth century, this idea had become entrenched; therefore no respectable gentleman would frequent a common public house.⁷⁷ Perhaps Abadam believed that it was acceptable for him to drink as he was a member of the elite and would have a greater degree of self-control and self-discipline than those from the lower classes.

Amongst the artefacts of the Middleton Hall collection housed at the Carmarthenshire County Museum

is another find that appears to contradict the image of Abadam as an abstaining landlord. Deposited in the collection are thirty Wedgwood labels that hung above the spirits, beer and wine in the cellars underneath the Middleton Hall mansion. They are engraved in black Roman letters and seem to have been used in the early nineteenth-century.⁷⁸ The labels read as follows:

Ale, Beer, Brandy, Bucellas, Champagne, Cherry Brandy, Citronelle, Constantia, Curaçoa, Cyder, Gin (2), Guldewater, Eau-de-vie-de-Dantzic, Hock, Hollands, Madeira, Marischino, Marsala, Noyau, Parfait Amour, Perry, Port, Porter, Ratifia, Rum, Shrub, Teneriffe, Vidonia, Whiskey.⁷⁹

It is not clear whether these labels were in use during Abadam's time as landlord at Middleton Hall, or whether they were relics of Sir William Paxton's era (Paxton's brother, Archibald had been a successful wine merchant in London), kept by Abadam purely for antiquarian reasons. Perhaps this is another example of Abadam's inconsistent nature? Did these labels hang above empty bins in the cellar or were they in fact stocked with alcohol for Abadam's consumption?

The two themes of religion and temperance are often perceived as being linked because teetotalism was thought to be of high priority to the religious. There were several parallels between the denominations, especially the Nonconformists and the temperance move-

ment in Wales, namely the sermons, singing hymns and prayers, voluntary contributions, the importance of Sunday, i.e. Temperance Sundays and the similarity between the architecture of the temperance hall and the chapel.⁸⁰ Lambert also claims that due to the mainly Nonconformist character of the temperance movement in Wales, the movement adopted a religious air, becoming a moral crusade as it attempted to 'save' those addicted to drink.⁸¹ This article has explored the unusual combination of irreligion and temperance. However, it seems that during the early years of Queen Victoria's reign, many individuals turned their backs on both alcohol and religion at the same time and that 'early teetotalism strongly attracted the early secularists'.⁸²

E. H. Adams and Edward Abadam had strong opinions, but opinions that were often contradicted by their actions and behaviour. Their land agent believed them to be radical atheists, but Adams claimed that he was supportive of the established church, although anxious to see reform as the way forwards to a fairer system. However, Adams could very well have been masking his true antipathy towards religion in an attempt to gain public support during the 1832 election campaign. And what about Edward Abadam's involvement in the temperance movement? From the available evidence it seems that a double standard was in operation, Abadam condemning drunkenness and presenting a sober and respectable image in public whilst enjoying his nightly glasses of wine behind closed doors.

NOTES

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8. N. Gash, *Politics in the Age of Peel: A Study in the Technique of Parliamentary Representation, 1830-1850* (London, 1953), p. 179.
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10. Ibid.
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12. NLW Dolaucothi Correspondence (3) L4119. Letter from John Johnes, Dolaucothi to D. J. Edwards.
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28. *Yr Haul*, 85, vii (July 1842), p. 227.
29. *Yr Haul*, 87, vii (September 1842), p. 291.
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Llanarthne: 'Aspire, persevere and indulge not'', *Carmar-
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