

AGRICULTURE AND SOCIETY IN GLAMORGAN, 1660-1760

by

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in fulfilment of the requirements
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of
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DECLARATION

I hereby declare that the whole of the work in this dissertation is the result of my own investigation, carried out mainly during the period of my registration at the University of Leicester. It has not been submitted in substance for any degree, and is not being concurrently submitted in candidature for any degree.

(Signed) Inochryn J. Williams

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My indebtedness to printed and manuscript sources has been sufficiently indicated by the bibliography, and by the references in footnotes. However, although the work on sources and authorities was exclusively my own, I have incurred many debts during the writing of this dissertation. First, I would like to thank my supervisor, Professor W.G.Hoskins, for his wise counsel and constant encouragement in bringing this work to a conclusion. My thanks are also due to Dr. Joan Thirsk, my former supervisor, for her kindness and valuable assistance in the initial stages of my researches. I am also indebted to Professor E.G.Bowen, of the Department of Geography and Anthropology, University College of Wales, Aberystwyth, for allowing me to take advantage of the cartographic facilities of the Department.

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MAIN ABBREVIATIONS USED IN TEXT

A.H.R.	...	<u>Agricultural History Review</u>
Arch.Camb.	...	<u>Archaeologia Cambrensis</u>
B.B.C.S.	...	<u>Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies</u>
B.M.	...	British Museum
Badm.	...	Badminton (Beaufort) Manuscripts and Records
C.C.L.	...	Cardiff Central Library
C.R.	...	<u>Cardiff Records</u> (ed. by J.H.Mathews)
D.N.B.	...	<u>Dictionary of National Biography</u>
D.W.B.	...	<u>Dictionary of Welsh Biography</u>
E.H.R.	...	<u>English Historical Review</u>
Econ.H.R.	...	<u>Economic History Review</u>
G.R.O.	...	Glamorgan Record Office
H.M.C.	...	Historical Manuscripts Commission
I.A.W.	...	Iolo Aneurin Williams (Collection of Manuscripts)
J.R.S.S.	...	<u>Journal of the Royal Statistical Society</u>
L.C.R.	...	<u>Report of the Royal Commission on Land in Wales and Monmouthshire, 1896.</u>
LL/CC	...	Diocese of Llandaff Consistory Court
LL/CC/P(I & A).	...	Diocese of Llandaff Consistory Court Inventories and Accounts.
LL/QA	...	Diocese of Llandaff: Queries and Answers
LL/Ter	...	Diocese of Llandaff: Terriers
LL/VC	...	Diocese of Llandaff: Clergy Visitations
Mont.Coll.	...	<u>Montgomeryshire Collections</u>
N.L.W.	...	National Library of Wales
N.L.W.J.	...	<u>National Library of Wales Journal</u>
P.C.C.	...	Prerogative Court of Canterbury
P. & M.	...	Penrice and Margam Abbey Manuscripts
PR(Ll)	...	Probate Records, Diocese of Llandaff
PR(S.D.)	...	Probate Records, Diocese of St.David's
P.R.O.	...	Public Record Office
S.A.	...	St.Asaph
Soc.Rev.	...	<u>Sociological Review</u>
T.C.N.S.	...	<u>Transactions of the Cardiff Naturalists' Society</u>
T.R.H.S.	...	<u>Transactions of the Royal Historical Society</u>
T.S.C.	...	<u>Transactions of the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion</u>
W.H.R.	...	<u>Welsh History Review</u>

GLOSSARY OF TERMS

- Cantaloon: A woollen material manufactured in the eighteenth century in the west of England.
- Dicker: A parcel or package of ten - usually of hides.
- Dimity (Dimmity): A stout cotton fabric.
- Drugget: A kind of material made of wool and silk.
- Fardle (fardel): A bundle or little pack.
- Fellies (i.e. felloes): The exterior rim, or part of the rim, of a wheel supported by the spokes.
- Flannen: Probably a corruption of flannel brought about by the influence of the Welsh word gwlannen, meaning, 'a piece of wool'. On the other hand, the change of flannel > flannen may be ascribed to the analogy of linen or woollen.
- Manchett: A small loaf, or roll, of the finest wheaten bread.
- Muncorn (Mongcorn, Mungcorn): A mixture of different seeds sown together so as to come up in one crop (Wright: English dialect dictionary).
- Osenbrig (Osen-breges): A kind of linen
- Pilcorn: A variety of cultivated oat in which the glumes or husks do not adhere to the grain, but leave it bare (N.E.D.).
- Strakes: Pieces of iron used as 'tyres' or wooden wheels, and secured by 'strake-nails'.
- Sull: A plough.
- Ters (probably Tierce): An old measure of capacity equivalent to one third of a pipe (usually 42 gallons old wine measure); also a cask, or vessel, holding this quantity. (N.E.D.)

INTRODUCTION

The physical background

"It is moments of violence and excitement that endure longest in the human mind. Events of everyday life gradually fade from the memory or become blurred in the haze of time. One can discern the same process of selection in recorded history, the memory of mankind...Little account is taken of day to day life. The simple ordinary things are passed by or, at most, remembered as curiosities".¹ So it has been with the history of Glamorgan.

The appalling economic distress and the unprecedented social upheaval that befell the inhabitants of the Glamorgan coalfield following the declining fortunes of the coal industry during the 'twenties and 'thirties of the present century have been so frequently related and discussed in contemporary writings that our palates have become somewhat insensitive to the history of the county in pre-industrial times, when men, women, and children still toiled vigorously for a living, albeit in a more tranquil setting. Indeed, so completely has the history of Glamorgan been identified with iron and coal, that it is difficult to realise that a little over a hundred and fifty years ago the great majority of the people of the county were wholly dependent upon agriculture for a livelihood, and even their eating, sleeping and social diversions were constantly governed by the amount of time and energy they expended in coping with local farming

1. B.H.Slicher van Bath: The agrarian history of Western Europe, A.D.500-1850 (London,1963), p.3.

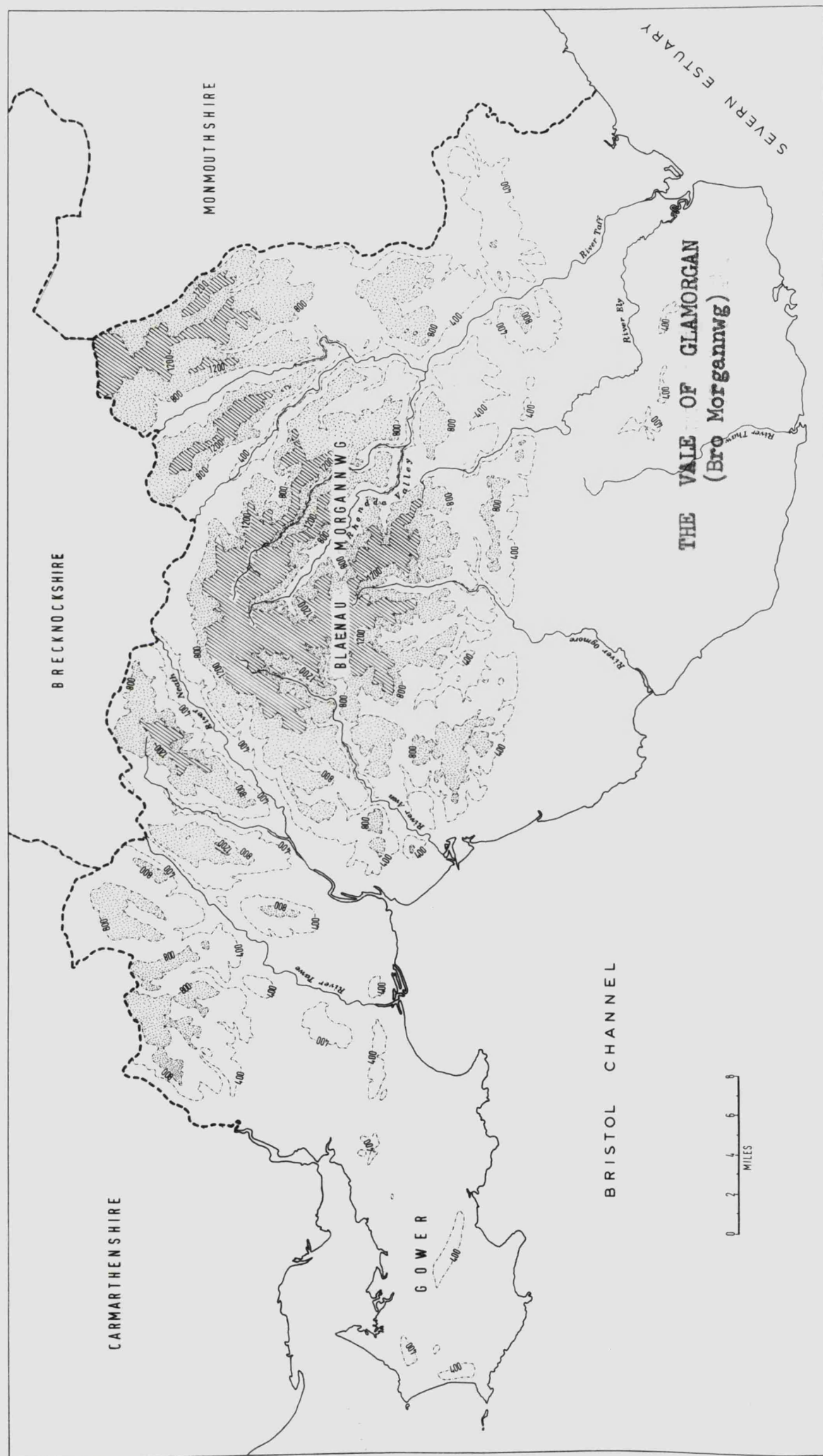
operations and their subsidiary tasks. Yet, if we are to understand the present, it is necessary for us to be familiar with the pattern of the past.

Our period of study extends from 1660 to 1760, during which we find the growth of small pockets of industrialism within a predominantly agrarian society. What impact early industrialism had on the life and environment of Glamorgan will be discussed later.

Before we can understand fully the economic and social organisation of Glamorgan in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, we must first take account of its physical structure, since in pre-industrial times geographical and geological facts dictated the distribution of population, and determined social origins.

The geographical limits of the county, as they were defined in our period (Map 1), were first acknowledged by a series of Acts passed by parliament between 1536 and 1542¹, which, in effect, added the Norman seignory of Kilvey and Gower to the older Welsh provinces of Morgannwg and Glamorgan, or Gwlad Forgan. Consequently, Glamorgan became finally bounded in the west by Carmarthen, in the east by Monmouth, and in the north by Brecknock, while its southern extremities were washed by the waters of the Bristol Channel. Within the boundaries of the county, so defined, Nature had imposed her own division into what has been traditionally recognised as the Vale of Glamorgan (Bro Morgannwg) and the hill districts (Blaenau²

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1. G.T.Clark: 'Manorial particulars of the county of Glamorgan'. Arch.Camb., 1877 (4th series) Vol.VIII, p.249; J.F.Rees: Studies in Welsh history (Cardiff, 1947), pp.38-40.
 2. Blaenau, meaning the fountainheads of rivers, or the regions lying near, or at the heads of the rivers or valleys, e.g. Blaenrhondda, Blaengarw, Blaengwynfi, etc.



Morgannwg). Such a general twofold division may be objected to because it "conceals the existence of an important intermediate area whose cultural character in the medieval period, no less than in pre-history, presents contrasts from both the upland region of Blaenau Morgannwg and the coastal segment within Bro Morgannwg".¹ But by the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the 'medieval' cultural difference between the middle regions and the hill districts had been substantially eliminated by the force of economic and social intercourse, thus, in effect, leaving only two fairly distinct regions which, for centuries, were to remain entirely different in their cultural and social content. A further objection to the simple twofold division of the county may be raised because it does not give prominence to the 'Cardiff region' and the 'Margam coastal area',² within the Vale, but in fact these have become identifiable only as a result of later industrial and urban settlements, and for that reason cannot be regarded as separate regions during our period.

Writing about the divisions of Glamorgan in 1578, Rice Merrick observed, "that part of Wales now called by the name Glamorgan only...was sometime named Glamorgan and Morgannwg which to be true, the Remembrance of many that live at this day can testify". So real was this division historically, that Merrick, who resided only a short distance outside the delimitation of the Vale, (i.e. Gwlad Forgan) declared "for in the Brittainne speech wee that inhabite the rest of that Country call them which dwell in

1. J.B.Smith: 'The lordship of Glamorgan'. Morgannwg, Vol.II, 1958, p.14.

2. E.G.Bowen (ed.): Wales: a physical, historical and regional geography. (London, 1957), pp.402-414.

that soyle only and noe part else 'gwyr Gladvorgan' (Men of Glamorgan)...
for if we speake of the Inhabitants of Morgan or to any out of the
Confines before specifiyed of 'Gwyr Gladforgan' they take not themselves
included: neither I myselfe although I dwell within two bow Shootes of
the port-way...take myselfe within that parte of Glamorgan in the old time"¹.

For our purposes, we shall adhere to the ancient division of
Glamorgan into Vale (Bro) and hill districts (Blaenau). Indeed, in each
of the regions we find that "the conditions of soil, topography and
climate...combine to produce sufficiently distinctive characteristics of
farming practice"² to mark them off clearly as two separate territories.
The hill districts, which made up about two-thirds of the surface area of
the county, consisted for the most part of mountains, although many of the
valleys lying between them were large and fertile, and in this tract there
were extensive areas which cannot properly be described as mountainous.
For instance, in the parishes of Gelligaer, Llanfabon, and the greatest
part of Eglwysilan, lying in the north-east of the county, there were ex-
tensive tracts capable of cultivation almost everywhere. Another such
area lay in the western part of the county between the rivers Neath and
Tawe, and Llangyfelach. But by and large, the soils in the mountain
regions were dry and poor, and permitted of mainly livestock rearing. John
Speed (1552?-1629) saw in these mountains 'whole heards' of cattle feeding.³
Consequently, the Glamorgan hill farmer could only aspire to become a

1. Rice Merrick: A Booke of Glamorganshires antiquities 1578 (London, 1887),
p. 4.

2. Cf. W. G. Hoskins: 'Regional farming in England'. A.H.R., Vol. II, 1954, p. 5.

3. J. Speed: England, Wales, Scotland and Ireland described... (London, 1627).
(Description of Wales, Chapter VII).

successful breeder of livestock. If he wanted to become a successful arable or 'mixed' farmer, he would have to migrate southwards to the Vale, where Nature had laid the foundations of a pastoral-agricultural economy. The niggardliness of the upland regions could sustain only a sparse population dwelling in fairly scattered homesteads.¹

The 'Vale' of Glamorgan which has been variously defined is, strictly speaking, not a Vale, but rather a low coastal plateau rising to between 200 and 300 feet above sea level, and "it extendeth in length from East to West about 24 miles, And in bredth from the Severne Sea on the South side to the foot of the Hills which separate those two parts asunder 7 miles, in some places lesse, in other places more".² It is interesting to note in this context, that although the Glamorganshire Agricultural Society³ offered the same premiums and prizes to farmers in both the 'eastern' and 'western' divisions of the county which were separated by the river Ogmore, it was stipulated that candidates in each division were not to be in competition with each other "owing to the superiority of the Vale soil".

The natural fertility of the Vale of Glamorgan had, from early times, earned for it the appellative the 'Garden of Wales'. Thomas Carlyle, who visited the Vale in the year 1843, has left us this description of the region: "A country kinder to the sluggard husbandman than any I have ever seen. For it lies all on limestone and needs no draining; the soil everywhere of handsome depth and finest quality, will grow good crops for you with the most imperfect tilling".⁴

1. For similarities in the farming regions of England, see The Agrarian history of England and Wales Vol. IV, 1500-1640 (Ed. Joan Thirsk), pp. 8-9.

2. Rice Merrick: Op. cit., p. 9.

3. Founded in 1772.

4. Quoted in M. I. Williams: 'John Stirling, Thomas Carlyle and Charles Redwood'. N.L.W.J. Vol. 7, 1951-2, p. 163.

There were, however, in the lowland regions of the Vale, pockets of pastoral country "cast in the highland mould". But in general the farmers of the Vale were engaged in mixed farming because here Nature had laid the foundations of a more varied type of farming than the highland soils permitted. Moreover, it was in this lowland region of Glamorgan, cradled in rich lias rock foundation, that the population was densest in pre-industrial times.

The physical features and geological facts which determined the nature of farming in the hills and the Vale were also instrumental in directing and controlling the progress of historical events in the county. Indeed, the social history of Glamorgan may be said to fall into two periods - the pre- and post-industrial - each revealing the importance of the two physical divisions in relation to the general economic and political developments of Great Britain. For instance, in the Vale, as distinct from the hill districts, we find even today its winding roads, its ruinous castles, the grouping of its villages, all testifying to a once firmly established manorial system of land cultivation. These circumstances may be attributed to the fact that the rich lowlands of Glamorgan afforded the Norman invaders in 1091 a natural and comparatively easy entry, and it was in these areas that the invaders were able to establish their authority most decisively. This was only to be expected because the plains provided the cereal crops and other agricultural commodities necessary for an effective military occupation. Thus the lands of the Vale became subjected to the manorial system of cultivation, and the inhabitants, in turn, to the feudal relationship which followed.

The hill districts, on the other hand, because they were more remote and less accessible to the invader, were not subjected to the same degree as the Vale. In short, "the subjugation of the lowlands was economic and political, that of the uplands primarily political".¹ Consequently, certain areas in the county were referred to as 'Englishries', and others as 'Welshries', according to the degree of Anglo-Norman control to which they had been subjected. The social significance of these historical events will be discussed in a later chapter.

Religious houses, too, like the rest of the population in pre-industrial times, were concentrated in the low fertile regions of the county. It has been calculated that about thirteen-fourteenths of the income of the monasteries in the diocese of Llandaff was drawn from the low-lying parts of Glamorgan and Monmouthshire.²

In contra-distinction to the Vale, the hill districts retained most of their ancient Welsh characteristics until the population explosion which followed the exploitation of its mineral resources at the end of the nineteenth century.³ These developments show how man began to exploit the mineral wealth of the Glamorgan hills, which eventually resulted in the industrialisation of the county and a re-distribution of population, which became densest in the hills.

1. William Rees: South Wales and the March, 1284-1415 (Oxford, 1924), p.26.

2. Glamor Williams: The Welsh Church from Conquest to Reformation (Cardiff, 1962), pp.345-346.

3. See M.I.Williams: 'Observations on the population changes in Glamorgan 1800-1900'. Glamorgan Historian (ed.Stewart Williams), Vol.1, 1963. pp.119-120.

The western part of the county, called the Gower peninsula, is more hilly than the eastern Vale, but none of its hills can be called mountains. It lies chiefly on triassic clays and lias sandstone. Here, again, Nature had imposed conditions which favoured mixed farming in low-lying regions, and in the upland areas sheep and cattle rearing predominated. In short, it may be regarded as an epitome of the rest of the county.

Interspersed with the diverse economic activities of the people on the plains and in the hills of Glamorgan, were many native cultural elements. The long literary tradition of the county has already been brilliantly outlined by the late Professor G.J.Williams.¹ But to its literature and poetry must be added its folklore, folk-music, its religious and educational pursuits, its sports and pastimes, as well as its local crafts and buildings. All these cultural expressions were nurtured within the economic framework which, as we have indicated, was largely pre-determined by Nature, for it was only during such times as men were not employed in grappling with every day economic problems that they were free to participate in cultural and recreational activities. For instance, when the Charity Schools were set up in Glamorgan in the early eighteenth century, men, women and children were taught to read "God's Holy word in their native British language" for four or five, or sometimes six months or longer, as those who desire to learn have need of them, and at such times in the year which the poor can best spare from their labours to attend them..."²

1. Traddodiad Llenyddol Morgannwg (Caerdydd, 1948).

2. Welch Piety (London, 1740), Vol.1, p.63.

The vitality of native culture was certainly at its peak during those centuries when the people of Glamorgan were almost entirely dependent for their livelihood on agricultural-pastoral occupations and their ancillary crafts, when the 'family' was still an effective social and economic unit, often remaining on the same farm for generation after generation, and, indeed, when the population as a whole remained relatively static. During our period, Welsh was the first language for the majority of the inhabitants of the county, despite the local encroachments which stemmed from the anglicising influences of the coastal trade with the West of England.

The eighteenth century witnessed the groundswell of industrialisation which was later to change the way of life that dominated society during our period. Gradually, small bands of workers were being attracted away from the land to take up non-agricultural employment in the local 'works'. We shall show that there was some evidence of a small trickle of migrant labor from adjacent English counties, particularly from Somersetshire, to the industries around Neath and Swansea which, even in the eighteenth century, had modified, in some measure, the social milieu, and the surrounding landscape.

In the following pages an attempt will be made to examine the social life of the people of Glamorgan in relation to the pastoral-agricultural economy of the period 1660 to 1760 as it became modified by the increasing chances and opportunities that followed the expansion of commercial agriculture, and also by the early exploitation of the county's mineral resources.

We shall deal with our subject in the following order. Chapter 1 will discuss the size, distribution and trend of the population of the county. In chapter 2 we shall deal with the organisation of society in relation to the land and its ownership. Chapter 3 will discuss the state of agriculture, the size of farms and the implements of husbandry. Chapter 4 will examine the industries of the countryside, while in chapter 5 we shall describe the peasants' houses and their interiors, household provisions and the general diet of the population. Chapter 6 will examine the organisation of the 'family' and its inheritance, and in chapter 7 we shall examine the condition of the 'poor' and some of the contemporary provisions made for their relief. Chapter 8 will discuss, in some detail, the inland and coastal trade, the place of the local fairs and markets, and the growing use of money and credit in the distribution of the products of the county. In chapter 9 we shall discuss the growth and development of non-agricultural industry and its impact on the community. Finally, in chapter 10, we shall examine the implications of the changing landscape in various parts of the county.

AN AGRARIAN SOCIETY

1660-1700

Chapter 1

POPULATION

Size

We have seen that local climatic and soil conditions were the 'natural' factors that shaped the general pattern of Glamorgan farming, and determined whether stock rearing or tillage was to become the chief mode of husbandry, and that these in turn influenced the distribution of population, particularly in pre-industrial times. Moreover, the standard of living enjoyed within the pastoral-agricultural economy of Glamorgan depended, not only on the contemporary standards of local husbandry, but also on the size and age distribution of the native population, that is to say, on the number of productive workers relative to the number of dependents. It is, therefore, necessary at the outset to examine, as far as available sources permit, the size and distribution of the population of the county during the period we are studying.

Conflicting estimates of the size of the population of Wales have been made for various periods previous to the first official census of 1801.¹ But while some of these were based on the parish records and

1. Examples of these estimates, together with the sources, are given below:
William Llewellyn Williams: The Making of Modern Wales, (London, 1919), p. 55n - 125,000 (1515).
R.T. Jenkins: Hanes Cymru yn y ddeunawfed ganrif (Caerdydd, 1931), t. 2 - under 400,000 in 1670.
L.C.R. 1896, p. 44 - 389,605 (1690).
Sir Thomas Phillips: Wales (London, 1849), p. 6 - 300,000 (1570).
David Williams: A History of Modern Wales. (London, 1950), p. 177 - 400,000 (1700).
See also 'A note on the population of Wales, 1536-1801' in B.B.C.S., VIII, pp. 359-363.

official tax returns, others have, undoubtedly, been little more than guess work. It appears, however, that English demographers have been rather more systematic in their investigations into the size of the combined population of England and Wales. The earliest recorded estimate was made by Gregory King circa 1695¹ who based his calculations on the official tax returns of houses, and used multipliers to resolve 'houses into people', but varying the multipliers to suit housing characteristics in different areas.

These early estimates, although proved to be remarkably good, must be handled with caution for 'The best of them is but an approximation, while the worst bears no relation whatever to the truth'.² The same caution must also be exercised when these early calculations are projected into local population studies, for regional population trends and characteristics did not necessarily match the national pattern. Consequently, the question of pre-census population trends should be investigated, as far as possible, on a regional or county level.

The present enquiry into the size and distribution of the population of Glamorgan in the seventeenth century rests heavily on the information contained in the assessment lists, compiled for the administration of the Hearth Tax which was first levied in 1662 and finally repealed in 1689. The tax amounted to a shilling, payable half-yearly at Michaelmas (29 September) and Lady Day (25 March) on each hearth in

-
1. D.V.Glass and D.E.C. Eversley: editors. Population in history (London, 1965), p.162.
 2. E.C.K.Gonner: 'The population of England in the eighteenth century'. J.R.S.S., LXXVI, p.261.

a person's occupation. Those exempted included paupers and occupiers of houses worth less than 20s. a year, who did not pay church rates, and who had only one or two hearths. Although there were in all fifty-four collections of the Hearth Tax, the assessment lists which contain the names of occupiers of all houses, together with the number of hearths in each house in every parish of the country exist only for the periods 1662 to 1666 and 1669 to 1674.¹

Unfortunately, only four of the Hearth Tax assessment lists for Glamorganshire have survived. Of these, the most satisfactory and comprehensive list is that for the year 1670² which contains the names of all those persons residing in each parish who were deemed taxable at the appropriate rate of 1s. per hearth every six months, as well as the names of all persons who were certified as being 'under value and poore'. In addition, the number of persons (unnamed) who were in receipt of 'the constant alms of the parish' are also included. The only persons omitted were those who may have been inmates of hospitals, almshouses and prisons.

It is now generally assumed that the persons whose names appeared in Hearth Tax lists represented the heads of households³ and

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1. For an authoritative statement on the Hearth Tax lists and their content, see C.A.F. Meekings: Surrey Hearth Tax, 1664. Surrey Record Society, Nos. XLI, XLII, 1940; the Introduction to The Hearth Tax, 1662-1689, Exhibition of Records (Pamphlet), P.R.O., 1963; Joan Thirsk: 'Sources of information on population, 1500-1760 - II'. Amateur Historian, Vol. 4, No. 5 (1959), p. 183.
 2. P.R.O. E.199/221/294. The other lists are P.R.O. E.179/221/297; E.179/224/599; E.179/375/6.
 3. E.C.K. Gonner: op.cit., J.R.S.S., LXXVI, p. 282.

that if the total number of names is multiplied by a figure which represents the size of the average household at that time, the result will approximate to the total population of the parish or county to which the lists relate. In estimating the size of the population of the various regions in England, seventeenth century demographers have used multipliers that have sometimes varied from 3 to 7. For example, Dr. Charles Davenant in 1695 computed from the 'Book of Hearth Money' that in general 'there may not be above six persons to a house', but with richer families he thought 'we may very well allow them to contain one with another, seven persons...'¹ Writing in 1780, Richard Price thought that these computations were too large.² It is now generally regarded as unwise to assume that the average seventeenth century English household comprised more than 4.5 to 5 persons.³ But it would be equally unwise to accept these figures as universal multipliers to be used in conjunction with the Hearth Tax lists for estimating the size of the population for every region or county. It should not be assumed, for instance, that the average household in seventeenth century Glamorgan comprised 4.5 to 5 persons without some additional qualification. Obviously it would be as unsafe to use a multiplier for an area for which it was not applicable, as it would be to use a multiplier for a period

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1. Charles Davenant: An essay upon ways and means of supplying the war. (London, 1695), p. 51.
 2. Richard Price: An essay on the population of England from the Revolution to the present time. (London, 1780), pp. 5 and 14.
 3. W.G. Hoskins: Industry, trade and people in Exeter, 1688-1800 (Manchester, 1935), p. 114.

for which it was not designed.¹ It would be equally unsafe to assume that the average size of households was the same in every parish within every county. We should also guard against another possible deviation, particularly when using the Hearth Tax assessment lists for estimating the total population of towns where 'many houses were divided among more than one family', and the assumption that one hearth tax payer represented one family may not always be valid.²

Some light on the question of the size of family units in Glamorgan between 1660 and 1760 is provided by the contemporary probate will material. A systematic examination of more than two thousand extant wills of testators representing most occupational and social groups within the county for that period has revealed that the average number of children named therein by heads of families as beneficiaries amounted to 4. It would follow from this that the average single family unit within the groups examined would have consisted of 6 persons. In this connection it will be worth examining very briefly other evidence contained in a number of Poll Tax lists relating to a limited number of Glamorgan parishes and hamlets for the years between 1689 and 1702. These lists are often entitled 'A true and perfect list of names and surnames of all p'sons inhabiting and residing...' in the respective parishes assessed 'by virtue of an Act of Parliament for raising money by Poll and otherwise for carrying on the war with France and Ireland'.³

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1. Victoria County History of Leicester (O.U.P., 1955), Vol. 3, p. 140.
 2. Joan Thirsk: 'Sources of information on population, 1500-1760 - II'. Amateur Historian, Vol. 4, No. 5 (1959), p. 183.
 3. P.&M. Nos. 5262; 2509-2512; 8684-8708.

The difference between these Poll Tax lists and the Hearth Tax lists is an important one for the demographer; for the former included only the names of those who were chargeable, whereas the latter, as we have already shown, included the names of the heads of households who were charged, and those who were exempted on grounds of poverty. Moreover, there were so many categories of persons exempted from paying the Poll Tax that the lists, as they stand, provide a very unreliable basis for calculating the size of the population of the parishes to which they relate. Nevertheless, they cannot be ignored completely, and must be examined in relation to the corresponding Hearth Tax lists for 1670. The following table, therefore, shows the number of households accounted for in the 1670 Hearth Tax list compared with the number of persons who paid the Poll Tax in 1689 in the parishes noted:

TABLE I

<u>Parish</u>	No. of households as given in the 1670 <u>Hearth Tax list¹</u>	No. of persons as given in the 1689 <u>Poll Tax list²</u>
Pencoed	94	110
St. Brides Minor	28	99
Tythegston	68	191
Newcastle	132	255
Coity	168	273
Bettws	54	157
Kenfig	25	92
Laleston	73	222
Newton	<u>83</u>	<u>216</u>
Total	<u>725</u>	<u>1,615</u>

1. P.R.O. E.179/221/294.
2. P.&M.No.5262.

Assuming that the local population had not undergone any significant changes between 1670 and 1689, it would appear¹ that the average number of persons per household within the nine parishes listed was only about 2.2. But some weight must be given to the number of persons who were exempted from paying the poll money and whose names were, for that reason, excluded from the assessment lists. If, then, this number approximated to the number of Hearth Tax exemptions within the same parishes in 1670, it must be assumed that about 35 per cent of the inhabitants of the respective parishes in 1689 were paupers. On this reckoning, therefore, the average number of persons per household within the said parishes would have amounted to 3.1, a figure we regard to be far from the truth.

The size of some of the poorer families in the county at the end of the seventeenth century is indicated in a list containing the names of 'A number of persons claiming exemption for themselves and their children' from paying the sum of 1s. quarterly which was imposed by the Poll Tax of 1692.² In fact, this list contains the names of twenty-five persons who lived in the parishes of Dinas Powys, Cowbridge, and Swansea, and it shows that the average number of children to each claimant was 4.5. Consequently, the average size of each of the family units concerned was 6.5 persons.

1. By dividing the total number of persons by the total number of households.
2. P.R.O. E.132/1334.

Almost a quarter of a century after the compilation of the 1670 Hearth Tax list, Edward Lhuyd, the renowned Welsh antiquary, and one time Keeper of the Ashmolean Museum, put forward his 'Parochial Queries in Order to a Geographical Dictionary...etc., of Wales'.¹ Many of the replies he received contained particulars of the number of inhabitants and the number of houses in numerous parishes throughout the whole of the Principality, including the Glamorgan parishes of Aberavon, Baglan, Kilybebyll, Cadoxton-juxta-Neath, Llancarfan (and its constituent hamlets) and Sully. For convenience, the number of houses and the number of inhabitants attributed to each of these parishes, together with the corresponding number of households, as given in the 1670 Hearth Tax list, are shown in the following table:

1. Issued by Edward Lhuyd in 1696, and published as Parochialia by the Cambrian Archaeological Association in three parts, 1909-11, edited by Canon R.H. Morris. For a reappraisal of this work, see F.V. Emery's informative article entitled 'A Map of Edward Lhuyd's Parochial Queries...' in T.S.C., 1958, pp. 41-53.

TABLE II

1 Name of parish or hamlet	2 3 <u>No. of</u>		4 Total no. of inhabitants	5 Calculated average size of household 1696
	houses 1696	households 1670		
Aberavon	50	(54)	180	3.6
Baglan	80	(61)	350	4.4
Kilybebyll	32	(51)	250	7.8
Cadoxton-juxta-Neath	400	(361)	2,000	5.0
Llangynwyd	?	(138)	500	?
Llancarfan	38		115	3.0
Llanbethery (hamlet)	20		58	3.0
Llancadle (hamlet)	26		96	3.7
Tregoffe (hamlet)	16	157 (141)	58	3.6
Liege Castle (hamlet)	12		56	4.7
Walterston (hamlet)	14		63	4.5
Moulton (hamlet)	20		91	4.5
Penon (hamlet)	11		42	3.8
Sully	40	(33)	100	2.5

According to the above table (column 5) the average number of persons per household within the fourteen parishes and hamlets was approximately 4.2, which suggests that the generally accepted multipliers 4.5 and 5 are too high to be applied to these particular areas where the size of the average household may have been nearer to 4. But on closer inspection it will be seen that Lhuyd's figures expose, to some degree, the marked differences that existed between the size of households in purely agricultural areas and those in areas such as Kilybebyll and Cadoxton-juxta-Neath, where non-agricultural industries were already beginning to attract additional workers from other districts. The trend becomes more conspicuous during the first half of the eighteenth century.

It should be noted, in passing, that the well known Compton Census¹ of 1676, which purported to show the religious divisions of the country as between Conformists, non-Conformists, and Papists, includes the returns for a little over half the total number of parishes of the county of Glamorgan, but it covers almost all the parishes of the Gower peninsula which were included within the Archdeaconry of Carmarthen. The historical value of the religious census in relation to Wales has been thoroughly dealt with by the late Dr. Thomas Richards who, after examining the figures returned for the deanery of Llandaff, concluded that "Amidst this cumulative mass of confusing factors, the idea that the census might supply a safe guide for gauging the population in that year must be finally surrendered. The highly suspicious round numbers and the large numbers of parishes left unreported complete the sad tale of disillusion".² However, in view of the fairly complete coverage given to the parishes of Gower, it may be worth testing the figures returned for that area.

In dealing with religious censuses, it is usually assumed that the figures they contain refer to the adult population only, that is to say, all persons over sixteen. Therefore, if the proportion of children under sixteen to adults could be determined, then it would be possible to calculate the approximate size of the whole population at that time. There is no generally accepted figure, but Mr. C.W. Chalklin³ in his

1. Salt MS.33 (William Salt Library, Stafford).

2. Thomas Richards: 'The religious census of 1676: An enquiry into its historical value, mainly in reference to Wales'. T.S.C. (1925-1926), Supplement, p.30.

3. C.W. Chalklin: 'The Compton Census of 1676: the dioceses of Canterbury and Rochester'. A seventeenth century miscellany, Vol. XXVII, pp.157-172. Kent Arch.Soc.Records Publication.

examination of the 1676 religious census in relation to Kent 'suggests that there were, on an average, forty children to every sixty adults', and Mr.C.T.Smith in his study of the same census for Leicestershire¹ arrives at a very similar conclusion. Assuming, therefore, that the number of 'under 16s' constituted ^{fifths} two-thirds of ^{number of adults?} the population of the Gower region, then, according to the Compton returns, the total population in 1676 would have stood at 7,220, which figure, when divided by the total Hearth Tax households attributed to this region in 1670, would give an average of 4.2 persons per household or family. But as there are no satisfactory means of testing the validity of the assumptions underlying this calculation in relation to the population of Glamorgan, we shall not attach any special significance to the resulting average.

It should be recognised that the size of the 'household' did not always correspond with the size of the 'family'. In rural and urban areas alike, the size of the household sometimes varied according to the number of servants who lived-in. Another important factor that affected the size of households was the extent to which married sons and daughters continued to live with their parents. In the semi-urban areas of Glamorgan, in particular, the presence of male and female immigrant workers tended to increase the average size of the household. For example, the population of the town of Swansea in 1678 included many

1. Victoria County History of Leicester (O.U.P., 1955), Vol.3, p.143.

'housekeepers' and 'lodgers' from other counties of England and Wales.¹ On the other hand, the size of families naturally depended on the degree of muptiality, natural fertility, and the ratio of births and deaths. Another factor which also influenced the size of family units was the very common practice of sending children away as apprentices to Swansea, Cardiff, and even across the channel to Bristol. These movements, while reducing the size of some rural family units, served to swell the size of other 'households' in the urban or semi-urban areas. Within both urban and rural areas there were other forces which induced more than one single family unit to live in the same house, thus making the size of the 'household' much greater than the single family unit.

However, on the basis of what has been discussed above, whether we take account of the size of the average 'household' or of the average single family group in Glamorgan during the last decades of the seventeenth century, it may be concluded that neither can be much less than 4.5 or much greater than 5.5 persons. Consequently, in calculating the total population of Glamorgan from the Hearth Tax lists, we shall adopt the multipliers 4.5 and 5.

These figures correspond in a remarkable degree to the average

1. P.&M.No.3139. This document lists 61 men who were 'imprestet' in 1678. An analysis of the list shows the following distribution by place of origin.
8 (Plymouth); 4 (Falmouth); 1 (Carmarthen); 2 (Appledore); 5 (Northam, Devon); 1 (Weston); 1 (Taunton); 2 (Tewbury sic); 1 (Washford); 3 (Clovelly); 1 (Exeter); 1 (Popsham); 4 (Absam, Devon); 2 (St.Ives); 1 (Bideford); 2 (Myler, Cornwall); 1 (Lancashire); 1 (Barnstaple); 1 (Oystermouth); 1 (Loughor); 1 (Sully); 1 (Milford); 2 (Pennard); 1 (Aberddaw); 1 (Sudbury); 1 (Yarmouth); 1 (Weeks, Dorset); 1 (Bridgewater); 1 (Jersey); 1 (Christchurch, Dorset).

size of families in several north Wales counties. An examination of the various documents which comprise the Notitiae¹ of the diocese of St. Asaph for 1681 and 1686 has revealed that within the diocese (which consisted of the greater part of Flintshire, Denbighshire and Montgomeryshire, nearly half of Merionethshire, a portion of Caernarvonshire, together with a small sector of Shropshire)², the average number of 'souls' per family was 4.5. There were, of course, a number of unusually large households. At Llanfair Talhaiarn, for example, John Wynn's household numbered 31, Edward Vaughan's of Llanfihangel-yng-Ngwynfa, 36, and Sir Roger Mostyn's at Whitford, 37. In Glamorgan, the number of servants in Lord Mansel's household in Margan was 38 in 1712,³ and 44 in 1720⁴.

The total number of households within the 121 parishes⁵ accounted for in the Glamorgan Hearth list for 1670 amounted to 9,083, and on the assumption that the average size of each household at the time was between 4.5 and 5 persons, this number would represent a population

1. SA/Misc./1236-1400. Note: The Notitiae for 1681 was taken 'according to the form commanded by the Rt.Revd.Father in God, William L^d.Bp. of St.Asaph (and) presented to his Idship at the Convocation upon the 13th day of July 1681' and 'holden' at St.Asaph'.
2. A.W.Wade-Evans: Parochiale Wallicanum. Y Cymmrodor Vol.XXII (1910), pp.99-110.
3. P&M.No.5522.
4. P&M.No.2549.
5. Throughout the nineteenth century there was considerable disagreement regarding the number of parishes in Glamorgan. The Myvyrian Archaeology (Denbigh,1870) pp.748-9 gives a list of 133 parishes with a note stating that they amounted to 140. An additional note by Iolo Morganwg stated that the correct total was 128. D.W.Jones (Dafydd Morganwg) in his Hanes Morganwg (Aberdar,1874), p.24, gives a list of 126 parishes, while the 1801 census refers to only 113 parishes under 'Glamorgan'. Rice Merrick (1578) lists the names of 121 parishes, which corresponds with the number accounted for in the Hearth Tax list.

total of between 40,874 and 45,415. The validity of these totals depends, not only on the accuracy of the multipliers used, but also on whether, in fact, all the households within every parish of the county were accounted for in the Hearth Tax list. It is very doubtful, indeed, whether the 'viewers' who compiled the original lists performed their duties as thoroughly as was expected of them. Therefore, as so much doubt and scepticism attend the calculations based on the Hearth Tax material, it would be well worth following another method of calculation, namely, by working backwards from the fairly reliable figures given in the first official census returns of 1801. These indicate that the population of Glamorgan then stood at 70,879. If we subtracted from this total the annual differences between total baptisms and burials for the previous century and a quarter, we could expect to arrive at a reasonable estimate of the population total for 1670. For this purpose we may use the figures contained in the Abstracts of Answers and Returns¹ made by the incumbents of each parish in the county. The Abstracts indicate the number of baptisms and burials as recorded in the extant parish registers² from 1700 to 1800. From 1700 to 1780 the figures are arranged decennially, and afterwards for each subsequent year to 31 December 1800. The figures indicate that the average annual excess of baptisms over burials between

1. Census 1801 (London, 1801). For summary, see Appendix A.

2. There were many gaps in the registers, and consequently the returns were far from complete. Moreover, it should be noted that births, as such, were not registered, but baptisms. Similarly, not deaths, but burials in churchyards belonging to the Established Church.

1780 and 1800 was 255. By a simple process of subtraction from the 1801 total, the population figure for 1780 would be 65,779. Between 1700 and 1780 the average excess of baptisms over burials appears to have been roughly 137.¹ Pushing our calculation back by a further series of subtractions, the total population for 1700 comes to 54,819. Assuming that the annual excess of baptisms remained at 137 during the closing decades of the seventeenth century, the population of the county in 1670 would have stood, on this reckoning, at 50,709.

	<u>1801</u>	<u>1780</u>	<u>1700</u>	<u>1670</u>
<u>Population</u>	70,879	-(255x20)=65,779	-(137x80)=54,819	-(137x30)=50,709

This figure is far in excess of any of the previous totals, and indeed it must be taken as the absolute ceiling for 1670. For it must be emphasised that the averages of excess of baptisms over burials are based on returns which were incomplete, especially for the early decades of the eighteenth century. For instance, in 1700, out of a total of 130 parish churches and chapels in Glamorgan, 84 registers were deficient, 87 in 1710, and 77 in 1720. However, in the absence of a more reliable basis of computation, it would appear that the figure of 45,700 - which stands mid-way between the lower Hearth Tax total of 40,874 and 50,709 - would be as near the size of the population of Glamorgan in 1670 as we can hope to be.

1. The national annual rate of population growth circa 1700 has been put at .2%, and circa 1760 at .6% (see Peter R.Cox: Demography (C.U.P., 1950), p.205. The corresponding rate of growth in Glamorgan, according to the above averages, was .25% and 4%.

It should be pointed out, in passing, that Mr. Leonard Owen's estimate of 48,928¹ as the population of Glamorgan in 1670, was arrived at by using a multiplier of 5½ which he obtained by averaging the number of persons to each occupied house in the county, as indicated in the census enumerations of 1801 and 1811 - when the characteristics of the population were entirely different from those which obtained in 1670. Again, the total households to which he applied the above multiplier was then taken from the undated Hearth Tax return (P.R.O. E.179/221/297) which may not actually relate to the year 1670. However, there is a Hearth Tax list for Glamorgan dated 1670 (P.R.O. E.179/221/294), and it is on the information contained therein that the present writer has based his calculations.²

Distribution

If the Hearth Tax lists are unreliable for purposes of computing population totals, they may be used with greater confidence in assessing the relative distribution of population in the late seventeenth century. A close examination of the Glamorgan lists reveals that the distribution of households varied in general accordance with the main farming regions of the county, with the greatest concentration to be found in the more

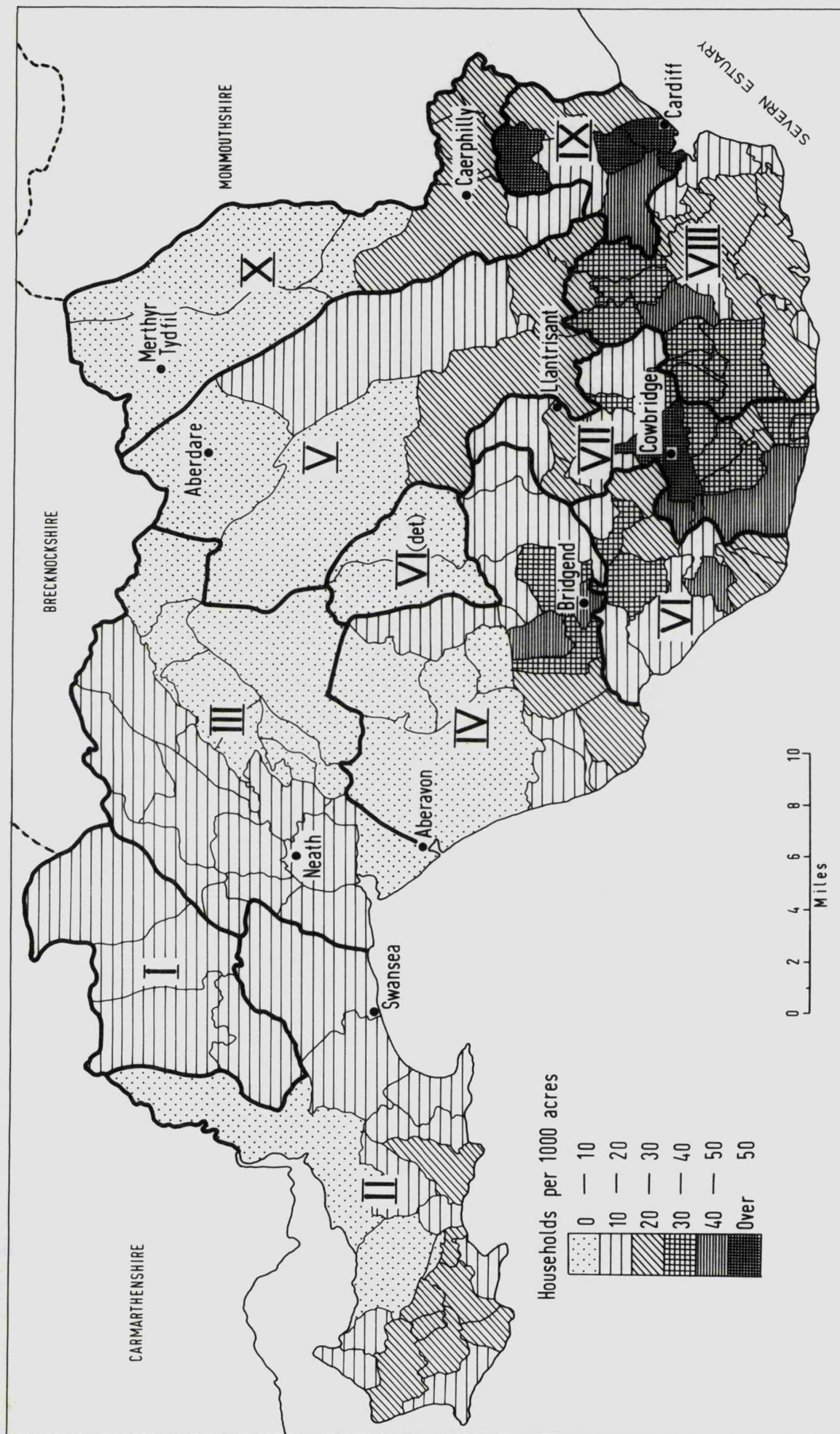
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1. Leonard Owen: 'The population of Wales in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries'. T.S.C., 1959, p.110.
 2. According to John Owen's Britannia Depicta or Ogilby improved... published in 1720, Glamorgan contained 9,644 houses - a figure drawn from 'the best historians and antiquaries', and which has been wrongly ascribed to that year. In fact, Owen's work was merely a correct copy of John Ogilby's Actual Survey made in 1675, but the number of houses attributed to Glamorgan therein cannot be 'officially' substantiated.

fertile lowland regions of the Vale and along the southern coastal regions of the Gower peninsula where mixed farming predominated. This region included the major semi-urban areas of Cardiff, Neath, and Swansea, as well as the agricultural towns of Cowbridge, Llantwit Major, and Bridgend. The upland regions, moreover, were, at this time, sparsely peopled - a situation consistent with its geographical features which generally permitted of only pastoral farming. This general pattern of the distribution of households continued until the middle of the eighteenth century when the growth and progress of non-agrarian undertakings began to reverse it, albeit very slowly. (Map 2).

Trends

It is now generally recognised that there was a steady increase in the population of England and Wales throughout the greater part of the sixteenth century, with a slowing down in the later seventeenth century, and a possible check in the 1720s and 1730s. Then followed a continued cumulative increase which started after about 1750. Was such a trend apparent in the growth of the population of Glamorgan? Some light is thrown on this question by the Abstracts of Answers and Returns¹ which, taken as they are, show that there was a slight decrease in the population between 1700 and 1710, and an increase during the next ten years, which, in turn, was followed by a substantial decrease in the 1720s. Thereafter

1. Census, 1801.



MAP. 2. GLAMORGAN: DISTRIBUTION OF HOUSEHOLDS IN 1670

(Based on the Hearth Tax List.)

HUNDREDS— I. LLANGYFELACH. II. SWANSEA. III. NEATH. IV. NEWCASTLE. V. MISKIN. VI. OGMORE. VI(a) OGMORE (detached.) VII. COWBRIDGE. VIII. DINAS POWYS. IX. KIBBOR. X. SENGHENYDD.

with the exception of a slight decrease between 1760 and 1770, the population increased quite steadily. Between 1801 and 1811 there was an increase of 20 per cent, and of 35 per cent between 1831 and 1841.

It is fairly certain that in various parts of Glamorgan the population increased steadily during our period. For instance, it may be argued, with confidence, that the increase in the population of Swansea from '140 to 307 persons per square mile' between 1563 and 1670 was due to the extension of the coal trade and the consequent development of the port from which coal was shipped to Devon, Somerset, Cornwall and Ireland.¹

We shall see later that there were many other areas within the county where the development of non-agricultural industries, together with the extension of local farms must have resulted in swelling the population, for both developments involved an increased demand for skilled and unskilled labour. This was particularly true of the Neath area where, in the early eighteenth century there were at least 1,600 persons employed in the smelting works belonging to the Company of Mine Adventurers. Many of the employees were immigrants who had been encouraged into the area by Sir Humphrey Mackworth.² Others, undoubtedly, like Thomas Wilks (alias Nicholas)³ of Britton Ferry, came voluntarily from Kingston in the parish of Collingbourne in Wiltshire, and formed the avant garde

1. Cf. D.G. John: 'Contributions to the economic history of South Wales', Part 2, p.76. (Unpublished thesis, University of Wales, 1930).

2. P.&M. No. 3249.

3. N.L.W. P.R. Llandaff (Admin.), 1737.

of the hordes that were to follow in the nineteenth century. The presence of an increasing number of non-agricultural workers exerted additional pressure on local farming activities, with the result that many farms were extended, and some small, but significant, enclosures of the commons took place.

Although there are no reliable statistics which reflect the general trend of the population in Glamorgan between 1760 and 1801, there are, nevertheless, two sources worthy of a brief examination. The first is an ecclesiastical return which consists of a list of parishes, together with the number of families relative to the Deanery of Gower circa 1708.¹ The figures supplied in this list are tabulated below, and are compared with the numbers of households recorded for each parish in the Hearth Tax list and in the 1801 Census report. The number of households attributed to the several parishes of Gower in 1563 is also listed in the table. We are now able to view the apparent trend of the population of this region from the middle of the sixteenth century to the beginning of the nineteenth century. It will be seen from the figures that there was, on the whole, an upward trend from 1563 to 1708, and the magnitude of the corresponding figures for 1801 can only suggest an overall upward trend during the eighteenth century.

1. Ottley Papers VI.

TABLE III

Number of Households and Families in the
Deanery of Gower c. 1563-1801

<u>Parish</u>	1563 ¹ <u>Households</u>	1670 ² <u>Households</u>	1708 ³ <u>Families</u>	1801 ⁴ <u>Families</u>
Port Eynon	17	24	32	64
Llandilo Talybont	61	88	(69)	189
Reynoldston	18	25	29	46
Penmaen	13	19	18	32
Bishopston	40	39	47	73
Lougher	60	(55)	(40)	129
Ilston	40	34	36	49
Swansea	180	(73)	300	1652
Rhosilly	22	28	32	37
Llangenneth	67	69	70	69
Nicholston	16	20	21	24
Oxwich	17	24	27	47
Llangyfelach	200	532	670	855
Llansamlet	60	97	340	570
Llanmadock	19	22	26	49
Cheriton	29	19	36	50
Penrice	27	36	48	66
Llanrhidian	162	114	253	290
Knelston	14	15	?	15
Llandewi	21	31	27	24
Oystermouth	60	70	96	170
Penard	26	51	58	63
Llanquick	77	193	103	197

Upon closer examination, these figures show fairly clearly that the most marked increases in the number of families/households were confined to those parishes where non-agricultural industries were being

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1. Harl.MS., No.595, p.87 (quoted in Lewis W.Dillwyn: Contributions towards a history of Swansea (Swansea, 1840), p.49).
 2. P.R.O. E.179/221/294.
 3. Ottley Papers VI.
 4. Census, 1801.

developed. This is most conspicuous in the parishes of Llandilo-Talybont, Lougher, Swansea, Llansamlet and Oystermouth. In the agricultural parishes, the increase of population had been comparatively small between 1563 and 1801. For instance, in 1801 there were only 15 families in Knelston, 24 in Nicholston and Llandewi, 50 in Cheriton, and 69 in Llangennith. The greater increase in some of the coastal parishes is 'probably nearly proportioned to the extension of their trade in limestone.'¹

A second source worthy of note consists of the 'Visitations, queries and answers (Clergy) 1763'.² These lists refer to 68 Glamorgan parishes within the Diocese of Llandaff. The veracity of the returns may be challenged frequently, for obviously the clergy did not follow a uniform method of filling up the returns. For example, there seems to have been some confusion as to what constituted a 'family'. The incumbent for Pentyrch stated in one of his replies that 'If one or two may be reckoned families, we have 60 or more, if not, above 9 or 10.'³ But other replies are certainly more reassuring and informative. We are told, for instance, that in the parish of Michaelstone-le-Pit there were three farms from £40 to £80 a year, in which there were from 5 to 7 in a family, together with three small farms with from 3 to 5 in a family, and '9 cottages in which there were 3 single persons living in 3 of them, and from 2 to 3 living in each of the other cottages besides small children.'

1. L.W.Dillwyn, op.cit., p.49.

2. LL/QA/1.

3. Loc.cit.

It was added that there are not (above) 'fifty-one grown persons in the whole parish'.¹ In the same parish in 1801 there were 68 persons, constituting sixteen families. One significant fact that emerges from these returns is that the larger farms were occupied by the largest families. The same conditions obtained at St.Lythans, where there were 14 families, of which 6 occupied middling farms from £24 to £70 a year, and had from 4 to 6 in a family, together with 2 small farms from £5 to £8 a year, with 2 to 4 in a family, and 6 cottages in which there were 3 single persons living in 3 of them with a few little children, and from 2 to 3 living in each of the other cottages. It was further stated that not more than 40 grown up persons resided there 'one time with another in the whole parish.' Moreover, in Sully there were 26 families and 10 middling farms (£10 to £35 a year) in which there were from 4 to 7 in a family, 'except small children.'²

Fragmentary though it may be, the evidence we have been able to glean from the ecclesiastical returns suggests that the average size of families had not changed to any significant degree between 1670 and 1763. Therefore, in resolving 'families' into 'population' for the 68 parishes accounted for in the returns, we shall again use the figure 4.5 as a multiplier. We are now able to tabulate and compare the estimated population of over half the parishes of the county for the years 1670, 1760 and 1801,

1. Loc.cit.

2. LL/QA/1.

in addition to having a similar basis of comparison for the whole of the Gower for 1670, 1708 and 1801 (Table IV). The figures show that there was an overall steady increase between 1670 and 1763, with probably a higher rate of increase during the second half of the eighteenth century. This trend is certainly confirmed in 'A comparative view of the number of houses in each county of England and Wales as they appeared in the Hearth-books of Lady-Day 1690, and as they were made up at the Tax-office in 1708, 1750 and in 1781.'¹

TABLE IV

Total Households and Families
(Estimated population shown in brackets)

	<u>1670</u> (Hearth Tax)	<u>1708</u> (Ecclesiastical Returns)	<u>1763</u> (Returns)	<u>1801</u> (Census)
Diocese of Llandaff (68 parishes) LL/QA/1	3,689 (16,601)	-	5,155 (23,198)	6,358 (28,611)
Gower (23 parishes) Ottley Papers VI	1,676 (7,542)	2,383 (10,724)	-	4,760 (21,420)

1. George Chalmers: An estimate of the comparative strength of Great Britain... (London, 1786), p.191.

TABLE V

Number of families in the
Diocese of Llandaff

	<u>1670</u>	<u>1763</u>	<u>1801</u>		<u>1670</u>	<u>1763</u>	<u>1801</u>
Aberavon)	114	105	382	Llantrithyd	40	39	43
Baglan)				Llantwit Major	225	100	174
Barry	11	9	14	Macross	22	15	13
Bonvilston	34	58	58	Margam	138	229	350
Briton Ferry	20	39	56	Merthyr Dovan	30	20	
Cadoxton-juxta-Barry	22	18	47	Merthyr Mawr	32	29	30
Cadoxton-juxta-Neath	363	500	848	Merthyr Tydvil	169	140	169
Colwinston	45	18	48	Michaelston-Le-Pit	10	15	16
Coychurch	111	130	150	Michaelston-S-Avon	43	37	41
Coity	168	180	248	Michaelston			
Eglwys Brewis	8	5	5	(Cowbridge)	11	9	11
Eglwysilan	297	300	441	Monknash		12	18
Ewenny	69	45	174	Newton Nottage	83	67	100
Flemingston	18	14	13	Penarth	16	12	15
Gelligaer	106	700	137	Lavernock	17	7	9
Glyncorrwg	42	35	102	Penmark	78	70	92
Cowbridge)				Pentyrch	112	?	105
Llanbleddian)	316	80	323	Peterston-S-Ely	44	33	48
Welsh St. Donats)				Pile & Kenfig	63	67	144
Llandough	32	22	18	Porth Kerry	14	15	18
Llandow	17	12	18	Roath	64	40	42
Llancarvan	141	111	121	Ruddry	75	52	41
Llandyfodwg	49	50	46	St. Andrews Minor	3	2	2
Llanedeyrne	71	40	59	St. Brides Major &			
Llangan	36	12	41	Wick	179	186	205
Llangeinor	42	61	67	St. Brides Minor	28	200	80
Llangymwyd	138	135	160	St. Donats	26	10	39
Llanharry	40	30	31	St. Lythans	15	14	15
Llanilid)	85	40	64	St. Mary Church	22	21	29
Llanharan)				St. Mary Hill	23	40	45
Llanishen	74	40	65	St. Nicholas	89	50	68
Llansamnor	34	30	27	Sully	33	26	29
Llantrisant	351	250	383	Wenvoe	83	63	71
Llantwit Vardre	77	90	81	Ystradowen	26	36	26

There is strong evidence to suggest that in many parts of Glamorganshire, particularly in the Vale and the middle region of the county, the population was made up of a substantial proportion of elderly persons. In the parish of Sully in 1697, when the population was stated to have been about 100, there were 'Severall ancient persons wh^h age of 60 and 70 years.'¹ In Llangynwyd-fawr there were, in the same year, 'many men and women from 75 to 90', and again in Llantrisant there lived 'divers persons of above a 100 years old', and in the words of a contemporary observer, 'the same may be said of Ystrad-y-vodok' (sic.)². Longevity among the inhabitants of the Vale is again borne out in a number of presentments relating to the manor of Llancadle in the eighteenth century, where tenants were stated to be between 60 and 80 years of age.³

At the beginning of the nineteenth century longevity in the Vale continued to be a subject commented on by many observers who also sought to account for its fairly general occurrence. One writer attributed the 'health and frequent longevity' of the inhabitants to the 'salubrious climate', while another saw an explanation in the fact that in the Vale 'all eat good wheaten bread'. Yet another contemporary sought to explain the numerous instances of longevity by saying that the inhabitants had

1. Edward Lluyd: Parochialia. Pt.III, p.45.

2. Loc.cit., pp.10-11.

3. G.R.O. D/DF M/96-107. Later, in the eighteenth century, the fabulous Edward Williams (Iolo Morganwg) compiled an almost incredible list of the names of about thirty people from the Vale who had died between 1700 and 1780 at various ages ranging between 98 and 130 years! (I.A.W.Collection No.123/42).

for centuries white-washed not only the inside and outside of their cottages 'but barns and stables, also walls of yards and gardens, the stone back and quick set fences, and even solitary stones of large dimensions, horse blocks etc. near the houses', and it was therefore considered 'not improbable that this liming of dwellings, concurring with other causes, preventing infectious diseases etc., may occasion that longevity which has been so frequently noticed in this highly favoured Vale.'¹

In contrast it was said that in the Gower area 'they eat barley bread for most part' and it was thought that instances of longevity among the people there were 'less numerous than in other parts of the country.'² It was also observed that in the mountains, not many persons attained the age of 100 years. It was an established fact that whilst in the Vale valetudinarians lived to a considerable age, in the mountains, north of the county, 'they seldom last much beyond twenty five...'³

It is rather significant that the above instances of longevity occur in those parishes where, as far as we know now, there was no industry other than agriculture: that is to say, the population was wholly rural. Could the incidence of aged persons reflect some degree of migration? For it has been established that although there is a tendency for the country-

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1. Walter Davies: General view of agriculture and domestic economy of South Wales, Vol. I. (London, 1815), pp. 137-138.
 2. B.H. Malkin: The scenery, antiquities and biography of South Wales Vol. II, (London, 1807), p. 544.
 3. Ibid., p. 552-4.

side to become rejuvenated more rapidly than urban areas, it is not the rural areas, but the cities that possess a younger age structure. The relative position of rural and urban areas in this respect may be accounted for in terms of population shifts 'causing rural areas to age and cities to rejuvenate.' It has also been averred that 'The older age group is relatively most numerous in the smallest cities, that is, in those which differ least...from rural communities.'¹ It is fairly certain that the development of a number of non-agricultural industries and their ancillaries in and around Swansea at the end of the seventeenth century created such a demand for additional workers that the adjoining parishes lost many of their younger inhabitants. Indeed, this trend was in evidence even at the beginning of the century when people were moving into the town from Kilvey, Loughor, Llangyfelach, Llangiwg etc.²

An impression of the age structure of the population in seven parishes within the Hundred of Newcastle in 1689 is given in the following analytical table³ of 'A list of names of all the p'sons that are charged wthin...' the several parishes 'by vertue of an Act of Parliament for raising money by Poll and otherwise.'

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1. Edward Rosset: Ageing process of population. Trans. from the Polish.. ed. by H. Infeld, (Oxford, 1964), p. 424.
 2. W.S.K. Thomas: 'Tudor and Jacobean Swansea: the social scene'. Morgannwg, V, p. 28.
 3. Compiled from the P & M. No. 5262.

TABLE VI.

Parish	Population			No. of married couples	Children			Widows	Spinsters	Covenant Servants			Day labourers	Paupers
	M.	F.	Total		M.	F.	Total			M.	F.	Total		
Newcastle	144	111	255	50	12	11	23	13	7	12	11	23	13	18
Coytie	167	106	273	44	?	?	21	7	-	15	16	31	47	36
Bettws	93	64	157	21	2		2	4	8	12	31	33	30	10
Kenfig	60	32	92	6	?	?	?	2	1	4	7	11	43	10
S. Cornelly	78	71	149	24	?	?	?	3	-	16	18	34	21	-
Laleston	(92	80	220)	48	?	?	50	5	1	9	17	26	5	-
	(Plus 50 children)													
Newton	(76	79	216)	39	?	?	61	2		9	7	16	83	1
	(Plus 61 children)													

But like all other evidence based on taxation material, the figures in the table must be regarded with caution. For example, it is difficult to believe that there were no children in the parishes of Kenfig and South Cornelly in 1689, and that there were only two in the parish of Bettws. For on the basis of a previous assumption we would expect to find an average of two children under sixteen years of age to every three adults - a proportion far from being substantiated in the parishes listed in the table. However, it is unwise to generalise on the basis of doubtful evidence, yet if we are to recognise this evidence as 'official' we must conclude from it that within the parishes named there was a high proportion of persons belonging to the older age groups - a conclusion consistent with the contemporary reports regarding longevity in Glamorgan.

We have now established that the population of Glamorgan in 1670 was concentrated mainly within those areas lying below the 400 ft. contour line where, generally speaking, tillage was the chief mode of husbandry (Map 2). In those areas situated between the 400 ft. and 800 ft. contours, the population was, on the whole, slightly less dense, mainly because here there were more extensive areas devoted to stock rearing and less to tillage. The Blaenau, or hill districts, which rose above the 800 ft. contour, were renowned for their large numbers of sheep and small black cattle 'that in winter as well as summer depend alone for

food on the heathy and grassy surface of the mountains.'¹ In the pre-industrial distribution of population of the county may be seen the relative labour requirements of different modes of husbandry, namely of mixed as opposed to pastoral farming.

Having examined the size and distribution of the population of the county, we shall now enquire into its social organisation.

1. M.I.Williams: 'Some aspects of the economic and social life of the southern regions of Glamorgan, 1600-1800'. Morgannwg III, pp.21-22.

Chapter 2

THE ORGANISATION OF SOCIETY

1660-1760

The Background

In order to appreciate fully the organisation of society in Glamorgan during our period, it is first necessary to examine very briefly the historical background of the system of land tenure that prevailed in the county at that time.

The conquest of Welsh territory by the Anglo-Norman lords of the Marches in the eleventh and twelfth centuries resulted in the introduction of the manorial system of cultivation into extensive areas of Glamorgan, more particularly into the Vale. The Marcher lords were in fact 'Individual adventurers with their own private armies' whose only claim on Welsh territory 'rested in general not upon any grant by the English king, but upon the right of conquest'¹, a right that was implied in the freedom granted to them by the king 'to push their fortunes on the border of Wales.' Consequently, the importance of ownership in land at this period lay in the fact that the lords required a body of supporters for military purposes and, therefore, their subjects were allowed to occupy land in return for their willingness to render military service.

The policy of centralisation adopted by the English kings during the period from 1485 to 1603 meant that in its local application, at least, military gave way to civil power. Consequently, the freedom that had been

1. William Rees: 'The Union of England and Wales' in T.S.C., 1937, pp.29-30.

enjoyed hitherto by the marcher lords in Wales was an anomaly which was finally abolished by the Act of Union in 1536. One important result of this Act was to introduce into Wales and the March a public system of government in place of the private rule of the feudal lords¹ which, in effect, raised the political status of the people from being simply tenants of a lord, to being subjects of the king, and members of a state enjoying certain political rights. Whereas under the old military feudal system the lord had required of the cultivators of the land, not so much to make him wealthy, as to make him powerful by furnishing him with a large number of men as military supporters, subsequent to the Act of Union there followed what has been referred to in another context as 'a species of peaceful feudalism in which the great aim of the landowners was to form an army of faithful voters - a band of political retainers'.²

The social relations that existed in Glamorgan in the seventeenth century reflected the transformation that had taken place from the purely feudal relations of the medieval system of cultivation to the system by which the landowners exploited their ownership of the land to secure economic advantages as well as the political control of the county. Further, with the growth and expansion of commercialism, land had become an economic commodity, and the landowners seized every opportunity to push their claims, and to manoeuvre their rights at the expense of their tenantry who, as we shall see presently, constituted the large majority of the population of the county.

1. William Rees: Op.cit., p.32.

2. Elie Halevy: A history of the English people in 1815 (London, 1961), p.236.

Social Stratification

Broadly speaking, the population of Glamorgan during the period 1660 to 1760 may be said to have comprised the landowners, the clergy, freeholders, tenant-farmers, farm labourers, traders and rural craftsmen.

The landowners, who included baronets, knights, esquires¹ and gentlemen, owned the land, but they did not necessarily occupy it. At the beginning of the eighteenth century, out of a list of 169 principal proprietors of land in Glamorgan, about 36 were absentees.² These included the Duke of Beaufort, the Earl of Plymouth, Viscount Windsor, Lady Charlotte Edwin and Sir Charles Tynte, who resided in England, while others, like Charles Morgan, Esq., and Phillip Lewis Esq., resided in the adjoining Welsh counties of Brecon and Monmouth.

The ordinary gentry of the period were individuals who owned and farmed the home farm, and possessed other farms which they had acquired either by purchase or through marriage, in other parishes. Charles Button, Esquire, of Comumbar, for example, had all his 'purchased estate partly intermixed with the antient estate' of his family. Richard Deere, Esquire of Wenvoe, who lived in an eight-roomed house, held land in thirteen different parishes, and when he died in 1699, his personal estate was valued at £1,104.16. 4d.³ There were, however, the smaller fry whose

1. According to Harl.MS.6804 ff.180-181, esquires in Glamorgan in the reign of Charles I numbered 33. Iolo Morganwg estimated that the number of principal landlords in the county circa 1790 was 90. See N.L.W. N6.13114B.

2. P.& M. MS.5092.

3. P.R. (L1) 1699.

lands were not very extensive, and who were entirely dependent on agricultural and allied pursuits for their livelihood.

Closely allied to the gentry were those who, whilst heavily dependent on agriculture for a living, were becoming increasingly active in industrial or non-agricultural undertakings. Typical of this group was William Thomas, Esquire, of Dan-y-Graig, Swansea, who, besides his 'coalworks' at Llansamlet, possessed extensive livestock which comprised '940 head of sheep, 100 milk kine, 70 oxen, 20 steers and heifers, 19 working horses and mares, 6 saddle horses', and after his death in 1665, his estate was valued at £891.¹ Similarly, Griffith Price, gent. of Llangyfelach, held lands in several places, and possessed '14 oxen, 18 kine, 31 young beast of two years old, 10 calves, 110 sheep and 30 lambs', and owned besides, 'coales by the pitts at Trewyddfa and by the waterside' (worth £9), and 'one lighter bote' (worth £5). When he died in 1665, the inventory of his goods was valued at £162.12. 4.²

The wills and inventories of the period show that there was an increasing number of persons who were engaged in trade and commerce, and who constituted a group which, from the value of their goods, could stand four square with the gentry. Business men who had set up in the urban and semi-urban centres such as Neath and Swansea, bought up land and houses in the countryside, and Edward Jenkins, a Cardiff apothecary, was only one

1. P.R. (Ll) 1665.

2. Ibid.

of many Cardiff business men during our period who possessed lands and other property in the parishes of Llancarfan and Llanbethery.¹ Evan Deer, ironmonger, of Cardiff, had purchased property in Llanmaes, Neath, and St. Mary's Cardiff.² Moreover, the wealth of the mercers, drapers, maltsters and mariners, often equalled that of the gentry of the countryside.³

The 'freeholders' of the county owned the land they occupied, and they constituted the 'yeoman' class. Many of them were, in fact, of the same birth as the minor gentry 'but of less condition'. It is for this reason that caution must be exercised in using the status nomenclatures such as 'gentleman' and 'yeoman'. These terms, although they often defined the actual social status of a person, were, nevertheless, frequently adopted by persons who merely regarded themselves as 'gentlemen' or 'yeomen', and wanted to be regarded as such by their neighbours because of the 'traditional' status of the family. But during our period it would appear that birth and gentility were being replaced by the size of the money bag as a factor which gave people a 'feeling of otherness' or, perhaps, the prospects of being associated with a higher class on the social ladder. Numerous wills, indeed, reveal this consciousness of class. Joshua Ward, a grocer of Caerphilly, typified many of his contemporaries when he made provisions in his will for his daughters to be maintained and kept in school till they arrived at the age of 15 or 16

1. P.R. (LL) 1736.

2. Ibid. 1735.

3. See M.I. Williams: 'Cardiff - its trade and its people' Morgannwg, VII, 1963, pp.83-86. See also Chapter 9 infra.

years 'with all such necessaries as is fit for children of their quality.'¹

Similarly, Samuel Sherbourne, a mariner of Cadoxton, near Neath, made provision towards his son's schooling 'and all other necessaries befitting his rank and quality.'²

The various provisions made by testators for their burial again demonstrated a real consciousness of class or station which they often required to be perpetuated after their day. This may have been the intention of Evan Thomas, yeoman, of Bonvilston, who ordered his executors 'to provide and bring two large tomb-stones³ about four inches thick from the parish of Llantrisant and cause the same to be laid upon 'mine and my wife's graves'.⁴ Again, John Greenfield, a Cardiff mariner, who died in 1736, required that mourning rings were to be worn at his funeral, and desired that '£60 be layd out in my funeral expenses, and that Joseph Howell of Cardiff, glover, shall serve my funeral with gloves.' Also, Katherine Lougher, a widow of Tythegston, bequeathed a sum of money to the local vicar 'for preaching a sermon' at specified times and dates.⁵ When Elizabeth Morgan, spinster, of Llancarfan, died in 1697, she bequeathed 6s.8d. 'to buy a decent bason for the font in the Church of Llancarfan' and 'to have my name engraved thereon'.⁶

Next to the 'yeomen' were the tenant farmers, that is, the

1. P.R. (11) 1718.

2. Ibid., 1718.

3. They cost £2.

4. P.R. (11) 1715.

5. Ibid. 1737.

6. Ibid. 1697.

occupiers who paid rent for the land they occupied, while the farm labourers or cottagers formed a class entirely apart from the rest of the agrarian hierarchy, for their only means of livelihood was by selling their labour to those who required it. As a group they constituted the agricultural proletariat. The social, economic, and cultural life of the county during our period must be viewed in relation to the alignment of the above 'classes' to the land.

It has been said that the history of Wales in the seventeenth century is necessarily, in the main, the history of a class, for 'of those below the class of 'gentry' we can know little at first hand. They had neither the leisure nor the education to leave their own account of themselves.' It was further contended that the gwerin (i.e. the peasantry), namely, those 'with no estate above what they get by daily labour' was still a relatively small class, 'while the term gentry as understood in Wales was highly elastic and comprehensive one, embracing all who could put up any sort of colourable claim to descent from the old princes and uchelwyr...'¹

More recently² it has been strongly argued that in England also there was only one class in pre-industrial society - the term class being used to denote 'a number of people banded together in the exercise of collective power, political and economic', and which in the main represented the landed and propertied classes. Indeed, this was also true of

1. A.H.Dodd: Studies in Stuart Wales (Cardiff, 1952), p.1.

2. Peter Laslett: The world we have lost (London, 1965), pp.22-52.

Glamorganshire where, since circa 1536-1542 the political representation of the county and boroughs at Westminster was controlled by only a few of the landowning families.¹ From about 1700 to 1832, the county seat had been occupied either directly or indirectly by Mansels, Talbots, Tyntes, Beauforts or Windsors. And the same control was exercised by the same group of families in the boroughs. Throughout the eighteenth century the Windsors controlled Cardiff, Cowbridge and Llantrisant; the Mansells of Margam controlled Kenfig; the Mackworths, Aberavon and Neath, while Swansea and Lougher 'were firmly in the pockets of the Beauforts'. In short, from 1710 to 1832, during which there had been twenty-eight parliaments, only five families shared the representation.² It should be remembered, also, that at that time the franchise was enjoyed by the forty-shillings freeholders who, with others who were qualified to vote, formed an electorate numbering 'well over a thousand', but 'nearly all the voters were tenants or dependants of the local magnates and squires'.³ Together they constituted only a small minority of the total population.

It has been estimated that 'about a twenty-fifth, at most a twentieth, of all people alive in the England of the Tudors and Stuarts, the last generations before the coming of industry, belonged to the gentry and to those above them in the social hierarchy'.⁴ That is to say, about four or five persons out of every hundred owned most of the landed wealth

1. W.R.Williams: The Parliamentary history of the Principality of Wales (London, 1895), pp. 95-101.

2. I.G.Jones: Franchise reform and Glamorgan politics in the mid-nineteenth century'. Morgannwg, II, 1958, pp. 48-49.

3. P.D.G.Thomas: 'Glamorgan politics 1700-1750'. Morgannwg VI, 1962, p. 52

4. Peter Laslett: Op.cit., p. 26.

and, in consequence, controlled the economic, social, and political affairs of the country. In Wales, after 1660, 'a gulf was beginning to yawn between a narrow and exclusive group of greater gentry on the one hand, and on the other the small squire, yeoman or freeholder, of equally ancient lineage but fewer acres.'¹

According to a survey entitled Index Villaris² published in 1690, the gentry of Glamorgan numbered about 219, and were distributed within the ten hundreds of the county, as indicated in column 1 of the following list. Assuming that these figures represented the heads of different families, then on the basis of the Hearth Tax³ computations, the percentage of the gentry to the total population in each Hundred is shown in column 2 of the list. In other words, two or three households out of every hundred households in Glamorgan exercised almost complete control over the fortunes of the county.

	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>
Dinas Powis	34	3.4
Cowbridge	24	2.0
Ogmore	16	2.6
Neath	15	1.5
Newcastle	15	1.0
Caerffili	28	3.7
Miskin	13	1.3
Kibbor	14	2.0
Llangyfelach	4	0.5
Swansea	15	1.3

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1. A.H.Dodd: 'The landed gentry after 1660'. Wales through the ages, Vol.II (Ed.A.J.Roderick), (Aberystwyth 1959), p.80.
 2. John Adams: Index Villaris... (London,1690), pp.1-404.
 3. See Chapter 1.

The list of Glamorgan subscribers to the Voluntary Gift to Charles II¹ provides further evidence which shows that almost every parish had its 'gentleman' and that in the richer agricultural areas of the Vale, many parishes had more than one 'gentleman'. The 26 parishes constituting the Hundred of Dinas Powis could claim, between them, 34 gentlemen, and the 21 parishes of the Hundred of Cowbridge had 24. Further, the contributions serve to emphasize the economic gulf that separated the 'gentleman' from the squireen and yeomen. For example, the list of subscriptions for the parishes of Gelligaer and Merthyr Tydfil received on 16 August 1661 is headed by Sir William Lewis, of the Van, with a sum of £10, and is followed by a hundred and forty subscriptions which ranged from 6d. to 10s. - the majority of the subscriptions being 6d. or 1s. There was, undoubtedly, a clear distinction between the 'county' gentry and 'parish' gentry.

In the 'Rowle of the Commissioners subscription' taken on 8 November 1661 at Bridgend, Sir Edward Mansell of Margam (who was taxed on thirty-two hearths in 1670) headed the list with £100; Sir John Aubrey of Llantrithyd (taxed on 20 hearths); Bussey Mansell, Esquire (taxed on 22 hearths), and William Herbert of Swansea (taxed on 18 hearths), each contributed £30., while Herbert Evans, Esquire, Neath (taxed on 10 hearths) contributed £20, and Richard Lougher Esquire of Tythegston (taxed on 10

1. P.R.O. E.179/264/47. Note. This Voluntary Gift was an emergency measure to relieve the shortage of ready money which faced Charles II on his return to power. Individual subscriptions were graded and limited to £400 for peers, and £200 for commoners. These sums were hardly ever obtained.

hearth(s) contributed £7; Thomas Button, Esquire, of St. Nicholas (taxed on 10 hearths) gave £10, and Martin Button Esquire, his son (taxed on 12 hearths) subscribed £5.¹ The above contributions serve to confirm that the number of hearths bore a direct relationship to the wealth or status of the heads of households. In other words, the size of a house was a fairly reliable index to the wealth of the occupier. Those who possessed the greatest number of hearths were generally the highest subscribers to the Voluntary Fund. There were exceptions, however, where individuals assessed on only one hearth in 1670 subscribed sums greater than others who were assessed on more than one hearth. For example, Rees ap Evans, of Mwyndy, near Miskin, taxed on one hearth in 1670, subscribed 20s. Incidentally, occupiers of only one hearth did not, of necessity, belong to the agricultural proletariat, as is sometimes erroneously assumed. In general, however, no 'gentleman' subscribed less than 5s., and no yeoman appears to have paid more than 10s.

The Glamorgan lists generally do not reveal the status of each subscriber, except in the case of the 'gentleman' and 'esquire'. But the list of subscribers for the Hundred of Neath does give the status of each contributor. In the Neath area, where industry and commerce had already created a semi-urban economy, the wealthier groups were the gentry, the mercers, drapers, and ^hmalsters, who virtually belonged to the same class. The rural craftsmen were the poorest, and the yeoman and husbandman fell between these two extremes.²

1. P.R.O. E.179/264/47.

2. This conclusion is substantiated by the probate inventories we have examined.

The same pattern of social stratification emerges from an examination of the Glamorgan Hearth Tax list of 1670. This reveals that about 60 out of every 100 households lived in houses with only one hearth; 20 households out of every 100 had two hearths, and about one in every 100 lived in houses with seven and more hearths. Although it is probable that some of these houses were, in fact, inns, it is beyond doubt that the largest houses were generally owned by those who possessed the greatest wealth.¹ It should be pointed out here that one household in four was a pauper household, according to the Hearth Tax lists.²

The great gulf that existed between the wealthy classes and the great majority of the people is again thrown into high relief by the distribution of personal wealth, as reflected in the probate inventories for the period 1693 to 1760, and tabulated below. The grouping adopted in the Table has no special significance, it merely coincides with the periods covered for administration purposes by the Probate Act Books.

1. See Table XVIII in chapter. 5.

2. See Chapter V for a fuller discussion

TABLE VII

Distribution of wealth as indicated in the Probate
Inventory Values, 1693-1760

Value of inventory in £.	No. of persons in each category			Total for whole period	
	1693-1710	1711-1726	1726-1760		
1- 5	108 (6) ⁺	51 (7)	69 (6½)	228	(6.6)
6-10	182 (11½)	83 (11)	109 (9)	374	(11)
11-20	332 (21)	201 (27½)	307 (27)	840	(24)
21-40	367 (23)	133 (18)	186 (17)	686	(20)
41-60	168 (10½)	50 (7)	91 (8)	309	(9)
61-80	112 (7)	45 (6)	73 (6½)	230	(6.7)
81-100	86 (5)	47 (6½)	64 (6)	197	(5.7)
101-150	94	45	90	229	
151-200	43	28	46	117	
201-300	49 (3)	24 (3½)	38 (3½)	111	(3)
301-400	13 (.8)	8 (1)	16 (1½)	37	(1)
401-500	13 (.8)	4 (.5)	4 (.4)	21	
501-600	6 (.4)	5 (.7)	5 (.4)	16	
601-700	5	1	6	12	
701-800	1	-	2	3	
801-900	4	1	2	7	
901-1000	1	-	-	1	
1001-2000	3	1	6	10	
2000+	1	1	1	3	

*Figures in brackets represent percentages of total.

Throughout the period of seventy-five years or so covered by these figures, it would appear that six out of every hundred testators were, on an average, worth not more than £5; eleven in every hundred (or about one in nine) were worth between £6 and £10; twenty-four in every hundred (or about 1 person in 4) were worth £21 to £40. In other words, 62 per cent of the testators who had died between 1693 and 1760 were worth

less than £40, while another 31 per cent were valued at between £60 and £200. The remaining 7 per cent obviously comprised the 'gentry' and great landowners of the county whose personal wealth ranged from £200 to £2,000, and more.

Meanwhile, the occupiers of land in Glamorgan, who were neither freeholders nor copyholders, were tenant-farmers whose tenure varied according to the legal nature of the act or instrument which creates and regulates their interest in the soil¹, namely, the lease. According to the evidence we have examined, leasehold tenure seems to have developed in Glamorgan during the seventeenth century, and circa 1650 leasehold rents predominated in some manors, although customary rents remained predominant in others. Leases for terms of years were numerous in the lordship of Gower.² There were tenants whose leases extended over a period of seven, fourteen or twenty-one years, or for one or more lives, and in Gower, leases for three lives were frequently granted. Leases for lives, as they fell in, could be easily manoeuvred by the landlord. Charles Button of St.Nicholas, for example, was well aware of this, for he once declared that "leases for lives, as they drop in, are better worth than when purchased".³ The leases of Penrice and Margam estates show that after about 1740, tenure was for life or lives.⁴ This is not

1. L.C.R., 1896, p.278.

2. C.Baker and G.G.Francis: Surveys of Gower and Kilvey (London, 1878).

3. P.R. (11) 1714.

4. Cf. Birch: Descriptive Catalogue of Penrice and Margam Abbey Manuscripts. Appendix, 1942.

surprising, for in a survey of Gower estates in 1720 it is revealed that leases for one, two and three lives "frequently fall in hand and are often renewed and altered which bring a constant yearly proffit besides herriots and dutys which are yearly 471 hens and 164 geese paid in kind and some, besides these, pay money..."¹ In other parts of Glamorgan, especially in the Vale, tenants held their farms from 'year to year' or 'at will',² and during the latter part of the eighteenth century the number of tenants-at-will had increased considerably.

With the progress of leasehold tenure, landlords were not slow to seize every opportunity of increasing their income from their estates by either shortening leases, advancing rents, or by charging heavy entrance fines.

The extent to which the lord could exploit his rights in the ownership of land is clearly exemplified in the following computation of the increase in the value of certain lands on the Margam estate between 1725 and 1729. The computation was made by the receiver of the rents as a reason for advancing his salary for "the great number of tenements fallen into hand and leased out at rack rent which gives the Receiver a great deale more to colle ct".³

1. P. & M. No. 7463.

2. John Fox: A general view of agriculture in Glamorgan, 1796, pp. 18-19.

3. P. & M. No. 5971b.

Year	Rent and duty	Heriots and other casual payments	Total
	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.
1724	4028.13. 8 $\frac{1}{4}$	23. 3. 6.	4051.17. 2 $\frac{3}{4}$
1725	4221.11. 1 $\frac{1}{4}$	166.11.11.	4391. 3. 0 $\frac{1}{4}$
1726	4065. 3. 4 $\frac{1}{4}$	214.14. 1 $\frac{1}{2}$	4279.17. 5 $\frac{3}{4}$
1727	4259. 4. 0 $\frac{3}{4}$	274.11. 7 $\frac{1}{2}$	4533.15. 7 $\frac{1}{2}$
1728	4320. 3. 9 $\frac{1}{2}$	301.16. 6.	4622. 0. 3 $\frac{1}{2}$
1729	4387.12. 3 $\frac{1}{4}$	357.12. 7 $\frac{1}{2}$	4745. 4. 4 $\frac{1}{4}$
Increase (1724-1729) = £693. 6. 9.			

The increased value of the estate represented an overall advance of 17 per cent over a period of six years. This advance probably reflects the increased industrial and agricultural value of the various tenements on the estate.

Further, when granting new leases, the landlords were able to improve their estates indirectly by inserting specific clauses which compelled tenants to carry out certain improvements on their tenements so that "whenever their mutual contracts expired" the demands of both landlord and tenant at once came into conflict.¹

In addition to the payment of rents and fines, and the honouring of covenants, tenants were also obliged to render certain specified duties which it was the lord's privilege to demand. For example, in 1727, William Thomas, of the parish of Margam, was granted a lease on Bryn-y-gurnos, Hafod-y-porth, of 27 acres, on payment of £5 yearly, and had to do yearly "suit of court, suit of Mill...where the lord shall appoint,

1. Cf. Halevy: Op.cit., p.235.

2 Gees and 2 capons or 3/- in lieu thereof at the elecion of the Lord,
1 days plowing 2 days reaping in corne harvest, 2 days carrying of hay,
2 days carrying of ffurzes and 2 days carrying of wood, yearely to digg
or cause to be digged, 5 perches of ditch in length and breadth in the
meeres of Margam upon the demesne lands there yearely on demand, to
carry or cause to be carryed thornes, furzes, ffrith, ffearnes, rushes,
and other necessaries for repairing the burrough of Margam four dayes in
every year (that is to say) one day in every quarter of a yeare with one
man and horse from sunriseing unto sun setting of every of the s^d dayes
yearely for stopping out of the waters and sounds there to carry or cause
to be carryed 2 Crannocks of lime and 4 Crannocks of coale to the manor
house of the s^d Lord at Margam...¹

The firm control which landlords exercised over their tenants
in the seventeenth century is reflected clearly in a book of old leases of
the Briton Ferry Estate where the lord granted the use of the land to his
tenants for agriculture only, reserving for himself all trees, woods and
underwoods, and the soil wherein they grew. Further "he binds his tenants
to all repairs in the strictest way on pain of losing his lease..." The
tenant was to furnish capons for the lord's table, to do suit and service,
and to grind his corn at the lord's mill; he was bound to plant a number
of trees annually or to pay a compensation for his default; he was liable
to be ejected for any waste, spoil, or destruction committed on the lord's

1. P.& M. No.5130. Cf. P.& M. No.2192; G.R.O. D/D M.B.N.211

land. Moreover, the tenant could not quarry stones on the land without the lord's consent - "all mines minerals and quarries, and everything below the surface is the lord's." This control over the land was complete in all the Glamorgan manors during our period, and was rightly compared "to the antient vassalage under the Baron of old."¹

Commutation of duties became quite common as the seventeenth century progressed, and by the beginning of the eighteenth century, the money paid "in lieu of dutys" on the Margam Estate in 1711, for example, (besides earing, ploughing, carrying hay, furze, wood, lime and coal) is shown in the following list:

<u>Division</u>	<u>Amount</u>
	£. s. d.
West Margam	14.17. 3 $\frac{3}{4}$
Middle Margam	2. 9. 6 $\frac{3}{4}$
East Margam	13.17. 6 $\frac{3}{4}$
Havodyporth	19. 7. 4 $\frac{1}{4}$
Langonyd	3. 2. 4 $\frac{1}{4}$
Pyle	9. 2.11 $\frac{1}{2}$
Higher Kenfigge	4.12. 8 $\frac{3}{4}$
Kenfigge Burrough	2. 0. 3 $\frac{3}{4}$
Stormey	8. 0. 1 $\frac{3}{4}$
Tythegston	2. 7. 6 $\frac{3}{4}$
Horgrove	3.11. 4 $\frac{1}{2}$
Laleston and Newcastle	3.15. 3 $\frac{3}{4}$
Langewyth	4.19. 0 $\frac{1}{4}$
Colwinston	9.18. 0.
Landough and St.Marychurch	8. 6. 6.
Out.-Estates	9. 8.
Oxwich	4. 0.10.
Portynon £4. 1. 0.,Pilton als Pilton £1.15. 6.	5.16. 6.
Penrice	2.18. 0.
Horton	2.12. 6.
Burrey als Stembridge	1.14. 9.
Nicholaston £1.19. 0.,Penard 5. 6.,Scurlage 14s.	2.18. 6.
Landimore	2.17. 4.
Wibley	15. 2.
Reynoldstone	4. 0.
	<hr/>
	134.15. 3 $\frac{1}{4}$

1. G.R.O. D/D BF/147. Cf. Clark, Cartae, VI, 2251-2253.

In other divisions of the estate "earing, plowing, carrying hay, furze, wood, lime and cole" were not valued, but were left to be paid "in kind".¹

The payment of the "heriot", which continued throughout our period, represented another of the lord's privileges and rights, namely to seize one or more beasts, usually the best, at the death of each tenant, or upon alienation. Where a tenant held lands of more than one landlord, he was liable to pay the heriot to each one of them. Griffith Hugh, of Llandilotalybont, for instance, who died in 1661, possessed six oxen "four of which were seized upon by his severall landlords".² Despite the hardship which often followed the payment of the heriot, it was taken for granted, and often delivered to the lord at the expense of the tenant. An item in the funeral expenses of Jenett Thomas, who died in 1681, was the payment of 6d. to Lodwick Robert "for going unto Margam with the heriot".³

Another incident attendant on landownership was the payment of mises. At a Court Leet held at Swansea, 26 April, 1757, according to the ancient custom of the Manor of Gower Anglicana, it was affirmed that "there is due and owing unto the Most Noble Henry Duke of Beaufort upon his entry into the said manor after y^e decease of the Most Noble Charles Noel Duke of Beaufort his late father...the sum of twenty six pounds thirteen shillings and four pence, being their shares and parts of the sum

1. P.& M. No.3730.

2. P.R. (S.D.) 1661.

3. P.R. (Ll) 1681.

of Mises to be paid by the tenants, occupiers and freeholders of the said manor..."¹ These sums were to be collected by tenants "who have power to distrain the goods, cattle, and chattels of all who refuse to pay".²

It is beyond the scope of this study to dilate on the variety of payments made, and of duties rendered, by tenant farmers on different Glamorgan manors, but sufficient has been said to show that the landowners held their tenantry in complete economic subjection. The landowners' interests, as exercised through the lease, undoubtedly conflicted with those of their tenants - a situation which made for at least two divergent social classes in pre-industrial Glamorgan. But the Church, no less than the landlords, also enjoyed certain rights and privileges which placed an additional burden upon the cultivators of the soil, and in turn influenced, in no small degree, the standard of farming.

The Church and the peasantry

The Church, as represented by the clergy, constituted a social class which, in the eyes of the peasantry, must have been as distinct as the landlords. For the demands of the clergy were often identified with those of the secular landlords, and were equally at variance with the interests of the peasantry. In his exhaustive study of Glamorgan monasteries, Professor Glanmor Williams found no evidence "to suggest that as landlords, they differed significantly in their methods or attitude from

1. Badm. (Group 1), No.2737.

2. Loc.cit.

surrounding laymen".¹ The payment of tithes, for example, "caused an immediate conflict of interests between the cultivators and the local representative of the Established Church".²

In the second half of the seventeenth century, there were between 70 and 80 members of the clergy who held livings in Glamorgan³ and who enjoyed, either directly or indirectly, the economic benefits accruing from the tithes which were levied, not on clear profits, but on the total produce. Tithes were payable, in most parishes, in kind, but sometimes in cash. In the parish of Bettws, for example, "for tythe of cows for six months (payable the last Monday of May and the last Monday in every month during the continuance of the six months) the whole milk of three days from the cows every month was apprehended to be due", but in practice it was always paid in the form of cheese.⁴ Again, at Cadoxton-juxta-Barry, tithes were due on wheat, oats and barley, wool, lambs, cows, calves, horses, pigs and geese, eggs and honey, and the produce of orchards and gardens. In addition "Easter offerings", which amounts were specified, were payable by every inhabitant of the age of sixteen and upwards.⁵ The "vicar or minister" of the parish of Merthyr Mawr was entitled to two eggs for every cock, drake or turkey cock, and one egg for every hen, duck, or turkey hen, payable on Good Friday. There was a tithe on fish and a

1. Glamor Williams: 'The dissolution of the monasteries in Glamorgan'. W.H.R., II, 41-42. See also, by the same author, The Welsh Church from Conquest to Reformation (Cardiff, 1962). Chs.X and XI. Cf. P.& M. No.2070.

2. Elie Halevy: Op.cit., p.238.

3. LL/VC/2; SD/VC/7. See also N.L.W. MS.1626C.

4. LL/Ter/6.

5. LL/Ter/11.

"garden tithes" of a ld. on every householder, and $\frac{1}{2}$ d. on every cottager, but a public gardener was to pay "in kind as he sells his stuffe".¹

In the parish of Sully, which lies on the sea coast, we find that "for every vessel trading from or constantly belonging to the several port or ports of Sully and Barry Island, there was due and payable to the Rector or Tythingman for each vessel the yearly sum of 2s.8d." Moreover, "tithe oar"² found or raised in the parish of Sully or Barry Island was "immemorially due and payable by the tenth pound or tenth measure".³

Sufficient has been said to indicate how tight a grip the clergy had on the economic life of the peasantry. The payment of tithes was by no means less irksome to the cultivators of the soil than the payment of rent or other dues to the lay landowners. Both rent and tithes were in conflict with the interests of the small peasant farmers and were inimical to an improved standard of husbandry which the landowners were anxious to encourage whenever possible.

There were, therefore, serious divergences of interest, not only between the church and the farmers, but ultimately between the church and the landowners who naturally "had no love for an institution which discouraged farmers from improving their farms". It is not surprising, therefore, that in a later period "the landlords composing the Board of Agriculture supported their tenants' demand for the reform of the tithe".⁴

1. LL/Ter/83

2. The "oar" was the seaweed which was collected in great quantities and converted into kelp and exported to Bristol.

3. LL/Ter/135.

4. Elie Halevy: Op.cit., p.238.

Members of the clergy, moreover, tended to identify themselves, on the whole, with a social class that stood aloof from certain other sections of the community. For instance, when the vicar of "Llanbleddian and Cowbridge" was requested to reply to the visitation queries of 1763, he stated that there were in his parish eighty families, among which there were no dissenters except "Methodists of all trades and denominations - tinkers, thatchers, weavers, and other vermin".¹ These discriminations echoed the views current at the beginning of the seventeenth century, and expressed by William Vaughan in a paragraph in which he described as "odious" the "trades of Butchers, cookes, fishmongers and hunter", and as "base", "pedlars and chaundlers", for "These kind of men have no voice in the common-wealth, and no account is made of them, but only to be ruled and not to rule others".²

From the above discussion there now emerges a picture, in broad outline, of an agrarian society made up of a complex stratification of social "classes" and status "groups" - some of these were distinguished by objectively measurable material wealth and possessions such as houses etc. But whether we think in terms of "status groups" or "social classes", the fundamental causes of all these social differences were hinged upon the system of landownership and the various restrictions and obligations the landlords were able to impose upon their tenantry. For it may be argued that if land is owned by a class other than those who till and live on it, "then there is a conflict between those^{who}/produce the crops and those

1. LL/QA/1, 1763.

2. The Golden Grove (London, 1608), Bk. III, Ch. 22.

who collect the rents and tithes, and this 'conflict' is as real as that between labour and capital for the dividends of industry".¹

But the general picture we have presented of the agrarian society of Glamorgan conceals the individual hopes and aspirations of the majority of the people who constituted the peasantry - the small producers on the land who, with the help of simple farm implements and the labour of their families, produced mainly for their own consumption and for the fulfilment of their duties to the holders of political and economic power".² In the daily struggle to fulfil their legal obligations, their way of life was conditioned by the requirements of the farm. Their festivals took place at slack periods of the agrarian year, and in the Vale of Glamorgan, wakes and revels (or 'riots' as they were sometimes called), and the accompanying singing, morris dancing, bull baiting, cock fighting, etc., took place in October.³ Local fiddlers and harpers were called in to entertain visitors at the big houses such as the residence of Sir Edmund Thomas, of Wenvoe, where a meeting of country people to dance was frequently held.⁴

It seems fairly clear, on the surface, that the peasantry took for granted their obligations to their landlords and to the clergy. There is no evidence of overt class conflicts during our period. But it should

1. C.C.Taylor: Rural Sociology (New York, 1933), p.132.

2. Teodor Shanin: "The peasantry as a political power". Sociological Review. March, 1966, p.6.

3. G.J.Williams: "Dyddiadur William Thomas o Lanfihangel-ar-Elai" in Morgannwg, I, 1959, p.21.

4. H.M.C.: Earl of Verulam 1906 MSS. pp.278-9.

not be assumed that social 'conflicts' (as understood and implied in this context) must, of necessity, be expressed overtly in physical violence or open hostility. Indeed, the migration of workers from agriculture to industry (which occurred from time to time during, and particularly at the end of, our period) may only have been a manifestation of 'conflict' whereby people were showing a strong desire for economic and personal independence, a less monotonous existence, and a higher standard of life. Further, class conflicts may be reflected in differences of religious adherence or persuasion. The increasing numbers of non-Conformists in Glamorgan during the eighteenth century was almost certainly connected with the fact that the gentry had lost touch with their tenantry, and, moreover, they "were Anglican".¹ Further, the language they spoke was almost certainly English, but in many parishes the clergy were Welsh speaking. The Anglican Church, as we have seen, was often represented in the eyes of those who produced crops and reared livestock, as another landlord, in fact an ecclesiastical landlord who demanded the payment of tithes in much the same way as the secular landlord demanded his rent and other dues. ?

We shall see that the pattern of life in Glamorgan was gradually changing during our period, and that the whole structure of the economy was being modified as new opportunities for alternative employment arose in industry, commerce, and the professions.

1. R.T.Jenkins: "The development of nationalism in Wales". Soc.Rev. XXVII, 1935, p.164.

Chapter 3

THE STATE OF AGRICULTURE

Throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, agriculture dominated the economic and social life of Glamorgan. The vast majority of the inhabitants earned their livelihood either by cultivating the land and tending to their flocks, or in occupations ancillary to these tasks. Agriculture, it is said, supported "about three-quarters of the population of the whole country in the early eighteenth century"¹, but in Glamorgan this proportion must have been even higher.

The diverse physical occupational tasks connected with agriculture were performed within a social environment that had been conditioned by the established system of landownership, while the general standards of living attained in these circumstances depended on the application of the most practicable methods of husbandry that were currently possible in the production of goods and commodities, and in their subsequent sale or exchange at the various fairs and markets established to facilitate these economic transactions.²

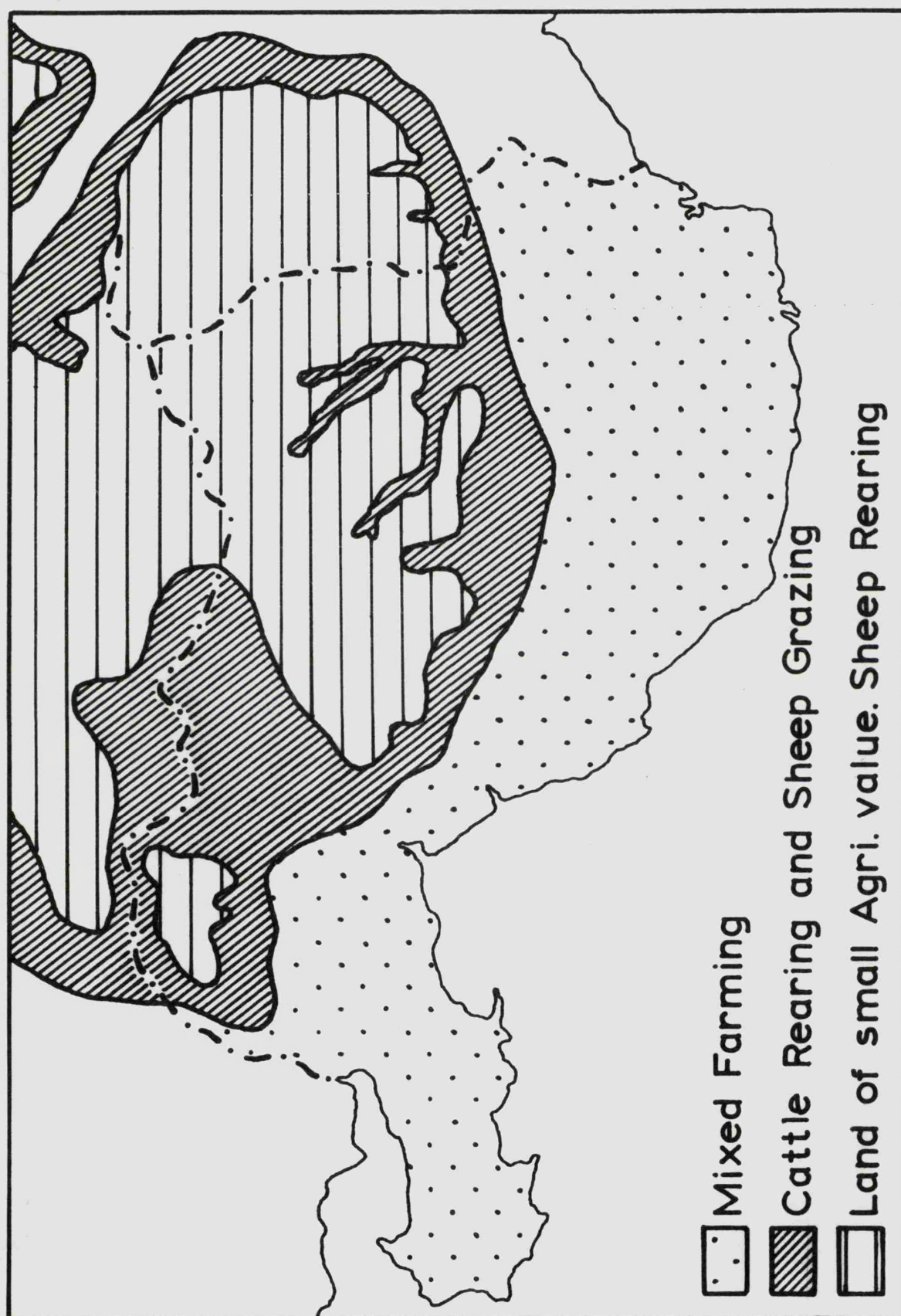
Yet in the final analysis everything depended on the physical characteristics of the county, the liberality or niggardliness of Nature, the fertility of the native soil, and the geniality of local climate.

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1. J.D.Chambers and G.E.Mingay: The Agricultural Revolution 1750-1800 (London,1966), p.15. Cf. Slicher van Bath: Op.cit., p.3.
 2. M.I.Williams: "Some aspects of the economic and social life of Glamorgan 1600-1800". Morgannwg, Vol.III, 1959, pp.22-3.

These were the basic determinants of the type of farming that was possible, and it may be said that in Glamorgan, as in Wales generally, the physical factors made it a stock-breeding rather than a grain producing area.

However, we must not lean too heavily on such conventional generalisations because, as we shall show, they contain lacunae which are exposed only after a detailed and systematic study of local records. For instance, too much weight has been given in the past to the general observations made on the Welsh agricultural scene by English 'travellers', 'antiquaries', and 'geographers' whose excursions into Wales hardly ever deviated away from the main highways. Consequently, when we examine the conventional histories of 'Welsh' agriculture, it is sometimes difficult to distinguish between pre-industrial conditions in North Wales from those prevailing in the South. Similarly, the agricultural conditions obtaining in one county have often been assumed to apply to other counties. It is misleading, for example, to apply what the oft-quoted George Owen of Kemeys said of Pembrokeshire farming in the sixteenth century to farming in Glamorgan during the same period, without some qualification. Glamorgan-shire had its own physical peculiarities, with different soil distribution and marked local variations in climatic conditions, besides the important influences exerted on local production by the proximity of the English markets which could be reached through its small ports. Welsh farming, in pre-industrial times, was no more "limited in type and uniform in character" than English farming, for it was a physical impossibility.¹

1. Cf. G.E.Fussell: "Farming methods in the early Stuart period".
Jnl. of Modern History, Vol.VII, 1935, p.1.



MAP 3. THE MAIN FARMING REGIONS OF GLAMORGAN
 BASED ON PROBATE MATERIAL, 1660-1760.

Geographically, Glamorgan comprises two fairly distinct regions traditionally referred to as the Vale (Y Fro), and the hill districts (Y Blaenau). The latter were always renowned for "their great breeding of Cattell, horses and sheep" although by the sixteenth century we are informed that "with the knowledge or use of lyminge...there groweth more plenty of grayne".¹ In the early sixteenth century John Leland recorded that in many parts of Glamorgan "The mountains have some redde dere, kiddes plenty, oxen and sheep".² When Thomas Fuller visited Glamorgan in the middle of the seventeenth century, he observed that "The north of this county is so full of mountains that almost nothing is to be had; the south is so fruitful a valley nothing at all is wanting therein".³ But by the end of the century, a Glamorgan bard has put it on record that one Hopkin Thomas Philip, of the parish of Llandyfodwg had grown "strong robust wheat" where deer once roamed in the woods in the northern parts of Glamorgan:

Ceir amlhau lle bu'r Ceirw mlith
Coed ar donn caderdew wenith.⁴

Circa 1542, corn crops were grown on a limited scale in the lower valley plains⁵ where, by the eighteenth century, "pretty large crops of corn"⁶ were produced - a fact corroborated by the probate inventories of the period. But, by and large, the inhabitants of the Blaenau earned their living mainly by rearing livestock, and in producing cheese, butter and wool for the market.

1. Rice Merick: Op.cit., p.9.

2. Leland: The Itinerary in Wales, ed. by Lucy Toulmin Smith (London, 1906), p.16.

3. Thomas Fuller: The history of the worthies of England (London, 1880), Vol.III, p.542.

4. Lemuel James: Hopkiniaid Morgannwg (Bangor, 1909), p.208.

5. Leland: Op.cit., p.16.

6. P.Russell: England displayed... (London, 1769), Vol.II. p.288.

It is worth noting that with the industrialisation of Glamorgan, fertile valleys, where cattle once grazed and corn crops waved in the highland breezes, were transformed into 'built-up' areas, losing all semblance of their former pattern of settlement.

The most notable of the 'built-up' areas is the Rhondda Valley which is coextensive with the former parish of Ystradfyodwg. In 1670, its population cannot have been far in excess of about 500. Even in 1807 it was seen by Malkin to exhibit "such scenes of untouched nature as the imagination would find it difficult to surpass, and yet", he added "the existence of the place is scarcely known to the English traveller".¹ In 1831 there were still only 1045 persons in the parish, but between 1861 and 1871, the population soared from 4,000 to 16,925, and by 1921 it had reached a staggering total of 162,717 - the majority of whom earned their livelihood in the mining and distribution of coal. This was, indeed, a far cry from the days when the majority of the inhabitants were engaged in the rearing of cattle and sheep. The way of life which these occupations imposed upon the pre-industrial community of Rhondda is reflected in some detail in the wills and inventories of the period. One or two examples of these must suffice for the present.

When Morgan Jenkin, yeoman, of Ystradfyodwg parish died in 1657, he possessed:

1. B.H.Malkin: Op.cit., Vol.1, p.82.

	£.	s.	d.
43 kine prised to £1. 6. 8. a peece	57.	6.	8.
6 oxen " " £1.10. 0. "	9.	0.	0.
25 beasts " " £1. 6. 8. "	33.	0.	0.
15 beasts " " 13. 4. "	10.	0.	0.
3 bulls " " £1. 0. 0. "	3.	0.	0.
20 calves " " 3. 4. "	3.	6.	8.
9 heads of horses and mares	12.	0.	0.
182 sheep uppon Tyr-y-Parke (4s. each)	36.	0.	0.
68 lambs " " (2s. each)	6.	16.	0.
270 sheep under the custodie of Griffith Llewelyn (4s. each)	54.	0.	0.
84 lambs " " (2s. each)	8.	0.	0.
8 goats	1.	0.	0.
20 stone of wooll	10.	0.	0.

His household stuff and implements amounted to £15. 8. 0., and his total inventory was valued at £260, which included £22.11. 6. in respect of "debts due to the testator".

Again, when Richard Howell Meyrick, yeoman, of the same parish died in 1704, the inventory of his goods showed that he possessed:

15 oxen (£30); 26 cows and 2 bulls (£42); and 62 other beasts of all ages (£47.17s.); 802 sheep of all sorts (£120); 9 horses (£9); 20 goats (£2); swine and poultry (£1); Corne in his house (£5); implements of husbandry (£2); wooll in his house (£5); Provisions (£5); household stuff (£10); wearing apparel (£5). Money due to him by specialities amounted to £67, and those without specialitie £5. His total wealth amounted to £360.17. 0.

These examples, although they represent the inventories of two of the richest farmers of the parish, nevertheless reflect the general nature of the capital of most farmers of the Glamorgan hills in pre industrial times. Working on a wider canvass, we find that the average

(median) number of cattle possessed by farmers in the five upland parishes of Aberdare, Merthyr, Ystradyfodwg, Llanwonno and Llandyfodwg was as follows:

TABLE VIII

Parish	Period	Number of samples	Number of cattle (Median)
Aberdare	1688-1723	12	35
Merthyr	1683-1725	7	15
Ystradyfodwg	1665-1718	37	39
Llanwonno	1670-1720	31	31
Llandyfodwg	1677-1728	7	49

Looked at from another angle, the following table shows the general distribution of cattle, as reflected in the inventories of 133 hill farmers for the periods stated:

TABLE IX

Number of cattle on Glamorgan hill farms for the periods 1660-1699 and 1700-1735.

Number of cattle	No. of farms		Total
	1660-1699	1700-1735	
1-20	21	14	35
21-40	30	17	47
41-60	12	15	27
61-80	9	4	13
81-100	5	1	6
101-200	3	2	5
Total number of farms	80	53	133

In the mixed farming regions of the Vale we find that the herds were considerably smaller. Whereas Table IX indicates that out of 133 examples of hill farms, 82 had up to 40 head of cattle, Table X shows

that of 126 examples in the Vale, 111 farms had up to 40 cattle. In other words, the proportion of farms carrying more than 40 head of cattle was 20 per cent in the Vale, compared with 40 per cent in the hills. But the quality of the herds was different. The natural differences of the hills and the Vale were reflected in the prices of their animals.

TABLE X

Number of cattle on Vale of Glamorgan farms
for 1660-1699 and 1700-1735.

Number of cattle	<u>No. of farms</u>		Total
	1660-1699	1700-1735	
1-20	47	14	61
21-40	35	15	50
41-60	8	2	10
61-80	3	-	3
81-100	-	2	2
Total number of farms	93	33	126

The inventories also emphasise the size of the sheep population of the Glamorgan hills, and the relatively large quantities of wool which were accounted for reveal the importance of wool in the pastoral economy of the Blaenau. The range of flocks kept in five upland parishes is reflected in the following table:

TABLE XI

Number of sheep on Glamorgan hill farms
for the periods 1660-1699 and 1700-1735.

Number of sheep	No. of farms		Total
	1660-1699	1700-1735	
1-20	10	7	17
21-40	10	5	15
41-60	10	4	14
61-80	6	5	11
81-100	9	3	12
101-200	13	10	23
201-300	12	7	19
301-400	3	2	5
401-500	1	2	3
501-1000	5	5	10
Total number of farms	79	50	129

Although the sheep population of the hill regions far outnumbered that of cattle, the major part of the farmers' capital was tied up in their cattle. Nevertheless, the traffic in sheep was as brisk as that in cattle. Sheep gave rise to the by-products of wool and mutton. The hill sheep were small, and the wool inferior, but their meat was sweet.

In sharp contrast to the hill farms, the sheep population of the Vale farms was, apparently much smaller. It is recorded, however, that circa 1696, in the parish of Sully, which was "about 1 mile in length and half a mile in breadth", there were "about 300 cattle and 1000 sheep".¹ The following table reflects the general picture, and shows that out of

1. Lhuyd: Op.cit., pt.III, p.45.

109 examples, only 30 farmers had flocks of 100 sheep and over, whereas Table XI shows that in the hills, out of 129 examples, 60 had flocks exceeding 100.

TABLE XII

Number of sheep on Vale of Glamorgan farms
for the periods 1660-1699 and 1700-1735.

Number of sheep	No. of farms		Total
	1660-1699	1700-1735	
1-20	12	2	14
21-40	12	10	22
41-60	12	5	17
61-80	7	5	12
81-100	8	6	14
101-200	16	8	24
201 and over	3	3	6
Total number of farms	70	39	109

There was a great demand for the wool from the Vale of Glamorgan sheep. Newton Down was once famous for its excellent breed of sheep, and their fleeces were claimed to be the finest in Wales, and equal to the finest in England. Equally famous were the fleeces of the sheep that grazed upon the Ogmores Downs, the Golden Mile near Bridgend, St. Mary Hill, and Stalling Down near Cowbridge. Again, the sheep of the Eglwysilan downs, with their fine wool, greatly resembled the Southdown in shape and colour. The woollen manufactory set up at Caerffili towards the end of the eighteenth century used up much of the locally grown wool.¹

1. N.L.W. MS.13,147A.

Sheep shearing was often carried out twice a year in many parts of the county. For instance, Jenkin Thomas, of Llangynwyd, who died in 1727, bequeathed unto his wife, among other things, "2 stones of wool, one being of May and y^e other of Michaelmas wool".¹

Many farmers owned sheep which they placed "in the custody" of their neighbours. The cost of grazing sheep was sometimes paid from the wool of the sheep grazed.² In his will, Phillip Evan, of Llantrisant, for example, had declared thus: "I give and bequeath eight yearly sheep.. and their maintenance upon my wife upon this tenement, he allowing his mother y^e wol of y^e s^d sheep for their maintenance unto my dear son Miles Philip", and to his son John Philip he bequeathed 13 yews with their lambs, upon the same condition. The wintering of sheep from the hills on lowland pasture was a fairly general practice, and in 1726 we find, for instance, that Thomas Rees owed Rees John of Aberdare 4s.4d. "for wintering thirteen sheep at 4d. per sheep".³

Sheep milking was commonly practised in many parts of Glamorgan during this period, and it was continued by some farmers until well into the nineteenth century. For instance, Thomas William of Canton, near Cardiff, had "10 milch sheep".⁴ John Howell, of Llantrisant, who died in 1692, had 17 milch sheep⁵, whilst Robert Williams, yeoman, of Llancarfan, had "30 milking ewes" worth £6. at the time of his death in May 1709.⁶

1. P.R. (Ll) 1727.

2. P.R. (Ll) 1719.

3. LL/CG/P(I & A) 536.

4. C.R. Vol.III, p.135.

5. P.R. (Ll) 1692.

6. P.R. (Ll) 1709.

In the parish of Monkmash, on the sea coast, Robert Jenkin, yeoman, who died in 1687, had as many as 53 milk ewes valued at £17.13. 4., besides "49 fatt weathers (£24), 29 store weathers (£10), 3 rams (£1), 7 fatt ewes (£2.12. 6.) and 37 tuggs (£7. 8.).¹

Cattle breeds

Contemporary wills help to fill out the sketchy picture we have of cattle breeds in the county in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. In Gower, the most frequently mentioned cattle are the reds and blacks,² whereas in the rest of the county the reds, blacks and the browns, which resembled the Gloucestershire breed,³ seem to have predominated. Cattle of different colours are mentioned in some wills. John Harry, yeoman of Pendoylan had one "white cow"⁴ in 1657, while Gronow William of Margam, who died in 1662, possessed inter alia "1 black-cow short tailed", "1 blacke heiffer", "1 yellow heiffer", "1 black cow with a white starre on the forehead", "1 red heiffer of a year old, white footed" and 1 young cow of a brownish colour".⁵ Red cattle were to be seen in the Coychurch area in 1696⁶, and Miles David of Penmark, mariner, who died in 1663, possessed "1 red cow with a white list on he(r) backe", "2 heiffers whereof one is black and the other red" and 2 red heiffers".⁷ Again, Mathew Jenkin of

1. P.R. (L1), 1687.

2. Cf. Frank Emery: 'West Glamorgan farming circa 1580-1620', N.L.W.J. Vol. X, p.20-21.

3. E. Lisle: Observations in husbandry (London, 1757), p.228.

4. P.C.C. 78 Wootten.

5. P.R. (L1), 1662.

6. Ibid. 1696.

7. Ibid. 1663.

Llanishen, yeoman, who died in 1664, bequeathed to various persons "one reed barren cow", "one reed yearlinge hayfer", "one black yearlinge hayfer", "one yellow cow and one black spotted hayfer of three yeare old".¹ Morgan John of Welsh St. Donats, who died in 1663, owned "one red sparked yerlinge" and "one black sparked yerlinge".² And as a final example, we may refer to the cattle owned by Gibbon Morgan, a yeoman, of the parish of Aberdare, high in the Glamorgan hills, who was buried in 1682 according to the "Canons of the true Catholique and Appostolique Church", having bequeathed "1 heffer of a red collar", 1 whitefoot cow" and "1 white belly cow" to his friends and relatives.³

The physical characteristics of cattle were often echoed in the names by which they were distinguished from each other. Morgan Thomas of Rhigos, near Aberdare, for example, bequeathed each of his seven cows by name - y fuwch sidan ddu (the black silky cow), y fuwch nebwen gron (the round white-faced cow), y fuwch fraith wen (the mottled cow), y fuwch nebwen (the white-faced cow), and y fuwch corn las (the blue-horned cow). In the Cardiff area, in 1730, such names as Cefnwen (white-backed), Pengron (round headed) and Seren (star) were common.⁴

The spotted cattle undoubtedly testify to a widespread practice of cross-breeding, or perhaps some degree of experimentation in inbreeding local types or other breeds, as in fact Robert Bakewell and his colleagues

1. P.R. (L1), 1664.

2. Ibid. 1663.

3. Ibid. 1682.

4. C.R., III, pp.168,169.

did in leading the way to the production of finer meat-yielding animals. Indeed, Owain John of the parish of Coychurch, yeoman, who died in 1672, must have been one of many yeomen who endeavoured, from time to time, to improve their herds, for in his will he had divided his cattle thus - To Evan Owain "one red cow wth caulf....and one yeolow steere by me formerlie bought from the place called Cwm Garne", and to his daughter "one heiffer of my owne breed y^t now is in my dayrie".¹ The Llanwonno mountain pastures also sustained a fine breed of horned cattle supposed to be the true Glamorgan breed, and found to be preferable to those crossed with any other.²

Cattle hiring

The practice of hiring out of cows in many parts of Glamorgan is high-lighted in numerous wills. For instance, Thomas David of Flemingston, who died in 1719, bequeathed unto Jane Mathew, "one cow that's now at Rent wth John Claxon of Llanbethery"³. Again, William Clayton, yeoman, of Penarth, who died in 1714 worth £61.10. 0., had 9s.0d. due to him from John Vaughan of Penarth for "the hire of a cow". Thomas Evans, Esquire, of Neath, when he died in 1676 (worth £211.10. 2.) had as many as six oxen and three cows "out wth Rees Mathew" as well as several score of sheep with various other people.⁴ In a previous century, George Owen⁵ had calculated that farmers who leased their cattle did so at a

1. P.R. (L1), 1672.

2. N.L.W. MS.13,147A.

3. P.R. (L1), 1719.

4. Ibid. 1676.

5. George Owen: Taylors Cussion, Pt.1, folio 34.

considerable loss. However, where the owner had no land upon which to graze cattle, renting them out would obviously be a source of a regular income. This was almost certainly true in the case of spinster Cecil Arthur of Llanishen, whose inventory showed that when she died in 1729, she had "a cow on hire wth Edward W^m David of Rumney" worth £2, and "another cow and calf on hire wth John Edward of Lisvane" worth £2. 5. Od. The remainder of her wealth consisted of: wearing apparel, 5s.Od.; a dust bed and its cloaths, 10s.Od.; an old coffer, 5s.Od.; a little brass kettle, 4s.Od.; a small iron crock, 1s.Od.; 3 small platters and 3 plates, 4s.6d.; a pewter candlestock, 6d.; and ready money in her coffer, 10s.Od. Therefore, her total inventory was worth £8. 2. Od., of which £4. 5. 0. was in respect of her cattle out on hire.¹ Again, William David of St.Andrews, who died in 1697, bequeathed to John Robbin "one cow now at rent at the rate of 5 shillings y^e year until the said John comes to his full age..."² And finally, in 1676, Llewellyn Rees of Pentyrch owned one milch cow "that William Hugh of Peterston-super-Ely had in custody upon a certaine consideration he hath contracted to pay me for the use of the s^d cow per annum...."³.

The hirer of cows enjoyed the immediate advantage of not having to find ready money or to borrow money to purchase them, and for an annual rental of about 5s. or 6s., he was provided with milk, butter and cheese, in addition to the manure - a valuable item in seventeenth and

1. P.R. (L1), 1729. (See F.V.Emery: op.cit., N.L.W.J., Vol.X, p.20).

2. Ibid. 1697.

3. Ibid. 1676.

eighteenth century farming - to fertilise the pasture. Moreover, the cow provided a basis for breeding, and the increase of stock, if any, would bring added advantages to both owner and hirer. The renting of cows must be regarded as another facet of the way of life in a pre-industrial community which established the cow as the key animal, guaranteeing the present and future life of the farmer.

Transhumance

Another aspect of pre-industrial hill farming which has received scant attention in the agricultural histories of the county is the hendre-hafod system, or transhumance. It should be noted that previous to the limited enclosure movement of the eighteenth century, the "uplands were open to the summit"¹, and beginning in early May each year, there were scattered movements of herdsmen from the hendre, the lowland unit, or chief settlement, to the hafod, the summer pasture.² Herdsmen from many parts of the county journeyed with their milch cows to the hills. Many went from the upper regions of the Vale of Glamorgan to the Aberdare and Cynon valley, erecting their summer dairy cabins (lluestai) where they sheltered until the end of August when they returned once more to their permanent homesteads with their butter and sheese, and their herds.³

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1. R.A.Roberts: 'The historical development of hill-farming in Wales'. Agric.Progress, XXIV, Pt.1, 1949, p.26.
 2. D.W.Jones: Hanes Morganwg (Aberdar,1874), p.190; Gardd Aberdâr (Caerfyrddin,1854), p.34.
 3. Cf. H.J.Fleure and W.E.Whitehouse: 'Early distribution and valleyward movements of population in G.Britain'. Arch.Camb.,XVI, 1916, p.127. ?

The seasonal movement of stocks of cattle and sheep from the lowlands to the hills meant that full economic use was made of the lush short season growth on the mountain slopes "on the hoof", which was later reflected in live-weight increase and in livestock products in the form of butter and cheese, which was augmented by ewes' milk after weaning at Lammas time.

Transhumance was fairly extensively practised in pre-industrial times, and the frequency with which the names 'hafod', 'lluest', and 'hendre' occur in the place-names of the upland areas of Glamorgan is ample evidence of the antiquity of this custom.¹ During these seasonal movements the men were often accompanied by their women-folk who were mainly engaged in butter-making and milking. In this connection it is worth mentioning that ewe milking was also a task generally assigned to women. In western areas of the county we find, from the household accounts of the Margam estate that in 1719 a sum of £2.15. 0. was paid to Mary Rees and partners for milking "300 ewes for 11 weeks at 4d. the score." Similarly, on 3rd October, 1720, a sum of £3 was paid to the same company for milking "300 ewes for 12 weeks at 4d. the score."²

It was not until after the partial enclosures of the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries that the hill sheep farms developed as separate units which were often without direct access to lowland

1. For an interesting account of this subject in relation to Montgomeryshire, see Melville Richards, 'Meifod, lluest, cymaeafdy and hendre in Welsh place-names'. Mont.Coll. LXI (1960), pp.177-183

2. P.& M. No.5049.

grazing in the winter. With the large numbers of cattle that were also kept in the hills, it became necessary to produce hay from the better meadows in order to provide for their winter fodder. The relative labour requirements were indeed heavy, but on account of the close family ties and the lack of alternative employment, an adequate working force was possible despite the low financial return.¹

Horses, goats and pigs

Horses were fairly numerous, and were bred for the market as well as for draught purposes. Some oxen were employed alongside horses in upland parishes, but not as extensively as they were in the Vale.

The place of the goat in the pastoral economy of the Glamorgan hills is a subject which has hitherto received little attention. Numerous herds of goats were to be found on many of the upland farms of the county, and it is certain that they were an integral part of the business of hill-farming where cattle were bred mainly for beef. One of the qualities of the goat lay in its ability to convert into milk herbage that no other animal could utilise, and on this account alone its contribution to the provisioning of the households of marginal farmsteads was highly valuable. Indeed, the goat has been referred to as "the symbol and mascot of subsistence agriculture" for it was "first and foremost" a household provider",² requiring nothing that is chargeable to keep them.³

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1. E.A.Attwood: and H.G.Evans: The economics of hill-farming (Cardiff,1961), pp.70-71.
 2. David Mackenzie: Goat Husbandry (London,1957), p.35.
 3. Dictionarium Rusticum (1717).

Herds of varying sizes are accounted for in the probate inventories of the period. For example, William Thomas, of the parish of Llandyfodwg, who died in 1677, possessed 60 goats valued at £10, in addition to "100 beasts of all sorts" valued at £150, and "300 sheepe" worth £45; his "implements of husbandry" were valued at £5, and his total estate was worth £306.¹ Again, Watkin Richard (gent) of the same parish, who died in 1698, had 34 goats, 141 head of cattle "of all sorts", 540 sheep and 74 lambs.² Most of the herds recorded, however, were much smaller, and consisted of from 4 to 8 goats, and examples of these were found in several parishes, extending from Llanfabon in the east, to Cadoxton-juxta-Neath in the west. In the former parish the value of the goat is emphasised by William Rowland, who died in 1676, having bequeathed to his daughter "four milch goates".³ In general, their distribution coincided with those areas where the soil may have been too poor and too steep for the rearing of dairy cattle. Indeed, goats did not figure in any of the inventories of the farmers of the Vale of Glamorgan where dairy and mixed farming was practised extensively. In the hill districts, however, where beef and bacon dominated the "household provisions" lists, the goat was kept mainly for its milk,⁴ although kid meat must have figured in the highland farmer's diet.

1. P.R. (Ll), 1677.

2. Ibid., 1698.

3. Ibid., 1677.

4. Note: Goats were also kept because of their peculiar smell which, it was supposed, reduced abortion among cows.

But in addition to their value as "a household provider", goats were undoubtedly a source of commercial value, and their movements from one locality to another were attested in the charges of 5d. per score imposed "on droves of calves, hogs, sheep, goats and lambs".¹ Moreover, the lists of cargoes shipped across from the small ports of Glamorgan to Bristol and Minehead often included numerous packs of goat and kid skins. On 23 January 1666, for instance, the Lyon of Cardiff had, as part of her cargo unloaded at Bristol, "200 kid skins in the haire",². Again, on 24 June ,1683, the Five Brothers of Newton had on board "1 pack of goats rawskins" for Bristol³ and on 2 November, 1686, the Blessing of Aberthaw sailed for Minehead with "6 goat skins".⁴ The skins were undoubtedly made up at Bristol into best quality shoes and gloves.

It is interesting to observe from the inventories examined that the hill farmers kept smaller herds of pigs per head than those in the dairy farming areas. This was, perhaps, to be expected, for dairying and the rearing of pigs are often complementary - the pigs being fed on the skimmed milk and whey. Bacon and pork were produced by the dairy farmers for the market, but some ended up as "flitches" and "sides" of bacon in the farmhouse.

In the upland regions, the average number of pigs per head accounted for in the inventories was about three or four, whereas in the

1. W.C.Rogers: Swansea and Glamorgan Calendar Vol.II, Part 1, p.412.

2. P.R.O. E.190/1277/7.

3. P.R.O. E.190/1281/14.

4. P.R.O. E.190/1094/1.

middle regions of the county, and particularly in the region around Cardiff, the average number of pigs was appreciably larger. These regions were nearer the more populous parishes of the Vale, and also more contiguous to the markets of the West of England. Farmers in these areas obviously produced for the market as well as for domestic consumption. Indeed, in 1697 Edward Lhuyd was informed that cattle, sheep and hogs were exported from Sully, and the local pig drovers, such as Evan William¹ of Coychurch, helped to drive the pigs to the ports of the Vale. The traffic in pigs continued until at least the year 1800, when the Rev. John Skinner described the arrival of a cargo boat "from the opposite coast" at Uphill thus: "We awaited its arrival on the beach, and were shortly afterwards greeted by the harmonious sound of Welsh guttural, for the boatmen soon engaged in a business which gave the language every possible variety to the ear of a stranger...they proceeded to discharge their freight, consisting of many score pigs, into the water. The swinish multitude, at all times refractory, did not seem inclined in the present instance to forego their rights as terrestrial animals, and it was not till forced by repeated blows, kicks and execrations from four stout fellows at their tails that they leaped into the water".²

1. See P.R. (Ll), 1678 (Mary William).

2. J.Skinner: 'Tour in Wales', 1800. G.C.L. MS.1.503.

Cultivation

Implements of husbandry

It is outside the scope of the present work to discuss the history and development of agricultural implements and tools in Glamorgan during our period, and for the time being it will be sufficient merely to note the more usual items of farm equipment mentioned in contemporary probate sources. At the same time, we should bear in mind that the agricultural implements used by the peasantry of Glamorgan formed part of their native culture in much the same way as their houses and furniture: they were, indeed, an integral part of the 'personality' of the region. Although simple, they were often well constructed, and answered the purpose for which they were designed.¹ From their simple and sometimes crude constructions, local craftsmen developed many of their implements into objects of art in which they took a real and genuine delight. The late Sir Cyril Fox, referring to the development of the Glamorgan waggon, expressed the opinion that "It would be difficult to overpraise the feeling, form and proportion, and the skill, exhibited by the school of craftsmen in the Vale of Glamorgan which in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries produced the Glamorgan bow waggon, at one time the pride of the farmers of the county." These waggons possessed "the seemingly-inevitable beauty and fitness" of "specialised creations" which had been perfected by generations of men content to work in one tradition".²

1. John Fox: Op.cit., p.38.

2. Cyril Fox: 'Sleds, carts and waggons'. Antiquity, Vol.V, 1931, p.192.

The implements and tools of husbandry used by Glamorgan farmers in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries are well attested in more than a thousand surviving inventories.¹ They were fashioned out of local timber and wrought iron in style and design which varied from one area to another. Some of these designs, particularly in the case of certain forms of agricultural transport, continued well into the nineteenth century. But although many of the implements were crude and primitive, they continued in use, not because more refined forms were unknown, but "because the experience of past generations had proved that certain devices were better suited to the particular needs of different regions."²

In the upland areas of Glamorgan, where there was relatively little tillage, agricultural implements constituted an insignificant part of the farmers' working capital equipment. In these area, too, we find that many farmers shared their implements and tools, and an occasional will reveals how highly valued was the most commonplace of implements - the plough and its accessories. For example, Thomas ab Thomas, of Aberdare, who died in 1673, had bequeathed to his nephew Harry Thomas "all the implements of the plow except two iron link chains" which he was to lend to the testator's wife during her lifetime, and she, in turn, had to ensure that "the said two link chains" be delivered to Harry Thomas "weighing the same weight that she received them from him".³

1. It is hoped that these will be published in a separate work in the near future.

2. J.Geraint Jenkins: Agricultural transport in Wales (Cardiff,1962), pp.9-10.

3. P.R. (11), 1673.

In the arable regions of the Vale of Glamorgan most farmers seem to have been adequately equipped for all the essential operations of cultivation - ploughing, harrowing, rolling and hoeing. The usual complement of agricultural implements accounted for in inventories is illustrated in the inventory of Richard Lougher, of Tythegston, who died in 1663, possessing "one waine and a paire of wheels, one paire of harrows, one plow, two yokes and two chaines", all of which were valued at £1.10. 0.¹ Mary Rosser, a widow of Llantrithyd, who died in 1680, left "one long waine, two iron chaines with strakes and nails,² one pair treces (i.e. traces), one sull (a plough), and one waine-rope."³

The full complement of agricultural implements which a gentleman farmer would possess is indicated in the inventory of Illtyd Nicholls, of Ham, who died in 1701 worth £582. 7. 6. He possessed 3 pairs of wheels, 1 waine, 1 butt, 3 pairs of harrows, 4 sulls, 2 pairs of iron tresses and 2 ladders, 2 wain ropes, bowes, and yokes, all of which were valued at £11.11. 2. He also had $32\frac{1}{2}$ acres of standing wheat, $11\frac{3}{4}$ acres of barley, 12 acres of peas and oats, and $1\frac{1}{4}$ acres of beans.⁴ William Herbert, Esquire, of Whitefriars, Cardiff, at the time of his death, 1695/6, was worth £835.17. 2., and his implements of husbandry, valued at £10, consisted of "two waines, two butts, two paire of wheelles, one dragg, two wayne ropes, five plow chaines, four pack saddles and gurses, twelve

1. P.R. (Ll), 1663.

2. Strakes were pieces of iron used as 'tyres' on wooden wheels. These were fastened by means of square nails - 'strake nails'.

3. P.R. (Ll), 1680.

4. Ibid, 1701.

yokes, four and twenty boards, two harrows, a sett of ffelies¹ and seven sacks."²

Harrows were sometimes described in detail, as in the inventory of Alexander Edward of Pennard, Gower, in which was listed "a single harrow with twenty-five iron teeth".³ The most common harrow used in Glamorgan during our period was the chain harrow. There were also numerous references in inventories to the "drag". Cecil Lewis, of Llanillterne, owned "a plow and plow sheare, 3 yokes, 3 chains, 1 drag and an old pair of harrows, an old pair of wheels and a dung patt.⁴ The inventory of William Herbert, Esquire, of Whitefriars, Cardiff, shows that when he died in 1696, he had, among his many implements "one drag, two harrows and four and twenty boards".⁵ The drag was a kind of plank harrow made by fastening together several planks so that they overlapped like furrow slices. In the Vale the drag-harrow was generally drawn by oxen, and the finishing harrow by two horses.⁶ The agricultural pundits of that day would have condemned the Glamorganshire ox for the size of its bone, but this stood him in good stead when he had to draw a plough and other implements on difficult terrains. He was, at this time, a draught animal.

1. i.e. Felloes = the exterior rim, or part of the rim, of a wheel supported by the spokes. (N.E.D.).

2. P.R. (11), 1696.

3. P.R. (S.D.), 1700.

4. P.R. (11), 1726.

5. Ibid. 1696.

6. W.Davies: Op.cit., Vol.I, p.202.

Specific references to rollers in the inventories are rare, but Edward Lewis, yeoman, of Rhoose, in the parish of Penmark, possessed, according to his inventory, "2 Rowlers, 2 axles and 2 carrs".¹ At this time rollers would be either of wood or stone.

Cars, and the long-wain in particular, were very common items in the inventories of the farmers of the Vale. For instance, Hugh Hyett, of Llantwit Major, possessed a long-waine, iron bond wheels, a butt, harrows, a sull (i.e. a plough), and other implements,² while Gronow Thomas, of St.Brides Major, whose inventory was made up in 1734, owned one long and one short-wain and wheels.³ Howell Griffith, of Coychurch, owned a long waggon which, as the inventory states, the local Welsh "commonly call crywun (i.e. crywyn)⁴.

The Glamorganshire ploughs were often described by late eighteenth century observers as 'awkward' and too heavy for the 'generality' of the soils. In 1796 John Fox described them as "old-fashioned, long and clumsy".⁵

The plough, or the sull, as it was called in many parts of Glamorgan, was usually drawn by yoked-oxen. The inventories of the Vale farmers frequently refer to 'yokes' and 'bows', as well as to working-oxen. For instance, George Hill, of St.Athan, when he died in 1666, owned,

1. P.R. (L1), 1723.

2. P.R. (L1), 1673.

3. Ibid. 1734.

4. Fbid. 1760.

5. John Fox: Op.cit., Appendix, p.12.

among other things "seven fat oxen" valued at £28, and "four plough-oxen valued at £10."¹ Mrs. Anne Jones, of St.Lythans, owned personal property valued at £470, which included "two fatt cows" worth £8, and "eight labouring oxen" worth £32. Her tools and implements of husbandry were valued at £12.² In 1687 Dame Anne Lewis, of Treguff in Penmark, owned ten "working oxen"³, and Edward Jay, Porthkerry, who died in 1723, also had ten "working oxen".⁴ At the beginning of the nineteenth century, one farmer at Eglwys Nynnyd, near Port Talbot, normally worked "twenty-four oxen in yokes".⁵ It was probably considered more economical to employ oxen rather than horses at the plough, because the latter required a great deal of fodder. Such economic considerations were the realities which prompted farmers to use oxen, although the ploughing operations were slower and the movement of the oxen prevented a neat furrow which, to an observer, would betray a degree of slovenliness on the part of the ploughman. Horses were used more generally in the upland regions, but in the Vale oxen were used for all kinds of draught purposes. For instance, early in the seventeenth century, Jenkin Spencer, of Aberthaw, was paid 6d. for every draught of wine (being two hogsheads) with his oxen from the harbour to the Booth cellars "of which 12 oxen were used."⁶ Again, oxen were used for hauling coal in some of the upland parishes. In 1676, William

1. P.R. (11), 1666.

2. Ibid., 1687.

3. Ibid., 1687.

4. Ibid., 1723.

5. W.Davies: Op.cit., Vol.I, p.290.

6. P.R.O. E.134/23 Charles I/Mich.1.

Rowland, of Llanfabon, yeoman, had two oxen, one of which was called "collier".¹ At the end of the seventeenth century both horses and oxen were employed for haulage work at the Coed-frank collieries owned by the Hoby family of Neath Abbey.²

In their implements of husbandry, as in their household furniture and utensils, the Glamorganshire peasantry were greatly dependent on local timber supplies. The inventory of Evan Llewellyn, of Llantwit Faerdre, shows that when he died in 1742, he possessed an old barrow, a car, as well as "four pieces of oake for making new cars and a ladder."³ The same feature is exhibited in the inventory of Elisha Flanders, of Penmark, who possessed "a sett of harrow lawrells, a set of volleys for a wayne and other sawed timber".⁴

There is ample evidence to show that many of the poorer farmers and cottagers depended on their better equipped neighbours for assistance in cultivating their holdings. Mary Rees, of Wick, died in 1740 owing Thomas Morgan, of the same parish, a sum of £5, "for lime and dung and ploughing three acres of ground twice"⁵

1. P.R. (L1), 1676.

2. P.R.O. E.134/7 William 3/Mich. 37.

3. LL/CC/P.672.

4. P.R. (L1), 1683.

5. Ibid., 1740.

Crops

Contrary to the impression sometimes conveyed by conventional generalisations, we have shown earlier that cereal crops were grown on a limited scale in the northern valleys of Glamorgan. Some wheat was certainly grown, but barley and oats preponderated, with barley in larger proportions than oats. Although many of the upland areas were on subsistence level, yet many farmers undoubtedly produced occasional small surpluses which found their way to the "market". In 1677 Andrew Yarranton observed that the corn markets along the English border, particularly at Hereford, had suffered because "formerly Wales took away their corn when plentiful, but since the Welsh took to break up their Mountains and sow them with corn, they have corn sufficient for themselves and much to spare."¹

However, the inhabitants of the hills of Glamorgan consumed very little wheaten bread, but oaten bread was quite general, and many farmers, like William Rowland, yeoman, of Llanfabon, who died in 1676, possessed "A tripod and one-iron plate for bakeing oaten bread".² The farmer's first concern at this period was not what crop to grow for the market, but what crop could be most economically grown to feed his family and his livestock.

Unfortunately, the inventories are not very helpful in revealing the size and kind of crops grown in the hills. Most of these documents

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1. Andrew Yarranton: England's improvement by sea and land (London, 1677), p.157.
 2. P.R. (11), 1676.

refer to "corn crops". However, from a small sample of sixteen hill-farm inventories, the pattern of cropping suggested was as follows:

TABLE XIII

Corn grown on sixteen upland farms
in Glamorgan, 1660-1699.

Crop	Acres sown	Percentage of total
Wheat	9½	11
Oats	21½	26
Barley	52½	63
Total	83½	100

At the end of the eighteenth century, if we are to believe Iolo Morganwg, wheat was "abundant" on the mountain slopes of Aberdare and Taff Vales, and "nearly to the summit of Cefn Merthyr, Cefn Celystan the highest mountains in Glamorgan wheat, barley etc. grew and ripened well".¹ By this time, however, the expanding populations of the Dowlais and Merthyr industrial complexes provided a real incentive for local farmers to get the utmost from their cultivable lands, particularly during the lean years which coincided with the Napoleonic Wars.

In the richer low-lying regions of the Vale (Y Fro), the general pattern of farming was obviously quite different. Here was to be found a combination of mixed and dairy farming. The general fecundity

1. N.L.W. MS.13,147A.

of this region had, from an early date, earned for it the appellation the "Garden of Wales", and indeed as "the garden of the British Isles".¹ In 1578, Rice Merrick, the oft-quoted landed gentleman and antiquary of Cottrell, St.Nicholas, wrote of the Vale: "This part of the county...was a Champyon and open country, without great store of inclosures; for in my time old men reported that they remembered in their youth, that Cattell in some time for want of shade, to have from the port-way runne to Barry which is 4 miles distant, whose ffore-fathers told them that great part of th'inclosures was made in their dayes".² So that by the seventeenth century the open fields in the Vale had disappeared and the manorial system of cultivation which had given rise to its nucleated villages and its complicated network of roads, had long since decayed.³

It was here, on the rich lias rock foundation of the Vale that the population of the county was densest in pre-industrial times, supporting almost double the population of the hill districts. The farms in the Vale were generally occupied in "mixed husbandry" - corn growing, grazing, breeding and dairying. They varied in size, the smaller farms ranging from about 30 to 100 acres, and were situated mainly in the northernparishes of the Vale. The farms in the southern sector of the Vale, particularly near the coastal belt, were generally larger and carried larger flocks of sheep. Even in the late eighteenth century a farm of £50 per annum was

1. David Williams: History of Modern Wales 1485-1931 (London, 1934), p.62

2. Rice Merrick: Op.cit., p.10.

3. Cf. Margaret Davies: 'Field patterns in the Vale of Glamorgan' Cardiff Nat.Soc.Trans., Vol.LXXXIV, 1954-55, p.6.

deemed a large one "and consisted then in the Vale of from 110 to 150 statute acres, and the rent from 7s. to 10s. per acre".¹ At the beginning of the nineteenth century, Walter Davies observed that farms from 300 to 500 acres became numerous, and from 100 to 200 acres still more so, yet the general run of the smaller farms was still from 30 to 100 acres. The largest farms in the Vale of Glamorgan were at Boverton, one of 800 acres, and at Beupre, one of 600 acres. However, the Board of Agriculture generally regarded as medium-sized a farm of 300 acres, and as large, a farm exceeding 500 acres.² Therefore, the farms in the Vale of Glamorgan were, by English standards, either medium-sized or small.

In contrast to the hills, the Vale produced greater quantities and varieties of corn crops, which included wheat, rye, oats, barley, as well as pulses - peas and beans. Pilcorn and muncorn are sometimes mentioned too. An analysis of the crops grown on 129 farms in five parishes in the Vale during the period 1660-1735 has produced the following figures:

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1. N.L.W. MS.13114B. Cf. John Fox: General view of the agriculture of... Glamorgan. (London, 1796), p.19.
 2. W.Davies: Op.cit., Vol.I, p.162.

TABLE XIV

1660-1699			1700-1735		
Crop	Acres sown	Percentage of total (Approx.)	Crop	Acres sown	Percentage of total (Approx.)
Wheat	404	52	Wheat	211 $\frac{3}{4}$	47
Oats	160	21	Oats	94 $\frac{1}{4}$	21
Barley	168	22	Barley	114 $\frac{1}{4}$	25
Peas	38	5	Peas	27 $\frac{1}{2}$	6
Beans	2 $\frac{1}{2}$	0.3	Beans	3 $\frac{1}{4}$	0.6
Total	772 $\frac{1}{2}$			451	

Many inventories recorded the crops in terms of cash values, and others merely as "corn" or "wheat, barley and oats". These have not been included in our tables.

General standards of husbandry

In 1768, Arthur Young observed that "About Cowbridge and Bridgend in Glamorganshire, the husbandry is the most imperfect I ever met with; and totally contrary to the most common ideas in more informed counties". Young further observed that there were many farms around Bridgend with suitable soil that did not grow turnips, and that "one farmer from England" in the parish of Candleston had "sowed two acres and was at great pains to hoe them well and keep them clean". The neighbouring farmers apparently "ridiculed him infinitely and really thought him mad", but "were surprised to see what a crop he gained" as well as the vast profits he earned from selling it "by the sack to all neighbouring

towns".¹ This practice the farmer continued, but was not emulated.

Young also lamented the fact that Glamorgan gentlemen farmers did "not on a large scale practise a better husbandry, that the force of numerous examples might influence the farmers to change their bad methods".²

It would be very unwise to base our conclusions about the standards of husbandry prevailing in Glamorgan in the middle of the eighteenth century on the limited observations and impressions recorded by Young, whose reports may be criticised on precisely the same grounds as Edward Williams (Iolo Morganwg) condemned John Fox's report of Glamorgan to the Board of Agriculture in 1796.³ Both visits were of short duration, and their respective journeys hardly deviated from the main turnpike roads and the village inns en route. Had Young penetrated more deeply into the Vale of Glamorgan, he would have discovered that the Rev. Willis, of Gileston, had already introduced turnips "for feeding sheep", about the year 1740.⁴ Indeed, it is worth pointing out here that John Aubrey, writing between 1656 and 1691, was of the opinion that all the turnips that were brought to Bristol circa 1600 were from Wales, and that by 1680 "none come from thence, for they have found out that the red sand about Bristoll doth breed a better and a bigger turnip".⁵ We have not been able to corroborate Aubrey's statement in the Welsh port books of

1. Arthur Young: A six weeks tour.... (London, 1768), pp.123-124.

2. Ibid., p.127.

3. See M.I.Williams: 'Glamorgan farming in pre-industrial times'. Glamorgan Historian, Vol.2., Ed. Stewart Williams (Cowbridge, 1965), pp.180-181.

4. N.L.W. MS.13147A.

5. John Aubrey: The natural history of Wiltshire written between 1656 and 1691 (London, 1847), p.3.

the seventeenth century. It is interesting to note here that "Thomas Morgan of Coed-y-gorres farm near Llanedern, in 1733 bought turnips by the pennyworth."¹ About this time Lord Townsend was introducing them into his Norfolk estates for cultivation as a field crop, but as yet they were a culinary luxury.

If, however, the growing of turnips was to be Young's criterion in assessing the standard of agriculture in the county, then it should be stated that turnips were not suited to all ecological conditions. The absence of turnips from a local agricultural system did not necessarily imply a backward state of husbandry or a lack of native enterprise. On the contrary, we know very little about the progress made by many unidentified individuals in improving the quality of their livestock following the enrichment of leys by the controlled sowing of clover which, as we shall see, had been practised fairly widely in the county almost a century previous to Young's tour. For the main purpose of growing both clover and turnips was to supply the livestock with more adequate winter feed.² Indeed, "it is quite remarkable", as one writer has observed, that none of the reports of the Royal Society's 'Enquiries' into the state of English agriculture under Charles II makes any mention of turnips.³

Although the general methods of husbandry in Glamorgan throughout the greater part of our period were based on empirical knowledge - custom

1. Cardiff Records , Vol.II, p.447.

2. Ernle: English farming past and present (London,1961), p.lxxi.

3. R.Lennard: 'English agriculture under Charles II...' Econ.H.R. Vol.IV, 1932-33, p.45.

and tradition - yet the need for improvements must have occupied the attention of many of the wealthier and more ambitious members of the farming community, men who not only had the knowledge, but also the necessary capital and security of tenure for experimentation. We cannot ignore the fact that the inventories of many farmers contain references to books on agricultural and veterinary topics. For example, Morgan Thomas, gent. of Old Castle-upon-Alun, in St.Brides Major, possessed many "bookes on husbandry" which he bequeathed to his cousin in 1667.¹ Such books must surely have made some impression on their readers, which they translated into practice.

Clover, that is, cultivated or sown grasses, is said to have been introduced into Glamorgan by Sir Edward Stradling of St.Donat's and Mr.Seys of Boverton near by, around the years 1680 or 1690.² In this connection we may note that on 3rd March, 1694, the Master of the Elizabeth of Aberthaw had entered as part of his cargo from Minehead to Aberthaw, 50 bushells of 'evir' seeds, and on the 3rd April following, the Blessing of Aberthaw brought back from Minehead "50 bushells of evir seeds and 300 weight of clover seeds".³ But on account of the deficiencies of these official trade records, it is quite possible that clover seeds were imported at a much earlier date. It should also be borne in mind that it was not

1. P.R. (Ll), 1667.

2. W.Davies: Op.cit., Vol.I, p.575. Cf. M.I.Williams: 'A further contribution to the commercial history of Glamorgan' N.L.W.J. Vol.XI, 1960, p.343, 343n.

3. P.R.O. E.190/1095/9.

until 1677 that Andrew Yarranton could report "a great improvement by clover" in Herefordshire, which seed "he had sent into those parts"¹ Glamorganshire pioneers were obviously not far behind their English counterparts in applying new methods of husbandry, and indeed their progressive outlook was not recognised by later English observers.

By the beginning of the eighteenth century "cloved hay" and "clover" are frequent items in the farm inventories. One of the earliest extant references is in 1718 in the inventory of John Deer, Weaver, of St. Athan, who had "One little mow of cloved hay" valued at £1, and "a small parcell of hay" valued at 15s.² The inventory of Arnold Alexander of Penmark shows that in 1720 he had "1 mow of clover seed" valued at £1,³ and when Edward Owen of Canton, near Cardiff, died in January 1734, he had "a parcell of clover unthrashed" to the value of £10.⁴ Again, in 1720, Lord Mansel of Margam, expended the sum of £5.12. 6. for "300 weight of clover seed" for use on his estate.⁵ In parts of Gower, clover had taken deep root by the beginning of the eighteenth century. It appears from an early eighteenth century terrier that the tithes payable to the Rectory at Cheriton included "clover seed, clover hay, and other grasses".⁶

By the early nineteenth century, even the upland farms of the parish of Ystradfydwg had numerous fields referred to locally as cae clovers (clover field) and ynys-y-clovers (clover meadow).⁷

1. A.Yarranton: Op.cit., p.156.

2. P.R. (L1), 1718.

3. P.R. (L1), 1720.

4. Ibid., 1733/34.

5. P. & M. No.5049. Note: The price of clover in this instance would have been about 4d. per lb.

6. G.H.Eaton: 'A survey of the manor in 17th century Gower'. (M.A.thesis, University of Wales, 1936), p.186.

7. Tithe Apportionment Schedule for Ystradfydwg, 1844. vide numbers 511, 1303 and 1504 in the Schedule.

Manures

Seaweed, sea-sludge, shells and sand were the principal manures on the lands bordering the sea coast. At one time it was also usual about St.Donat's, Llantwit Major and St.Athan, "to water land by way of manuring with sea water, and it was esteemed good, and produced very fine wheat and grass".¹ Marl and compost, too, were used in conjunction with farmyard manure which, according to most inventories, was collected and piled "about the house" and priced in the same way as household goods and livestock. In the inventory of the goods of Margaret Nicholls of St. Brides, who died in 1666, we find that the "Dung and soile in several places about ye house and other places thereunto belonging" was valued at 3s.4d.² - the equivalent of one and a half bushells of oats. Again, Elizabeth Ham of Eweny had "soile, mexons and composts" worth 10s.³, while Elinor Sweet of St.Athan, widow, had "a parcell of dung for manuring of land" worth 13s.4d.⁴

But by far the most common and most universally used form of manure in the Vale of Glamorgan was lime. It was cheap and available in prolific quantities throughout the area. In 1762 lime could be bought for 4¹/₂ per bushell.⁵ Many observers thought that local farmers were

1. I.A.W. MS.123/10.

2. P.R. (L1), 1666.

3. Ibid., 1676.

4. Ibid., 1700.

5. G.R.O. D/DC F/1.

"injudicious" and "indiscriminate" in the manner they used lime on every sort of soil, and frequently misapplying its properties and rather injuring the farms "by the mistaken donation".¹

The extensive use of lime as a manure involved the use of coal for burning the lime before application. But the Vale farmers were also favourably situated in respect of supplies of coal and lime, and consequently the cost of haulage added little to their production costs.²

Perhaps it was, therefore, inevitable that lime was used sometimes to such excess "so as to form, in some degree, a new separate strata instead of a perfect union with the soil which it is intended to fertilise".³

John Fox observed that within the districts he visited in Glamorgan, farmers applied 450 bushels of lime on an acre which was burnt from 1s.2d. to 2s.6d. or 3s. a curnock and would "last good" for four years.⁴ In 1769, in other parts of the Vale, 66 crannocks of lime were applied to the acre.⁵

'Lime-coal' was a conspicuous item in the inventories of the first half of the eighteenth century in particular. Lime-burning in the manorial lord's kiln was still practised in 1751, when Rees Bevan of Llangyfelach "applied for leave to burn lime in one of his Grace's (Duke of Beaufort) lime kilns at Bwlch-y-Mynydd for this summer," and was granted permission upon his paying 1d. as an acknowledgment.⁶

1. Richard Warner: Op.cit., p.58; B.H.Malkin: Op.cit., p.94.

2. These circumstances explain, in part, why the 'Rebecca Riots' of the 1840's were not evident in the Vale of Glamorgan.

3. John Fox: Op.cit., p.35.

4. Arthur Young: Op.cit., p.124.

5. G.R.O. D/DC F/L.

6. Badm. (Group 1), No.2737.

At Plas-y-marl in the parish of Llangyfelach, there were five lime kilns where lime was burnt "for manuring lands in the manor of Clase, Llangyfelach, and the rest of the county".¹ But in the Baglan area, lime was so dear that few were able to purchase it, "the limestones being brought hither in boates from the Mumbles 3 leagues off".²

Progress of Agriculture

The evidence which we have gathered from probate and other original sources does not suggest that there occurred any 'revolutionary' changes in the agrarian conditions of the county during our period. It was not until after the establishment of the Glamorganshire Agricultural Society in 1772 that any positive measures were taken on an 'official' basis to encourage radical reforms in local husbandry. However, we have shown that there were many unidentifiable farmers who endeavoured to improve the quality of their livestock and the standard of their husbandry. There were, also, more positive signs of 'improvement' which can be detected on those lands contiguous to centres of growing population.

The small industrial complexes of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, which were centred mainly on the Baglan-Neath-Swansea area, had attracted much immigrant, as well as local, workers, and these men and women had to be fed. The need to feed more mouths in this region provided an incentive to local farmers to improve their husbandry. In a deposition concerning a local litigation, it was stated that by 1694

1. Badm. (Group 2), No.2107.

2. Lhuyd: Op.cit., pt.III, p.31.

some lands in the Cadoxton-juxta-Neath area had been improved "by grubbing up stumps and rootes of trees and other good husbandry and management", with the result that a certain Morgan William Bevan, it was said "doth now, in 1694, pay £5 rent yearly for a tenement of land which was formerly and until the defendents did manure and improve it hold att 30s."¹ At the same time, it was said that there were in the area "three or four coaleworks open employing many cutters of coal".²

In the absence of more positive signs of improvement, it is easy to rush to the conclusion that, because their implements were old and cumbersome, and their system of husbandry contrary to more 'enlightened' ideas, the peasantry of Glamorgan farmed on a subsistence level. But this would be far from the truth. The Welsh peasantry were no more 'ignorant', 'prejudiced', 'bigoted' and 'obstinate' than their English counterparts, for, like them, they regarded every 'improvement' as a questionable innovation'.³

Similarly in English farming, we are told, that the 'experts' wrangled and fought over new ideas, while the poor bewildered farmer "determined to trust to tradition and the benevolence of nature".⁴

It should also be emphasised that the agrarian economy of Glamorgan did not function as an independent unit; it was, in truth, firmly geared to the Bristol market. How sensitive the inhabitants of Glamorgan were to the Bristol market will be demonstrated in a later chapter.

1. P.R.O. E.134/7 William III/Mich.37.

2. Ibid.

3. John Evans: Letters written during a tour of S.Wales. pp.186-187.

4. T.H.Marshall: 'Jethro Tull and the "New Husbandry" of the eighteenth century'. Econ.H.R. Vol.II, 1929-30, p.53.

Chapter IV

RURAL INDUSTRIES.

Spinning and Weaving

When enquiring into the economic conditions that prevailed in Glamorgan in pre-industrial times, we must not lose sight of the uncertainties that attended life in a pastoral-agricultural economy. People were forever conscious of the long term effects of bad climatic conditions. Professor Ashton has suggested that "The prodigality or niggardliness of the landlord mattered less than the prodigality or niggardliness of nature; what was happening at Westminster or in the City was of small account compared with what was happening in the heavens".¹ A late harvest, a single crop failure, or an outbreak of disease amongst the livestock were all factors which affected adversely the economic and social welfare of individual farmers (especially small farmers) for several years afterwards. The burden of arrears of rent and the payment of tithes, sometimes aggravated by sickness and incapacity, taxed to the limit the normal resources of the individual. And it was during years of adversity that the peasant farmer and his family strained every muscle, and exploited every subsidiary or supplementary occupation, in order to help balance the household budget. Spinning, weaving, and stocking-knitting, were among the traditional by-industries of the countryside in which the peasantry of the pastoral and mixed-farming regions were invariably

1. T.S.Ashton: Economic fluctuations in England, 1700-1800 (Oxford,1959)
p.2.

employed. Wool was converted into articles of clothing for personal and domestic use and for sale at the fairs and markets - the proceeds of such sales representing the 'real' wages, or at least part of them, of the small domestic producers.¹

The probate inventories of our period show that most farmhouses and cottages were equipped to card and spin wool, grown on the backs of the highland and lowland sheep, which was then woven into cloth or flannel by the local weavers. Almost every parish in the county had its weavers and tuckers. Weaving continued to be domestic in character, and it was not until about 1770 that the woollen factory was established at Bridgend under the patronage of the Glamorgan Agricultural Society.² But while the domestic system prevailed, the peasant farmers in the hills and in the Vale manufactured their own cloths, and what surplus cloth or flannel they had was sold, some in the local fairs and markets, and some in the remoter markets of Bristol and the West of England.

Llanbleddian was one of several Glamorgan villages which were once noted for their weavers. The economic condition of many of them is mirrored in their inventories. David Williams, for instance, who died in 1701 was worth £13. 2s. 6d., and possessed "three weavers loomes wth their appurtenances" valued at £6.10. 0d., and appears to have been fully occupied as a weaver.³ His neighbour, John Richards, a tucker,

1. For an illuminating discussion on the location of rural industries, see: Joan Thirsk: "Industries in the countryside". Essays in the economic and social history of Tudor and Stuart England. Ed. by F.J.Fisher (Cambridge, 1961), pp.70-88, especially pp.86-87.

2. John Evans: Op.cit., p.132.

3. P.R. (11), 1701.

died in 1725, and possessed "18 yards of flannen at 6d. per yard (9s.); 5 yards of cloth at 2/6 per yard (12s.6d.); and a stone of wooll"¹ worth 5s.

Weavers were also prominent in the parishes of St.Andrews, St. Athan, and Llantwit Major where the craft was carried on in the same families from one generation to another. John Tucker of St.Andrews had in his "shop" "1 weaver's loome, 3 slaices, warping bars and trow".² John Deer, a weaver of St.Athan, who died in 1718, bequeathed to his grandson William Deer, "my looms with all their appurtenances and all other implements belonging to my trade or mystery (sic) of weaving". But he also had a small farm with a few cattle and sheep.³ Edward Rawling, of Llantwit Major, another weaver, owned "a paire of looms and slayes" which were undoubtedly employed by his three sisters Elinor, Neast, and Sara who, at the time of his death in 1676, inhabited the same dwelling house which they inherited jointly.⁴

The upland parishes of Gelligaer, Llangeinor, Llangynwyd, Llandyfodwg, Llanwonno, and Ystradylfodwg, all had their weavers and tuckers. Edward Gamage, of Abergarw, in the parish of Llangeinor, was described as "clothier", and owned a "tucking mill".⁵ Higher up in the Blaenau, in the "village" of Aberdare there was once a well known tucking mill which, in 1694, Mary Mathew bequeathed to her son Miles Mathew,

1. P.R. (L1), 1725.

2. Ibid., 1670 and 1691.

3. Ibid., 1718.

4. Ibid., 1676.

5. Ibid., 1749.

together with "all the water courses thereunto belonging bought from Morgan David Jenkin, William Morgan, and David Morgan".¹ The mill was later leased at a yearly value of £15.² In 1698, William Rees, of the same village, left by his will, "hemp for the making of two sacks" and "flannell to make one smock" to Anne Jones.³ In the parish of Llangynwyd, Evan Maddock, weaver, owned looms to the value of £1. 5s. Od., and "two stones of wooll" worth 10s. He possessed cattle, sheep, a working horse and "implements of husbandry" worth 6s.8d. When he died in 1704, his estate was valued at £23. 2s. Od.⁴

Cardiff, Neath, and Swansea, had their weavers and tuckers who depended on the surrounding countryside for their supplies of wool. Some serges were made in the parish of Loughor where, for example, in 1675 Timothy Woodlack, described as "a sarge weaver" owned "1 paire of worsted comes and implements belonging to the trade of weaver" as well as wool and pinions".⁵

"Pinions" and "thrums" were items not infrequently referred to in the inventories of our period, and were closely connected with the process of weaving. "Pinions" were the short refuse wool from the weaver's shop, and "thrums" referred to the waste ends of the warp which remained attached to the looms when the weaver cut off the web. These short ends were frequently used up in the making of mops, mats and

1. P.R. (L1) 1664.

2. P.R.O. E.134/15Geo2/Hil 4.

3. P.R. (L1) 1698.

4. Ibid., 1704.

5. P.R. (S.D.) 1675.

and sometimes caps. "Screeds", too, were items often mentioned in contemporary documents, and referred to the fragments which were cut, or broken off, the main piece of textile material.¹ "Pinions", "thrums", "screeds" and mats are frequently listed as part of the cargoes which were shipped from Glamorgan to Bristol. For instance, on 23 July, 1674, the Five Brothers of Newton sailed for Bristol with inter alia, "2 packs screeds" and "60 packs of matts".² Whilst on 29 August 1683, the Elizabeth of Aberthaw carried, as part of a cargo destined for Minehead, "1 fardle of pinions".³ These several items must surely have represented the waste material that came from the homes of the Glamorgan weavers.

We know little about the position of the local weavers and allied rural craftsmen during our period, and of the way they functioned from the initial stage of procuring the raw materials to the final act of disposing of their finished products. Neither have we evidence regarding the Glamorgan weavers' standards of cloth making and, consequently, it may be assumed that, as in Wales generally, they "were content to work in the traditional fashion and were little affected by the improvements introduced into the English cloth industry".⁴

1. M.I. Williams: "Some aspects of the Economic and Social life of Glamorgan 1600-1800. Morgannwg, III, 1959, pp.33-34.

2. P.R.O., E.190/1279/3.

3. P.R.O., E.190/1281/14.

4. Caroline Skeel: "The Welsh woollen industry in the 16th and 17th centuries". Arch.Camb., 1922, pp.223-4.

Knitting

"In the mountainous parts of each county", wrote the Rev. Walter Davies in 1814, "women are industriously employed in knitting stockings, many of them coarse, which are brought to fairs and bought for the use of the inferior military, etc."¹ Indeed, almost "every" female in the interior parts "was acquainted with the arts of carding and spinning wool"², and it is said that occasionally many families had been rescued from starvation by their labours. In north and mid-Wales men, young and old, could also lend a hand in the knitting operations, and during the long winter evenings whole families would gather together, sometimes in each other's houses, to take part in the Noswaith Weu (i.e. Knitting Night), or Cymmorth Gwan (Knitting Assembly), knitting stockings, (frequently to the accompaniment of literary and musical competitions)³ in readiness for the fairs and markets where the hosiers would buy them for ready cash.

In general, the custom of stocking knitting in Wales was to be found among the small peasant farmers of the pastoral highlands who kept four or five milch cows, a horse, four or five calves, two or three fat pigs and thirty to fifty mountain sheep. In Glamorgan, however, stocking knitting was "practised" not only in the scattered homesteads and hamlets

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1. Walter Davies: Op.cit., Vol.II, p.441.
 2. John Evans: Letters written during a tour through S.Wales...1803 (London,1804), p.434.
 3. T.Pennant: Tours in Wales, ed. by John Rhys (Caernarvon,1883), Vol.II, p.204.. Pennant observed that in Bala (Merionethshire) women and children were found to be "in full employ knitting along the road".

of the pastoral regions, but also in the mixed-farming areas of the Vale where, as we have seen, the farms were generally small, yielding marginal returns which were often inadequate to sustain the average household.

The evidence we have gleaned from the probate inventories of the period makes it abundantly clear that in Glamorgan stocking-knitting, although only a subsidiary industry in the countryside, was geared to the requirements of a fairly wide market. The small 'parcel' of stockings which formed part of the inventories of so many small farmers, cottagers, widows and spinsters, were quickly bought up either at the fairs and markets, or by factors who operated in the rural areas. Without a doubt, it was for such a market that Mary Miles, of Bonvilston, in the heart of the Vale, had knitted "15 paires of stockings" accounted for in her inventory and which, for probate purposes, were valued at 6s.¹ It was for similar reasons that Ann Howell, of Peterston-super-Ely, had spun and carded her wool to knit the "15 paires of stockings" accounted for in her inventory, along with her spinning wheel and cards.² Again, the inventory of John Gamage, yeoman, of Llantwit Faerdre in the lower hill districts, shows that in addition to his corn, poultry and bees, he possessed "stockings ready for sale".³

It is in the hill districts proper that we find the greatest number of examples of stocking knitters. Typical of these was Elias Jenkins of Llangeinor, whose inventory, made up in 1716, included 9 cows,

1. P.R. (11), 1725.

2. Ibid., 1712.

3. Ibid., 1722. See also Ibid., 1694 (Margarett Morgan, of Whitchurch, spinster).

6 steers, 2 heifers and a bull, two beasts two year old, five yearlings, 192 sheep and twenty-eight lambs, together with "six paires of stockings for sale."¹ Again, Thomas William, Llanwonno, gent., whose inventory was made up in 1714, possessed "6 dozen women's stockings" valued at £1. 8s.0d., as well as "20 yards of home-made cloth undressed".²

At the end of the eighteenth century it was estimated that a pair of stockings would sell at 10d., which yielded a profit of about 4d. A woman would by "close application, card, spin and knit about four pairs of full sized stockings³ per week", and would in the process use up about "two pounds of wool of such as the dealers refuse."⁴ Earlier in the century, circa 1764, as much as 1s.6d. was paid for knitting a pair of yarn hose.⁵ In this connection, however, it is worth noting that in North Wales, stockings were made in two grades, namely, those made for sale (i.e. sanau gwerthu) and those made for personal use which were, usually, the superior in quality.⁶

Monthly markets were organised to enable small farmers and cottagers to sell the products of their spare-time knitting. At Llantwit Major, for example, "cotton and yarn stockings, Welsh wigs, etc. were

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1. P.R. (11), 1716. Further evidence is provided in the inventories attached to the wills of the following: Jane Thomas, spinster, Penttyrch; Harry Lewis, husbandman, Gelligaer, 1700; Rees ap John, yeoman, Cadoxton-juxta-Neath, 1713.
 2. Ibid., 1714.
 3. In the 17th century, stockings were worn to the knee, and sometimes measured about three feet (See Hugh Evans, Cwm Eithin (Lerpwl, 1922) 2nd. ed., pp.11-12.
 4. John Evans: Letters written during a Tour of S.Wales in the year 1803 (London, 1804), p.434; W.Davies: A General view of the agriculture... of S.Wales (London, 1815), Vol.II, p.442.
 5. G.R.O., D/DC F2.
 6. Hugh Evans : Op.cit., p.171.

manufactured and sold at the monthly markets".¹ These markets undoubtedly provided a source of ready cash for many families who were thus enabled to buy provisions, and to pay their rents.

But the market for knitted stockings was not merely a local one. Throughout the greater part of our period vast numbers of "fardles" and "bags" of stockings were regularly exported from the small ports of Cardiff, Sully, Aberthaw and Newton to Bristol and Minehead. For example, of the 42 shipments despatched from Cardiff to Bristol in 1666, 22 included various quantities of stockings.²

The extent of the Glamorgan stocking trade may be partly assessed from the following table, which shows the total number of "bags and fardles" of stockings exported from Aberthaw and Newton to Bristol and Minehead for the years stated, and as indicated in the official "Port Books".

1. N.L.W. MS.13.147A.
2. P.R.O. E.190/1277/7.

TABLE XV

Year	Total No. bags and fardles of stockings	Approximate No. of pairs
1667	73	8,989
1670	90	11,070
1672	103	12,669
1674	115	13,795
1678	97	11,736
1680	124	15,752
1683	351	50,193
1685	139	19,877
1686	92	13,156
1688	186	26,598
1689	108 (+100 dozen)	16,044
1692	57 (+ 30 dozen)	8,181
1694	75	10,725
1695	129	18,447
1696	92	13,156
1697	66	9,438
1698	70	10,010
1699	49 (July-Dec. only)	7,007
1701	70	10,010

In 1721 stockings were still being shipped across the channel from Aberthaw to Minehead and Bristol.¹ It is fairly certain, too, that the stockings were not exported on the off-chance that they would find a market in the West of England. They had already been bought up by the Welsh and English hosiers from the cottagers, both at their homes and at the local fairs and markets. Locally, men like Richard John of St. George's,

1. M.I. Williams: "Contributions to the commercial history of Glamorgan", N.L.W.J., Vol. IX, pp. 350-5.

whose probate inventory shows that he owned "A packe of stokin^s" worth £10,¹ must have acted as dealers buying the knitted stockings from local inhabitants and selling them at a profit direct to English customers.

Evidently, English hosiers from Exeter were also closely connected with the Glamorgan countryside, for we find that Edward Marcus, Thomas Chrichard, John Punch, and Christopher Pike, all hosiers of "y^e Citty of Exon^e" were debtors to Margaret Roberts, widow of Llanharry, who, in 1696, made one bequest to her son of "ten pounds sterling w^{ch} is due to me from Edward Marcus, a hosier in y^e Citty of Exon".² It seems likely, too, that John Bomard, a weaver of St. Bride's Major, and Thomas William, gent., of Llanwonno, acted as local hosiers, for their "goods and chattells" included a "parcul (sic) of stockings" (valued at £5)³, and six dozen women's stockings (valued at £1. 8s. Od.)⁴ respectively.

Tanning

An important feature of the rural economy of Glamorgan during our period was the tanning industry. The principal factors which determined the establishment of tanneries were an adequate supply of hides, a plentiful supply of oak bark, and sufficient water. All these pre-requisites were to be found both in the lowland and mountain districts of the county. The raw hides came in abundant quantities from the local

1. P.R. (Ll), 1674. Note: at 6d. or 8d. per pair, this amount would represent the value of 300 to 400 pairs of stockings.

2. Ibid., 1696.

3. Ibid., 1722/23.

4. Ibid., 1714.

butchers, and when tanned, were sold to local saddlers, cordwainers and glovers, and exported to the West of England markets. "The Glamorgan Vale cattle", it was said, "had the thinnest hides of any known, being excellently adapted for coach and cart-harness".¹ Lime was another essential requirement in the process of tanning, and this, too, was to be found in great abundance in the Vale.² The first stage in the treatment of a raw hide was to remove the hair and "face", and this was accomplished by soaking it in the lime-pit for two weeks, which caused the pores of the skin to open and the hair to drop out.³

The tanner occupied a prominent position in the economic life of pre-industrial Glamorgan. He generally made a comfortable living, and, by and large, it may be said that he was a small entrepreneur producing and putting on the market his own product in much the same way as the early pioneers of the iron and coal industry. He certainly required more capital than other craftsmen, for it took him a period of eighteen months to complete the processing of the hides. Many tanners, however, besides owning their tanneries, reared their own livestock and cultivated their own farms. There were others who belonged to the small, but growing, class of industrial capitalists such as John Williams of Llanrhidian who, in addition to his coal mines and coastal vessels, possessed "tanne fatts and a mill to grynde bark".⁴

1. Walter Davies: Op.cit., Vol.II, p.444.

2. Cf. G.R.O. D/D Au/32 (folio 53).

3. For an account of the process of tanning, see Anna M.Jones: The rural industries of England and Wales. IV. (Oxford), 1927, p.85.

4. P.C.C.Dixy 81.

In the town of Cardiff there were numerous tanners whose inventories suggest that they were relatively wealthy persons. For example, in 1686, Arthur Yeomans,¹ an Alderman of Cardiff, left an estate valued at £100.10s. Od., of which his shop and "the pelts in the pitt and work house" amounted to £10.² The inventory of the goods of another Cardiff Alderman, Cradock Nowell, who died in 1709, shows that "his stock in the tann yard" was valued at £200, and represented twenty per cent of his total personal estate valued at £910.³ It is significant that neither of them possessed wealth in the form of crops or livestock.

Tanning was an industry "native to the town" of Bridgend, which was neatly situated in the fall line between the hills and the Vale. The most notable of its tanners was Walter Coffin whose tanyards formed the basis of the wealth which enabled Walter Coffin "the younger" to become one of the foremost pioneers in the coal industry of the Rhondda Valley.⁴ Walter Coffin, senior, by his energy and business acumen, had become a rich man. His leather was famous throughout the county, and he had become a considerable landed proprietor.⁵

Another well known tanner from Bridgend was Michael Williams, who obtained some of his supplies of raw skins and hides from the Margam

1. He was taxed on four hearths in the Hearth Tax assessment of 1670.

P.R.O. E.179/221/294.

2. P.R. (L1), 1686.

3. Ibid., 1709.

4. Elizabeth Phillips: Pioneers of the Welsh coalfield (Cardiff, 1925), p.156. Note: It is said that Coffin became interested in coal when prospecting for oak bark in the Rhondda Valley. See D.W.B. (London, 1959).

5. Caroline E. Williams (ed.): A Welsh family from the beginning of the 18th century (London, 1893), 2nd ed., p.69.

Estate. Between 20 July 1706 and 7 July 1711, he bought 800 skins and 200 hides at a cost of £121.19s. 2d.¹

A prominent tanner of the market town of Cowbridge was William David, whose inventory shows that at his death he possessed:

	£.	s.	d.
"In his tannpitt - 7 dickers of leather, being 70 hides at £4. per score	14.	0.	0.
"In his lime pits - 4 dickers of skins, being 40 hides at 20s. per dicker	4.	0.	0.
"The mill and stone where the bark is ground	1.	0.	0.
"In bark	1.	0.	0.

His total personal estate was valued at £28.²

In the Vale and Blaenau there were many local tanners who were also dependent on small scale farming. Estance Prees, tanner of St. George's, for example, possessed "hides and bark" valued at £18.15s. Od., as well as livestock to the value of £4.11s. Od. The total value of his personal estate was put at £34.17s. 3d.³ Again, Adrian Briant, tanner, of Llangynwyd, possessed "30 hides in his tanhouse" valued at £7.10s., whereas his livestock was valued at £15.10s.⁴

Local tanners made great demands upon the local supplies of oak bark. For example, in 1730, Walter Coffin bought eight and a half tons of bark at 3s.6d. per ton from the Margam estate.⁵ By 1738, it appears that the price of bark had advanced considerably, for in that year a

1. P.& M. No.5900. (The skins were of two grades, one was sold at 6d. per skin and the other at 1s.2d. per skin. Some hides weighed as much as 136 lb.

2. P.R. (L1) 1691.

3. Ibid., 1700.

4. Ibid., 1694.

5. P.& M. Nos.5607, 5614.

certain Thomas Lewis had contracted to pay Thomas Mansell of Margam, 25s. a ton "for bark fallen in this barking season on his estate (Gower excepted)".¹ The following is an account² of the quantities of bark bought of the Lord Mansell of Margam by Mr. Phillip Prichard in the same year, 1738:

4½ tons of bark that was stript att S.Mary Church in the year 1736 and wayd in y ^e year 1738 att £l. 5s. Od. per ton or ls.3d. per hundred	£. s. d. 5.12. 6.
Also for 6½ tunns and 4 hundred that was stript in the years 1736 and 1737 att the same rate	8. 7. 6.
Also for 28 tunns 5 hundred & 18 pounds that was stript and wayd in y ^e year 1738 att the same rate	35. 7. 0½
Also for one ton of timber had from Penlwin Evangwent in y ^e 1738.	<u>1.10. 0.</u>
	<u>50.17. 0½</u>

In addition to local demands for oak bark, limited quantities were exported from Glamorgan to the West of England. Between 1728 and 1767, a total of 1,816 tons of oak bark was exported from Cardiff alone.

The products of the Glamorgan tanneries are well attested in the records of its coasting trade. Tanned hides were sent regularly from Newton and Aberthaw to Minehead and Bristol. On 8 May 1634, for instance, the Speedwell of Newton sailed for Bristol with a cargo partly made up of "23 dicker of curried leather, and eleven bundles containing eighteen hundreds of white leather".³ But the exports of raw hides were on a much

1. P.& M. No.6101
2. Ibid., No.6112
3. P.R.O. E/190/1088/9.

more considerable scale than those of tanned hides. There were, too, instances of leather being imported from Bristol to Aberthaw and other places. The Jane of Aberthaw arrived from Minehead on 13 September 1662, with "14 bands of tanned leather" and "half a dozen red leather skins". And on 26 September in the same year, the Margaret of Newton arrived in Newton bay with "five hundred weight of tan'd leather".¹ This was probably leather of a special quality which could be manufactured more cheaply in the West of England.

Closely related to the trade of the tanner was that of the cordwainers and glovers, whose products were supplied to local and external markets. More often than not these trades were carried on in conjunction with small scale farming. For instance, William Rees, of "Pile and Kenfig", cordwainer, besides his small pieces of leather (£1), implements belonging to his trade (4s.), and "seven paires of shooes" (at 2s. per pair), possessed 1 cow, 1 horse, ewes and lambs, grain and corn.² But Richard Thomas of Kenfig, cordwainer, was apparently engaged wholly in his trade. His inventory included a stock of leather (£5. 3s. 4d.), his implements "for y^e trade" (2s. 6d.), his "steale heampe" (5s. 4d.), his stock of pitch (2s. 8d.) and "6 pare of ready made shooes" (8s. 8d.).³ According to the "prisers" of the above inventories, a pair of shoes in the Pile and Kenfig parishes cost between 1s. 4d. and 2s., and these prices seem to have remained fairly steady for many years.

1. P.R.O. E.190/1090/1.

2. P.R. (L1), 1690. Cf. Ibid. 1704 (David Phillips, Cordwainer, also of Pyle).

3. Ibid., 1684.

Valuers of the goods of another cordwainer, Lewis William of Merthyr Tydvil, in 1749 assessed "14 pairs of shoes ready made in his shop of different sizes" at 34s.¹, or approximately 2s.6d. a pair.

The inventories of the period provide ample evidence of the work of the glovers. Although mostly concentrated in the towns, there were numerous glovers to be found in the purely rural villages and townships of Glamorgan. In Llantwit Major we have evidence of the domestic system as applied to the trade of glover. John Morgan, glover of that parish, bequeathed to his son David Morgan "the too (sic)paire of lounes which is in the shop loft and one halfe of the slaies..." and to his son Jenkin Morgan "1 paire of loomes which is in William Philpots shop and the other haulfe of the slaies" and the "shuttles, temples and other implements he divided between the two sons. His "leather and pelts" were worth £2, and his "3 paire of lounes and slaies" etc. were worth £2.13s. 4d. He also had 1 pig, 1 horse, an acre and a half of barley and 1 acre of peas.²

The shoes and gloves made by the cordwainers and glovers were sold locally in the village "shop", in the towns, and also exported for sale in the West of England. Shoes appear very infrequently in the trade records, but substantial quantities of gloves are often accounted for. The Elizabeth of Aberthaw, to mention but one example, sailed for Minehead on 20 January 1682 with "a trusse of cordufin (i.e. cordowen)

1. P.R. (L1), 1749.

2. Ibid., 1681.

gloves" as part of the cargo. These gloves had been made from cardowan, or "tanned horse leather".¹

Closely allied with tanning was the process of "tawing", that is, whitening skins and dressing white leather. James Roberts of Laleston², described as a "tawer", was one of many who were engaged in the process of whitening skins with their stocks of alum and salt, which were readily available in many of the village shops. John Thomas, a shopkeeper of Laleston, for example, had a stock of alum which was probably sold at 1s. per lb. in 1710.³

Kelp and soap ashes

During the pre-industrial period, many of the inhabitants of Glamorgan, when not employed in work relating to food production, or in the traditional industries of the countryside, found part-time employment in those small enterprises which grew up in response to new economic opportunities afforded by the Bristol and West of England markets.

The Welsh port books, and those for Bridgewater and Minehead, show that throughout the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, varying quantities of "kelp" (or "kilp") were exported to Bristol from the small ports of Sully and Aberthaw. "Kelp" was the calcinised ashes of seaweed extensively used in the manufacture of coarse glass bottles which were in great demand in Bristol during the seventeenth century for

1. P.R.O. E.190/1093/4.

2. P.R.(L1), 1730.

3. Ibid., 1710.

the export of beer, cider, perry etc.¹ One of Edward Lhuyd's correspondents, circa 1696, stated that Sully afforded "sea ore which is converted into kilp transported to Bristol for y^e use of Glasshouses"². In this connection it should be realised that it required about twenty tons of seaweed (sea-ore) to produce one ton of kelp. So that when the William and Margaret of Aberthaw sailed to Bristol on 29 October 1693³, with four tons of kelp, it meant that at least 80 tons of seaweed had been collected and burnt to produce that quantity of kelp. These preliminary operations, no doubt, required the employment of many hands.

Locally, the glassworks at Swansea must have required considerable quantities of kelp. We find that in the year 1686, that part of Swansea Castle which "had been lately converted" for use as a glass works was taken over by John Maun who, henceforth, had the control of the "...working tooles and instruments, potts, utensils, ashes, kilpes and other such like materialls belonging to the trade of Glasswerke" in consideration that he should render and deliver unto his previous partner Robert Wilmott, gent. of Gloucester, "35 gross of good, sufficient and merchandisable bottles..." in a manner as not to exceed 4 gross bottles by the week or in any one week.⁴

Kelp belonged to the lord of the Manor,⁵ and as late as 1770 it was "an object of emolument to the landholders" and furnished employ-

1. William Barnett: The history and antiquities of the city of Bristol 1789, pp.184-5.

2. Lhuyd: Parochialia, III, p.45.

3. N.L.W. I.A.W. (collection). See also M.I.Williams: "A contribution to the commercial history of Glamorgan". N.L.W.J., IX, p.337.

4. Badm. (Group 2), No.1273.

5. G.R.O. MS.D/DF 61; Baker and Francis: Surveys of Gower and Kilvey, p.154.

ment at certain seasons for many of the peasants living on the sea coast.¹ Around the coast of Swansea Bay in 1748, seaweed was allowed to be collected and gathered by persons other than burgesses, in return for which "they have, when required, with themselves, their servants and cattle gathered and carried stones up to the beach where wanted to defend the open and unenclosed ground."² The seaweed thus gathered was probably used either as manure, or sold to local soap makers; men like Griffith Jenkins, a merchant of the town of Swansea who, in 1690, manufactured his own soap in the "soap house for which he held a coal lease". When he died, his personal estate was valued at £221.11s. Od., of which £99.10s. Od. was in "ready money".³ He must have been one of the very early pioneers of soap manufacturing, for more than a century afterwards it was observed that some works for the manufacture of soap "had been recently erected in the neighbourhood of Swansea".⁴

In the same category as kelp were Ringo roots⁵ which were gathered by local peasant folk in large quantities along the sea coast and exported to Bristol from the small ports of Newton, Sully and Aberthaw.⁶ The roots which were gathered along the seashore at Baglan and Aberavon, were "accounted in London as good if not the best of any sent there".⁷

1. D.J.Davies: Op.cit., p.116.

2. Badm. (Group 2), 1961.

3. P.R. (S.D.), 1690.

4. T.Rees: Beauties of England and Wales (London,1815), pp.608-9.

5. Otherwise known as Sea Holly, or Eryngium Maritimum

6. P.R.O. E.190/1278/12; E.190/1279/3; E.190/1281/14.

7. Lhuyd: Op.cit., p.35.

It is not easy to establish the monetary value of these roots, but the inventory of Evan Kerry of Swansea, who died in 1666, shows that he possessed a hundred and fifty Ringo roots which were valued at 10s.¹ According to John Gerarde, the intrinsic value of the Ringo root lay in its many medicinal qualities or "virtues". The leaves, when "kept in pickle and eaten in sallads with oile and vinegar" made a pleasant sauce for meat, wholesome for the stoppings of the liver, milt, kidnies and bladder".² At the beginning of the seventeenth century they were candied at a Colchester factory by an Englishman named Robert Burton who "produced on a large scale aphrodisiacs compounded of ringo roots or sea holly".³

Another plant which grew "in great plenty" along the Glamorgan coasts, and which was gathered for the market by many of the local inhabitants, was the Crithmum maritimum or Rock Samphire. During his tour of the neighbourhood in 1798, Richard Warner learned of "a hazardous practice"⁴ common among the inhabitants of the villages of the sea coast of Glamorgan near Llantwit Major in proper season" (June to August) namely, "the gathering of Crithmum maritimum"⁵. This "object of profit" helped to supplement the earnings of many of the inhabitants, who sold it for use in pickling.

1. P.R. (S.D.), 1666.

2. John Gerarde: The Herball or general historie of plantes (London, 1636), pp. 533-4.

3. H.E. Wedeck: Love potions through the ages (London, 1963), p. 211; B.H. Barton and T. Castle: The British flora medica (London, 1877), p. 155.

4. Shakespeare refers in King Lear to the "dreadful trade" of gathering this plant.

5. Richard Warner: A second walk through Wales, 1798 (London, 1799), pp. 72-3.

Again, "fern-burning" became a profitable source of employment in many areas as the demands of the expanding soap industry increased. Some of the cargoes carried from the port of Aberthaw to Bristol included soap ashes. On 29 October 1693, the William and Margarett of Aberthaw carried "400 strikes of sope-ashes" to Bristol, and on 14 November 1720 the Fonmon of Aberthaw sailed with "one tunn of ash" to the same destination.¹ A common source of alkali for both soap-making and glass-making industries of the eighteenth century was obtained from plant ashes. In 1753 John Tyrer, a soap boiler from as far afield as Priscot, in Lancashire, was granted permission "to cut and burn fern at Keven Drim, Coppavach, Brinbach, Graigvawr and Gelliwastad...Commons" in West Glamorgan.² All these small undertakings in the countryside show how sensitive were the inhabitants of Glamorgan to the economic opportunities afforded them by the requirements of the English manufactories at Bristol and elsewhere during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

The rural activities we have discussed in this chapter were subsidiary to agriculture, yet the rewards they brought to many of those engaged in them, however small, often supplemented their earnings from the land. To what extent crises of subsistence were thus averted is a subject upon which we can only speculate.³

1. M.I.Williams: Op.cit., N.L.W.J. IX, pp.337, 349.

2. Badm. (Group 2), No.2737.

3. Cf. Peter Laslett: Op.cit., pp.31-32.

Chapter 5.

PEASANT HOUSES AND THEIR INTERIORS

The farmhouses and cottages of Glamorgan in the pre-industrial era may be looked upon as a facet of native folk life and culture - the way in which the inhabitants of the upland and lowland regions of the county collectively utilised and adapted local building materials to provide themselves and their children with shelter and other physical comforts. The interiors of most of these dwellings were adapted and sometimes modified to facilitate the performance of those domestic or household tasks which were ancillary to agriculture, such as spinning, weaving, malting, brewing and dairying. It is often contended that folk dwelling varies according to local climatic, geographic and social conditions,¹ but it may be added that the traditional requirements of local farming - whether arable, pastoral, or arable-pastoral farming - have in turn influenced the evolution of local houses.² It has been indicated elsewhere that many farmhouses sheltered, not only the single family unit, but also married children and grandparents.³ Moreover, on some of the larger farms in the Vale of Glamorgan, farmers often found it necessary to house both indoor and outdoor servants, a necessity which, if only to achieve a greater degree of privacy, would have led to some modification or re-adjustment of the interiors of existing houses or in

1. I.C.Peate: The Welsh house (Liverpool,1944), pp.4-5.

2. Cf. E.Mercer: 'The houses of the gentry'. Past and Present, No.5,1954, p.30.

3. Cf. M.W.Barley: The English farmhouse and cottage (London,1961), pp.4-5.

the plans for the building of new houses, or of extensions to old ones. Indeed, "an element in the achievement of privacy is the separation of the servants' quarters from those of the family."¹ The system of inheritance sometimes compelled members of the same family to work a single farm jointly, and where this obtained, we find the erection of two or more houses close together, with no structural communication between them, as in the case of Jenkin Thomas of St.Mary Hill.²

The lack of uniformity in the character of eighteenth century Welsh houses was often remarked upon by the topographers of that time. But whereas Welsh towns were generally censured by strangers "for the inelegance and inconvenience of their houses", the reverse was true of the habitations of the peasantry of Glamorgan where, it was claimed, that "comfortable" cottages were relatively numerous. At the turn of the century it was observed that "the antiquity of the cottages is a strongly marked feature in the appearance of this county". It was thought that many of them were "as ancient as the castles to which they were attached", and that there was no part of England where the general appearance of the cottages were more neat and respectable than in Glamorganshire. The numerous Gothic cottages "carry with them the recommendation of a venerable exterior and a portion of internal room, comfort, and security from the elements rarely enjoyed by their fellows in any part of the world. In many cases it could be said that the labourer is better lodged than his employer."³ The cottages and farmhouses here described were in

1. W.G.Hoskins: 'The re-building of rural England', Past and Present No.4, 1953, p.54.

2. P.R. (Ll), 1661. Cf.W.Hemp: Arch.Camb., Vol.97, 1943, p.98.

3. B.H.Malkin: Op.cit., Vol.1, pp.97-98. Cf.John Evans: Op.cit., pp.185-186.

all probability much the same as those that dotted the Glamorgan landscape a century or so earlier, for we are informed by the celebrated Iolo Morganwg (Edward Williams, 1747-1823), himself a stone mason by trade, that at the end of the eighteenth century there were "few but not many recently built farm houses in this county", and that on the whole, "from the style of their building" probably nine out of every ten houses were at least "300 to 400 years old."¹ To what degree was this true, we cannot say, but for the most part, the farmhouses of Glamorgan were generally observed to have been of ancient structure, well built from local stone, sufficiently large and commodious on the whole, but "not on plans of convenience such as recent times have conceived." However, in the towns and places where coal works and manufactories, iron and copper works were established, "new" houses were being erected.² Sir John Morris of Clasemont, near Swansea, was apparently a most extensive individual builder of comfortable habitations for the labouring class, and about the year 1768 the foundation of Morriston was laid, where dwellings were erected for colliers and manufacturers "in well formed and spacious streets", and by 1796 there were 141 houses inhabited by 619 persons.³

In rural areas there was, so far as we can establish, little change in housing conditions during our period, and where new dwellings were erected in the countryside, they were not likely to have been more

1. N.L.W. MS.13,114B.

2. Loc.cit.

3. W.Davies: General view.... Vol.1., pp134-135.

spacious than the old ones because of the growing scarcity of timber and other building materials.¹ Normally, however, the traditional farmhouse of Glamorgan would consist of at least three or four rooms - a large kitchen, a parlour or hall, a pantry and milk house or dairy, with an upper storey consisting of sleeping quarters for the family. The barn, cowhouse and stable etc. were often connected to the house in a row, at one end or other. There was often a wain-house in the row, and also at the fore end of it, a hogsty. The bakehouse, which was usually detached from the row, was furnished with one or two ovens and a boiler or 'furnace' for brewing, washing and boiling harvest dinners.² The 'bake-house detached', however, should be distinguished from kitchens, for they are mainly later, and have been found near houses already provided with kitchens. Most Glamorgan houses seem to have had the kitchen as an "integral part of the house" long before 1700, as so many inventories testify, and as Professor Hoskins has observed in relation to other regions in the West of England.³ In those regions where building materials were easily accessible from the calcareous and siliceous freestone quarries in the middle of the Vale, near the coast where the Bath and Portland stone could be conveniently procured coastwise, the buildings were both durable and elegant.⁴ For example, the thick stone roofing slabs which covered the Great House at Aberthin, near Cowbridge, were

1. N.L.W. MS. 13,114B.

2. Ibid.

3. W.G.Hoskins: Local history in England (London, 1959), p.122.

4. W.Davies: Op.cit., p.123.

undoubtedly brought down from the Llantrisant quarries, about six miles distant, and the parapets of the gables were moulded in Sutton stone copings.¹ In the upland regions of the county, the houses were comparatively inferior, but "they were not so general as in West Wales where the worst housing conditions prevailed".² The differences between the geological features of the uplands and lowlands were undoubtedly reflected in the domestic buildings of the two regions. Malkin observed that "A stranger contrast cannot be conceived than between a cottage in the Vale of Glamorgan and a cottage in the Vale of Aberdare or Ystradyfodwg, though probably there is scarcely ten miles of intervening space in a straight line".³ These differences probably reflected the productivity of the agriculture of the two regions. The large number of well built houses standing on the rich lands of the Vale contrasted with the much thinner scatter of ancient dwellings in the upland regions.⁴

On the whole, Glamorgan cottages were well built of stone and mortar. The simplest of them consisted generally of a building 24 feet x 14 feet on the ground floor.⁵ About 8 feet was usually partitioned off from the principal room, and this was again divided into two small rooms of about $7\frac{1}{2}$ feet or 8 feet square, one of which - that to the north - was fitted up as a pantry, whilst the other was used as a bedroom

1. R.Williams: 'Domestic and decorative art in Wales', T.S.C., 1896-97, p.83. p.154
2. D.J.Davies: Economic history of South Wales prior to 1800 (Cardiff,1933)/
3. Malkin: Op.cit., Vol.1, pp.255-256. See also M.W.Barley: Op.cit., pp.3-5, where the differences between houses in 'Lowland England' and the 'Highland Zone' are accounted for.
4. The Agrarian history of England and Wales. Vol.IV, 1500-1640. (Ed. by Joan Thirsk), pp.771-2.
5. Cf. Fox and Baglan: Monmouthshire houses, Part III, p.121, for similarity in Monmouthshire cottages.

for the cottager and his wife. The upper storey was divided into two rooms, 14 feet by 12 feet, and used as bedrooms for the children etc. Where a staircase existed, it was most commonly formed as a 'jutting' at one corner of the house (usually the north-east corner) where it wound up on the principle of the castle staircase "always in a tower and always of stone".¹ Cottages of a larger scale generally had, in addition to the kitchen, or the common family room, another room on the ground floor with a fireplace, of the nature of a parlour, with a slope house along the back of the house for a pantry, and the upper floor was then divided into two, and sometimes three, bedrooms. The floors of farmhouses and cottages were generally of mortar made of good lime and ashes.

Most of the early tourists passing through Glamorgan observed "whited cottages of the Vale". Writing in 1775, Penruddock noted that the "houses, walls and outbuildings are commonly white-washed, and there is scarcely a cottage to be seen which is not regularly brushed over every week".²

The 'gentlemen' also took a pride in the outward appearance of their houses which were often distinguishable from the whitened cottages, for they mixed ochre with lime to make their seats of Isabella Yellow". Camden observed that "there is scarce a cottage that is not white-washed regularly once a week".³

This practice may have reflected a feeling of class within the rural community. The ochre was certainly more expensive to obtain than lime.

1. N.L.W. MS.13,114B.

2. Wyndham Henry Penruddock: A gentleman's tour through Monmouthshire and Wales (London, 1775), p.44.

3. Camden (enlarged by Richard Gough), Vol.II, p.496.

In the lowland regions of the Vale, farmhouses and cottages were, with few exceptions, covered with wheat thatch. In the mountain regions, although most buildings were apparently covered with slate or tiles, many of them were also thatched. In the opinion of Walter Davies, however, the only known apology for the "indiscriminate waste of staw" in the Vale was "that thatching work is done with uncommon neatness; not surpassed, perhaps not equalled in any part". The practice apparently had its origin in the prevailing method of the county in hand reaping wheat crops without any confusion of wheat and straw. Moreover, great care was taken even in the process of thrashing on the floor, for the stalks were "crushed as little as possible".¹

The contention that the neatness of the Glamorgan thatching had its origin in the native practice of hand-reaping wheat crops may be misleading in-so-far as it might suggest that the method practised by native reapers was intended to protect the wheat stalks for the benefit of local thatchers. It should be explained that hand-reaping, as distinct from other methods of reaping, did not leave a very "clean stubble", a situation highly beneficial to the gleaners who very often included the wives and children of the reapers themselves. Therefore, it would seem more reasonable to argue that hand-reaping was persistently adopted in the Vale primarily because of the quantities of grain left in the ~~stooks~~ for the gleaners after the reaping. The undamaged wheat stalks

1. W.Davies: General View.... Vol.1, p.140.

which resulted from hand-reaping, constituted a perquisite which the local craftsmen applied to full advantage in cottage thatching. For we learn that "notwithstanding the neatness and thickness of the Glamorgan thatchwork....it will not last without repairing more than 15 to 18 years, whereas in the more slovenly manner in which thatching is done in other inland counties, it frequently lasts from 20 to 25 years".¹ Moreover, in certain localities in the highlands of Glamorgan, fern was reaped and laid on farmhouses and outhouses in the same manner as straw.² In other places, rushes, sea-reeds and broom were used and provided a durable thatch. It follows, then, that the undamaged wheat stalks which became available in the wake of the Glamorganshire method of hand-reaping³ were not indispensable for thatching houses. But the ancient custom of 'leasing' after reaping was considered an indispensable source of 'real' income for local harvest workers.

To resume our discussion on peasant dwellings, it may be noted that not all of them were as commodious and elegant as the above general observations might suggest. There were, for instance, many two- and three-roomed cottages which had no upper floor. Such was the dwelling place of Mary Hughes, of Cymmer, in the parish of Ystradfyfodwg, whose household goods, valued at £3, were all contained in a 'floore bedroom',

1. W.Davies: *Op.cit.*, Vol.1, p.143.

2. P.R.O. E.134/7/8 William 3/Hil.23.

3. For a comparison of the methods of reaping wheat crops, see M.I. Williams 'Seasonal migrations of Cardiganshire harvest gangs to the Vale of Glamorgan in the 19th century'. *Ceredigion*, 1957, p.3.

the 'floore room' and 'another small ground room'.¹ A survey of the farms lying within the manor of Llantrithyd circa 1789, describes many of the cottages and houses situated in the several parishes of St.Mary Hill, Llantrithyd, Llanharry, Pendoylan, Ystradowen and Peterston-super-Ely, as "built of stone and thatched", and states that the number of rooms they contained ranged from two to five "on a floor".² The obvious interpretation of the expression "on a floor" is that the houses and cottages so described were single-storeyed. The surviving ancient farm buildings of Glamorgan do not include examples of a four- or five-roomed single storey house,³ but the absence of such evidence does not, however, rule out the existence once of an elongated single-storeyed cottage of the type suggested in the above survey. Other dwellings had an upper room or rooms which were formed by loose boards covering the lower rooms. The inventory of the goods belonging to George Bassett of Llansannor in 1698 included "loose planks covering y^e three (ground) chambers" and were valued at £4.⁴ Similarly, Thomas Jones of Llanharry, who died in 1704, possessed "loose boards over the kitchen" valued at 10s.⁵ Richard Rees of Llanedeyrne, near Cardiff, was the occupier of a house consisting of "the room called y ty newydd" (the new house), and

1. P.R. (11), 1704.

2. G.R.O. D/D.Au.32. Note: In describing the manor house at Llantrithyd, the term chamber was used for the rooms above the floor.

3. I am indebted to Mr. Peter Smith of the Royal Commission on Ancient Monuments for this information.

4. P.R. (11), 1698.

5. Ibid., 1704.

"the roome called y_gell (cell) - the furniture in these two rooms was valued at £3, or 10 per cent of his personal estate of £32.¹

There were also in Glamorgan, many single-roomed cottages with a loft over all its area.² These, however, are not described in any of the probate material we have examined, but if items of furniture listed in the inventories can be taken as a guide, we may assume that the single-roomed cottage was relatively rare. Some of these cottages, nevertheless, were partitioned off by means of screens, as was often the practice in larger dwellings. For example, Katherine Wiltshire of Neath, who died in 1686, had in one of her chambers "1 bedstead, 1 French bedstead, 2 tabells, 8 chaires, 6 joint stools and 1 screene". She also owned three other small houses, in each of which was a screen which she bequeathed to her children.³ The screen, in this instance, was obviously portable, and its value assessed in much the same way as was a chair or a table. Again, Edward Thomas, a yeoman of Coity, who had five surviving children at the time of his death in 1712, lived in a house which had two ground floor rooms - the "first room" containing three 'skreens" and the "second room" one "skreen", along with other furniture.⁴ John Deer of St.Athan possessed "within the room within the kitchen, a small round table, 2 old wooden chairs, one round stool, one old rush chair, and one wooden skreen..."⁵

1. P.R. (L1), 1684.

2. I.C.Peate: Op.cit., p.106.

3. P.R. (L1), 1686.

4. Ibid., 1712.

5. Ibid., 1732.

In North Wales, a screen "to keep out the cold" which was eight feet high by four feet wide, and one inch thick, in stone or wood, was a normal feature of most eighteenth century two-roomed houses.¹ This feature has not hitherto been noted in relation to eighteenth century Glamorgan houses.

The 'Great Rebuilding' which took place in rural England between 1570 and 1640 does not seem to have had a counterpart in Glamorgan where it may not have occurred until sometime between 1680 and 1730. Although there is some documentary evidence of the erection of a number of new cottages in scattered areas between 1650 and 1660², a detailed examination of over three thousand wills and inventories has revealed that the period 1680 to 1730 had probably witnessed an unprecedented amount of new building and reconstruction work carried out throughout the rural areas of Glamorgan which almost certainly included the erection of many completely new houses. A Margam estate rental covering a period 1680 to 1692 contains specific references to houses 'lately' and 'newly' built and tiled,³ and by 1728 new houses had been erected at Noylton in the parish of Coity where, apparently, some were bought of Joshua Sydney by Francis Thomas of that parish.⁴ Again, it is possible that new houses had been built in the parish of Llangynwyd where, in 1730, William Maddox, of Bayden, occupied a "tenement called the new tyl'd house".⁵ It

1. I.C.Peate: Op.cit., p.101.

2. G.R.O. D/D MBN/211. Refers to about a dozen cottages 'lately' built in 1656.

3. P.& M. No.2192.

4. P.R. (11), 1728.

5. Ibid., 1730.

is almost certain that in parishes such as Llancarfan, barns of stout structure were sometimes converted into houses.¹ But we must not over emphasise such fragmentary evidence relating to the building of entirely new houses, for the evidence we have shows that most rural building operations during this period involved either the extension or modernisation of existing houses, and referred to in the probate records as the "new room" and the "new chamber". It should be observed further that there occur in the wills and inventories of our period a great many references to the "new house", and to the unwary, this term might be taken to mean a completely new tenement.. For example, according to the will of Edward Phillips of Llantrisant, he had apparently built a new house "adjoining the house with the stables and gardens", but the inventory of his goods and chattels shows that the "new house" was, in fact, only a "new hall" and a "new chamber".² Again, Evan Price, of Bettws, who died in 1686, lived in a house consisting of the following rooms: "the new chamber, chamber above the hall, chamber above the porch, chamber above the kitchen, chamber over the entry, little chamber, hall, kitchen, new house, dairy, buttery". The valuation of the furniture in the respective rooms clearly indicates that the "new house" in this instance was only a new room, probably a new service room added to the already existing building, for whereas the furniture in the kitchen was

1. G.R.O. D/D Au 32.

2. P.R. (Ll), 1712.

worth £2. 3s., and that in the "new chamber" £2, the content of the "new house" was valued at only £1.10s.¹ The meaning of the term 'house' in these contexts is made abundantly clear in the inventory of John Richard, a yeoman of Llandough who died in 1682, which shows that his house consisted in part of an "easterne roome called the new house".² However, this kind of evidence must be treated with caution, for in addition to the local implication of the term "new house" (in certain contexts) the "new" building, whether a completely new house or an extension to an existing house, cannot be dated precisely from probate records, because they may have been erected earlier than the actual date on which the wills or inventories were drawn up.

An interesting sidelight on the building of dwelling houses in the early eighteenth century is provided by some of the covenants attached to the granting of leases on the Duke of Beaufort's estates in West Glamorgan. For example, in the early eighteenth century Henry Thomas of Gurnos, in Loughor, was granted a lease on a piece of land upon which he had "to build within y^e space of 5 years a dwelling house 20' x 18'³

1. P.R. (L1), 1686.

2. Ibid., 1682.

Note: The Welsh word ty (house) is sometimes used to denote the downstairs part of the house, and the expression 'mynd lawr i'r ty' (going down to the house) is still used in parts of Glamorgan to signify 'going downstairs'. The term 'house' is sometimes also taken to mean the living room in a farm house, but it may also mean 'any separately occupied portion of a building' (2nd Report Royal Commission on Housing working classes, 1885). See also S.O.Addy: The evolution of the English House (London, 1933), p.67.

3. Badm. (Group 2), No.11,750.

According to an eighteenth century observer, it seems that houses on the southern edge of the coalfield from Cardiff to Swansea were mostly covered with tile.¹ This was probably due to the plentiful supplies of local flagstones which were often exploited by local farmers. The quarrying of building materials was in many cases an occupation subsidiary to agriculture. William Edwards, of Eglwysilan, yeoman, was the owner of "quarries of stones" at Merthyr Tydfil in 1697. An account of the disbursements made out of the estate of William Morgan of Llantrisant, who died in 1741, shows one payment of 3s.6d. "for rolling the wheat", and one of 8s. for "weeding the same", as well as the payment of a sum of £2.10s. to David William "for working in the quarry for 10 weeks at 5s. per week."² The decedent also possessed "3000 tile stones" valued at £1. 4s. Od., which were undoubtedly destined for use on buildings in the neighbourhood.

It might be of interest to take a closer look at the general structure of old Glamorgan cottages, albeit at a much later period, through the evidence submitted by the Commissioners in 1867.³ One witness in the parish of Peterston described the cottage accommodation there as 'deplorable'. It consisted of '...old thatched buildings, very low, with one living room, a portion of which is generally partitioned off for a pantry and a general garret or sleeping room for the whole

1. W.Mathews: The miscellaneous companions , 1786, 1, p.76.

2. LL/CC/P.645.

3. Report on the Employment of Women and Children in Agriculture 1867 (Wales).

family". At Wenvoe there were not enough cottages "with two or three bedrooms". At Llantrithyd, "most of them have one sitting room with a pantry or lean-to attached. There is generally a good-sized upper bedroom under the thatched roof which is sometimes divided. A bed is often placed in the sitting room".¹ In 1893, the more common type of cottage in the Bridgend-Cowbridge area, was described as "a low-straw thatched stone building with two rooms downstairs, one being a large roomy kitchen where all the cooking, eating and washing is done, and where as a rule there is a bed as well. The other is generally very small and almost always damp. Over these two rooms there is a loft, generally approached by a ladder, with the roof coming down to the floor, and a window, which cannot be opened, let in to the roof. Too often this loft has no partition". In the coastal area around Llantwit Major the cottages, we are told, were generally single-roomed, with a room above to which access was "by means of a wooden ladder".²

Size of Houses

Peasant dwellings reflected an important facet of the folk-life of the county. They also mirrored the economic and social status of their occupants or builders. A fairly reliable picture of the distribution of houses and cottages according to their elegance and size in pre-industrial Glamorgan is provided in the extant Hearth Tax rolls for 1670.³ These rolls specify the number of hearths to each household

1. Loc.cit., pp.71-74.

2. Royal Commission on Labour. The Agricultural Labourer, Vol.II, (Wales), 1893, p.47.

3. P.R.O. E.179/221/294.

in the county, and it is fairly certain that, within limits, the number of hearths bears some correlation to the size of the houses, which, in turn, may be taken as a general index of the householder's personal wealth or his economic or social standing. Most persons who were exempted from paying the Hearth Tax were classified as 'paupers', and they lived, mostly, in dwellings with one hearth, and sometimes with two. In the town of Cardiff in 1670, out of a total of 319 householders, 82 were classified as paupers, of which number, 64 lived in single-hearth dwellings, and 18 in two-hearth dwellings. Similarly in the parish of Llandyfodwg we find that out of a total of 49 households, 20 were exempted from paying the tax, and all occupied single-hearth dwellings. From a total of 66 households at Roath, 21 were exempted, of which 18 had one hearth each, and 3 had two each. In Llandaff, where there were 80 households, of the 14 exempted from paying the hearth money, 12 households had one hearth, and 2 had two hearths.

As no household in Glamorgan with three or more hearths was listed as being exempted from paying the Hearth money in 1670, it is reasonable to conclude that most of the 'poor' lived in either single- or two-hearth dwellings. It would be erroneous to assume from this, however, that all households living in one- or two-hearth houses constituted the agricultural proletariat, for the inventories show that in some of the single-hearth houses lived small farmers, craftsmen and tradesmen¹ who

1. Cf. W.G.Hoskins: The Midland Peasant (London, 1957), p.299.

represented the majority of the households of Glamorgan in 1670. More specifically we find that out of a total of 9,083 households accounted for in the Hearth tax rolls for that year, 5,423 occupied single-hearth houses, and of these 2,117 were classified as paupers. In other words, almost one household in four was considered to be a pauper household, although in the Hundred of Dinas Powys, the proportion was even higher. Then there were 2,199 households living in two-hearth houses. Expressed in terms of population, it meant that of the estimated total of 45,700 persons living in Glamorgan in 1670, 34,300, or nearly 75 per cent, were housed in either single- or two-hearth dwellings, that is, in houses with from two to six rooms. Some of these can be identified in contemporary inventories. A similar conclusion was reached by Professor W.G.Hoskins in his investigation into peasant houses in the Leicestershire village of Wigston.¹ But an analysis of houses mentioned in mid-Essex inventories for the period 1635-1749 reveals that the majority was from six- to eight-roomed.² These differences may be accounted for by the inclusion of one or more appendages such as the milk house or malt house, etc. This could result in a 5 to 9 room range being reduced to a 3 to 6 room range.

Taking a random sample of ~~120~~ Glamorgan houses for the period 1660-1720, their frequency, according to the number of rooms they contained was as follows:

1. W.G.Hoskins: Op.cit., p.299.

2. F.W.Steer: Farm and cottage inventories of Mid-Essex, 1635-1749.
Essex Rec. Office Publications No.8 (1950), p.8(n2).

<u>No. of rooms</u>	<u>No. of houses</u>
1	4
2	11
3	<u>14</u> 29
4	21
5	14
6	<u>13</u> 48
7	4
8	14
9	<u>10</u> 28
10 and over	<u>15</u> 15
Total	<u>120</u>

The majority of houses in this ~~ex~~ample was from one to six-roomed, 25 per cent with 1 to 3 rooms, and 40 per cent with 4 to 6 rooms, a situation consistent with, and corroborated by, the distribution of hearths, as already indicated in the Hearth Tax lists. But although it is true to say that the number of hearths cannot be equated with the number of rooms "except in a rough and ready way",¹ to what extent can it be said that the number of rooms was related to the householder's personal wealth? An analysis of 68 inventories which indicate the number of rooms belonging to the respective dwellings shows that the average value of the inventories, according to the number of rooms given was as follows:

No. of rooms.....	1-4	5-9	10+
Average total of inventory...	£55	£320	£413

1. W.G.Hoskins: Op.cit., p.300.

Such averages obviously conceal the upper and lower extremes in each category. For instance, in the seven-room category, one inventory was valued at £1,680, whereas another inventory in the ten-room-plus category was valued at only £73. The actual figures quoted above must, therefore, be treated with caution, but the general picture which they present is probably a fairly accurate one of the population as a whole. The following table shows the overall distribution of households in Glamorgan according to the number of hearths, as recorded in the official Hearth Tax Rolls of 1670.

Distribution of hearths in Glamorgan in 1670

No. of hearths	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10 & over	Total	Approx. percentage paupers
				No. of households								
Kibbor	349 (111)	160	119	57	23	1	3	2	3	8	726	15
Cowbridge	552 (335)	277	114	44	21	10	10	-	1	9	1038	32
Dinas Powis	647 (393)	197	57	33	16	9	7	-	3	9	977	40
Newcastle	670 (209)	499	80	48	14	6	3	4	-	2	1326	16
Ogmore	335 (136)	153	68	26	8	2	5	1	-	6	604	23
Llangyfelach	573 (229)	151	57	20	5	4	1	1	-	-	812	28
Swansea	572 (31)	309	113	72	29	9	5	6	3	6	1124	3
Miskin	652 (285)	171	84	28	9	5	1	1	1	3	955	30
Neath	645 (285)	192	77	34	11	6	-	-	1	1	967	29
Senghennydd	544 (266)	125	35	15	11	7	10	1	1	5	754	35
Total	5423 (2117)	2199	781	360	139	56	46	16	13	50	9083	25

* Figures in brackets represent the total number of pauper households in each Hundred.

Taking a general view, however, those who occupied the greatest number of rooms also possessed the greatest wealth. The following Table defines the rooms in 21 houses occupied by testators in different social groups in the several Glamorgan parishes. The value of household goods, and total personal wealth of each occupier are also shown:

TABLE XVII

Year	Parish	Name of testator	Occupation of Description	Rooms	Number of rooms	Value of household goods	Total value of personal estate	% of household goods by value
						Nearest £		
1692	Ewenny	John Carne	Esquire	Little parlour; dining room; matted chamber; inner room; the galley; nursery; kitchen chamber; passage; above the parlour; garrett; study; outer room; Francis Tuberville's room; gardener's room; lower parlour; kitchen; lower kitchen	17	£36	£490	7
1701	Gelligaer	Charles Lewis	Gent.	Kitchen; bakehouse; hall; green chamber; red chamber; painted chamber; men's chamber; maid's chamber; parlour; kitchen; bakehouse	11	£14	£73	20
1666	Llanbleddian	William Thomas	Pedlar	Hall; the chamber; loft	3	£7	£54	12½
1692	Llanbradach	William Thomas	Esquire	Little chamber; maid servant's chamber; middle chamber; chamber of the kitchen; chamber of porch; entering or gallery; storehouse; chamber over the hall; chamber over the parlour; chamber over buttery; parlour; hall; buttery; the kitchen; backhouse; dairyhouse; study.	17	£140	£1245	11
1690	Llancarvan	Phillip William	Yeoman	Parlour; hall; kitchen; chamber over hall; chamber over parlour; store loft; dairy; buttery; cellar; brew-house	10	£30	£142	20
1686	Llancarvan (Walterston)	Edward Richard	Yeoman	Hall; chamber over hall; milkhouse	3	£26	£146	17
1682	Llandough	John Richard	Yeoman	Eastern room (called the new house); middle lower room; western lower room; the upper room or loft	4	£5	£68	7

TABLE XVII (continued)

Year	Parish	Name of testator	Occupation or Description	Rooms	Number of rooms	Value of household goods	Total value of personal estate	% of household goods by value
1680	Llandow	Katherine Thomas	Widow	Hall; room within the hall; new room; above stairs	4	Nearest £ £5	£37	14
1672	Llangynwyd	Rees Powell	Gent.	Hall; parlour; kitchen; chamber over hall; chamber over kitchen; cogloft over hall; buttery; dairyhouse	8	£30	£127	22
1704	Llanmaes	Mary Thomas	Widow	Hall; parlour; kitchen; chamber over parlour; chamber over hall; chamber over kitchen	6	£18	£73	25
1706	Llanharan	Evan David	Yeoman	Hall; Buttery; chamber over buttery; chamber over hall	4	£8	£125	7
1677	Llantrisant	Evan John	Yeoman	Parlour; hall; kitchen; brewhouse; chamber over brewhouse, chamber over parlour	6	£20	£92	22
1693	Llantrithyd	Christopher Thomas	Yeoman	Hall; kitchen; dairy; buttery; chamber over hall; chamber over buttery; little closet; garrett; chamber over kitchen	9	£20	£200	10
1702	Llantwit Major	Illyd Nichol	Gent.	Kitchen; parlour; hall; dairy; study; chamber; buttery; chamber of buttery; chamber of little buttery; cogloft.	8	£38	£156	24
1679	Neath	James Cochain	Mercer	Sellar; hall; chamber over hall; chamber over shop; little room over shop; room over the stairs; shop; room over stairs	8	£16	£84	20

TABLE XVII (continued)

Year	Parish	Name of testator	Occupation or Description	Rooms	Number of rooms	Value of household goods	Total value of personal estate	% of household goods by value
1660	Penlline	Robert Thomas	Yeoman	Hall; inner room	2	£5	£12	20
1682	Panmark	Thomas Spencer	Mariner	Hall; entry; parlour; kitchen cellar; cellar chamber; hall chamber; parlour loft; kitchen chamber	9			
1706	St. Brides Major	Thomas Lloyd	Vicar	Parlour; kitchen; buttery; bakehouse; garrett over bakehouse; chamber over parlour; study; chamber over entry; chamber over kitchen	9	£33	£43	
1691	St. Andrews	John Tucker	Weaver	Hall; chamber over hall	3	£2	£24	8
1749	Sully	Charles Butler		Hall; little room next to hall; new room; kitchen or backhouse; little room next to the former; dairy; chamber over bakehouse; chamber over hall.	8	£20	£378	
1700	Whitchurch	William Lewis	Yeoman	Bed chamber; next room; room upon the top of the stairs; hall; buttery; kitchen; room over kitchen; little room; dairy	10	£28	£200	14

It is not easy to discover any clues that would suggest the cost of building a farmhouse in Glamorgan in the seventeenth century. In Essex the cost of re-building an average sized farmhouse in 1654 was almost £40.¹ Toward the end of the eighteenth century a cottage in the Vale of Glamorgan would probably cost about £20, and a house about £50 to build. An estimate for the building of two cottages that would occupy one fifth of an acre, made by the famous Edward Williams of Flemingston, came to £38.11s. Od.²

Furniture

A considerable volume of inventory material which has survived from the mid-seventeenth century provides us with a fairly accurate and detailed description of the interior of the houses and cottages in Glamorgan during our period. A close examination of the inventories clearly shows that, with few exceptions, the household furniture of the ordinary farmer and farm labourer was extremely modest and entirely utilitarian. Indeed, it may be averred that the farmers' house and its furniture constituted but "a farming tool"³, and that it was not until after about 1680 that we can detect some definite signs of new social influences creeping into the domestic life of the inhabitants of the greater part of the lowland and coastal regions of the county. There were conspicuous

1. Quoted in W.G.Hoskins: Provincial England, p.143.

2. N.L.W. IAW.MS (Bedford papers) No.126/13,14.

3. W.G.Hoskins: Local history in England (London, 1959), p.129.

differences, however, in the range and volume of household furniture possessed by the various classes constituting the rural community, but these were merely outward expressions of more fundamental differences that determined the legal relationship of Clergy, landlords, tenant farmers and farm labourers in their connection with the land and its cultivation. Those who participated directly through their own labours in the tilling of the land and in the rearing of animals, had little leisure to engage in, and enjoy cultural pursuits, and little or no money with which to purchase more furniture and household utensils than were essential to provide the bare minimum of comfort and sustenance away from the fields, the animals, and ancillary tasks.

Furniture and many household utensils, such as platters and spoons, were generally made of wood by local joiners and turners as, for example, in the case of Catherine Morgan of Llantwit Major who died in 1728 leaving, as part of her possessions, "one long table with six joint stools and the bench behind the table, one cubert with foure chaires made by turners"¹. Indeed, the importance of timber in the domestic life of the seventeenth century Glamorgan is emphasised in most contemporary wills. Whilst wool was bequeathed "to make cloth", and cloth bequeathed "to make a suit", timber, in turn, was bequeathed to make furniture. This is exemplified in the will of Jenkin William of Llantrisant, who died in 1662, leaving to Moris William "...the three greate planks remaining over and

1. P.R. (L1), 1728.

above making of two chests, to be delivered unto him forthwith after my decease".¹ Likewise David Phillip of Llantrisant, in 1665 gave to his daughter Katherine "two greate planks wth sufficient timber for posts and railes therewith to make a boorde."² Similar bequests were made in the first half of the eighteenth century as instanced in the will of John Thomas, a yeoman of Llanwonno who bequeathed to Morgan Jenkin "as much timber as will make him a bedstead".³ An interesting bequest was that made by Thomas William of Ystradyfodwg in 1692 of "one timber tree situated in a place called Gwm-nant-y-gwair" which was "to be cutt and equally divided between his two sons and two daughters".⁴ The final portions were undoubtedly to be used in the making of furniture or household implements.

During our period, domestic furniture was intended to be used by several generations of the same family. The wills of testators show clearly that such items as the chest (seld) and bedstead were inherited furniture, and were invariably of oak. The "three principals" in household furniture in Glamorgan were either "the great chest, bed, and crock", or "the bedstead, the table, and the chest or cupboard".⁵ Jenkin Thomas of St. Mary Hill, who died in 1661, when making his will ensured that his son Thomas Jenkin inherited "the bed in the hall wth its appurtenances, the table, the cupboard, and the chest that keepeth oatemeale".⁶ ~~The concern~~

1. P.R. (11), 1662.

2. Ibid., 1665.

3. Ibid., 1728.

4. Ibid., 1692.

5. Cf. Ibid., 1723 (Thomas Mayo's will)

6. Ibid., 1661.

The concern of testators about their beds is reflected, to some degree, in the will of Elizabeth Preece, a spinster of Llantwit Faerdre, in 1712, when she bequeathed to her brother Rowland Prees "y^e use of my bedstead with my feather bed and all its appurtenances" during his lifetime, but afterwards it "was to go to her nephew Phillip Preece".¹

The various items of furniture inherited from one generation to another may have "symbolised the tenderness and love of home which gave a sacredness to the atmosphere and surroundings of hearth and home".² Each homestead was different from the other, and a notable characteristic of the old farmhouses is that items of furniture were not generally standardised "but actually made to conform to a type of house in the district".³ For many factors such as personal taste, temporary influences and local peculiarities must combine to decide what sort of a house any individual builds.⁴ Indeed, even in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, furniture was often adapted to the specifications of cottages.⁵ The "personality" of the homestead must have been a binding influence in family relations, particularly during a period when the 'family' was essentially both an economic and a social unit.

Among the earliest of the Glamorgan inventories which contain an

1. P.R. (L1), 1712.

2. T.E.Ellis: 'Domestic and decorative art in Wales'. T.S.C., 1896-7, p.24.

3. Dan R.Jones: 'The history of Welsh domestic art from the XVIth century,' University of Wales M.A. Thesis (unpublished), p.18.

4. E.Mercer: 'Houses of the gentry'. Past and Present, May 1954, No.5, p.18.

5. I.A.W. Collection (Bedford Papers), No.106/10.

account of household furniture is that of Jenkin Thomas of St. Mary Hill, who died in 1661. At the time of his death he possessed "one standing bedd and one feather bedd wth its appurtenances; one brass pan; one table board and frame and five joint stooles; a chest 'that keepeth oatemeale'; one cupboard and five pewter platters; two brasse candlesticks and eight chaires". The household goods were all valued at £3. 1s., or about 14 per cent of his total personal wealth, which came to £20.16s.

One of the earliest inventories giving details of household furniture in individual rooms is that of Margaret Nicholls, a widow of St. Brides Major, who died in 1665.¹ Her hall contained "one feather bed and bedstead and coverlid and all other necessities thereunto belonging; one press cupboard, one table and five joint stools, one carpet on the said table, one chest and four chaires, one iron grate fire shovel and tongs. In her little chamber within the hall were, one chest-bed and bedstead, coverlid, blanket, three small brason crocks, and one brasse pann, one brass candlestick one brass cauldron and skillett, divers sorts of pewter vessells and several sorts of wooden vessells. In one chamber over the hall were quantities of corn and about twenty of several sizes and sorts of loose wooden planks. The planks were possibly used to extend the floor space on the loft as and when necessary. The total was valued at £23. The inventory of Robert Thomas of Penlline, dated 1668, shows that he lived in a two-roomed house furnished as follows: In the hall were

1. P.R. (11), 1665.

one standing bedstead, one feather bed and boulder, one pair of sheets, one pair of blankets and a coverlet, one table and frame, five joint stools, a chest and a bench. In the inner room were two dust beds and their cloaths,, one iron crock, three pewter platters and other wooden vessels. The total value of the furniture listed was £12.¹

It is worth noting that the original wills and inventories we have examined indicate clearly that previously to about 1670/80, a considerable number of the small peasant farmers of Glamorgan did not possess chairs, which had been considered hitherto as luxuries.² After about 1680, chairs of various styles appear more frequently in contemporary inventories, which seems to suggest that they were becoming more common. They were certainly to be found in cottages and houses where previously stools and benches dominated the interiors.

Domestic furniture in vogue in Wales at the beginning of the sixteenth century was made to be easily dismantled - chairs could be folded and tables put on trestles.³ In the second half of the seventeenth century, and later, there were still many houses and cottages where furniture followed the style of the sixteenth century. For instance, Henry Thomas, Yeoman, of Whitchurch, who died in 1708, used "a plank on two posts in y^e ground instead of a table".⁴ And there are numerous examples of a table board and frame, that is the frame or trestle of an unjoined table.

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1. P.R. (11), 1668.
 2. I.C.Peate: Welsh bygones (Cardiff,1929), p.19.
 3. Dan R.Jones: Op.cit., p.18.
 4. P.R. (11), 1708.

One important feature of the interiors of houses which is emphasised in all the inventories of our period is that most rooms contained a bed. Houses were undoubtedly very untidy, and the congestion must have been considerable. The contents of the house occupied by Gabriel George, a yeoman, of Penmark in 1678 testify to the congestion and complete lack of orderliness of rooms at that time. The hall contained one table, six joint stools, one bench, a chest, one round table, one cupboard, one small box, four small pewter platters, six pewter dishes, one pewter cup, two pewter candlesticks, one tin candlestick, four chaires, one little stool, one pewter noggin, one pewter mustard pot, six earthen dishes, one earthen chamber pot, one earthen basin, three pewter spoons, one iron grate, one pair of andirons, two fire slices, two paires of tonges, one frying pan, one pair of bellows, one backstone, one case of smoothing irons, one spitt, one rick fork, one paire of pott hooks, one pair of large hooks, one cleaver, one chopping knife, two fleetches of bacon, one small piece of beef, one houre-glass, three small cushions and two glasses; the inner room contained one feather bed with its appurtenances, bedstead covers and mattress sheets, coverlets, blankets, and one feather bolster, one dust bolster, one coffer, two small boxes, two brass cauldrons, one brass skillet, one little iron pot; in the loft were one French bedstead, one truckle bed, one chest bed with its appurtenances, one trow and other lumber.¹

The foregoing list of household furniture and implements reveals simplicity

1. P.R. (11), 1678.

and the completely utilitarian character of the interior of the farmhouses at the end of the seventeenth century.

The interiors of the houses of the gentry and squireen were rather different from those of the small yeoman. Here there were signs of sophistication, especially in those areas situated near Cardiff and Swansea, along the sea coast, between these two head ports, and in the interior of the county where, even in the seventeenth century, men combined agricultural activities with industrial and non-agricultural pursuits. An outstanding example of seventeenth century affluence is provided in the inventory of William Thomas, Esquire, of Llanbradach, whose will was proved in 1692. His wearing apparel was valued at £10, his books, gold and silver rings, bracelets, two silk mantles with lace, sweet bags embroidered, one belt, one looking glass, his pocket watch and his sword were valued at £50; his silver plate, consisting of two silver tankards, two tumblers, two porringers, two coddle cups, twelve spoons and little bowl, one salver, one salt cellar and seven small salt cellars - £40. The furniture in his house included: In the chamber called the little chamber, a standing bedstead, a livery cupboard, two feather beds, two new feather bolsters and sixteen pairs of blankets - £14.10s.; in the maid servants chamber, two bedsteads, one flock bed, one dust bed and two thrum rugs - £2; in the middle chamber, one standing bedstead, one feather bed, one feather bolster, one pair of curtains and valiance, one livery cupboard, one table and frame,

two chairs, one stool, one trunk and one cupboard - £5.10s.; in the chamber over the kitchen, the hangings, two standing bedsteads, one 'press bed', three feather beds, 3 feather bolsters, one counterpane, three rugs, two pairs of curtains and valance, one cupboard, two tables with frames, two chairs, one stool, one pair of tongs, slice and forks - £13.; in the chamber over the porch, one standing bedstead, one pair of curtains and valance, one feather bed, one feather bolster, one rug, one table and frame and one looking glass - £6.; in the entering or gallery, two coffers, one trunk, three hutches, one chest - £3.10s.; in the store house, one iron grate, one rope and several vessels, seven dozen of glass bottles - £2.10s.; all pewter vessels and platters, and all the candlesticks of brass and pewter - £12; in the chamber over the hall called the White chamber, two standing bedsteads, two feather beds, two feather bolsters, two rugs, two pairs of curtains and valance, one table frame and one chair - £9; in the parlour, two tables and frames, one settle, two Spanish tables, thirteen chairs, one back, one pair of andirons, one iron grate - £4. 8s.; in the hall, one drawing table and frame, one other table and frame, six joint stools, six chairs, one livery cupboard etc. - £6. 6s., and all the wool there - £5. There were five other rooms containing furniture valued, in all, at £28. The linen comprised two great table cloths of damask, one sideboard damask cloth and a towel, one dozen damask napkins, one diaper table cloth, three sideboard cloths, four towels, thirty-six napkins all diapers, three dozen dowlas napkins, four pairs of

Holland sheets, three pairs of dowlas sheets, three long table cloths, ten pillow cases, a pair of white curtains and valance, one head piece and a toster, four curtains for windows, ten pairs of wheets, ten ordinary table cloths, twenty-one napkins and nine pillow cases, all valued at £30. The total value of his furniture was £170, or about 12 per cent of his total estate of £1,245. 8s. 6d., whilst his stock and crops were estimated at £206. 7s. 0d., or approximately 16 per cent of his wealth.

Thomas Spencer of the parish of Penmark, near the port of Aberthaw, in the Vale of Glamorgan, although described as a mariner, nevertheless made a living through combining sea-faring with agriculture. When he died in 1682¹, his estate was valued at £381.17s., of which £100 represented his interests in two barks called the Blessing and Elizabeth of Aberthaw. His agricultural goods, including his crops and stock, were worth £118, and implements of husbandry £5.18s. His house at Penmark was furnished as follows: in the hall, 1 table board, frame, nine joint stools and a carpet cloth - £1., one cupboard, one chest and three wooden chairs - £1. 6s. 8d., one clock - £1. 5s.; in the entry, one old chest and settle - 6s.; in the parlour, one cedar chest, two other small chests, one desk, one livery cupboard, one sea chest, two great joint-stools, three wooden chairs, two small joint-stools - £3.10s., one bedstead with curtains and valance, two feather beds, two bolsters, one rug, and one coverlet - 5s., one citterne² - 3s. 4d., three fowling pieces two musket barrels, two

1. P.R. (L1), 1682.

2. i.e. a cithern, a lute or guitar.

pistols, one whereof brass, two box smoothing irons, one sword, one pair of andirons, 1 pair of pot hooks, tongs and slice, one iron bar, one iron beam with scales and weights, and one iron sledge - £2.11s. 6d.; in the kitchen, eight flitches of bacon and pork - £1.10s., one salting trow and haircloth - 10s. Od., two large brass pans, two lesser pans, two brass pots, one brass sea kettle, one large brass brewing kettle, one dripping pan, three brand irons, one bakestone, one brass chafing dish, one iron grate, one mortar, one candlestick, one brass ladle - £8. 6s., pewter £2.16s., iron things - 15s. Od., one brewing vat and all other wooden vessels, two side table boards and planks and tin casks of all sizes - £1. 3s. 4d.; in the cellar, tables, vats and casks - 15s. Od.; in the cellar chamber, one great trunk of drawers, one livery cupboard, one round table, four green chairs one bedstead, one feather bed and bolster, two pillows, one desk, one case of bottles, one rug, one coverlet and two blankets - £6.15s. Od.; in the hall chamber, in the settle bed two feather bolsters, two pillows, one coverlet and one blanket, one 'pallett'¹ bed, one turne and the rest of the wooden things - £4. 5s.; in the parlour loft, nineteen cheeses, one pot butter (30 pounds), one board and two joint-stools - £1.16s., half a stone of coarse wool - £1.11s.; in the kitchen chamber, one French bedstead, one dust bed and feather bolster and two coverlets - £16. The total value of his furniture amounted to £47.13s. 8d., that is about 12 per cent of the deceased's total wealth.

1. Straw bed.

The variety of articles contained in the above inventory reflects, in some degree, the influence of the Bristol market¹ on the social habits and aspirations of those in direct contact with the West of England markets. These influences, at first confined to the seaboard towns and villages, in time infiltrated to the middle regions of the Vale and, much later, to the hills. The types of bed to be found in the houses of Glamorgan at this time are almost all represented in the above list, e.g., bedstead and feather bed, settle bed, pollett bed, dust bed, French bedstead. An unusual item is represented in the 'citterne', a musical instrument which, as we shall argue later, signified some degree of cultural activity which certainly increased in Glamorgan after the Restoration, as in England generally.

An ecclesiastical terrier, dated 1772², and an inventory dated 26 June 1706,³ combine to give as complete a picture of the structure and contents of an eighteenth century rectory as one could hope to find. The rectory was situated at St.Brides Major, and was described in 1772 as "built of stone and covered with thatch", and consisting of "a kitchen flagged, a parlour boarded, a pantry and cellar floored, three chambers ceiled and paper'd." The outhouses included "a brewhouse, a milk house and stable, all built with stone and covered with thatch." Almost seventy years previously the same rooms were furnished by the then incumbent, the Rev.Thomas Lloyd, in the following manner: in the kitchen, ten pewter

1. See Chapter 8.

2. LL/Ter/118.

3. P.R. (L1), 1706.

dishes, seventeen pewter plates, a jack, sixteen pattey-pans, one sugar box, a mustard pot and pepper box, one brass warming pan, four brass and two pewter candlesticks, two snuffers and extinguisher, one tin coffin, two old tin coffins, two brass pots, two iron pots, one iron dripping pan, one tin dripping pan, three spits, three smoothing irons, one brass mortar and pestle, two grid irons, one flesh fork, one cleaver, one grate, one pair of andirons, two tables, one old cupboard, six chairs, one bellows, and a few earthenware, a brass lanthorn, a dresser, a bakestone, frying pan, and pothooks, four porringers, six pewter spoons and two salt cellars - £3.15s. 4d.; in the parlour, one bed and furniture, two oval tables, ten chairs, two fire shovels, two pairs of tongs and a grate - £2.10s.; in the buttry¹ and cellar, 1 small brass pan, two ffirkins, two pails, twelve wooden trencherns, three earthen jugs, four earthen cups, three wooden dishes, one small sideboard, two dozen bottles and two glasses - 15s. 0d.; in the chamber over the parlour, one bedstead, feather bed and furniture, two side tables, five small chairs, three trunks, two boxes, two pairs of holland sheets, four pairs of calico and three pairs of flaxen sheets, two diaper table cloths, 18 diaper napkins, coarse table cloths, six napkins, two looking glasses and window curtains, three chamber pots and a grate - £5.; in his study of books - £5.; in the chamber over the entry, two beds, bedstead and furniture, one clock, two trunks and one chest - £3. 2s.; in chamber over the kitchen, ten stone of wool, four bags, one chest, one close stole, one and a half

1. 'Buttry' had become a 'pantry' by 1772.

bushells of malt, two bushells of wheat - £5.; in the bakehouse, one brass pan, one brewing vat, two coolers, five barrels, two pails, three brand irons, one spade, one shovel, one frame, one strainer, an old tundish, two saddles and two bridles, two pack saddles and two bags, a little table, two dozen of bottles and an old chest - £2. 4s. 6d.; in the garrett over the bakehouse, twenty stone of wool, a spinning wheel and cards - £8.

The above is one of the rare examples of a clergyman not participating directly in agriculture, for the inventory of his goods does not include livestock or crops. Nevertheless, the domestic comforts he enjoyed depended heavily on the rights he enjoyed over the 'tithes' payable to him by those who tilled the land and reared animals. The twenty stone of wool he had in his "garett over the bakehouse" must surely have represented part, if not the whole, of the tithe wool he had collected from neighbouring farmers after the first shearing a month or so before he died.

The domestic furniture requirements of the clergy, like those of the gentry and squireen, included a little sophistication which, in time, became discernible, to a lesser degree, in the homes of the poorer yeomen and husbandmen of the county. For instance, it was exceptional to find clocks and looking glasses in the houses of the small farmers before the end of the seventeenth century. The hour glass died hard. But during the early decades of the eighteenth century, inventories reveal refinements

in the small farmers' household equipment which figured prominently in the inventories of the more affluent sections of classes in the seventeenth century. The looking glass and the clock were, perhaps, objects coveted by the peasantry in a society which, as we shall see, was greatly influenced by the Bristol market.

Although most aspects of domestic life in the seventeenth century - eating, drinking, cooking and sleeping - are reflected in the inventory sources, they throw very little, if any, light on the simple, but important, act of washing. The absence of soap and towels from most of the lists of household goods might suggest that they were too commonplace to record. The quantities of soap and towels we have recorded were, in the main, found in the inventories of shopkeepers. However, this is an aspect of life upon which we shall touch later.

Wearing apparel

The information we have been able to glean concerning the wearing apparel of our ancestors is surprisingly scanty, and the inventories containing details of clothing are extremely rare. Too frequently "the testator's" clothing is referred to in these documents under the general heading of "wearing apparel". Some inventories, however, provide details which help to throw welcome light on this aspect of social life in seventeenth century Glamorgan. The evidence we have shows that the poorer classes were, on the whole, monotonously dressed, with, perhaps, two sets of clothing - everyday clothes and the "best suit" or Sunday clothes.

Many people had their clothes made up locally from the surplus wool which they kept for domestic use after the clippings in May and Michaelmas.

Quantities or 'pieces' of wool were common items in the inventories of most sections of the community, and testators often made provision for these to be distributed to surviving relatives and friends to be made up into some garment or other. For instance, Alis William, a widow of Newcastle (Bridgend) who died in 1662, bequeathed to her four daughters "a stone of wooll" and my cloth of three bends with which to make their clothes".¹ When the wool had been made into cloth, it was kept until the local tailor came around on his periodic visits. Mault Edwards, a widow of Coity, died in 1670, before her "cloath to make a wastcote" and "wooll to make a petticote" could be made up to supplement her scanty wardrobe, which consisted of "a red petticote, apron, one smocke and one silk russett petticote".² But Mary Jenkins, a spinster of nearby Tythegston, when she died in 1669, possessed "one red wascod, one blew apron, and her best hatt, one greene petticote and three other petticotes, one green apron, shoes and stockings, one bodice and one piece of toylie, and a pair of new stockings", all valued at £1.10s., which, in fact, represented a third of her total wealth of £4.10s. 3d.³ Another widow, Elizabeth Price of Llantrisant, had a considerably larger assortment of wearing apparel, which included "one greene peticote, one wascot of broadcloth, one red undercoat,

1. P.R. (L1), 1662.

2. Ibid., 1670.

3. Ibid., 1669.

her red hatt, one handkerchief of taffita, one handkerchief of Holland, one whittle of wostard (worsted), one mantle of serge, one red petticoat of broadcloth, two wascots of broadcloth, one soy apron, one soft guard, one hood and one dressing of Holland, one paire of worsted stockings, one paire of shooes, a peticoate, and a woollen apron, one red petocoate, one Russett wascot, one hood of Holland, one dressing, one flannen smock, and one serge undercoate", all valued at £5.¹

It is worth referring to Alice Portrey of the "city of Llandaffe", the widow of Robert Portrey (taxed on two hearths in 1670), whose wearing apparel consisted of at least "3 peticoates, 3 aprons, 2 wastcotes, a mantle, a flannen shirt and hatt", and her personal estate was valued at £30.² Women who possessed wearing apparel to the value of £1 and over were fairly comfortably attired. There were others whose clothes were valued at only a few shillings, and who obviously belonged to the lowest social order. Squalor may not have been as widespread in the rural areas of Glamorgan in the seventeenth century as is sometimes thought, but poverty and distress were by no means unknown. Clothes were sometimes borrowed, as instanced by the wife of a complainant at Merthyr who had borrowed "a mantle to weare about her shoulders" together "with a rug... to put upon a bedd" from the defendant's wife, but these "were demanded back when differences arose between them".³

1. P.R. (L1), 1672.

2. Ibid., 1682.

3. P.R.O. E.134/7/8 William 3/Hil.23.

Some inventories provide details regarding men's clothing.

Morgan Lloyd, for example, a yeoman of St.Brides, at the time of his death in 1662, possessed "15 yards of new linen cloth in one piece" and his wearing apparel, which included "a Spanish cloth sutt and cott", and "a new serge sutt wth a close bodied cott of the same". His total inventory came to £39.¹ A greater degree of affluence is reflected in the items of clothing of Rees Bowen, St.Brides in 1717, who bequeathed "two cloth briches and a great coat, plush briches, my blew coat and one cravat, and one of my linen shirts...a ffrize coat, blew waistcoat, leather briches, white waistcoate, a linen shirt and one of my hatts".² Similarly, John Thomas of Laleston, shopkeeper, possessed "3 or 4 pairs of breaches, about 6 shirts, 8 cravats, 3 or 4 shams, 8 or 9 pairs of stockings, 3 pairs of shoes, 3 hatts, a cap and a 'hat brush'.³

The inventory of the wearing apparel of Francis John of Newcastle provides us with a fairly complete picture of how a Glamorgan gentleman dressed in 1741. It included "3 close coats, 1 great coat, 3 waistcoats, 1 leather breeches, 4 shirts, 2 stocks, 2 pocket handkerchiefs, 2 worsted caps, 2 paire of worsted stockings, one paire of thread stockings, 1 paire of yarne stockings, 1 paire of gloves, 2 old wiggs, 1 hatt, 1 black cap, 1 pair of boots, 1 pair of shoos, 1 saddle, and 1 saddle cloath, 1 girtle, bridle, 1 pair of silver shoe buckles and a stock buckle", all of which were valued at £4.⁴

1. P.R. (Ll), 1662.

2. Ibid., 1717.

3. Ibid., 1710.

4. LL/CG/P (I & A.), 651

Books

It is readily assumed that in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, when the majority of the population of Glamorgan was compelled to live in close touch with the land, there was little time or opportunity for reading, yet the wills and inventories of the period reveal that the number of labourers and small farmers who possessed copies of the Bible, The New Testament and the Book of Common Prayer, was surprisingly large. In this connection, it is interesting to observe that most testators in the upland and middle regions of the county possessed Welsh Bibles, whereas the English version predominated in the Vale - a fact which reflected the linguistic divisions of the county from early times.

The importance of the Bible in the life of the inhabitants of pre-industrial Glamorgan cannot be over-emphasised. There is abundant evidence to show how anxious testators were to bequeath a copy of the Bible to their children. An excellent example of such a disposition is provided in the will of Christopher Mathews, an alderman of Cardiff, who bequeathed to his son all his books..."particularly Queen Anne's Com.Prayer...and y^e George Bible bought at Bristoll and designed for my s^d son".¹

The apparent popularity of the Bible among the lower strata of the agricultural community may be attributed largely to the indefatigable labours of men like Rowland Heylin, who produced Y Beibl bach (the little Bible), and the Welsh Puritans Charles Edwards² (1628-post 1691), and

1. P.R. (11), 1717.

2. D.W.B.

Stephen Hughes (1622-1688)¹ who, moved by the illiteracy and low moral standards of the Welsh peasantry, sought their enlightenment by publishing, in the Welsh tongue, such works as Cannwyll y Cymry (The Welshmen's Candle) between 1660 and 1681, and the New Testament, Psalter and the Metrical Psalms of Edmwnd Prys, in one volume in 1672.² The former work is accounted for in the inventory of the goods of John Thomas of Cadoxton-juxta-Neath, where it is affectionately referred to as "a book commonly called the vicar's book".³ Although it is unsafe to attach too much weight to isolated references such as this, nevertheless, one is led to suspect that by the early decades of the eighteenth century there was more literacy among the populace of Glamorgan than is generally assumed. Scattered references to 'labourers' such as Meyrick Thomas⁴ of Llantrisant, who, at the time of his death in 1704, was found to possess 'books' to the value of 7s., will serve as reminders that after all the peasant was not, of necessity, illiterate.⁵

The richer classes of the community, the greater yeomen and the squireen, and the gentry generally, possessed books on secular subjects as well as the Bible and the Book of Common Prayer. For instance, Morgan Thomas, described as 'esquire' of Old Castle-upon-Alun in the parish of St. Brides, and who died in 1667, was the possessor of many books on

1. D.W.B.

2. Thomas Parry: Hanes Llenyddiaeth Gymraeg hyd 1900 (Oxford, 1944), p.198.

3. P.R. (L1), 1734.

4. Ibid., 1704.

5. Cf. F.V. Emery: 'Edward Lhuyd and some of his correspondence: A view of Gower in the 1690s. T.S.C., 1965, Part 1, p.77.

husbandry and law, and his 'other books' he bequeathed to his cousin David Thomas, rector of Coity.¹ Again, William Bassett of Llantrisant had forty-two books of the value of £2², whilst John Lougher of the same town kept in his study books to the value of £40.³ Occasionally, the titles of books are indicated. For instance, Anne Herbert of the Downs, St. Andrews, possessed some 'old books' which included Love's Masterpiece,⁴ an old dictionary, and an 'old quarto Bible (old print)', two folio Bibles and Ogilby's Description of America,⁵ all valued at 15s.⁶ Books on farriery were obviously important in the countryside, and these, and Gerrard's Herball were frequently mentioned in contemporary inventories.⁷

Another list of books worthy of note appeared in the inventory of Christopher Thomas, of Newcastle, made up after his death in 1749⁸, which included "an old quarto English Bible; a Welsh Bible (octavo); an old Common Prayer Book; the Young Surveyor's Guide; Ovid; Metamorphosis; Erasmus; Question doctrina; Exposition of the Book of Job; Instructions for Malt Officers; Elementa Mathematica; De Remedys Secrotis; Sententia Puerilis; Aesop's Fables; Week's, Preparation and Construing book; an old Act of Parliament for performing quarantine; and 'a sermon' by Mr. Whitfield.⁹

1. P.R. (Ll), 1667.

2. Ibid., 1707.

3. Ibid., 1695.

4. Which work I have not been able to verify.

5. i.e. John Ogilby; America, being the latest and most accurate description of the New World (London, 1671).

6. LL/CC/P (I. & A.) 661.

7. Cf. P.R. (Ll), 1665 (Mary Mathew).

8. Ibid., 1749.

9. LL/CC/P.693/193(a).

It appears that almost every section of the population of Glamorgan, during our period, was influenced in varying degrees by the social and religious teaching of either the episcopal church or nonconformist congregations, and by the ethical writings of contemporary church leaders. In this respect, the following list of books, possessed by Elizabeth Leyshon¹, of Llantrithyd, in the early eighteenth century illustrates the subjects upon which many persons meditated:

Bp. Jeremy Taylor:	<u>The life and death of our Saviour Jesus;</u>
"	<u>The rule and exercises of Holy living;</u>
"	<u>The rule and exercises of Holy dying;</u>
Sir Mathew Hale:	<u>Contemplations moral and divine;</u>
Charles Drelincourt:	<u>The Christians defence against the fears of death;</u>
Bp. Simon Patrick	<u>The Glorious Epiphany;</u>
"	<u>Christian sacrifice;</u>
'the whole works of y ^e author ² of y ^e <u>Whole duty of man;</u>	
Robert Nelson:	<u>A practice of true Devotion;</u>
Kettlewell on	<u>The Sacraments.</u>

Within the preponderantly agrarian society of Glamorgan, there were, obviously, many who had the necessary leisure for the exercise of the mind. But the indispensable everyday tasks involved in the cultivation of the land and the rearing of livestock, in the performance of customary duties, and in the discharge of other obligations to the landlords, all rested heavily on the shoulders of the peasant farmers and farm labourers who, themselves, enjoyed hardly any leisure.

1. P.R. (LL), 1724.

2. i.e. Richard Allestree.

And it is against this same agricultural background that we must view the intellectual pursuits of members of the local clergy; men like Jenkin Christopher, Rector of St.Fagans and Wemvœ who, when he died in 1678, possessed the following twelve books which he bequeathed to Jesus College, Oxford, "and to the use of the scholars there": "Critici Sacri in nine volumes; Schindlerus Valentinus; Lexicon Pentaglotton (Hanoviae 1613); Buxtorf's Lexicon Chaldaicum tolmudicum et rabbimcum, and Buxtorf's Hebrew Concordance". He also bequeathed "twenty shillings to buy an iron rod and chaines to put them up in their library".¹

In the final analysis, however, it must be borne in mind that the above evidence is based on the probate records of the minority of deceased persons who must have generally belonged to the upper stratum of the community. And although some peasants were found to be literate, the majority still remains unaccounted for, and until we can discover evidence to the contrary, we must assume that they were, in the main, illiterate.

Music

Although it is beyond the scope of the present work to discuss at length the state of native music in relation to the changing pattern of economic life that was emerging in Glamorgan at the end of our period of study, the evidence we have gathered from contemporary sources is worthy of note, because it throws light on an aspect of Glamorgan social history which has been seriously neglected.

1. P.R. (Ll), 1678.

Writing in the late eighteenth century, Dr. Charles Burney expressed the view that "music, like vegetation, flourishes differently in different climates, and in proportion to the culture and encouragement it receives..."¹ At this time, the "culture and encouragement" given to music in Glamorgan came from the upper stratum of the landed classes. Apart from the folk singing of the peasantry, musical activity was mainly harp playing and penillion singing, which was centred on the houses of the gentry and the more reputable inns. Even as late as 1829, Mendelssohn, who visited Coed Du, near Holywell in Flintshire, could write: "Now I am in Wales, and spare me! a harper sits in the hall of every reputed inn, playing incessantly so-called national melodies".²

But if Mendelssohn was not altogether impressed by the ordinary local Welsh harpers, those of the great houses had long since earned for themselves a wide reputation in England. For instance, John Parry³, domestic harper to Sir W.W. Wynne of Wynnstay, went to London, where his playing is said to have been admired by Handel, and to have excited Gray to the completion of his poem 'The Bard'. Again, Sir Edward Stradling of St. Donats, in Glamorgan, was the proud patron of Thomas Richards (Twm Bach) who, born at Coity (d. 1597) was considered the Orpheus on the harp. In February 1583, Edward Bassett (Sir Edward's cousin) wrote to him from London requesting that he should "send unto me, at my houses in Devon yo^r servaunte Thomas Richardes... and to cause him to bringe wth him bothe

1. Charles Burney: A general history of music (London, 1935), p. 11.

2. Schima Kaufman: Mendelssohn... (New York, 1936), p. 116.

3. D.W.B.

his instrumentes as well that w^{ch} ye stringed with wyar strings and his harpe, both those that he had when he was last in Devon..." Sir Phillip Sydney, too, expected Richardes to perform at Salisbury "before the VIIth of March next (1583) where there will be an honourable assembly and receyte of many gentlemen of good calling".¹ The Mansells of Margam employed a regular harper, for whose services they paid at the rate of £1.10s. Od. for half a year.²

After 1660, however, the development of Glamorganshire trade and commerce benefitted a large section of the agricultural community,³ whilst the condemnation of music and the destruction of instruments under the Commonwealth resulted in a profound change at the Restoration. Henceforth, besides the harp and the fiddle, the virginal, the spinet, the flute and 'cither', figure prominently in many upper class inventories. All these instruments, obviously, demanded a different technique and skill from that of harp playing, and their possession, therefore, certainly reflects a new shift in musical tastes. The "culture and encouragement" of these new musical skills and techniques suggests that there was more leisure for their enjoyment and pursuit among the wealthier classes. In fact, the list of the household possessions of Fortesque Broadber, gentleman, of Neath, drawn up after his death in 1737, included "a spinett being old and of little value being intended for his wife's diversion,

1. Stradling Correspondence, pp.239-240.

2. P. & M., No.2587.

3. Cf. E.D.Mackerness: A social history of English music (London,1964), p.187.

but which she was prepared to account for "if any money can hereafter be made thereof."¹ Robert Jones, of Fonmon Castle, also possessed a spinet.² And it was because of his social and economic standing that Sir Herbert Mackworth (1737-91) of Gnoll Castle, Neath, became a keen collector of music. His "noble collection" of some three hundred and fifty pieces included vocal and instrumental English, French and Spanish songs, Italian operas, English and French chamber music.³ Again, the probate inventory of Roger Powell, esquire, of Energlyn, in the parish of Eglwysilan, who died in 1745, shows that in his 'best chamber' there were "two harps (£4. 4s. Od.), and a small harp (7s.6d.)", whilst in his "work room" were "two old Flutes (4s.), a German Flute (10s.6d.), an old Fiddle (3s.), an old harpe (21s.)"⁴. Incidentally, his inventory was evaluated at £1,655. Similarly, John Wolven of Cardiff, whose will was proved in 1673, left an estate evaluated at £1,117. 3s., which included a "paire of virginalls"⁵. Sir George Howell of Roath, had some time before 1740 bought a fiddle for 4s.⁶ Thomas Herbert, gentleman, of Eglwysilan, held his fiddler, Thomas Morgan Lewis, in such high esteem that he bequeathed unto him "a little yellow mare".⁷

The geographical distribution of the new musical instrument accounted for in the Glamorgan inventories shows that they were owned by

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1. P.R. (L1), 1737.
 2. G.R.O. D/DF F.17.
 3. A.Hyett King: Some British Collectors of Music. c.1600-1960., (Cambridge, 1963), p.89.
 4. P.R. (L1), 1745.
 5. Ibid., 1673. Note. Sometimes referred to as a 'box of virginals'.
Cf. P.R. (L1), 1696. (Illtyd Nicholl).
 6. LL/CC/P (I. & A.), 648.
 7. P.R. (L1), 1727.

individuals who resided within the semi-urban areas of Cardiff, Neath and Swansea, whilst the traditional harp and fiddle (crwth) still enjoyed pride of place in the purely rural parishes of the hills and the Vale - Llanharan, Llantrisant, Eglwysilan and Margam, Bonvilston, St.Brides Major, Llantwit Major,-and in the Vale of Neath. Richard Jenkins (commonly referred to as Captain Jenkins) of Hensol, near Pendoylan, is reputed to have been a good harpist, and is said to have made his own harps.¹

In sharp contrast to the music of the virginal, the spinet and the flute, which was becoming popular with the landed and commercial sections of the county, was the unaccompanied vocal music of the peasantry of Glamorgan. Theirs was the pure native folk music transmitted orally from one generation to another, and consisted of words and music, to the accompaniment of which the peasants worked in the fields and in their homes. In Glamorgan, as in other counties, it was customary to sing to the oxen when ploughing, but to a special metre called triban² Morgannwg which was a source of delight to many Englishman travelling through the Vale of Glamorgan. Collections of the Glamorgan triban include examples of the peasants' social songs, love songs, and, in particular, labour songs, and the Rang des Vaches.³ These songs remained

1. B.H.Malkin: Op.cit., Vol.1, p.117.

2. The Triban consists of four lines, 7,7,8,7 syllables, the second and fourth line rhyming, and the third line ending with an open accent rhyming with the middle syllable of the last line:
Sioni bach, wr diflin/Sy'n gwisgo cap a phliffyn/Pantaloons a siaced
grop/Efe yw 'top' y gegin.

3. Examples of the Triban will be found in Transactions of the National Eisteddfod of Wales, Aberdare, 1885. See also N.L.W. MS.11975D, for an example of the Glamorgan Rang des Vaches.

part of the everyday life of the Glamorgan peasant until the growth of industry modified the rural way of life. The reputation which Wales has enjoyed in modern times in the sphere of choral music, in fact, stems principally from the cultural activities of the small industrial communities that were beginning to settle in the upland areas of Glamorgan circa 1760. But whilst agriculture remained the source of livelihood to the majority of the population, folk singing prospered, and so long as the plough was drawn by oxen, the Glamorgan plough-boys' songs continued to echo in the Vale.

Provisions

In viewing the seventeenth century through twentieth century eyes, it may be too easily assumed that our fore-fathers' food supplies were as stable as those of our own day. Such an assumption would be entirely without foundation. Indeed, the importance of fluctuating harvest returns in the economic and social affairs of pre-industrial society in Glamorgan, and in Wales generally, has not been sufficiently emphasised.¹ We have indicated elsewhere that in many of the Glamorgan parishes in the seventeenth century, one in every four households (and in some the ratio was one household in three) was a pauper household, and lived at what has been termed 'the grass roots' of society. These were a class of people whose "real incomes were so low that a single adverse season could administer a crushing blow", and consequently the vegetables

1. Cf. W.G. Hoskins: 'Harvest fluctuations and English economic history 1480-1619'. A.H.R., XII, 1964, pp. 28-43.

in the gardens, the fruit on the trees, honey in the hives, berries on the hedgerows, and rabbits on the common were of the utmost importance to them.¹ The great storm in 1680, for example, destroyed many crops. Robert Deere of Porthkerry, who had planted six acres of oats, had three acres "greatly spoyled" by the storm.²

During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, most of the peasantry of Glamorgan lived primarily on what they grew and made for themselves; they relied very little on cash purchases. There was, in fact, relatively little cash in the possession of the lower classes, although the inventories and wills of the first half of the eighteenth century suggest that there was, by then, an increasing demand for "ready money" in the day to day affairs of the upper sections of the community.

Writing at the end of the eighteenth century, Richard Warner observed that "although the diet of the labourer in Glamorgan was not sumptuous, yet when compared with that of the English peasantry, may be called good living."³ On the whole, the diet of the lowland peasant was more varied than that of the peasants in the upland regions where, in 1806, it was described as of the "coursest kind", consisting of "oatmealbread, with a relish of miserable cheese; and their beer, where they have any, is worse than none", but their butter and milk were of "a more palatable quality".⁴ On balance, more wheat was sown in the Vale where the peasants, in consequence, enjoyed more wheaten bread⁵ than their upland

1. E.L.Jones: Seasons and prices (London,1964), p.30.

2. LL/CC/P.210.

3. Richard Warner: A second walk through Wales in 1798 (Bath,1799), p.60.

4. B.H.Malkin: Op.cit., 1, p.256.

5. W.Davies: Op.cit. Vol.1, p.388.

neighbours. In seasons of scarcity, however, the peasants' diet had to be adjusted to meet the reduced supply of cereal foods, and this was often achieved by resorting to the "trifles of the countryside".

The probate inventories of upland and lowland farmers show that cheese, bacon, salted and 'ruff' beef formed the staple of their "household provisions", and that the relative quantities of each item varied according to the size and nature of the respective farms. "Bread and cheese" still provided what was described as "a homely dinner" in Pontypridd in 1769.¹

Next to bread, meat was a staple in the diet of all classes. Pigs were an indispensable part of every peasant farmer's livestock, and pig meat in the form of pork or salted as bacon, was an important item of food in the countryside. Contemporary inventories testify to the paramount importance of "flitches of bacon" in the household provisions of all sections of the community. Salted beef was also a favourite standby for winter consumption.

Goats and rabbits provided another valuable source of meat for the people in the folds of the hills, and those of the undulating Vale. Rabbits, as we shall see, were caught and killed, not only for their meat, but also for their skins, which were sold locally and shipped across the Bristol Channel. The evidence supplied in contemporary documents, as well as the observations of later observers, shows that the goat population of the hills of Glamorgan was quite substantial.²

1. H.M.C. Earl of Verulam MSS.1906, p.254.

2. See pp.82-83 supra

The frequent references in probate inventories to "fowling pieces" testify to the long established custom of shooting the fowl of the air. Partridge nets are sometimes accounted for in the inventories of 'gentlemen' such as William Watkins of Court Coleman, Newcastle, whose "two partridge nets" were valued at £1.¹ The meat and feathers provided by the fowl of the air were valuable to all sections of a pre-industrial society.

Although not often mentioned by contemporary observers, fish was also an item which figured prominently in the diet of those who lived near the sea and along the rivers. Right of access to 'fisheries' varied from manor to manor. According to the custom of the manor of Ogmores, free fishing was allowed every second day within the river Ogmores "from a place called Hapse Tyle to the sea".² In general, however, the lords of Glamorgan manors held on tenaciously to their rights and privileges over vast stretches of coastal and inland waters. They were thus able to regulate the extent of local fishing to their own advantage. In 1732 the following submission was made by thirty-six persons who "severally fixed netts on the salt sands within the manor of Oystermouth which doth belong to his Grace the Duke of Beaufort as Lord of the said manor, for taking of fish...for which we severally declare our sorrow...and doe severally promise to pay to his Grace the sume of sixpence at the feast of St. Michael the Archangel, yearly as an acknowledgement of his Grace's

1. P.R. (11), 1730.

2. G.R.O. D/DN 556.

right to the said sands for soe long time as we are p'mitted to fix netts or have any other liberty upon the said Sands..."¹

The control which landlords exercised over fishing is again exemplified in a grant made by Lord Mansell of Margam to David Thomas on 20 October, 1686 of "lower fishing of my river of Avan from a place called Pont Llanvihangel downe to the said river to high water marke with liberty to kill and take with netts, spears or otherwise any fish within the said limitted part of the river...for a term of seven years at the yearly rent of £4...provided always that whatsoever fish shall be taken" be delivered to the landlord's house at Margam for his use "at the rate of eighteen pence for every salmon and...eighteen pence for every dozen suins (i.e. sewin), coars and other round fish..." It was further recited that "such and soe much of the saide fish...as I shall think not necessary for my owne use and...shall refuse, shall or may be disposed of by the said David Thomas as he will think convenient for his owne advantage..."²

In east Glamorgan we find the same control of fisheries.

William Thomas of St.John's, Cardiff, who died in 1745, owned "two whole fishing netts and two bittings" valued at £1. 1s., and "two small fishing butts" worth 4s...but his debts included "for the fishery to Herbert Mackworth, esquire, for the years 1743 and 1744" a sum of 5s.; to Lord Windsor "for the rent of the Flat (Holme) Fishery", the sum of £2., and to Thomas Morgan, esquire, of Ruperra "for the Splott Fishery for the year 1744" the sum of £1.³

1. Badm. (Group 2), No.14817. Cf. No.14238, and Badm. (Group 1), No.2737.

2. P.& M. No.6946. See also Grant to David Jenkins. H.& M.No.6947.

3. LL/CC/P.683, 683a.

In the parish of Oystermouth, as in many other parishes, tithes were payable on all fish "landed on patches on the salt lands", and these were claimed either directly or indirectly, by the 'Church'.¹ Oysters which were gathered by the poor people "on high spring tides taken at low water with their hands from the sea", were, however, exempted. The oysters caught in these circumstances "were putt into Basketts, Baggs or proper carriages and were taken and disposed by the persons who gathered them". A considerable amount of fishing was carried on in the Oystermouth area where, in addition to oysters, herrings, whiting, pollock, dog fish, mackerel and plaice were caught in large numbers. During a period of six years, one Phillip Powell, confessed to having brought in and landed within the parish of Oystermouth "several parcel of twenty thousand at one time and forty thousand at other times, which amount to one hundred thousand oysters", whilst others brought in "sixty thousand oysters" without paying tithes.² At this time herrings were so plentiful that they were sometimes sold at five and six a penny.

In many instances fishing was an industry subsidiary to agriculture. In the Gower peninsula, around the ports of Oystermouth, and Nicholston, oyster fishing created a considerable demand for barrels, which, in part, was satisfied locally, for we find a local cooper of Nicholston, John Kreath, who died in 1740, had bequeathed to his son all his "oyster barrel tools".³

1. LL/TER

2. P.R.O. E.134/5Geo2/Hil. 1. Note A dozen barrels of oysters cost 6s. in 1737. See Badm. (Group 2), No.11,763.

3. P.R. (S.D), 1740.

Along the coast from Newton to Cardiff, fishing was carried on fairly extensively. At Newton itself Richard Harry, yeoman, who died in 1710, possessed "six fishing netts to the value of 15s."¹ At Llantwit Major, in 1696, James Phillip owned fishing nets and herring barrells.² Again, at Porthkerry, near Barry, Thomas Hopkin owned fishing nets to the value of £2.³ The fishery at Barry Island in 1767 yielded a rent of £10.10s. Od., and here large quantities of plaice, skate, thoroback, garnet, millett, turbot and Barry soles frequented the shores.⁴ By the end of the eighteenth century the inhabitants of Aberthaw seem to have attended little to the large variety of fish in the river Thaw, mainly because of the "unjust usurpation of gentlemen extending their claims to the very sea and its fish, thus depriving the poor of a resource that would be of advantage to them."⁵ As the population of the coasts increased, a tighter control was exercised over the fisheries, and this not only deprived the poorer sections of the community of a useful source of nutrition, but also increased the price of fish generally. For instance, "at the mouth of the Glamorgan rivers (circa 1760) salmon was to be had occasionally at the rate of 24 lbs. for 1s.", but in 1814 "8d. per lb. was considered cheap, and from 10d. to 1s. an average price."⁶

Poultry also figured prominently in the inventories of the rich and poor. A hen was usually worth a couple of pence, and a goose about

1. P.R. (11), 1700.

2. Ibid., 1696.

3. Ibid., 1727.

4. Fonmon Castle MS.No.62.

5. N.L.W. MS. 13,147A.

6. W.Davies: Op.cit., II, p.298.

sixpence. But prices varied from time to time, and from place to place. Thomas John of St. Hillary, whose inventory was 'appraised' in August 1674, possessed "four geece and one hen, one cock with five ducks", all of which were worth 2s.6d.¹ Turkeys also were reared on many farms in Llandaff, Boverton, Penmark, Llanillterne and Penlline. Cecil Lewis of Llanillterne owned 6 turkeys, 3 geese, 9 hens and cocks and 4 ducks,² whilst John Nicholls of Boverton had "7 ganders and geese, 8 cocks and hens and turk e y hens", all valued at 7s.³ Poultry yielded considerable advantage by their eggs and feathers, and any poor cottager could keep them at small expense "they being able to shift for themselves the greatest part of the year by their feeding upon insects, corn or almost anything else that is eatable".⁴

The vegetables cultivated for diet in the gardens adjoining the Glamorgan labourers' cottages were a subject remarked upon by Walter Davies in 1814. There is very little evidence in the inventories of the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries of what vegetables were cultivated. Cabbages were probably grown in the Cardiff area, for we have a reference to cabbage nets in the inventory of Miles Evans in 1665, and French beans were mentioned in the inventory of Lewis Cheapman of Gileston in 1701.⁵ Leeks and pot-herbs were grown fairly generally in gardens throughout the county, for which tithes were sometimes claimed.⁶

1. P.R. (LL), 1674.

2. Ibid., 1727.

3. Ibid., 1681.

4. Dictionary Rusticum (London, 1717).

5. P.R. (LL), 1701.

6. Cf. LL/CC/G 654a.

At this point a word must be said about the cultivation of potatoes, because it is really surprising how late it was before they became a staple article of diet in Wales.¹ Even as late as 1815, people could recall potatoes being sent from house to house as presents for a national repast on All-Saints Eve.² According to Marie Trevelyan, the earliest use of potatoes in Wales "appears to have been in or about 1765".³

The evidence we have gleaned from probate inventories and other sources shows clearly that potatoes were cultivated on a small scale in the western regions of Glamorgan during the early decades of the eighteenth century, and that by about 1750 potato 'patches' were fairly common in the parishes of Llangyfelach and Llanguick. In 1751 permission was granted to one Evan William in Llangyfelach "to inclose a piece of waste ground containing in length 72 feet and in breadth 48 feet to be made into a potato garden...for three years at 6d. annually."⁴ In the same year a small piece of ground adjoining a tenement called Tuy-yn-y-pant in Llanguick "now used as a potato garden and lately encroached out of his Grace's common called Keven-y-gwrid" was let at 1d. per year.⁵ In the Gower peninsula, which is now so noted for its potato crops, potatoes were grown at Mynydd Cadley where a piece of ground had been "inclosed by

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1. David Williams: 'Rural Wales in the nineteenth century' in Wales through the ages, Vol.II, (Llandybie, 1960), p.148.
 2. W.Davies: Op.cit., Vol.I, p.505.
 3. Glimpses of Welsh life and character (London, 1893), p.21. Note: Salaman quotes a not very convincing reference from Merrett's Pinax in which it is observed that potatoes were planted in many fields in Wales circa 1667. See Salaman: The history and social influence of the potato. (Cambridge,1949), p.409.
 4. Badm. (Group 1), 2737.
 5. Ibid.

one Hopkin David for a potato garden" in 1752, and at Kevenbryn in 1762.¹

In the Vale of Glamorgan potatoes were also cultivated in the early eighteenth century, and in the 1740's they were accounted for in the probate inventories. Mary Gibbon of St.Fagans, who died in 1742, owned a small quantity of potatoes valued at 2s.², whilst in 1749 John Penry, a gardener of Llantwit Major, possessed "beans and tatos (i.e., probably, the Gwentian form of tatws = potatoes) to the value of 1s.³ The value of potatoes in the early eighteenth century may be deduced from the fact that in 1731 half a bushell of potatoes was sold for 5s.4d.⁴

In the second half of the eighteenth century the cultivation of potatoes became more general⁵, and when Arthur Young walked over several tracts of land near Bridgend, he described the potatoes grown in the gardens of the country-people as excellent.⁶ By 1814, there was "neither root nor vegetable so universally eaten, and so generally relished at farmers' tables". They "suffice with beef, bacon etc., without bread".⁷ Indeed they were sometimes roasted for fattening hogs.⁸ The pressure of a slowly increasing industrial population in the hills in the early decades

1. Badm. (Group 1), 2737.

2. P.R. (L1), 1742.

3. Ibid., 1749.

4. C.R. II, p.499.

5. R.Warner: Op.cit., p.60.

6. Arthur Young: A six weeks tour... (London, 1768), p.164.

7. W.Davies: Op.cit., Vol.1, p.504.

8. N.L.W. MS. 13156A.

of the nineteenth century is clearly manifested in the large number of "gerddi bytatws" (i.e. potato gardens) that had appeared in the parish of Ystradyfodwg by 1844.¹ By the 1830s Glamorgan labourers were generally advised to regulate their diet so as "to eat wheaten bread in good seasons and help out bad seasons with potatoes - and be thankful".² A century earlier, the potato, as we have seen, was little known in Glamorgan, and the poorer sections had to rely more heavily on the "trifles" or the "pickings" of the countryside, such as 'scurvy grass' and 'scurvywort'.³

There are surprisingly few references to 'laverbread' in contemporary documents. It was made up of edible seaweed of various kinds, and must have been a fairly common item in the diet of the peasantry living along the sea coast.⁴

Ale was probably consumed by all classes of the community. It was so easily brewed, and relatively cheap, that it was within the reach of all and sundry, as is so clearly attested in the probate inventories, for brewing vessels were items common to most of them. The numerous orchards in the Vale provided liberal supplies of apples for cider making, and these are often reflected in the inventories of the period. For instance, Ann Warren, a spinster of Gileston, possessed orchards and gardens, and their 'fruites' were valued at 2s.6d.⁵ Morgan Thomas, a cooper of St.Fagans possessed "apples wthin and wthout" his house to the

1. See Tithe Apportionment map 1844, Parish of Ystradyfodwg (e.g. Field Nos.771,670,1843,1854,1867,1899).

2. Cowbridge Tracts No.2, pp.6-7.

3. Cf. E.L.Jones: Seasons and prices (London,1964), pp.30-31.; M.Trevelyan: Op.cit., p.21.

4. P.& M. No.5049.

5. P.R. (11), 1687.

value of 10s.¹ Thomas Watkin, a husbandman of Flemingston had in his "sider house", "1 sider wring, 1 ters, 1 tubb and 1 trindle" valued at £1.10s.²

Bee keeping was common amongst the rich and poor. Bees supplied honey which, in addition to being an element of sweetness in the general diet, provided the basis of a popular drink commonly called mead (Welsh - medd), or Metheglyn made from fermented honey. Some indication of the price of honey in 1714 is provided in the inventory of Thomas Williams of Llanwonno where "3 quarts of honey was valued at 4s., or 8d. per pt."³

Hives and stocks of bees were prominent items in the inventories of the period, and were reckoned as part of a decedent's personal wealth. Hopkin Vaughan of Llansamlet, who died in 1690⁴ possessed five hives of bees evaluated at 9s., whilst Lewis Jenkin of Kilybebyll possessed seven hives valued at 10s.6d.⁵ Many hives were valued at 4s. and 5s. each, the equivalent to the price of a sheep or two goats. They were to be found in the gardens and small orchards adjacent to the farmhouses. Rosser John of Newcastle, Bridgend, must have been one of many individuals who kept bees on a large scale, for one of his gardens was called "gardd-ty-gwenyn" (the garden of the bee hive).⁶ Hives were disposed of by testators as part of their livestock. This is clearly manifested in the will of William Jenkins of Penmark, who bequeathed "one hive of bees that is now (i.e., 1729) wth my sister Kate at Pencoltry, to my s^d sister, and

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1. P.R. (Ll), 1724.
 2. Ibid., 1696.
 3. Ibid., 1714.
 4. Ibid., 1690.
 5. Ibid., 1731.
 6. Ibid., 1661.

and one hive of bees to Anne Richmond, and one to Cissill Cain of R[h]oose..."¹ Estrayed swarms of bees in the Lordship of Eweny were claimed as a royalty belonging to the lord.²

Another product of the honeycomb was bees wax which was sometimes produced in sufficient quantities as to provide a general surplus which was exported from the Vale to Minehead. William Richard, a husbandman of Llanmaes, had a part of his personal wealth "a pann of honey" (5s.), and "beeswax" of the value of 1s.3d.³

Cow's milk and goat's milk formed a nourishing drink for the country people, and it was consumed in varying degrees. Cow's milk was converted into butter and cheese, and prodigious quantities of these were produced annually. Ewe-milking was carried on quite extensively throughout Glamorgan, and this task was usually consigned to women. Ewe's milk was often mixed with cow's milk, which made a rock-like cheese but "not so rich, indeed, as Stilton, nor so highly flavoured as Parmezan, but furnishing a very savoury variety in the meals of those who have nothing besides but coarse bread and potatoes".⁴

The first record of coffee for sale in England is in Oxford in 1648.⁵ It is not clear when coffee was introduced into Glamorgan, but it is certain that by about 1700 it was a beverage enjoyed fairly widely among the gentry and the more affluent sections of the community. Coffee

1. P.R. (L1), 1729.

2. G.R.O. D/DE 2.

3. P.R. (L1), 1687.

4. R.Warner: Op.cit., pp.60-61.

5. Dorothy Davis: A history of Shopping (London,1966), p.163.

pots were in vogue in Cardiff in 1716¹, and in 1724 we find Catherine Morgan, of Ruperra, bequeathing to one of her nieces £300 and "a silver coffee pott".² In 1730 Evan Jenkins, chirurgion of Ogmore possessed a coffee-mill.³ By 1760 it is fairly certain that coffee-drinking had finally established itself among the more affluent sections of the county's population.

We are told that tea "was a drug very little used in Europe before the middle of the seventeenth century"⁴, and it was not until 1689 that the East India Company began to import it from China.⁵ It is thought that tea was first introduced into Glamorgan through the Stradlings of St.Donat's early in the eighteenth century. There was, apparently, considerable discussion as to how it should be dressed, and it ended up by the tea being placed in a saucepan and boiled as a vegetable - "and very naceous it was".⁶ However, tea tables and teapots appear in inventories of the upper classes from about 1716⁷, and between 1729 and 1730, the habit of tea drinking is well attested by the numerous references to tea spoons, tea tongs, tea strainers and sugar dishes in contemporary inventories and wills. For example, when Henry Morgan, an "Inspector of the Windows" of Cardiff, Gentleman, died in 1735, he possessed, inter alia, "one chocolate pott, one coffee pott, an old copper tea kettle, one old copper tea pott and lamp, six silver tea spoons, a silver tea tongs and strainer, a tea table and cups and saucers".⁸ Again, the following articles

1. C.R. Vol.III, p.157.

2. P.R. (LL), 1716.

3. Ibid., 1730.

4. Adam Smith: Wealth of Nations (Ed. by Thorold Rogers), I, p.215.

5. W.H.G.Armitage: The rise of the technocrats (London, 1965), p.4.

6. Merthyr Guardian, Dec.1849.

7. C.R. II, 474; III, 156.

8. P.R. (LL), 1735.

which had belonged to Anne Herbert of Downs, St. Andrews, were sold, after her death in 1742, at a public sale in Cardiff, "five china tea cupps (3s.4d.), a china tea pot (3s.6d.) and six china plates (15s.).¹ The use of slop basins, too, had become fashionable by 1745.²

It has been said that tea drinking "initiated a minor technological revolution: utensils for brewing and drinking it were devised, not from pewter, but porcelain which demanded coal, engines, chemistry and design". This revolution was manifested, to some degree, in pre-industrial Glamorgan, and the small local demands made upon men like Daniel Nibblett, a copper-smith of Swansea, who we find in 1740 making and selling new kettles and copper cups, tea kettles and even coffee pots³ which had by now become familiar utensils in the houses of the gentry.⁴

During the thirty years from 1731 to 1761, the price of tea as it sold in Glamorgan had advanced considerably. In 1731, for instance, a quarter pound of Bohea tea cost 2s.6d. (or 10s. per pound), and a better brand (unspecified) cost 3s.3d. a quarter, or 13s. per pound. By 1761, Bohea tea cost 12s. a pound, and a pound of "green tea" cost 16s. The price of coffee in 1761 was about 6s.8d. a pound.⁵

By 1831 tea drinking had become so common in South Wales, that attempts were made to cultivate the leaf locally,⁶ and in 1834 the "universal use of tea" in the Vale was strongly advocated "because it

1. LL/CC/P (I. & A.) 661.

2. Ibid., 686, 686a.

3. P.R. (S.D.), 1760.

4. Cf. G.R.O. D/DN 269/47.

5. G.R.O. D/DC Fl.

6. Cambrian Qrly Mag., 1831, Vol. III, p. 522.

cheers the spirits both by its own properties and by its being warm". It was also claimed that tea produced "habits of sobriety especially among stage coachmen".¹

We have seen how the peasants' houses and their interiors, as described in contemporary sources, were adapted to meet the day to day requirements of an agrarian economy. We shall now examine the organisation of the peasant 'family' and its viability within an agrarian society.

1. Cowbridge Tracts, No.2, pp.7-8.

Chapter 6.

THE FAMILY AND ITS INHERITANCE

It has been stated that "of all the social groups within the State, the family is at once the most closely knit, the smallest and the most enduring",¹ and by ignoring the history of the family "we are closing our eyes to an institution that had great influence on the social and economic development of local communities."²

That the 'family' has played a prominent rôle in the evolution of the Welsh 'way of life' is beyond dispute. But although it is now generally recognised by social anthropologists that the family is "a universal institution"³, and that men may have lived in families "as long as men have been men"⁴ the question remains - what kind of family? For obviously the family, as we know it today, is not what it was a century or two ago. The relationships between husband and wife, parents and children, have changed from what they were, and the general tendency seems to have been toward some type of conjugal family, that is, toward fewer ties with distant relatives, and a stronger emphasis on the nuclear family unit of couple and children.⁵

In the present chapter we shall attempt to show, from the evidence

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1. W.Friedmann: Law in a changing society (London, 1959), p.205.
 2. Joan Thirsk: Archives, Vol.VI (29), p.9.
 3. R.H.Lowie: Are we civilized? (London, 1929), p.132; R.Fletcher: The family and marriage (Harmondsworth, 1962), p.19.
 4. G.C.Homans: The human group (London, 1951), p.191.
 5. W.J.Goode: World revolution and family patterns (New York, 1931), p.1.
Cf. Ogburn and Nimkoff: Technology and the changing family (Cambridge (Mass.) , 1955), pp.92-122.

contained in the contemporary probate material, what the relationship was between husband and wife and parents and children in seventeenth century Glamorgan, and how the economic vicissitudes of the early eighteenth century modified the early conception of the family in what was ^apredominantly agrarian economy. But before we can understand the family pattern which obtained in the hills and dales of seventeenth century Glamorgan, a word must be said about the family group in ancient and medieval Wales, as it was reflected in the Cymric laws of Hywel Dda.¹

Writing in the twelfth century, Giraldus Cambrensis observed that

"The Welsh esteem noble birth and generous descent above all things,.... Even the common people retain their genealogy, and can not only readily recount the names of their grandfathers and great-grandfathers, but even refer back to the sixth or seventh generation or beyond them..."² This predilection among the Welsh "was rooted in the tribal system of landownership which revolved around blood-relationships"³ insofar as the Welsh tribal unit of land occupation was the kindred or family group and not the individual. The rights of the family group were vested in its patriarchial head (Yr Uchelwr), and large tracts of land were accordingly occupied,

1. There are many manuscript versions of the old Welsh laws, and it would be salutary to remember "...that we cannot say of any manuscript that it represents the law as it existed in the time of Hywel Dda: it must be emphasised also that we cannot say of any manuscript that it represents the law as it existed when the manuscript was written...Some of the rules of law contained in them are quite recent; they may be entirely new, or they may be old rules, developed to meet changing circumstances either by addition or alteration." Dafydd Jenkins: 'Legal and comparative aspects of Welsh laws' in W.H.R. (Special Number, 1963) pp. 51-54.

2. Giraldus Cambrensis: The itinerary through Wales (London, 1919), pp. 183-184.

3. Rhys and Jones: The Welsh People (London, 1906), p. 396.

not by individuals, but by various family groups using the appellation gwely (i.e. bed or family stock) consisting of agnatic descendants down to the great-grandchildren of the original head of the family group.¹ Thus the politico-economic foundations of Welsh tribalism sustained a patriarchal-authoritarian rule, under which the gwely was all-important and the individual, consequently, had no existence apart from it. The gwely protected the interests of its members in all matters. It held stock, arable land, and the right of wood and pasture over a specific area which we may refer to as the patrimony or collective property of the gwely.

The position of women within the Welsh tribal organisation was such that they could not inherit property, and on account of the paramount importance attached to the principle of male succession, the marriage bond was weak both in law and custom - "a private arrangement rather than a legal contract".² It would seem that under the Welsh laws early marriage was facilitated, if not indeed encouraged, by the provision that at the age of twelve girls came into legal possession of their share of the family goods (da) which they could carry with them to their husbands.³ Moreover, according to Welsh custom and tradition, the son of a freeman remained under the care and control of his father till he was fourteen, when

1. Rhys and Jones: Op.cit., p.396; William Rees: South Wales and the March, 1284-1415 (Oxford, 1924), p.206.

2. William Rees: Op.cit., p.206.

3. J.E.Lloyd: A history of Wales.. (London, 1939), 2nd ed., Vol.1, p.289. For a further discussion on marriage customs under the old Welsh laws, see 'Social life as reflected in the Laws of Hywel Dda' by T.Gwynn Jones in Aberystwyth Studies, Vol.X (1928), p.117.

he became a 'tribesman' and was then entitled to claim his full tribal rights from the kindred. This meant that besides being provided with cattle and a share of the freelands of the gwely, he also became liable to military service, and to answer for his own misdeeds. Henceforth, the son would be independent of his father who was no longer obliged to maintain him.¹ According to modern standards, the period of childhood in the old Cymric Society was extremely short. Indeed, the whole concept of childhood was completely different from what it is today for, as we have seen, girls reached their majority at twelve, and boys at fourteen years.²

It is a far cry from the family group of the old Welsh tribal society of medieval times to the family unit we find in the agricultural and pastoral regions of Glamorgan in the seventeenth century. It had developed from being an integral part of a communal economy into a relatively free unit within an individualistic economy which, in turn, had evolved from the early application of feudal principles to rights over escheats. Eventually, the tribesman began to enjoy a fractional share of land in contradistinction to his right of maintenance and gradually the conception of the family, which had obtained in the tribal community, was being fundamentally modified. For "once the patriarchal character of landownership disappeared, family instincts lost their hold upon the wider

1. Rhys and Jones: Op.cit., p.399; J.E.Lloyd: Op.cit., pp.286-290.

2. For an authoritative discussion on the changing concepts of childhood in France, see Joan Thirsk: 'The family' in Past and Present No.27, 1964, pp.116-122.

aspects of tribal unity".¹ It may be argued, therefore, that in the gradual fragmentation of the old tribal family group (or gwely) we may trace the origins of the modern family which became more dependent on the relation to the land than on connections with family groups.

In considering these historic changes in relation to Glamorgan, it is essential to note that it was only in the lowlands of the Vale of Glamorgan, where agriculture was possible, that true feudal conditions were introduced. Consequently, from the time of its subjugation by the Normans in 1091 to the Act of Union in 1536 and 1542, Glamorgan was made up of two clearly defined communities - the 'Englishry' in the Vale, and the 'Welshry' in the Blaenau or hill districts. In the former, land was inherited according to the custom of England, whereas in the latter division land descended by 'gavelkind'. The legislation of the years 1536 and 1542, as laid down by the Act of Union of England and Wales, was to influence more particularly the land system in the Welsh areas. For the free tenements within the boroughs and manors in the 'Englishry' of different lordships were already held according to English tenures, and descended by primogeniture and ultimogeniture or Borough English. The principle of primogeniture is clearly set out in the will of Edward Mansell, Esquire, of the town of Swansea in 1694, which stated that his estate was to be inherited by his heirs "successively one after the other as they shall be in seniority of age and priority of birth...the... elder and his heirs to be allways preferred before the younger".² Early sixteenth century

1. Cf. E.A. Lewis: 'The decay of tribalism in North Wales' in T.S.C., 1902-3, p.24; William Rees: A survey of the Duchy of Lancaster Lordships in Wales 1609-1613 (Cardiff, 1953), p.xxi (Introduction).

2. G.R.O. D/DF.F/29.

records¹ show that in the 'Welshries' of some lordships 'gavelkind' or tenures Wallicana² existed side by side with English tenures in the Englishry of the same lordship. Tenure in Borough English was indeed quite common for customary lands in the Vale of Glamorgan. It did not exist in the hills, and in the manor of Coity, which was divided into Coity Wallia and Coity Anglia, customary lands descended to male heirs equally in the former, but to the youngest in the latter.³ It was not until the Act of 1542 that the full force of the law was finally applied to the principle that "all lands within the dominion of Wales shall descend to the heirs according to the common laws of the realm of England".⁴ But despite the Acts of Union, it is certain that even in the seventeenth century, and later, customary lands in the 'Welshries' were still being held in 'gavelkind'⁵ or some modified form of it. Indeed, in the manor of Penlline, it survived even to the end of the nineteenth century as the custom of inheritance.⁶

The various changes that had taken place in the system of land tenure in Wales since medieval times had, by the seventeenth century, produced what is today regarded as a characteristic feature of Welsh rural life, namely, the small farm of the peasant and family type.⁷ But a dual society still endured in Glamorgan. In the Blaenau, or hill districts,

1. Glamorgan Plea Rolls. Wales 21/7.12/2; 21/9.13D/3; 21/10.7/2; 9/1.

2. Ibid., Wales 21/9.13/D3.

3. Rice Merrick: Op.cit., pp.147-148. (Note 'D' by J.A. Corbett)

4. Rhys and Jones: Op.cit. p.383.

5. Ibid. p.436.

6. L.C.R., 1896, p.329.

7. Cf. William Rees: A survey of the Duchy of Lancaster Lordships in Wales, 1609-1613. (Cardiff, 1953), pp.xxii-xxiii.

were the hill-farm families living in relative isolation in their scattered homesteads, whereas in the Vale of Glamorgan, and in parts of the Gower peninsula, were the nucleated villages - a feature not characteristic of rural Wales - where family life was traditionally different. The Blaenau, in general, represented the old 'Welshry' of the county where inheritance among the copyholders was that of rhandir (partible land) which English lawyers had from an early date identified as 'gavelkind'. Here the custom was subject to the right of the widow, and then divided equally among the sons. The Vale, on the other hand, represented the old 'Englishry', and here primogeniture and Borough English (or ultimogeniture) was the basis of inheritance. But such was the complexity of historical developments that we find examples of partible and non-partible inheritance in areas where it is difficult to account for their existence side by side.

The social effects of partible inheritance could often be disastrous because, where physical partition actually occurred, holdings which might have been barely sufficient to sustain the family unit were split up. It should be remembered, however, that holdings were not always partitioned; they were quite frequently worked jointly for the benefit of all members of the family. For instance, Hopkin Howell of Llantwit-juxta-Neath bequeathed equally between his two sons all his freehold messuage and tenement of lands called 'Koed Escob', but they were to pay twenty shillings each to his wife, as well as "to be aiding

and assisting unto my wife in rearing and bringing up my two small sons.. untill they shall be able to get themselves a livelihood".¹ These lands would almost certainly be worked jointly so that the unity of the family could be preserved within the family holding.

Examples of joint-ownership are fairly numerous in the wills of the period. The goods and chattells of Leyshon Hopkin of Llantwit-juxta-Neath included "his share of the implements of husbandry - 5s.; his share, being the third part, of the household stuffe - £.10s.; his share, being the like third part, of the corne in the barne and elsewhere - £2; his share of one pigg - 2s.4d."² Similarly William Reese, yeoman, Llantwit Faerdre in 1709 bequeathed his "quarter share of Llyn Gwyn lease lands" to his son, while his personal estate included "y^e third of one milking-cow and calf; y^e third parte of 2 steeres; y^e thirde parte of a mare, and y^e thirde parte of one pigg".³ Likewise James Jenkin of Llanwonno, who was described as a yeoman proudly bequeathed to Robert Jenkins "my share of one drag and one dung fork".⁴

There is also ample evidence to indicate that even when lands were to be divided equally between members of a family, some were content to receive an annual rent for the use of their respective shares. Others undoubtedly sold their portions outright. For example, after the death of her husband, Mary Edmunds received twenty shillings yearly from her

1. P.R. (L1), 1725.

2. Ibid., 1707.

3. Ibid., 1709.

4. Ibid., 1688.

eldest son "for my thirds of his real estate of inheritance"¹. The mother undoubtedly continued to live on the farm, being partly maintained by the rent she received for her 'thirds'.

An unusual relic of partible inheritance is found in the case of Margaret Rees, Spinster, of Swansea who, in 1730, bequeathed to three of her blood relations her "fifth part of a certain acre called Cuttes acre, in Bishopston in Gower, at a place called Herberts Houses and fifth of a messuage and tenement called Brynyrwyla" which they were "to take as tenants in common and not as joint-tenants".² The point of interest here is that when a tenant-in-common died, his share passed to his personal representatives and not to the surviving tenants, whereas in joint-tenancy his interest was extinguished and passed to the survivors³ - an arrangement which preserved a family interest for the longest possible term and kept the land intact.

That the modern family, with its affectionate ties, had emerged by our period, is made abundantly clear in the provision made by testators for their next of kin. In almost every will examined, and where it was specified that lands were to be divided equally among children, the widow was to be allowed to enjoy the full use of the estate during her chaste widowhood or natural life, and it was not until after her death, or re-marriage, that the final division, if any, actually took place. A unique example of this arrangement was in the case of Elizabeth Evans of the

1. P.R. (L1), 1729.

2. P.R. (S.D.), 1730.

3. G.C.Cheshire: Modern Law of real property (London,1962), 9th ed., pp.298-302.

parish of Pendoylan who, in 1733, exercising her right to dispose of her husband's lands after her decease, gave and bequeathed "unto my seven sons all my goods and chattells of what kind soever they be, equally to be divided between them...and all my right and title that I have into (sic) the lands by the church of Pendoylan...the profitts thereof unto my seven sons equally between them".¹ Similarly Walter George, yeoman, of Gelligaer, willed that his lands be dividedequally among his four children after his wife's decease.² According to the will of Edward Lewis, of Ystradyfodwg, in 1735, the eldest son, Thomas Edward, was to inherit Y Fedw Hir, a messuage and tenement in the parish of Aberdare, provided that he paid out of the rent, the annual sum of £3.10s. to his mother Gwenllian Lewis. The second son, Morgan Edward, was given a messuage and tenement called Hendre Baily, in the parish of Aberdare, upon condition that he paid his younger brother the sum of £20 in three years time and invested to the best advantage. The third son was also given lands called Tir yr Ergid in the same parish. The eldest daughter, however, was to receive £50 and the furniture of one chamber to the value of £10, and the second daughter £50 at the age of 23, together with furniture worth £10. The remainder of the goods went to the widow and the eldest son.³ The intermarriage of the widow was sometimes anticipated and approved. Evan Jenkins, of Llandyfodwg, a husbandman, bequeathed "unto my deare beloved wife...all my goods, chattells and cattells money during herlife or intermarriage with another husband".

1. P.R. (L1), 1733.

2. Ibid., 1734.

3. Ibid., 1735.

Some testators, however, did not impose any restrictions on the widow. David Mathias of Llangennith, for example, in his eagerness to see that his wife had her share of his estate ordered and appointed his eldest son to see his mother had her thirds fairly divided "whereby she may goe where she pleases."¹ The true sentiments underlying these words must remain for ever a matter for conjecture.

The new industrial projects that were slowly developing in Glamorgan during the end of the seventeenth century were gradually modifying local agrarian conditions, and consequently the traditional customs of inheritance were losing their original force and significance. But if the economic and social factors which had given rise to the custom of gavelkind had disappeared by the seventeenth century, the human feelings and sentiments persisted in new forms of 'gavelkind'. An increasing number of people were now able to purchase or lease more land as it was being commercialised, and an ambitious father could, in these circumstances, acquire enough land to leave to more than one child without having to partition any part of the customary holdings. Again, where it was the custom for land to be divided equally among children, it often happened that it was already in the occupation of tenants.² In such circumstances, what the sons inherited was an equal share in the rights to the ownership of their respective portions which were often relinquished

1. P.R. (S.D.), 1725.

2. Cf. Glamorgan Plea Rolls. Wales 22.7/1, 1D

in return for a rent or 'lump sum'. These transactions could be more easily concluded in an age when industry, commerce, and the professions, provided alternative means of livelihood.

Moving down from the Blaenau to the areas immediately surrounding Pentyrch and Llantrisant, which occupy an intermediate position between the hills and the Vale proper, lands were "from time immemorial of the tenure and nature of gavelkind..."¹ Again, as we have already indicated, in the adjacent lordships of Coity were the two divisions Coity Wallia and Coity Anglia. In the former division free lands descended to the eldest son, and copyholds equally to all sons, and, failing sons, to daughters and so on "to the right heirs forever".² But in the latter division, copyholds, unless otherwise limited by surrender or conveyance, descended to the youngest child "males before females of the ninth degree of kin".

Borough English was fairly common in the Englishry of Glamorgan manors where customary or servile tenure obtained. A survey of the manor of Ogmore made in 1637 shows that customary lands descended "unto the youngest son if any be, or in default of such, to the youngest brother, sister or cozen of the next and whole blood",³ and this practice was very much in evidence in Merthyr Mawr, Newton Nottage, Newcastle, Nash⁴, and Llantwit Major. In parts of the manor of Llanbleddian a peculiar modi-

1. Glamorgan Plea Rolls. Wales 22.7/1, 1D.

2. J.S. Corbett: Glamorgan (Cardiff, 1925), pp. 45-46; Cf. Survey of Coity Wallia 1632, Swansea and Glamorgan Calendar, Pt. II, Vol. III, p. 181.

3. G.R.O. D/DN556; Clark: Cartae, Vol. VI, pp. 2185-6.

4. G.R.O. D/DN556; Arch. Camb. IX (4th series), pp. 20, 116-118; Clark: Cartae Vol. VI, p. 2193.

fication of Borough English was to be found where lands descended to the youngest son by the first wife.¹ In the Gower peninsula many instances of Borough English were found at Bishopston and Priorston,² and Llanrhidian.³

It is not clear how Borough English was first introduced into the lowlands of Glamorgan, for this custom is sometimes associated with regions where there were extensive areas of unoccupied land upon which elder sons could settle and rear families. Such circumstances, however, did not obtain in the Vale of Glamorgan in the seventeenth century, although in medieval times, according to the Welsh tribal law, it was the custom that "when brothers share their patrimony, the youngest son is to have the principal messuage (tyddyn) and all the buildings and eight acres of land..."⁴

It was the custom in some parts of North Wales also in the Middle Ages for the father to leave, or to settle upon, the youngest son the principal seat of the family. This was an arrangement which seemed natural enough during a period when the elder sons were generally employed in the service of the prince, and consequently it has been suggested that the intention of the custom of ultimogeniture "was to preserve and keep up the family in case any accidents should befall the older ones."⁵ Although

1. Arch.Camb., 1879, pp.77-78.

2. Baker and Francis: Surveys of Gower and Kilvey (London,1870), pp.153,205; Cf.B.H.Malkin: Scenery, antiquities...of S.Wales, 2nd ed. (London,1807), Vol.II, p.481.

3. P.R. (S.D.), 1705. (Margaret David).

4. Leges Walliae (Demet.Code), 11,23. (Wenedot.Code), 11,12,16.

5. Arch.Camb., 1875, pp.3-4.

the original circumstances which gave rise to the custom of Borough English and primogeniture no longer prevailed in the seventeenth century, it is an interesting fact that, unlike partible inheritance, which was concentrated mainly in hill regions, both customs were to be found scattered within those areas of the lowlands where inheritance by one son was the custom,¹ and where, incidentally, village life predominated. This is all the more interesting because family ties in the nucleated villages of the Vale of Glamorgan are said to be traditionally looser than those of the adjacent pastoral regions of the Blaenau. Whether these differences in the cohesion of family units can be attributed to varying customs of inheritance cannot be established conclusively.²

In the second half of the seventeenth century we find ample evidence of traditional attitudes being gradually modified by the requirements of a new social milieu. New industries were gaining a permanent foothold in the countryside. The coast from Cardiff to the tip of the Gower peninsula was dotted with small ports and creeks which, between them, facilitated a considerable maritime trade, drawing scores of young men from the land. For example, in and around the small port of Aberthaw alone, over twenty families "procured the greatest part of their sustenance and maintenance by means of the open and free trade of the harbour of Aberthaw".³ Similarly, the small local industrial undertakings which were

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1. Cf. Homans: English villagers of the thirteenth century (Camb.Mass., 1942), pp.118-119.
 2. For a discussion on some of the ramifications of Borough English, see: Paul Vinogradoff: The growth of the Manor (London,1911), 2nd ed., pp.314-315, and Charles I.Elton: Origins of English history (London, 1890), 2nd ed. rev., pp.194-195.
 3. Cardiff Library (MS.2.IIII, 4/11).

developing around the townships of Swansea, Neath and Aberavon, offered employment to workers from the neighbouring countryside, among whom were, undoubtedly, young men who would not inherit land under primogeniture or Borough English. But it must not be assumed that those sons who left home went empty-handed, or were even denied some share of their fathers' estate, for there is evidence to suggest that "when the youngest son inherited the residue of his father's estate, his older brothers had often already received their share".¹

In fact, whether the local custom of inheritance was by gavel-kind, primogeniture, or Borough English, contemporary wills show that the aspirations of most testators was to preserve the family holding or tyddyn, irrespective of local custom, in circumstances where agriculture and tenurial relations were being increasingly commercialised. Indeed, it has been truly said that "The influence of land is strongest in preserving the unity and continuance of the family"², but more particularly in respect of lands that had descended hereditarily in the blood. The ordinary peasant folk were deeply concerned with ensuring that their next of kin would possess some tangible means by which to continue the struggle for survival, a matter which undoubtedly "disturbed their sleep rather more than their charitable bequests".³ The general tendency was for a man, unless he died intestate, to express in his will which of his sons

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1. Joan Thirsk: Industries of the Countryside in Essays in economic and social history of Tudor and Stuart England. Ed. by F.J.Fisher (Cambridge, 1961), p.77. Cf. Infra, p.220.
 2. Helen Bosanquet: The family (London, 1906), p.195.
 3. Joan Thirsk: Archives, VI (29), p.9.

or daughters was to be heir (or heiress). The testator was thus enabled to choose the ablest of his children to succeed him, for obviously primogeniture and Borough English could not make it certain "that the ablest son would be the eldest or the youngest."¹ This was the desire of one William Rees Morgan, of Gelligaer, who held lands in fee simple "so as I may convey it where I please to have and to hold all and singular..."²

The extended sphere of economic activity within the county by attracting labour away from agriculture created a new environment which must have disturbed the functional pattern of the traditional family.³ Previously it was the size and nature of the farm that determined, in large measure, the size of the family or household. The family was the source of production and consumption, organised around agriculture and pastoral activities. The tyddyn was the 'central social unit' wherein each member had a specified task to perform. The natural attachment of the family to the tyddyn - the sheet-anchor of its material and spiritual sustenance - was in itself a unifying factor, but religious teaching also influenced the attitude and aspirations of parents, and reinforced the bonds of affection between individual members of the family. For example, in 1733, when Richard Jones, of Llancarfan, bequeathed his estate to his wife, he did so "In hopes and confidence that she will be kind and train up my son in the fear of the Lord and provide for him all necessaries untill he shall attain the...age of 21, he behaving himself dutifully to his...mother"⁴

1. Homans: Op.cit., pp.130-132.

2. P.R. (L1), 1666.

3. Ibid., 1733.

4. Ibid., 1733.

Such ethical standards were encouraged by many contemporary sermons preached in the pulpits of the Vale in the early eighteenth century. The Rev. John Nicholl, of Merthyr Mawr and Sully, had often cried, "Let all parents watch diligently over the souls of their children and bring them up in the fear of y^e Lord from their infancy".¹

We have already shown that where family holdings descended to the eldest son, he was invariably charged with the duty of subscribing to the maintenance of his younger brothers and sisters until they arrived at the age of fifteen or twenty one - the upper age limit often depending on the economic status of the testator. Sometimes the heir was to provide for setting out his younger brothers as apprentices, and for the education of his younger sisters. Occasionally, the widow was provided with a generous annuity, and the younger children with varying sums of money, whilst the eldest son inherited all the lands.²

Testators themselves often made direct grants of money to younger children when they attained a certain age between fifteen and twenty one. In the case of boys, and sometimes girls, the money was to be used for setting them out as apprentices. Provision was made for children by bequeathing the benefits accruing from lands for short periods to each child according to age. David Thomas, of Colwinston, who had nine children, bequeathed the Newland farm of 51 acres, which he held by lease, for a term of four years each to his daughters Elizabeth, Phillipa, and Tidvill,

1. G.R.O. D/DN/266/1. See also G.R.O. D/DE 680, for 'Notes on Christian philosophy and divine reflections and meditations intended by a father for the direction of his son' (By Rees Powell, 1718-1720).

2. Cf. the will of Robert Jones, of Fonmon. G.R.O. D/DF F/15.

and then to his two sons George and Rowland respectively. He gave the lease of the Great Tithes of Pentyrch, which he held from the Cathedral Church of Llandaff, to his wife for ten years, and afterwards to his son Edward. To his sons John and David he gave £100, and to his son Thomas, £20.¹

Both sons and daughters inherited sums of money, but it is not always clear from the wills whether it was the eldest or youngest child who inherited the family holding. Where there were no heirs male, lands descended to 'female heirs'. If only one daughter survived, she was expected to preserve the continuity of the tyddyn as far as it was possible in the same way as would be expected of a son.²

When children inherited equal shares of money, or of the household goods, or implements of husbandry, this did not necessarily signify the dissolution of the family or the family holding. It often meant that the children would remain on the farm, receiving no wages except their keep; others would be engaged as servants on the farms of near relatives. This custom is mirrored in the will of Llewelyn John of Gwyllynog, near Llantrisant, who bequeathed his freehold lands "to his nephew and servant" John David, and forty pounds "to his beloved niece and servant".³ Family attachments knew no bounds. Grandchildren were often maintained by their grandparents, as is shown in the will of Thomas Edmonds of Colwinston, who

1. P.R. (Ll), 1696. Cf. P.R. (Ll), 1675 (David Spencer).

2. P.R. (S.D.), 1670.

3. P.R. (Ll), 1723. Cf. P.R. (S.D.), 1725 (Evan William).

discharged his son John Edmonds "from all demands whatsoever for y^e maintenance of his children during the time they have been with me."¹

The same concern which parents displayed regarding the welfare of their children was also shown by children towards their aged parents, as was exemplified by William David of Cadoxton-juxta-Neath who desired his brothers to maintain, after his death, "my mother while she lives in wearing, washing and all other necessary things which be needfull", and "if so be it she will not be ple [a]se [d] I order by Brothers to pay her four pounds every year while she lives..."² Similarly James Lewis, of Llancadle, willed that his wife "shall well and sufficiently maintain my father...with all necessaries becoming a man of his age", but if the father did not "like his maintenance" she was to pay him "yearly, by quarterly payments, the sum of three pounds".³

Sometimes a married son without natural heirs would bequeath lands to his father. Thomas Powell, of Coedrehen, in the parish of Bettws, gave and bequeathed to his "honoured and loving father Rice Powell" the messuage and tenements called Pwllcorne, Brithdir, Llwyn Crwn and Trelw" situated in the parish of Llangeinor.⁴

The general concern of children for their parents is again shown in the will of Thomas Lougher, of Giblet, Coity, who bequeathed all his estate to his wife "uppon consideracion that she do pay the sum of four pounds yearly to my dear mother during her life...four pounds yearly to

1. P.R. (Ll), 1728. See also P.R. (Ll), 1733 (Edward Collins).

2. Ibid., 1721. Note: 'Meat, drink, washing, lodging and clothing' of one person in 1741 was considered to be reasonable at £5 per annum. (P.R.O. E.134/15/Geo.2/Hil.4).

3. P.R. (Ll), 1719.

4. Ibid., 1674.

my dear sister Margaret during her life, the like sum of four pounds yearly to my sister Joan during her life."¹

Bastardy was undoubtedly common, and there is ample evidence to show that base children were not overlooked when heads of families made their wills. David Bowen, of Swansea, by his will (p.1725) appointed his wife "to maintain and educate William Bowen, an infant, the reputed son of my son William Bowen deceased" until he attained the age of fourteen years", after which he was to be settled an apprentice "to some decent profession" which his executors were "to take care to perform". In the same will the testator further bequeathed unto his own "supposed son" William Bowen, of Lougher, "one heifer of three year old", and to the latter's three children, "three ewes and three lambs".² Likewise, Howell Evan, of Llantrisant, yeoman, willed that his executors should maintain "my supposed son Thomas Evan of meate, drink, clothes, washing and lodging" until he attained the age of thirteen years.³

The welfare of unborn children was a matter which also commanded the serious attention of testators. William Powell, a tucker of Eglwysilan, whose will was proved in 1658, had willed that "in consideration that Catherine Evan my now wiffe is great with child, and if God doeth admitt and p'mitte that this child shall be borne and alive wither itt be male or ffemale, I give unto him and bequeath ten heads of sheep and ten wethers".⁴ In 1726, William Thomas, of Radyr, charged his executrix to

1. P.R. (L1), 1727.

2. P.R. (S.D.), 1725.

3. P.R. (L1), 1737/38. Cf. P.C.C., Cobham 63.

4. Ibid., 1658.

raise as much money as will purchase new leases "by adding y^e life or lives of such child or children as my wife is now enseint with in y^e tenements held from under Thomas Lewis Esq^r which leases shall be to y^e use of my saide wife and children for their natural lives".¹ The provision made by Henry Eaton of Poundfold, Llanrhidian, in Gower, is equally interesting, if perhaps more complicated, for he bequeathed his freehold property to "my heir lawfully begotton on the body of my wife Anne Eaton the which she goeth with and to his heirs forever and...if the child... should happen to be a female and arrive at the age of twenty years, then she must pay Sarah Eaton my daughter, gott on the body of my wife before wedlock, the sum of 'thirty pounds if the said Sarah be then alive, otherwise to Griffith Eaton my son begotton...before Wedlock and to his heirs forever".² The distinction made between children born 'in wedlock' and those 'before wedlock' is noteworthy in so far as it possibly reflects the contemporary attitude towards the sanctity of the marriage bond as opposed to extra-marital relations.

The tyddyn, or family farm, was an individualistic enterprise which depended as much upon the mother as upon the father for its success. When the father died, it was the mother who often took over the farm management. That this should be so was, indeed, the expressed wish of many testators like Gronow David, of Llandilotalybont who, in 1720, bequeathed to his eldest son 'seven pounds' when he attained the age of twenty one, and the rest of his "goods, chattells, and personal estate"

1. P.R. (L1), 1726/27. Cf. P.R. (L1), 1658 (William Powell).

2. P.R. (S.D.), 1730.

he gave equally between his wife and five younger children who were to 'cohabit together', his wife taking "the full and sole management of all the said premises and the sole tuition of the children until they shall attain the age of one and twenty years, as long as she remained a widow".¹ By the seventeenth century the subordinate position in which the wife was placed in Welsh communities in the Middle Ages had given way to one of responsibility in family affairs. Women now not only inherited lands from their husbands, but were also able to dispose of them. Elias Evans, for instance, bequeathed a tenement of land to his wife to "hold during her natural life" and then after her decease "to be disposed of and given by her to such of my children as she in her discretion thinks fit".²

Family ties and their attendant bonds of affection, together with a natural love of lineage among the Welsh - even in the most humble families - had important social consequences which are often overlooked by economic and social historians. It is fairly certain that in the pastoral regions, at least, family pride had prevented many "poor relations" from becoming chargeable on the poor rates - a stigma which scores of individuals feverishly endeavoured to eschew. This attitude is clearly reflected in the will of Martha Jenkins, of Glyncorrwg, a widow who bequeathed to her daughter "all the rest of my goods and chattells" in order "to keep her from being chargeable upon any parish or parishes".³

1. P.R. (S.D.), 1720.

2. P.R. (Ll), 1733. (Elias Evans).

3. Ibid., 1729.

In the same spirit of independence, usually associated with the yeoman stock, was again displayed by William Philip of Nicholston who, in 1715, bequeathed the residue of his estate to his wife and his daughter Mary "a lame child now...living with me" jointly between them both, but in case the mother died she was to bequeath everything she had to his daughter Mary "that she may not by God's help become troublesome to any".¹

The testamentary arrangements made by adult children in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries for providing aged parents with accommodation within the family group reveal an aspect of family life worthy of special mention, for, obviously, in the absence of such provision, the alternative for many aged persons would have been the almshouse. A typical example of such an arrangement was that made by Richard Howell, of Ystradyfodwg, when he reserved for his mother the "use and benefitt of one roome called the parloure, and the bedstead, and one bed with its appurtenances".² Under these conditions the aged or retired parent would, while in good health, continue to render active assistance in the running of the farm. Such was undoubtedly the case when, in 1694, Jennett Thomas, a widow of Llandough, near Penarth, bequeathed to her eldest son "one horse cart or butt to be used between him and his grandfather while they live together", but afterwards it was to be "his own forever".³ Here, it may be observed, is one of many instances of a three-generation family group.

1. P.R. (S.D.), 1715.

2. P.R. (L1), 1730.

3. Ibid., 1694.

It has been observed that seventeenth century letters of English children to their parents still show traces of the formal frigid relations which had been characteristic of an earlier period. The father was often addressed as "Hon^d Father, Sir", and the mother as "Hon^d Mother", and this apparently "in an age when letter writers as a rule were at pains to find tender terms of endearment".¹ Similar phrases are to be found in some contemporary Glamorgan wills, as, for example, Jenkin Thomas of Llan-gyfelach gave and bequeathed "unto my deare and ever honoured mother Elinor Thomas one moyety of all my goods and chattells as moveable and unmoveable".² In this instance, however, the terms used seem to betray a feeling of endearment rather than traces of "frigid relations". In 1679, David William of Pendoylan bequeathed "the use of my house called the Marley and garden and orchard thereabouts belonging to my deare Mother" as well as "five pounds a yeare during her life to be paide quarterly...out of the issues and profitts of tir ffynon ddoybrud, caie yr hen fynwent and gwain Syr Dafydd"³

The conditions attached to many of the bequests made by testators to their children and other relations reveal the unity and cohesion they thought essential to the success of the family, and which they endeavoured to preserve after their decease through their 'wills'. It was certainly

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1. H.D.Traille (ed.): Social England (London, 1895), Vol.IV, p.494.
 2. P.R. (S.D.), 1715. Cf. P.R. (Ll), 1738 (Morgan Thomas, Bonvilston; P.R. (S.D.) 1745 (David Hopkin).
 3. P.R. (Ll), 1679.

this kind of ambition that prompted Jennett Thomas, a widow of Llandough, to request that her goods be shared equally between her two sons and three daughters, and for eight years after her decease they were to "quietly and peaceably live and cohabit together...jointly and equally to possess, occupy and enjoy y^e above mentioned goods, cattle and chattles...", and it was further stipulated that "if any one or more of my...five children shall run away, or in any way separate him or herself from y^e rest of his or her brothers and sisters...shall loose and forfeit his share and interest in all my goods".¹ The same ambition possessed William Lewis, of Whitchurch, when he gave his 'freeholds' to his son William "provided that he lives with and becomes obedient to his mother". He further required that "all my children shall live peaceably and dutifully with their mother". In the event of either of them becoming stubborn and refractory unto her, he left "the disposal of his chattle leases according to her discretion".² Similarly, Thomas Rees, of Ilston, in Gower, gave unto his sister Mary Rees "all the cloathes of my wife (deceased) that now are in my custody if she doth obey and please my father and mother, if not, I leave them at my mother's disposal".³

Parental ambition in regard to the education of children is well attested in the wills of people at all levels of society within the county, and "class consciousness" is clearly indicated in the phraseology used from time to time. For example, Joshua Ward, a grocer, of Caerphilly,

1. P.R. (Ll), 1694.

2. C.R. Vol.III, p.137.

3. P.R. (S.D.), 1710.

wanted his daughters to be maintained and kept in school till they were fifteen or sixteen years of age "with all such necessities as is fit for children of their quality..."¹ Normally the sons of business men would be educated until they attained the age of fifteen or sixteen, and then bound as apprentices, whereas the sons of clergymen and 'gentlemen' were educated with a view to the professions, and would be maintained at Oxford. Quite frequently sons of the 'yeomen' class were launched into the professions, and later ensured their success in life by judicious marriages. An admirable example of the educational and social ambition of a yeoman farmer is provided in the history of the Lloyd family of Wick.² Edmund Lloyd (d.1698) had two sons, neither of whom became farmers. Jenkin Lloyd, the elder, went up to Jesus College, Oxford, and then entered the Church. The younger son, Watkin, went for the law, and he later married Gwenllian, the niece and heiress of William Thomas, a wealthy Cardiff attorney. Of the two sons of Watkin Lloyd, the younger, Jenkin, inherited the customary lands at Wick, while the elder son followed his father into the legal profession. It is worth noting that here is an excellent example of Borough English, where the younger son inherits the customary land, the elder brother already having received his share of the inheritance by way of his education.³

Some of the differences between the economic life of the family in the nucleated villages of the Vale and that in the hills are brought

1. P.R. (L1), 1718.

2. Cf. Arnold Butler Clerk; P.R. (L1), 1679.

3. Cf. Supra, p.209.

into prominence by the nature of some of the bequests made by villagers . In the hill districts, bequests were mainly in the form of land, agricultural implements and livestock, whereas in the villages, houses, cottages, furniture, clothes, tools, or implements of some trade predominated. An interesting facet of village life is revealed by John Bomond (Beaumont) a weaver, of St.Brides Major, in January 1723 when he bequeathed his great brass pan "w^{ch} is now let out to my neighbours at hire" to his daughter Alice upon condition that "the s^d brass pan shall be still lett out at hire for the benefit of my wife during her widowhoode and no longer".¹ In the hills, it was the isolated farmstead that constituted the social group, and this was sustained and fortified by ties of kinship. In the village, on the other hand, there lived different family units held together by a feeling of 'neighbourliness' - a feature which today strongly characterises the industrial valleys of the county. Further research will, undoubtedly, bring to light more evidence that will help to establish some of the vital differences between the hill farm family and the lowland village family of our period.

It is not clear at what age it was customary for young people to marry during our period. The limitations which economic circumstances imposed on young men depended naturally on their station in society. Some clues about the lower age limit at which marriage was possible and, presumably, countenanced by parents, are provided in some contemporary wills. Mary Button, of Worlton, for example, bequeathed certain sums of

1. P.R. (L1), 1722/23.

money to her two grandsons, but they were not to receive such sums until they "attain the age of seventeen or are marryd".¹ This, apparently, suggests that young persons were sometimes expected to marry before, or at, seventeen years of age. Such an occurrence would certainly be consistent with Mary Button's ambitions for her family, for she had requested her son, on the birth of his eldest son, to buy "one good and substantial piece of plate of the real and intrinsick value of twenty pounds...which was to be given some mark or cypher to signify "the well wishes and desire I allwayes had of seeing and haveing my children and their posterity flourish and the w^{ch} was alwayes in my prayers".²

In other circumstances marriages were often discouraged, and bequests were often made conditional upon the beneficiary fulfilling the wishes of the testator in this regard. Morgan John, of Radyr, for instance, stipulated in his will that if his son "Thomas Morgan will company or marry the daughter of Thomas Francis, I give my housold-stuffe entirely to my son John Morgan", otherwise it was to be divided equally between the two sons.³

We have tried to show, from the evidence at present available, the important rôle that was played by the family in the economic and social life of Glamorgan at this time. Underlying all the spectacular religious and political movements of the period were the ordinary everyday activities of the families whose members were bound together by close

1. P.R. (L1), 1695.
2. Ibid.,
3. Ibid., 1727.

ties of affection and pride in ancestral connections. During a period of relatively quiet agrarian conditions, the family had been the most important agency in transmitting native culture from one generation to another. Within the isolated and generally self-sufficing family groups of the hill districts of Glamorgan the child would receive all the vocational and religious instruction necessary for adult life in the purely agrarian environment. However, the slowly, but steadily, expanding industrial undertakings in various parts of the county during the first half of the eighteenth century provided alternative means of livelihood to an increasing number of young persons who, thereby, became more economically independent, thus loosening the bonds of the old traditional family life.

This tendency is admirably illustrated in the history of the Bayley family of 'Clardyr' in the parish of Llandilotalybont, in the Hundred of Swansea. One member, Thomas Bayley, became a shipwright, having served his apprenticeship in Swansea, and later found employment in Deptford. A second brother, William Bayley, bought land in the parish of Lougher, and Morgan Bayley, a third brother, became a collier but remained at 'Clardyr'. Here he was able to look after the small farm on which were kept "2 or 3 cows, a couple of horses and a bullock".¹ The history of this particular family was compressed into a few lines of doggerel found written in a family Bible in the Welsh tongue, which ran thus:

1. P.R.O. E.134/2555/21 George III.

"Thomas Bayly Sare y Llonge
Y ath y ymdeithio ymhell of gatre,
William Bayly fe y ath yn farmor
Fe gwmmmerodd Dyr yn Plwydd Casllwchwr;
Morgan Bayly mwynwr glo, o'r ddaear dyr.
Y mai ef yn trigo yn y Clardyr" ¹

It may be said that as the introduction of feudalism in the eleventh century eventually changed the pattern of the medieval family, so the march of industrialism in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries modified the family pattern that obtained in Glamorgan in the seventeenth century. But while it continued, the family operated as a miniature Welfare State, providing for the young and the aged, the sick and the infirm, and those born out of wedlock. The cohesion so reflected in family relations must be attributed to economic necessity and also to the influence of the religious teachings of the period, particularly in the years after the Welsh Methodist revival of 1735. The importance of the family structure as a basis of society and of individual survival in pre-industrial times has not been sufficiently emphasised in Welsh economic and social 'histories'.

1. P.R.O. E.134/2555/21 George III. Note: Clardyr = Clordir.

Chapter 7

THE POOR

In an earlier chapter it was shown that during our period of study, the population of Glamorgan was made up of different social classes, each aligned to the other in general accordance with their various claims or titles to the land. Within this social hierarchy, the most economically insecure class comprised those individuals who had no legal claim or title to the occupation or possession of land, and in the absence of such claim, their only source of livelihood was to sell their labour to those who required it. In an agricultural community the employment of labour from outside the family unit was often casual, and was governed by the seasonal requirements of the farm. This situation had inevitably produced such extreme poverty and destitution among members of the landless classes that the 'social conscience' of the more opulent classes compelled them from early times¹ to take steps to alleviate the economic and physical distress of the less fortunate members of the community. This was partly done through a formidable voluntary charitable effort, the progress of which in England has been analysed in recent years by Professor W.K. Jordan.² Similar efforts were made in the Welsh counties, where "men's aspirations for their own age and for generations yet to come" were very similar to those of the English counties studied by Professor Jordan.

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1. R.H.Tawney: The agrarian problem in the sixteenth century (London, 1912), pp. 268-9.
 2. W.K.Jordan: Philanthropy in England 1480-1660 (London, 1959), pp. 240-365.

Benefactions and legacies for the relief of the poor were very much in vogue in Wales during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The range of these benefactions is clearly indicated in contemporary wills of testators who, by virtue of their worldly wealth which "God had seen fit to bestow upon them", or their religious persuasion, were inspired to participate in the general effort to relieve the poor.

In the seventeenth century 'the poor' constituted a fairly substantial proportion of the population of Glamorgan. Measured in terms of the number of exemptions claimed on grounds of poverty from payment of the Hearth Tax in 1670, almost a third of the population of the county may be said to have been 'poor'. But it must also be remembered that the Hearth Tax lists refer to a second category of poor persons, namely, those who were in receipt of 'constant alms' and were not, for that reason, consistently accounted for in those lists. The recognition of these two categories of necessitous persons is again made patently clear in the wills of the period. Some testators were anxious to confine their benefactions to "the poorest of the poor", while others aimed at relieving only those who were "not in receipt of parish relief".

On the whole, charitable bequests made by Glamorgan testators conformed with the five great heads under which Professor Jordan listed the charities of England - the poor, social rehabilitation, municipal betterments, education and religion.¹ But by far the greatest number of

1. W.K.Jordan: The Charities of Rural England 1480-1660 (London, 1961), p.437.

benefactions was directed to the alleviation of the conditions of the poor. Some of the ways in which the poor were relieved are indicated in the following lines which record the benefactions of William Risam, of Tenby (Pembs.) in 1633.¹

"Two hundred poundes
and fifty more,
He gave this towne
to helpe the poor:
The use of one on cloth
and coles bestowe,
For twelve decrepit
meane and lowe;
Let 50 poundes to five
be yearly lent:-
The others use on
Burgess' sons be spent."

But in addition to the recorded bequests and legacies to the poor, there were also those innumerable day to day acts of good neighbourliness and charity which, although they fall outside the above 'five heads' did, nevertheless, touch upon the same problem and helped to ease the burden of the "poor, weak, and distressed" members of the community. One instance of this kind of relief is reflected in the case of a Joseph Harry, a mason by trade, and who had several small children "which he endeavoured to maintain by his labour". He lived in a little house near Pontyryn (near Merthyr) "without any land belonging to it". His wife had been compelled to borrow a rug from the wife of Thomas David and also "a mantle to wear about her shoulders". Unfortunately, in this instance, these "were demanded back when differences arose between them".²

1. Quoted in W.Davies: General view of the agriculture...of South Wales (London, 1815), Vol. II, p. 474.

2. P.R.O. E.134/7/8 William 3/Hil.23.

The efforts made by individuals afflicted by sickness or other casualty often go unrecorded. A protracted illness undoubtedly brought many a family to the point of penury. For example, Annas Thomas, a widow of Llandow, had bequeathed in her will, made on 27 August 1728, "a two years old heifer commonly called Tail arian and two other cows called Mwynny and Keiros, and one little twelve month heifer" to her granddaughter Annas David. After her death later that year, the inventory of her goods, which was made up on 19 December 1728, contained a foot note stating "The cattle mentioned in the will were sold long since by the deceased and all expended towards her support in her illness..."¹

Charitable Gifts

(a) To persons

Contrary to expectation, the value of charitable gifts in Glamorgan did not vary according to the social status or personal wealth of the benefactor. We have instances of comparatively poor 'yeomen' and 'labourers' bequeathing more to the poor than many who were styled as 'gentlemen'. Indeed, it may be said that on the whole most benefactors were relatively poor men whose charity was outright gifts intended to be distributed soon after their death in the form of money, bread or grain. These were direct reliefs intended to alleviate some immediate need,² and which had to be administered in various ways. It is worth examining some of these direct bequests.

1. P.R. (L1), 1728.

2. Cf. W.K.Jordan: Op.cit., p.27.

In 1657 Harry Robert, of Cheriton, bequeathed "halfe a peck of wheate unto every one of those that doe yield and acknowledge themselves to be poore wthin...the parish of Cheriton."¹ Again, in 1661, Richard Powell, described as a vintner, bequeathed to the poor of Cowbridge "twelve shillings in bread to be payed 12d. monthly yearely forever by the House of the Cross of the saide town or commonly called the Oake Ponthouse."² Again in 1670, Evan Rees, of Llanharan, gave to the poor of the parish "ten bushells of oates to be converted into oatmeale, and the oatmeale to be devided amongst them." In 1672, Arnold Butler, of Ewenny, gave to the poor of St.Brides Major "six dozen manchatts (viz.) the worth of six shillings to be divided between them. In 1673 William Howard (gent), St.Fagans, gave "two bushells of barley towards sixteen of the poore" of that parish. Again, in December 1708, Margaret Richard, of Merthyr Dovan, gave "three dozen of two-penny bread to be equally divided among the poor" of the parish.

A rather larger bequest was that made by Jane Herbert, of White Friars, Cardiff, in 1720, when she ordered that £10 was "to be layd out att interest" to the poor of Cardiff "in order that bread may be bought in y^e church of y^e saide towne upon every Christmas day and every Whitsunday yearely forever..."³ In the same year, John Davies, an Alderman of Neath, bequeathed £26 to the poor of Neath, to be laid out at interest which was to be applied to providing "twelve penny loaves of bread to be

1. P.R. (S.D.), 1657.

2. P.R. (L1), 1661.

3. C.R. III, p.145.

distributed every second Lord's Day...to twelve poor persons of the town of Neath...that duely frequent the service of the church..." He also bequeathed a further sum of twelve pence to be paid "every second Saturday.. for buying twelve penny loaves of bread for the poore there..." - in Neath.

Sometimes the number of persons to whom the relief was to be administered was specifically stated. For instance, in 1662, Jênkin William, yeoman, of Llantrisant, bequeathed "one pack of barley a piece" to twenty poor persons whom he named. Similarly, David Edward (1692) of Margam, gave one stake of barley to be divided between twenty of the "poorest of the poor" of Hafod-y-Porth and "one stake of oatmeale to the poor of the Almshouse of Margam".

Sometimes, however, gifts in the form of food required a more elaborate mode of administration. For instance, in 1694 John Brown, a cook at Margam Castle, "out of a charitable disposition of y^e settling and establishment of a certain annuity or yearly rent for y^e use of the poor of the parish of Margam" bequeathed the sum of £100 "due to me by bond from my Hon^{ble} Master Sir Edward Mansell" to purchase lands in fee simple, which were to be let at the maximum rent for a period of seven years. From these yearly rents the overseers of the poor were to buy weekly, forever "eighteen or twenty-four penny loaves of bread according as the yearly rents shall amount and every Sunday yearly forever after morning divine service shall distribute the said loaves among the poor of the parish according to their discretion".¹

1. P.R. (L1), 1694.

A similar bequest was made in 1701 by Margaret Lewis (alias Sant) of Burthin, near Llanbleddian, who held 9 acres of customary lands which were to be charged in order to ensure that "y^e full value of twelve pence in bread be bestowed on y^e poore every other or second Sunday through the whole yeare in y^e parish Church of Llanbleddian forever after morning Prayer..."¹

Although most of the direct reliefs were in the form of food, sometimes drink was to be provided, especially at funerals. One example of this, although actually outside our present period of study, is worth recording. In 1594 John Andrews, an Alderman of Cardiff, willed that his executors should "once a week, during all the saide terme as often as brewing shalbe, deliver and give Sixteene Ale gallons of small worte or small drinke unto the poore of the Towne viz., six gallons to the poore of the Almeshouse, six gallons to the poore of the Towne, and foure other gallons to the poore prisoners then remaying either in the towne gayle or in the comon gayle if it be needfull to have so much, yf not, to the poore aforesaide, and the same drinke to be weekly every Fridaye." The testator's maide was to be given "tenn Barrells of double ale."²

Direct monetary gifts assumed various forms, and were administered in a variety of ways. The most common was that of an outright grant of a sum of money. For instance, Hopkin Thomas (1670), yeoman of Neath, gave £5 to the poor of the town "to be payd and distributed in the Town

1. P.R. (L1), 1694.

2. P.C.C. (Dixy, 46).

Hall of Neath at Christmas holidays". Elinor Richard (Spinster), 1621, of Wick bequeathed £2 to seven poor persons of the parish whom she mentioned by name. Similarly, Llewellyn Bevan (1682) of Cadoxton-juxta-Neath, bequeathed to the poor of Glyn-Dylais-Isha, and Glyn-Neath Isha, thirty shillings and twenty shillings, respectively, as nominated by him.¹ Again, George Williams (1682) Gent., of Baglan bequeathed to the poor of the Lower Parcell of Baglan "the sum of fifty shillings yearly for the terme of twenty yeares..." and to the poor of each of the parishes of Briton Ferry, Michaelston-super-Avon and the town of Avon the sum of forty shillings"² But Thomas Bowen (1682), a yeoman, of Neath ordained that £30 by "layd out upon interest" to the use forever of the poor of Neath, Llantwit Isha and the parcell of Blaengwrach in the parish of Glyncorwg. Elizabeth Morgan (1697), Spinster of Llancarvan limited the distribution of her bequest of 14s. "between seven poor women" of Llancarfan whom she nominated in her will.³ Moreover, Lewis Jones (1680), mercer, of Cardiff, bequeathed 20s. to the poor of the Almshouse and "unto the poore ancient men and women wthin the parish of St. Johns that are fallen into decaie 20p, and of the parish of St. Marie."⁴

One of the outstanding examples of direct money gifts to poor persons was that given by Bussy Mansell of Britton Ferry, who, in his will, (1699) ordered the payment to the overseers of the poor of Briton Ferry £30,

1. P.R. (L1), 1682.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid., 1697.

4. Ibid., 1680.

of Baglan £20, of Neath £20, of Aberavon £10, of Michaelston £10, of Glyncorrgwg £10, of Killybebill £10, of Llantwit town £10, of Cadoxton £10.¹

Many charitable bequests clearly reveal the several degrees of poverty recognised within the parishes of the county. In 1696, for example, Barbara Thomas, widow, of Peterston-Super-Ely, bequeathed 20s. to be distributed between "twenty of the poorest of the poor of Peterston at y^e Christmas next after my decease".²

Another section of the community for which special provision was made by many benefactors was the "poor elderly people". For instance, Elizabeth Turbervill (1714), Spinster of Llandaff, bequeathed the sum of £10 to the Overseers of the poor of Llandaff to be laid out at interest, and the interest thereof to be divided yearly "to such old impotent people of Llandaffe not receiving alms as shall stand in need thereof..."³ It should be noted that widows and old women were frequently identified with the 'poor'.

Sometimes monetary bequests took the form of rent allowances as, for instance, in the case of John Thomas of Llanwonno who, in 1728, allowed "Thomas David my tenant ten shillings to be abated of his rent every year that he holds the lease" and also to "Zarah Storer half the house-rent for one year".⁴

1. G.T.Clerk: Cartae, VI, p.2257.

2. P.R. (L1), 1696.

3. C.R. III, p.154.

4. P.R. (L1), 1728.

Charitable bequests were sometimes indended as funeral doles.

For instance, Mary Williams (1707) of Tophill, Gelligaer, bequeathed "the worth of 10s. of bread to be distributed between the poor of the hamlett of Cefen at my funeral". The same testator made another peculiar bequest which, although not strictly a charitable one, is, nevertheless worthy of note. She gave unto her "friend and couzin" Mrs.Elizabeth Richards "one mourning ring, with the use of one pair of curtains for two years next after my decease...and then to be returned by her to my executor..."¹ Again, in an entirely different vein, Ann Love (1691) of 'Merthiridovun' desired her loving brother Arnold Love "to bury her decently and to p'vide a hansume (sic) coffin and a barrell of ale or more and sume wine and a considerable quantitie of Bred to give to the poore, and gloves and ribbons and sum other mourning..."²

Gifts of clothing were another kind of charity bequeathed by testators to the poor, and were to be administered in various ways. The following examples are worth citing. Evan Jenkins (1702), gent., of Llanbleddian, near Cowbridge, bequeathed £2 yearly "toward the clothing of five children, the youngest in the severall families"³ within the parish. Again, Frissoll Thomas (1712) gave to the poor of the hamlet of Peterston-super-montem "four stone weight of wooll to be distributed among them that receives noe almes from the hamlet by the Churchwardens and overseers", and

1. P.R. (L1), 1707.

2. Ibid., 1691.

3. Ibid., 1702.

"to the poor of y^e higher parcell of Coychurch two stone weight of wooll".
Again, David Thomas (1712), yeoman of Eglwysilan, bequeathed one and a half acres of meadow or moorlands in Ely moor to his son upon special trust that "yearly forever, on every the fifth day of November, with and out of the rents..." of the land should be bought, given and distributed, "as much fflannen (i.e. flannel) as the yearly rent...will afford and amount to, amongst such poor labourers, poor women, and such other poor respectively (as are not registered as poore of the p'ish of Eglwysilan and soe relieved) ...to make of such fflannen shirts and shifts for such poore..."¹

(b) To Almshouses

Further provision for the relief of poor persons was made direct to the Almshouses of various parishes. In 1658 Evan Trehearne of Llanwonno bequeathed to five poor persons of the almshouse at Llangeinor "six pence a piece" and "sixpence a piece to eight poor persons at the almshouse at Llantrisant, four poore persons at the almshouse at Llantwitvayrdre, to nine poore persons at the almshouse at Llandaff, and to sixteene poore persons at the almshouse at Cardiff."²

A most unusual bequest was made by Samuel Bawdrey (1680) of the Parish of St.John's, Cardiff. He bequeathed to each of "the aged female sex" in the almshouse of Cardiff "a mourninge gowne and linnen hoods, uppon the account that they be ready to goe to Church wth my corps when it is to be borne to the grave". This was to be done "if it cost tenne pounds" to his executors".³ In 1670, John Gibbs of Neath, not only donated

1. C.R. III, pp.148-149.

2. P.C.C., Berkley, 105.

3. P.R. (LL), 1680.

£11.10. Od. for bread to be distributed among the poor of that town, but he also left an Almshouse "for foure poor women of Neath to inhabit" in Water Street.¹ Other bequests were intended to perpetuate a charity which had originated in the life-time of the benefactor. Eleanor Mathew (1727) of Aberavan, had built an almshouse for four poor persons of the village of Aberdare, and then ordained in her will that the lands she had given to her son should be charged with "the payment of y^e clear yearly sume of four pounds for, and towards, the maintenance of such four persons so settled in the said almshouse" which was to be managed at the discretion of her executors.²

(c) To Education and Apprenticeship

Education, and the provision of education, for the poor also exercised the minds of the more opulent section of the community, particularly after about 1700. One of the foremost of the earlier benefactors in making provision for the education of poor children in Glamorgan was the Company of Mine Adventurers who made various grants of money to be paid to school-masters³ in the neighbourhood of Neath, where industrial undertakings had already created a semi-urbanised community. Here a cleavage between the more opulent and the labouring sections of the community was becoming clearly marked, and charitable bequests appeared to be more generous. In 1720, John Davies, a baker and an Alderman of

1. Quoted in D. Rhys Phillips: The history of the Vale of Neath (Swansea, 1925), pp.182-3.
2. P.R. (L1), 1727.
3. B.M.522, M.12 (44).

Neath, bequeathed £200 to the Churchwardens "to purchase land or to lay the sum out at interest", which (interest) was to be applied to erecting a school "for the learning and instructing of twenty children of the poorer sort of the inhabitants of the said town..."¹ Elizabeth Seys, of Llantwit Major, made provision for instructing three poor women in Gloucester in some handicraft.²

An interesting bequest was that made by George Williams, gent. of Baglan, who gave £10 "yearely for the terme of twenty years...to be raysed...out of the rents...of certaine lands and tenements called Forch Lase and Y Ty-yn-y-Graige, in the p'ish of Glynccorwg..." which was to be employed "for the teachinge of twelve poore boyes to reade y^e Welsh tongue..." It was further stipulated that if "Mr.Evan Jones, son of Mr. David Jones, late vicar of Aberavan be liveinge at my decease, I doe appoynt him to teach the sayde twelve poore children and to receive the sayd yearly sum of tenn pounds for soe many years as he shall teach them."³

One of the most notable of charitable bequests for educational purposes was that made by Cradock Wells, Esquire, of Cardiff in 1710. He gave £28 for the purpose of purchasing three acres and a half of land, the rents from which were to be applied "towards the educating and bringing up of so many poor boys and girls of the town of Cardiff at school as shall be well instructed to read, write, and cypher". It was, however, laid down

1. P.R. (L1), 1720. Note: It seems that nothing came of this project for nearly a hundred years. See Trans.Neath Antiq.Soc., IV (2nd series) 1933/34, pp.85-88.

2. G.R.O. D/DF F/5.

3. P.R. (L1), 1685.

that none was to have the advantage of this charity "but those boys and such girls only as shall likewise agree and be willing to wear such badges as my said Trustees shall order and appoint to distinguish them from other children of the school where they shall be taught in token and remembrance of God's Providence towards them."¹

A similar charity for the education of children was founded by Edward Lewis, of Gilfach Bargoed (1729), who, in his will, ordered that a school be built near the church at a cost of £40, and that every year afterwards, £10 per annum be paid to a schoolmaster. He also ordered that £15 be laid out yearly "for coats and caps for 15 poor boys of the said parish" who were to be taught by the master "to read, write, and cast account..." Other sums of money were also to be set aside "towards placing out apprentices so many of the aforesaid 15 poore boys as can be done..."²

A most complicated arrangement was that made by Arnold Butler (1679), Clerk, of St.Bride's Major, In his will, Butler bequeathed "twenty-two acres wanting one quarter" of land to his wife "provided that neither she nor any of her undertenants plow y^e said land nor any part of it". If the land was ploughed, then the moety or the benefit of the crops was to be "divided between the poore". After the death of his wife, the lands were to be given to his sister if she survived her, and upon the same terms. Subsequently these lands were to be given "during y^e

1. C.R. iii, p.151. Note: Badging of the poor was a device that had been employed in various towns and parishes since the Tudor period, and one which had found favour in many English parishes during the latter part of the seventeenth century. (See D.Marshall: Op.cit., pp.102-4).

2. P.R. (L1), 1729.

terme of six years between the poore of y^e p^{sh} of St.Brides and Newton, Wenny (sic) and Wick, two years to the poore of St.Brides, two years to the poor of Newton, and one year a piece to Wenny and Wick..." These lands were further charged for the "schooling of six poor children" by the schoolmaster of St.Brides, and towards "a free school to be kept on y^e Church loft of the parish..." The schoolmaster had to be appointed by the vicar and had to be "a university man".¹

Another outstanding educational charity was that of Jane Herbert (1707) "of y^e White-ffryers" Cardiff, spinster, who bequeathed £600 towards purchasing an absolute estate of inheritance in the names of Sir Edward Stradling of St.Donat's Castle, Edward Herbert, of White Friars, and others "in trust for a perpetuall Endowment of a ffree School to be established and kept wthin y^e towne of Cardiffe and...on yearely pencon or salary...to arise and issue out of y^e Rents and profitts of such lands.. so purchased to and for y^e master of y^e saide school..." The school was to provide for fifteen boys "who shall be sons of poor necessitous Parents of y^e s^d Towne" and who were to have only their learning and instruction "free and without any charge or expense" to their parents.²

Monetary bequests were often made with the intention of setting out the children of poor parents as apprentices. Before considering this category, it should be remembered that the Apprenticeship Act, 42 Eliz. C.2 empowered the overseers of the poor, and churchwardens, to bind out

1. P.R. (L1), 1679.

2. C.R.III, p.145.

children, whose parents could not maintain them without parish help, when they reached the age of seven or more. It is interesting to observe, therefore, that 'poor' children were generally apprenticed at an earlier age than other children.

The overseers of the poor were inclined to settle children as early as possible. An indenture of apprenticeship, dated 20 July, 16 Charles II (1666/7) from Christopher Rogers and Hopkin Thomas, overseers of the poor in the town of Swansea, to Thomas John, victualler, and Marie his wife, recites that the said overseers had placed Thomas Mantle "a poor infant of the adge of about nyne yeares" with the said victualler and his wife "after the manner of an apprentice" to remain with them for 12 years. The covenants on the part of the master and mistress were:

1. To maintain him with meat, drink and lodging, apparell, washing and wringing, and all other necessaries.
2. At the end of his term to provide him with "two dufficients suits of apparell fitt for an apprentice of his estate and degree".
3. Faithfully to teach and inform him in the trade, science or mystery of victallinge.

In consideration, the overseers paid the said Thomas John the sum of fifty shillings.¹ The covenants on the child's part were:

1. To serve his master and mistress, and obey them.
2. Not to "absent or elloigne himselfe from his said service eyther by day or by night unless it be about his master or mistress business there to be donne".

W.C.Rogers: Swansea and Glamorgan Calendar. Vol.I, Part 1, pp.10-11.

3. Not to play "att cards, dice, quoits or any other unlawfull games".
4. Not to haunt "Taverns of Custom".
5. Not inordinately to waste his master or mistress goods.
6. Not to contract matrimony during his term.

The age at which children were set out as apprentices varied from about nine years to fifteen or sixteen years. Henry Hill, (1666), gent. of St. Athan, bequeathed unto the poorest children of the parish £4 a piece "for and towards setting them forth as apprentices" and willed that the children "be under the age of fourteen or fifteen, and likewise chosen, appointed, and set forth by the churchwardens and overseers of the poor".¹

The setting out of poor children as apprentices was a device of Poor Relief, intended to keep in check local demands for parish relief. The numerous benefactions of private individuals for binding pauper apprentices, although prompted by altruistic motives, helped to keep down the poor rates. But there were other motives, particularly in relation to those children whose parents lived independently of parish relief. For it must be borne in mind that the section of the English poor law dealing with destitute children made it the duty of parochial authorities "to apprentice them so that they might earn an honest living". But from an early date, the courts had ruled "that apprenticeship was not essential in unskilled trades". Therefore, we find that "in skilled crafts, the ordinary apprentice came from a home socially on a level with that of his master,

1. P.R. (11), 1666

and paid a substantial entry fee. For such vacancies, pauper children were not wanted, and such fees the overseers did not very often care to pay".¹

In an agrarian society whose structure was being slowly modified by the demands of new skills in industry and commerce, the acquisition of a craft or trade tended to be regarded as a step toward social or economic advancement. This trend of thought may be detected in some late seventeenth and early eighteenth century wills. For example, William Dawkins (1723), yeoman, of Llanbethery, charged his executors with the "putting out of John Thomas, my now servant, an apprentice to some handicraft". Similarly, Watkin Morgan (1730), an agricultural labourer at Llantwit Major, bequeathed to his cousin-in-law a sum of £5 "towards setting him an apprentice". These examples could be multiplied, but suffice it for the present to say that the attraction of non-agricultural skills was already being reflected in the wishes of parents to see their sons and daughters settled in some handicraft or trade. The following final examples are fairly convincing. William Lewis, yeoman, of Whitchurch near Cardiff, expressed the wish that his wife should bind as apprentices his two daughters "to the trade of milliner att Bristoll or elsewhere..² Again, Llewelyn John, of Llantrisant, bequeathed to his nephew "if he arrives at the age of 12 years the sum of five pounds to settle him an apprentice to any trade that he shall like..." David Oliver (1730), a

1. J.H.Clapham: An Economic History of Modern Britain (Cambridge, 1926), p.370.

2. P.R.(Ll), 1700.

farmer of Ystradyfodwg, was more specific when he made provision for settling his son in the "trade or calling of a mason apprentice".¹

(d) To Religious bodies

Many hundreds of bequests, large and small, were made each year both to the Cathedral Church at Llandaff and St.David's, and also to the various parish churches, for the reparation and restoration of the church fabric, and internal embellishments. For instance, Thomas Evans, 'Esquire' (1676), of Neath, "gave to the reparation of the Cathedral Church of Llandaff £5, and to the reparation of the church at Neath 20s., and to the reparation of the church at Kilybebyll 10s."² Moreover, William Jones, Gent. (1719), of Cardiff, bequeathed £50 "to be laid out in erecting a decent altar piece in y^e Chancell of y^e Church of St.John".³ Similarly, Elizabeth Morgan, spinster (1697), of Llancarvan, gave 6s.8d. "to buy a decent Bason for the font in the church of Llancarvan",⁴ whilst Robert Jones, of Fommon, bequeathed "£40 for a cloth or cushion for y^e pulpitt in Penmark church".⁵

One of the smallest bequests of this class that we have noted was that of William Webber (1700) of Bishopston, who gave "towards the repaçon of the Cathedral Church of St.Davids, 2d." However, he gave the sum of 5s. "unto the poor of the parish".⁶

1. P.R. (L1), 1730.

2. Ibid., 1676.

3. Ibid., 1719.

4. Ibid., 1697.

5. G.R.O. D/DF F/13.

6. P.R. (S.D.), 1700.

A more novel and far-reaching bequest was that of Thomas Wilkins (1699), Rector of St.Mary Church and Llanmaes who "bequeathed to the Governors of y^e Charity for the Relief of poore widdows and children of Clergymen, two guineas..." In addition he bequeathed "to the Cathedral Church of Llandaffe...one guinea; to ye parish church of St.Mary, a new folio - Welsh Bible and to y^e parish Church of Llanmaes...Bp.Jewell's workes". Further, he gave "To the poore of...Llandaff, St.Mary Church, Llanmaes, Llanbleddian, Wenvoe, Caerau, Llandyfodwg and St.Brides-in-Wanllwg, 10s."¹

Many of the bequests made to the church reflected contemporary attitudes towards social or class distinctions, and were often calculated to perpetuate these distinctions within the confines of the parish church as well as in the outside world. For instance, John Davies (1720), of whom mention has already been made, gave to his brother William John and his heirs "my seat scituated and fixed in the parish church of Neath.... with the appurtenances to the said seatt belonging and appertaining, and all my right and title of in and to the same seatt to have and to hold... forever."²

David Spencer (1675) of Barry, after making various bequests, including "all the island of Barry with the appurtenances thereunto belonging..." to his son David Spender, further declared that "I doe appoint the highest Rowe in the new seate that I made in Sully church to my wiffes use during hur (sic) owne life and after hur decease that

1. P.R. (Ll), 1699.

2. Ibid., 1720.

haulfe the seate shall belong to the Island in the highest part of the say^d seate, and the rest beinge the lower part to the sound".¹

The aspiration to posthumous worldly prominence is well represented in the will of William Bassett (1705), Gent. of Cowbridge, who desired to be decently buried within the Alderman's Isle within the church of Cowbridge, and then bequeathed to the said church "the summe of five pounds and the interest thereof to be imployed yearely in glazeinge the window belonging to the Aldermen's Isle".²

After about 1690 it becomes increasingly evident that non-conformist bodies, too, had their benefactors. Pre-1660 religious gifts had included endowments for Puritan Lectureships, but as Professor Jordan has indicated "These funds were, for most part, ultimately to be absorbed by the established church..."³ During our period, non-Conformist bodies were to grow and multiply as never before, particularly in Glamorgan. The Act of Uniformity of 1662 did, in fact, mark the beginnings of non-Conformity proper, and thenceforward Independents, Baptists, Presbyterians and Quakers began to form separate religious communities. The Act of Toleration, 1689, however, granted a limited toleration to Protestant Dissenters by relieving them from penalties for holding religious meetings of their own. The beginning of non-Conformist meeting-houses and chapels dates from this time. It is not surprising, therefore, that by the end of the seventeenth century, gifts to non-Conformist congregations appear

1. P.R. (L1), 1675.

2. Ibid., 1705.

3. W.K.Jordan: Philanthropy in England, 1480-1660, p.52.

more frequently in Glamorgan wills. It will be shown later that conflicting economic interests, which revolved around the ownership of land, were often mirrored in the aspirations of both Conformist and non-Conformist benefactors.

It is interesting to examine some of the charitable bequests made by non-Conformists to their "poor members". In 1701, Henry Morgan, of Margam, gave "twenty shillings to David Lewis, of Neath, and twenty shillings more into his hand to be distributed amongst the poor of his congregation".¹ Similarly, in 1707, Mary Williams, of Tophill, Gelligaer, gave twenty shillings "amongst such poor people of the congregation at Merthyr Tydvill as are meetest object of charity..."² Again, in 1723, Joan Thomas (alias Seis Seys), of Newton Nottage, bequeathed "20s. to ye hands of Samuell Williams of Swansey and Thomas Hugh my servant y^t they may dispose of y^e said sum between y^e poorest people at the Congregation in Swanzey under y^e ministry of Mr. Morgan John".³ This was a Baptist cause whose minister, Morgan John, received a personal gift of £2 under the will of Thomas Hugh (1727), bachelor of Newton Nottage. Under the terms of the same will the sum of £10 was to be paid to Evan Griffiths as trustee "to be distributed £2 yearly unto y^e minister of a Baptist Congregation now in 1727 meeting at Penyfai".⁴ Another interesting bequest was made by Felice Robert, a widow of Llangeinor who gave £5 to be divided among the poor and needy of the congregation of Anabaptists whereof I am a member.⁵

1. P.R. (11), 1701.

2. Ibid., 1707.

3. Ibid., 1723.

4. Ibid., 1727.

5. Ibid.,

Again, John Griffith (1727), of Merthyr Tydvil, bequeathed the sum of 20s. "to the use of the congregation meeting att Cwmyglo and to be distributed by Richard Rees and Rees Pritchard att their discretion.." ¹ Pressilla William (1729), widow, Merthyr Tydvil, bequeathed 50s. to be divided amongst "my poore friends of y^e congregation of Cwmyglo". This same congregation was mentioned in the will of John Watkin (1730), yeoman, Merthyr Tydvil, who bequeathed £5 "towards piouse uses in the congregation att Cwmygloe". ²

One of the most formidable of the early eighteenth century bequests to non-Conformist bodies was that of Morgan John (1729), mercer, of Eglwysilan, who gave £5 "to be divided and disposed at the discretion of Morgan Griffith of y^e Parish of Bedwellty (Mon.) Minister of y^e gosple (sic.) and Reece David of y^e Parish of Eglwysilan, yeoman, among y^e poorest of y^e Congregation y^t usually meet at y^e meeting house at Kevenhengoed wth in y^e Parish of Gelligaer," and also £100 "to be laid out in purchasing freehold lands, the profits and rents from which to be settled and paid to the minister of Kevenhengoed y^t shall be there for the time being..." ³

The Catholic faith still had many adherents in different parts of the county in the early eighteenth century, and they, too, included many 'poor' persons. Margaret Gamage, (1701) of Gadlys, Llangynwyd, bequeathed "30s. to be divided among the poore Catholicks in this county". ⁴

1. P.R. (L1), 1727.

2. Ibid., 1730.

3. Ibid., 1729.

4. Ibid., 1701.

It is clear that the relief of the poor in Glamorgan, as in many English counties, during our period was the concern of all classes of the community. Benefactions and legacies were voluntarily bestowed to improve the unhappy lot of those who had no land, and whose only means of livelihood was to sell their labour. The problem of the poor was a real social problem in that sickness could reduce an individual or family to a state of utter destitution. As long as good health was assured, some sort of living was possible. The condition of the labouring poor in his native county of Glamorgan may have been in the mind of Dr. Richard Price¹ when he wrote in the manner of 1771: "The lower part of mankind are objects of particular compassion when rendered incapable by accident, sickness or age, of earning their subsistence". By that year, however, the peasantry of Glamorgan had been encouraged to form Beneficial Clubs or Friendly Societies "for granting relief to one another out of little funds supplied by weekly contributions"² The charitable gifts we have discussed were probably the precursors of the Friendly Societies "which punctuated the development of policy in granting relief by man to his fellowman". But these societies were formed when the pattern of the economy was beginning to change, when industry was beginning to modify the agrarian economy, and when poverty followed "as an ubiquitous ally".

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1. Dr. Richard Price (1723-91) was born at Tyn-ton in the parish of Llangeinor, Glamorgan. See D.W.B.
 2. Quoted in J.H. Clapham: Op.cit., p.295.

Chapter 8

INLAND AND COASTAL TRADE

In a previous chapter we discussed the nature of the pastoral-agricultural economy of Glamorgan during the period 1660-1760, the livestock the peasants reared, the crops they grew and harvested, the tools and implements they employed in alliance with Nature in order to achieve their economic ends. But production was, in fact, a prelude to the process of distribution - the exchange and selling of goods and services. How, then, were the ordinary everyday business affairs of the countryside transacted in pre-industrial Glamorgan, and through what channels were they directed?

Although there was still a considerable degree of subsistence farming among the poorer peasants, there were, nevertheless, clear indications that "commercial agriculture" was gaining momentum. Indeed, the break-up of the old manorial ties and restrictions had encouraged commercial farming in Glamorgan since Elizabethan times, and with the growth and development of the port of Bristol, the commercial activities of the county became more conspicuously orientated to the West of England markets. The "Welsh Back" at Bristol had long been the centre for the unloading of innumerable ships from Wales.¹ Yet, it would seem that the poor peasantry and cottagers still thought, not so much in terms of what

1. Cf. E.M.Carr-Saunders: Medieval Merchant Ventures (London, 1954), p.11.

they could buy with money, but of what they could grow and make for themselves. It may be said of the Glamorgan peasant, as of his English counterpart, that he "did not work simply for money: he worked so as to avoid, as far as possible, the need for money".¹

It is probable that the wages of agricultural labourers, or cottagers, were still paid mainly in kind, but it is difficult to establish how far there were money payments, and to what extent there was payment in kind, or even in exchange of services. There is evidence of all three methods operating in Glamorgan, in much the same way as in Leicestershire during an earlier period.² Even in 1741, wages due to non-agricultural workers in the Neath and Briton Ferry areas were often paid in goods.³

Fairs, markets and shops.

In the second half of the sixteenth century there were at least 8 weekly markets and 27 periodic fairs in Glamorgan.⁴ In 1692 there were 45⁵, and by 1760 there were 10 weekly markets and 54 periodic fairs (Table XVIII).⁶ It is interesting to note that several of these fairs were held on Church festivals, and even on Sundays. For instance, the Whitsun Fair at Llandaff was held from the Saturday to Tuesday of Whitsuntide, and a market was held every Sunday. The Llandaff Fair was suppressed

1. Dorothy Davis: A history of shopping (London, 1966), pp. 4-5

2. Cf. W.G. Hoskins: The Midland peasant (London, 1957), p. 171.

3. P. & M. No. 5648.

4. George Owen: Taylor's Cussion 1552-1613 (London, 1906), p. 77; Rice Merrick: Op. cit., p. 114.

5. Almanac Thomas Jones (Llundain, 1692).

6. Almanac John Prys (Shrewsbury, 1760).

about the year 1880, owing to the rowdyism which prevailed there on Whit Monday. It had degenerated into a mere pleasure-fair with the usual booths, tents, roundabouts and swing-boats.¹

TABLE XVIII

Weekly markets and Periodic fairs
held in Glamorgan in 1760.

<u>Day</u>	<u>Weekly markets</u> <u>Place</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>Place</u> <u>Fairs</u>	<u>Number</u>
Monday	Merthyr Tudful	1	Boverton	1
Tuesday	Cowbridge	1	Bridgend	3
Wednesday	Neath	1	Caerffili	6
Thursday	Caerffili, Penrice	2	Cardiff	4
Friday	Llantrisant	1	Cowbridge	4
Saturday	Swansea, Cardiff,		Dyffryn Goluch	1
	Bridgend, Cowbridge	4	Ely	1
			Llancarfan	1
			Llandaff	2
			Llangyfelach	1
			Llanrhidian	1
			Llantrisant	3
			Lougher	1
			Margam	1
			Merthyr Tudful	1
			Neath	3
			Ogmore (Ewenny)	1
			Penrice	5
			Swansea	4
			St. Mary Hill	1
			St. Nicholas	1
			Y Waun (Merthyr Tudful)	8
	Total	10		54

Professor A.H.Dodd has estimated that in the seventeenth century, there was a fair or market somewhere or other in Wales about four days out

1. C.R. Vol.3, p.2.

of every seven.¹ The increase in the number of distributive agencies may be attributed to the expansion of a 'money economy' in the limited context of an increase in the relative volume of money payments made within the sphere of local distribution of goods. In a wider context, Professor M.M.Postan has suggested that the so-called 'money economy' in the true sense of the term, depended for its development "not so much on a general increase in production, as on those subtler historical changes which led men away from domestic self-sufficiency and directed them towards shops and market places".² But in all probability all except the bigger farmers depended heavily on the immediate sale of their surplus goods in the weekly markets, if only to obtain ready money for the payment of taxes and rents. The weekly markets were held almost exclusively for the sale of foodstuffs, such as butter, corn and meat, which obviously pre-supposed the use of money. The same was true of the periodic fairs. It is worth noting here that John Franklin of Llanmihangel, near Cowbridge (an estate agent and landed proprietor in the Vale) established the March Fair, which was called Franklin's Fair, (c.1780), and was intended "to provide farmers with some means of raising money to pay their Lady Day rents".³ It is certainly true to say that "what the local market was to the husbandman each week, the regional fair was each year".⁴

Money was also necessary to purchase goods which fell outside the compass of home production. It may be said that in Glamorgan, as in

1. A.H.Dodd: Studies in Stuart Wales, 1952, p.31.

2. Essays in economic history, ed. by E.M.Carus-Wilson, 1954, p.8.

3. C.C.L. Cadrawd MS.2355, p.106.

4. The Agrarian history of England, Vol.IV, 1500-1640. Ed. by Joan Thirsk (Cambridge,1967), p.543.

other parts of the country "Production was largely for subsistence, and only small surpluses were brought to the local market towns for sale. Yet, these small surpluses, converted into rent and tithe, formed the economic basis of the ruling class and the support of the Established Church".¹

The impression is sometimes conveyed in works on economic history that only large farms - by which, perhaps, may be meant farms regularly dependent on hired labour for their cultivation - yielded an excess of products for the markets. Such a view is, however, inconsistent with the evidence given here, and it does not, in any case, follow from any correct economic principles. Any product of a farm, however, small, not directly required for consumption by the farmer or his family, may reach the market, though it does not represent any net revenue as profit or rent of the producer. What he purchases with the proceeds of selling may represent his 'real' wages, or at least part of them. The large farmer could often afford to store the products of his holding, and sell in the market when prices were high. In contrast, the small farmer depended, to a great extent, upon the immediate selling of his products and, consequently, these would reach the market more frequently than the products of the large farmers.

By the eighteenth century probably most Glamorgan villages had a shop. The coming of the shop marked an important stage in the economic

1. The New Cambridge Modern History, Ed. by J.O.Lindsay (Cambridge, 1957), Vol.VII, p.243.

and social history of the county, and from the evidence we have gathered from probate sources, it would appear that the first shops outside the semi-urban centres of Cardiff, Neath and Swansea, were set up in the coastal villages such as Llantwit Major, and St.Athan, probably sometime in the early seventeenth century. By the end of that century shops had been set up in the upland parishes of Ystradyfodwg, Llantrisant and Eglwysilan.. In 1732 the term 'grocer's shop' was certainly current in Gelligaer where, for example, David Evan kept a dyer's shop, while his wife managed a 'grocer's shop' stocked with provisions worth £14. 4s.2½d. His total estate was valued at £656. 1s.4½d., of which £65.15s. Od. was in ready money, and £356. in 'book debts'.¹

From the description we are given of their contents in numerous inventories, it is fairly certain that shops were set up in the countryside to satisfy a real demand for those consumption goods that were fashionable in the markets and shops of Bath and Bristol. Many of the wealthier classes, however, still looked upon London as the centre of fashion, and, in their eyes, carried greater prestige. In 1666, Elizabeth Thomas, of Swansea, bequeathed to Anne Bevo "the gowne I had bought last in London".² Again, in 1696, William Herbert, Esquire, of Whitefriars Court, Cardiff, possessed "a new cloek lately camed from London" which was worth £15.³

1. P.R. (L1), 1732.

2. Ibid., 1666.

3. Ibid., 1696.

The range of articles made available to the inhabitants through the village shops was quite remarkable. The list of goods which John Thomas, shopkeeper, of the parish of Laleston possessed at the time of his death in 1710 is typical, and worth mentioning, more particularly because the population of the whole parish at that date cannot have been above 350, and of this total, at least 120 persons would have been classed as paupers, to whom the shop goods would have been, without doubt, beyond their means. 'Indeed, from previous discussions on 'the poor' this situation would have obtained in almost every parish). For instance, he sold Shalloon at 12d. per yard; damask stuff at 16d. per yard; worsted stuff at 6d. per yard; serges at 15d. per yard; broad coloured linnen at 8d. per yard; coloured Dimity at 10d. per yard; plush at 2s.6d. per yard; blue broad calicoe at 18d. per yard; crape at 10d. per yard; etc. In addition, there were earthenware, wick-yarn, tar, nails, candlesticks, knives and scissors, and "Manchester goods such as buttons, thread, mohair and inkle-tape". A significant item in the inventory was described as "fresh goods bought at St. Paul's faire in Bristol and not sold or disposed of at y^e time of y^e dec ea d en ts death as appeared by y^e notes of his severall correspondents att Bristoll" which were valued at £94.1s.0d. The total value of the inventory was £193. 2s. 2½d.¹

The inventory of Gwenllian Voss, of Llantwit Major, shows that when she died in 1678, she was worth £106.10s. 0d., but £82.10s. 0d. of

1. P.R. (L1), 1710.

this was in respect of 'desperate debts', while "all her goods and mercery was in y^e shop unreplenished by reason of her absence at Bristoll at the last fayre" amounted to only £5.16s. Od.¹

Again, in the parish of St.Andrews, Walter Hart, described as a blacksmith, died in 1696 worth £220. 1s. 4³d.² But, besides being a blacksmith, he was also a farmer, and kept a 'shop'. He owned 4 milch cows and 3 yearlings, corn worth £5, 16 sheep, 5 pigs, 1 horse and a mare. He had 7 stones of cheese at 3s. per stone, and a firkin of butter worth 16s., as well as 2 stones of wool. In his shop he sold fustian, German hollands, broad dowlas, 'Oxenbrigge', kerseys, knives, combs, looking glasses, white sugar at 8d. per lb., currants at 5d. per lb., 'Malligoe raisons' at 4d. per lb., starch, copperas, oil and anniseed water. His inventory was valued at £220. 1s. 4d., but his shop goods amounted to £40. 5s. Od., while his desperate debts were £39. 7s. 7d.

Besides the small village shops were those located in the market towns of Swansea, Neath, Cardiff, Cowbridge and Llantrisant which, taken together, formed a net-work of distributive centres offering an incredibly wide range and variety of goods and commodities within the county's preponderantly agrarian economy.³ At these centres business was, with few exceptions, transacted on a cash basis.

Throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries there was a growing addiction to tobacco smoking among all sections of the community.

1. P.R. (L1), 1678.

2. Ibid., 1696.

3. See Appendix B for examples of shop stocks.

In 1638 the ship, called Long Thomas of Aberthaw (200 tons burthen) is reported to have arrived there from St.Christopher's Island "with about eight score thousand weight of tobacco worth £1,000." By the Commonwealth period, tobacco had already taken a firm hold of many of the inhabitants of Merthyr Tudful where the local incumbent was somewhat perplexed as to "what devotion can they have that have their tobacco pipes in their mouths when they goe into the Church; and are sneezing tobacco in the Church when they come out after their Sermon, they are smoking in the Church-yard, going away, some to the Ale house, others to tobacco houses."¹ Later in the century we find "rolls of tobacco" frequently mentioned in the lists of cargoes brought from Bristol to Aberthaw. In 1700 ten bags of tobacco (containing 1,821 pounds) arrived on board the William of Aberthaw from Bristol, as well as "2 baskets of tobacco pipes".² Such goods eventually found their way to the shops in the surrounding countryside. Cardiff, in particular, had many tobacco shops, and its tobacco-cutters, tobacco rollers and pipe-makers.³ When Henry Hammond, Alderman, of Cardiff, died in 1701, his shop goods included "4 gross of pipes" valued at £5.⁴ In 1752, however, the customs officers at Cardiff confessed that "Of late years there are so many little shops set up in the country for selling tobacco etc. within a small distance of this Towne and Newport and

1. Frank T.James: 'Notes on the Parish Register of Merthyr Tydfil, from A.D. 1703-1763'. Cymmrodor, XXV, p.181.

2. M.I.Williams: 'A contribution to the commercial history of Glamorgan 1666-1735'. N.L.W.J., Vol.IX, p.345.

3. M.I.Williams: 'Cardiff' - its people and its trade 1660-1720'. Morgannwg, VII, 1963, p.86.

4. P.R. (11), 1701.

Aberthaw that they cant be less in Number (as we conceive) than four score or a hundred..."¹

We must not, however, overlook the itinerant 'Scotchmen' or pedlar merchants in this context. They were, indeed, familiar figures in pre-industrial Glamorgan, carrying in their packs a variety of wares, including gloves, pins, combs, hooks, etc., sometimes brought over on coasting ships from Bristol. For instance, on 24 November 1720, the Blessing of Aberthaw carried, as part of its cargo to Minehead, "one pack of Scotchman's goods".² It was through these itinerant Scotchmen that many sophisticated items of consumption were marketed and found their way into the humblest cottage in the Glamorgan hills and Vale. Like the local tradesmen, they, too, required cash for their wares, but were often compelled to give credit. For example, Griffith Robert, a labourer of St.Bride's Major, died in 1671, owing 13s. to "Rydderch Thomas, a pedlar"³. Similarly, when Richard David, of Gallowm, Margam, died in March 1700, he owed "to a Scotchman" the sum of 13s.⁴

From the evidence we have gleaned, the actual money in circulation in Glamorgan during our period consisted of silver coins, guineas, gold coins, foreign coins and copper coins. Mathew William, yeoman, of Penmark, for instance, possessed seventeen twenty shilling pieces (£17),

1. C.R., Vol.II, p.393.

2. M.I.Williams: 'A contribution to the commercial history of Glamorgan 1666-1735'. N.L.W.J. Vol.IX, 1956, p.249.

3. P.R. (L1), 1671.

4. Ibid., 1700.

eleven half pieces of gold (£5.10s.) and six quarter pieces of gold.¹ Margaret Gamage, of Gadlys, in Llangynwyd, possessed "7 broad pieces of gold" made up of "2 Jacobus sceptor pieces and 5 Carolus twenty shilling pieces".² The so-called 'Jacobus pieces' were each worth 25s.³ A piece of gold worth 27s.6d., commonly called 'a Portuguese Voyder' (i.e. Moidore) was frequently mentioned in the inventories at the end of the seventeenth century,⁴ but by 1742, its value had fallen to 27s. Guineas were quite common, and it is worth noting how their value, as expressed in the inventories, fluctuated between 1687 and 1702. In 1687 we find that Mathew William, of Penmark, possessed two guineas valued at £1 each. When John Miles, of Llandaff, died in 1696, he possessed two guineas "now current valued at £3", that is £1.10s. 0d. a piece,⁵ which reflected the fluctuation in the price of silver in 1695. In 1702 Richard Sweeting, of Llanbleddian, possessed 11 guineas valued at £11.16s.6d. (or £1. 1s. 6d. to the guinea), and 6 pieces of broad gold current at £1. 3s. 6d. a piece, and 4 half pieces of broad gold at 11s.9d. a piece.⁶ When William Miles, of St.Lythans, died in 1709, his "twenty five guineas and a half" were also worth £1. 1s. 6d. each.⁷ In view of the currency problems of the late seventeenth century, it is worth noting that Anne Gamage, of Llantrithyd, had in her possession when she died in 1696, £8., which was described as "money short and chipp'd".⁸

1. P.R. (Ll), 1687.

2. Ibid., 1701.

3. See Ibid., 1726 (David Pralphy).

4. Cf. C.R. Vol.III, p.156.

5. P.R. (Ll), 1696.

6. Ibid., 1702.

7. Ibid., 1709.

8. Ibid., 1696.

Marks and nobles were units of currency occasionally mentioned in contemporary wills. When William Rowland, yeoman of Llanfabon, died in 1676, he bequeathed unto his daughter Margaret "the sum of five marks due unto me at May next from Edward Thomas and Anthony Rees of Michaelston, Bedwas, and twenty nobles due by bonds from Hugh Thomas".¹ The mark was not referred to as frequently in the seventeenth century wills as it was in those of the sixteenth century.²

Groats were also frequently mentioned in wills and inventories, more particularly when testators bequeathed small sums to the poor or to the "Cathedral Church". For instance, in 1674, Evan Thomas, of St. Mary Church, bequeathed "ten groates to the poor of the parish of Tythegston".³

The impression one gets from the inventories is that there were larger sums of 'ready money' in the possession of testators after about 1700 than previously. These sums obviously varied considerably between one social group and another, and, indeed, between members of the same social stratum, but the proportions of ready money to total wealth were often quite striking. Ann Pranch, of Peterston-super-Ely, who died in 1716 worth £315, possessed £200 in ready money⁴, while Mary Howell, spinster, of Llanwonno, was worth £16., of which £12 was in 'ready cash'.⁵ Again, Edward Gamage, Archdeacon of Llandaff and Rector of Coychurch, who died in 1685, was equipped materially in much the same way as a gentleman farmer, even down to his "timber vessels for brewing" and was worth £495.

1. P.R. (Ll), 1676.

2. Cf. P.C.C. 36, Leicester.

3. P.R. (Ll), 1674.

4. Ibid., 1716.

5. Ibid., 1696.

Of this sum, £100 was in ready money, and £200 was owing to him 'by bond'.¹ David Price, M.A., one of the Prebends of the Cathedral Church of Llandaff "and Vicar Choral there", was also conscious of the growing importance of money in "matters temporal", for of his total personal wealth of £109.15s. he had £65.14s. put aside "in money and gold".² One of the outstanding sums of ready money we have noted was that of £969. 3s. Od., held by Blanche Robothom, a widow of the town of Cardiff, whose total inventory was valued in 1734 at £2,291,14s., but her debts amounted to £1,270.³

The complications of "commercial agriculture" must have compelled many Glamorgan farmers and small business men to seek professional assistance in the management of their affairs. One of the claims on the estate of Thomas Richards, of Waterton, in Llancarfan, was "to an accountant 6 years wages at £10 a year".⁴

The floating of the National Debt in 1693, by opening up a vast new field of investment⁵ must have eventually changed the attitude of the humblest folk no less than the mercantile and financial classes towards the use of money. To some, "interest" was looked upon as a form of "rent", paid for the loan of money, and these terms were often interchanged in wills. To put money "out on rent" became fashionable with all and sundry.

We have innumerable examples of individuals, like Mary Thomas, widow, of St. Hillary, who left a gross personal estate valued at £103.10s.

1. P.R. (L1), 1685.

2. Ibid., 1688.

3. Ibid., 1734.

4. LL/CC/P.642.

5. See H.J.Habakkuk: "English landownership, 1680-1740". Econ.H.R., Vol.X, 1940, pp.12-17.

of which £100 was "upon interest". Yet, her wearing apparel and all her linen was worth only £2., while the rest of her belongings, worth a mere £1.10s. Od., consisted of simply "one sheet, one feather bed wth its appurtenances, one iron crock, one little brass pan and one chair".¹

Again, in 1699, Jenkin John, yeoman, of Coychurch, died leaving personal estate worth £132, of which £111. was "in money upon interest"², while Llewellyn Robert, yeoman, of the near-by parish of Pendoylan, who had 7 sons and 1 daughter, died in 1703 worth £263.10s., but £200 of this sum was "upon interest".³

Rachel David, spinster, of Ystradyfodwg, had received a legacy of £10 (by David ab Evan of the same parish) which was invested so that when she died in 1701 "the interest on the said £10 for nine years" came to £16. 5s. Od. George Butler, a husbandman of Wick, died in 1693 worth £54.14s. Od., but £50 of this was "in moneys at interest by bonds and bills".⁴

Yeomen of limited means, like John Meyrick of Aberdare, whose gross personal estate was only worth £29.18s. Od., included £6.10s. Od. "in money at interest". (The rate of interest generally paid at this time amounted to 5 and 6 per cent).⁵

In the parish of Ystradyfodwg, Anne Jenkins died in 1686 worth £97.17s. 6d., but apart from her wearing apparel, one Welsh Bible "of the last edition" and two silver spoons, all valued at £3., her wealth was in bonds and bills on eight persons who lived in adjoining parishes.⁶

1. P.R. (L1), 1714.

2. Ibid., 1699.

3. Ibid., 1703.

4. Ibid., 1693.

5. Ming-Hsun Li: The great re-coinage of 1696 to 1699 (London, 1963), pp. 6-8.

6. P.R. (L1), 1686.

From about 1700 onwards, there seems to have been a growing tendency among testators to bequeath the interest accruing from money either already invested, or to be invested. Thomas David, yeoman of St. Bride's Major, died in 1723 leaving to his wife £5 per annum to be paid quarterly out of the rent or interest of £100."¹ How different was this testator's bequest to the more conventional bequests in kind - livestock, furniture, agricultural implements etc. It was, indeed a far cry from the outlook on life held by Thomas Johns, a farmer-mariner of Gileston who died in 1595, having charged his executors to dispose of his bedstead "and with the price thereof to buy sheep and the sheep to be sett to increase" for his grandsons."² Or, indeed, the provisions made on a more grandiose scale by Sir John Herbert, of Cardiff, Principal Secretary to His Majesty James I, who held lands in Swansea, Llangennith, Rhosilli, Llanmadoc, Penmaen, Llangyfelach, Cheriton, Penrice, Llanrhidian, Bishopston, Oystermouth, Llansamlet and Ilston, which he "did reserve and keep undisposed to be sold to the best advantage towards the payment of my debts, legacies for preferment of my grandchildren, rewards and annuities to my servants, my funeral expenses etc."³ But even in 1705, there were still many testators like George Thomas, a labourer, of Roath, who died worth £15, having bequeathed "a rick of hay towards the reparation of the house".⁴

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1. P.R. (L1), 1723. The rate of interest was 5%.
 2. P.C.C., 29, Scott.
 3. Ibid., 107, Weldon
 4. P.R. (L1), 1705.

Debts and Credits

The severe shortage of cash which the poorer members of the community suffered from time to time gave rise to a vast amount of local borrowing of small sums of money. Typical of this category was Jane Williams, a widow of St. Mary Church, who died in 1686 owing the sum of 4s. which she had "borrowed of Mr. Wilkins towards the Chimley money", i.e. the Hearth Tax,¹ as well as "1s. 4d. to Lewis Robert the collier" who had probably delivered to her a couple of sacks of coal some time before her death. She also owed 15s. to Sir Edward Mansel for "rents and a heriot".² Indeed, the shortage of ready cash compelled many of the poor of the countryside to pawn their possessions. Among the items listed in the inventory of Catherine Hopkins, of Llanbethery in the parish of Llancarfan in 1695, were "goods pawn'd with decd't" for £2.³, while Edward Meyrick of Moulton, in the same parish, had "one gold ring and another pawn'd ring with a tablecloth" worth £1.18s. 0d.⁴ Again, in the adjoining parish of Penmark, Jane Slugg, a spinster, who died in 1698, had paid 5s. to George Portray for "1 sheet pawn'd".⁵

As would be expected, it was the richer farmers, merchants, and tradesmen, who generally acted as creditors to most sections of the community. The sums involved varied considerably, according to circumstances. For when Robert ab Evan, yeoman, of Peterston-super-Ely died

1. See Supra p.12.

2. P.R. (11), 1686.

3. Ibid., 1695.

4. Ibid., 1698.

5. Ibid.

in 1685, as many as 29 persons owed him small sums of money - ranging from 5s. to £2.13s. 4d., and amounting, in all, to £34. 8s. Od., or more than one third of his personal estate of £98.¹ Again, Thomas William, gentleman, of Llanwonno, died in 1714 worth £227.13s. 9d., of which £71. 5s. Od. was due to him by bills, bonds, notes etc. from 25 persons whose individual debts varied between 2s. and £10.² Others carried much heavier debts. When Anthony Carne, of St. Bride's Major, died in 1677, his total estate was valued at £699.10s., but £500 of this was in respect of outstanding debts due to him.³ George Hall, of St. Athan, who left £388., had debts due to him to the value of £200.⁴ Undoubtedly one of the greatest creditors of the period was John Greenfield, Mariner of Cardiff, who died in 1736 leaving an estate valued at £4,525, but debts owing to him amounted to the unusual total of £4,124., of which £205 were 'desperate debts'.⁵ Again, William Richards, mercer, of Cardiff, had a gross personal estate valued at £1,360., which included £800 in 'sperate debts'.⁶ If creditors were compelled to suffer heavy losses, the plight of debtors was often painful and embarrassing. In a letter dated 12 September 1686, and addressed to the Deputy Diocesan Registrar at Llandaff, Lady Elizabeth Stradling wrote: "Being it was my hard fate to out-live Sr. Edward Stradling, I would not willingly succeed him in y^e uneasy way of Liveinge

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1. P.R. (L1), 1685.
 2. Ibid., 1714.
 3. Ibid., 1677.
 4. Ibid., 1666.
 5. Ibid., 1736.
 6. Ibid., 1694.

w^{ch} unavoidably follows an indebted person. For y^e p'venting of w^{ch}
 I do willingly quitt claim to all Sr Edward Stradlings personall estate
 and doe allow Mr. Samuel Davies to administer if he thinks fitt".¹

TABLE XIX

Money owing to testators

Name	Description	Place	Date	Money owing	Gross personal estate
George Hall	Gent.	St. Athan	1666	£200	£388
Thomas William	Mercer	Swansey	1666	£255	£651
John Wolven	Alderman	Cardiff	1673	£150	£1,117
Anthony Carne	Gent.	St. Bride's Major	1677	£500	£699
David Mathew	Esquire	Llandaff	1681	£613	£62
John Stanmore	Saltmaker	Cardiff	1683	£60	£325
Mathew James	Yeoman	Aberafan	1684	£230	£262
Henry House	Mercer	Cardiff	1685	£10	£122
Howell John	Yeoman	Llantrisant	1692	£21	£73
Edward William	Gentleman	St. Mary Church	1691	£320	£778
Morgan Thomas	Blacksmith	Llantrisant	1693	£82	£194
William Richards	Mercer	Cardiff	1694	£800	£1,360
William Herbert	Esquire	Cardiff	1696	£140	£835
Thomas Edwards	Shopkeeper	Llantrisant	1709	£118	£197
Isaac Davies	Yeoman	Baglan	1734	£230	£333
Morgan William	Yeoman	Gaerau	1730	£460	£581
Evan Jenkins	Yeoman	Pendoylan	1730	£117	£323
William Thomas	Yeoman	Laleston	1731	£300	£421
David Griffith	Yeoman	Aberdare	1748	£359	£533

1. P.R. (11), 1686.

TABLE XX

Sperate and desperate debts

Name	Description	Place	Date	Sperate debts	Desperate debts	Total debts	Gross personal estate
				£	£	£	£
Margaret Philip	Widow	Llantrisant	1673	39	69	108	173
Samuel Challenor	Tobacco Roller	Cardiff	1701	10	40	50	71
Henry Hammond	Mercer	Cardiff	1701	162	78	240	578
Thomas Piers	Tailor	Llantwit Major	1704	40	42	82	110
Evan Morgan	Tucker	Llantrisant	1716	40	130	170	237
William Lewis	Yeoman	Llysfaen	1719	69	33	103	315
Edmund Treherne	Esquire	Castellan	1737	40	20	60	325
John Greenfield	Mariner	Cardiff	1736	3,819	205	4,124	4,525

Debts were usually divided into two categories, namely 'sperate', which afforded some prospect of being recovered, and 'desperate' which did not. However, it is impossible to establish any degree of correlation between 'good' and 'bad' debts, and their proportions varied to such an extent from one inventory to another, that to work out an average proportion of 'sperate' to 'desperate' debts would be rather futile.¹ It may be true to say, however, that debts, in general, were relatively larger in the semi-urban areas of Swansea, Neath, and Cardiff, than they appear to have been in the purely rural areas, and possibly merchants and tradesmen in the towns stood to carry more 'bad' debts than farmers and village shop-keepers.

1. Cf. W.G. Hoskins: 'The Elizabethan merchants of Exeter' in Elizabethan Government and Society: essays presented to Sir John Neale (London, 1961), p.174.

The 'debts' we have discussed were probably 'deferred payments' for goods sold to the customers or dealers at the town shops or at local fairs and markets. For instance, Rhys Lewis, of Cogan, who died in 1696, bequeathed unto his nephew John David, the sum of £5 that was "to be paid unto him as soon as my executrix is satisfied of a debt due unto me from dealers over in Somersetshire or elsewhere in England."¹ When Morgan David, of Ystradfyfodwg, died in 1739, debts owing to him amounted to £83 "for wool veal" bought by customers in Glamorgan and Breconshire."² But sometimes it became necessary to obtain a short term loan to settle some of the larger debts, particularly when creditors insisted on promptitude of payment. This may have been the case with Edward Lewis, of Cottrell, in the parish of Bonvilston, whose gross personal estate, when he died in 1683, was valued at £342.16s. 4d. Debts due to him amounted to £135., but the debts due on him were £329.18s. Od., which included "£18 for the use of £300 for one year,"³ - that is, at a rate of interest of 6 per cent.

'Credit' was not a new feature of the agricultural economy of the county. Business transactions in Glamorgan had been conducted along much the same lines as in England, where the granting of 'credit' had been a common business procedure since medieval times.⁴ One of the earliest Glamorgan 'creditors' we have so far noted was Robert Pearce, yeoman, of Llantwit Major, who died in 1592⁵ having the following sums due to him from the several persons mentioned:

1. P.R. (L1), 1696.

2. P.R. (L1), 1739.

3. Ibid., 1683.

4. M.M.Postan: 'Credit in medieval trade'. (Essays in economic history ed. by E.M.Carus-Wilson (London,1954), pp.61-87.

5. P.C.C. 45 Montague.

	£.	s.	d.
Richard Wilkins, of Cloford, Somerset	1.	5.	4.
Goodwise Allin, of Castle Cranmer, Somerset	16.	0.	
Thomas Slade, of Doultling	2.	0.	
William King, of Shaftesbury, in Dorset	3.	4.	4.
John Stibbe, of Troscombe	4.	0.	
The Widdow Evans, of Wells	4.	0.	
William Hillier, of Worle, butcher	2.	10.	0.
John Wilkinson, of Cloford	2.	14.	0.
	<hr/>		
	14.	6.	8.

His total debts amounted to £36.14s. 8d., which included £21.18s. Od., being his "debts in Wales".

Mariners, too, were frequently dependent upon credit advances for purchasing new ships. John Stradling, of Sully, for example, who died in 1722, had willed that his executors "pay or cause to be paid through the hands of his trustees, the sum of nine pounds w^{ch} I doe owe in Bristoll towards the quarter part of the Providence and... that it shall be paid upon demand of the creditors".¹

From this necessarily brief discussion on 'debts', the general picture that emerges shows that the 'cash-nexus' had already taken deep root in the agrarian economy of Glamorgan, and must have contributed to the accentuation of the feeling of otherness between rich and poor, for the old adage "the rich lend, the poor borrow" was clearly reflected in the contemporary wills and inventories. It should be noted here, however, that it was not unusual to find the local craftsmen having to wait for the cash payment for services rendered to members of the gentry who were, in fact, debtors on that account. Again, farm servants would often receive

1. P.R. (L1), 1722.

board and lodgings, but would have to wait until the end of the year before the farmer would be able to pay cash for the work performed, and this made the farm servant a 'creditor' during the period he was unpaid. We see, possibly, in the debts of large sections of the population a manifestation of the breaking up of the self-sufficiency of local markets and, perhaps, the growing commercialisation of the economic activities of the Glamorganshire countryside. Such manifestations appear to have coincided with the growth of the trade with Bristol and the West of England, and with the growth of 'heavy' industry locally.

It is worth observing here that the Exchequer King's Remembrancer Port Books disclose that large sums of money were from time to time accounted for in the 'coquets' issued to masters of vessels carrying cargoes from Glamorgan to Minehead, and Bristol in particular. For instance, on 23 January 1666, the Speedwell of Cardiff, had as part of its cargo for Bristol "800 pounds in money". On 31 May following, the Lyon of Cardiff sailed with "4000 pounds in money for Bristoll". Later in the same year, on 6 November, we find the Mayflower of Cardiff bound for Bristol with "2000 pounds in money".¹ Again, on 10 July, 1675, the master of the Anne of Newton had "1300 pounds of money" entered as part of his cargo for Minehead.² On 10 November 1679, the Elizabeth of Aberthaw crossed to Minehead with "2 baggs of money containing £90."³ and on 23 July 1683, the William of Aberthaw set out for Bristol with "500

1. P.R.O. E.190/1277/7.

2. Ibid., E.190/1091/6.

3. Ibid., E.190/1092/5.

pounds in money".¹ It is also recorded that Lord Mansel, of Margam, despatched 300 pounds in money by boat to Bristol in 1661.² These sums of money were, undoubtedly, in respect of debts incurred by Glamorgan merchants and other customers in the West of England. From the evidence submitted, it may be argued that the seventeenth century masters of the Glamorgan coasting vessels transacted business in Bristol in much the same way as the North Wales drovers - the so-called "Spanish Fleet of Wales - who acted as "agents for the transmission of large sums to London, whether for private or for public purposes".³

Besides the 'port books', the contemporary wills and inventories provide further evidence of the debts incurred by Glamorgan merchants, and others, in Bristol. As early as 1586, William Giles, gentleman, of Gileston, died owing "to William Tournier of Dunster 12s."⁴ At a much later period, in 1723, David Lewis, of Aberavan died owing £76.15s. Od. "to Bristol Merchants"⁵, while in 1725 Walter Jones, of Margam, "owed £10 at Bristol".⁶ The various claims upon the estate of Thomas Aylward, of Pile and Kenfig, in 1732, included one for 5s.6d. which was "Payd an Attorney at Bristoll for directing and soliciting...in getting y^e money from y^e merchant..." and another for £1 paid in respect of "expenses of that journey and staying there at Bristol for three weeks to stay for y^e merchant's accompting".⁷

1. P.R.O. E.190/1281/14.

2. P. & M. No.2587.

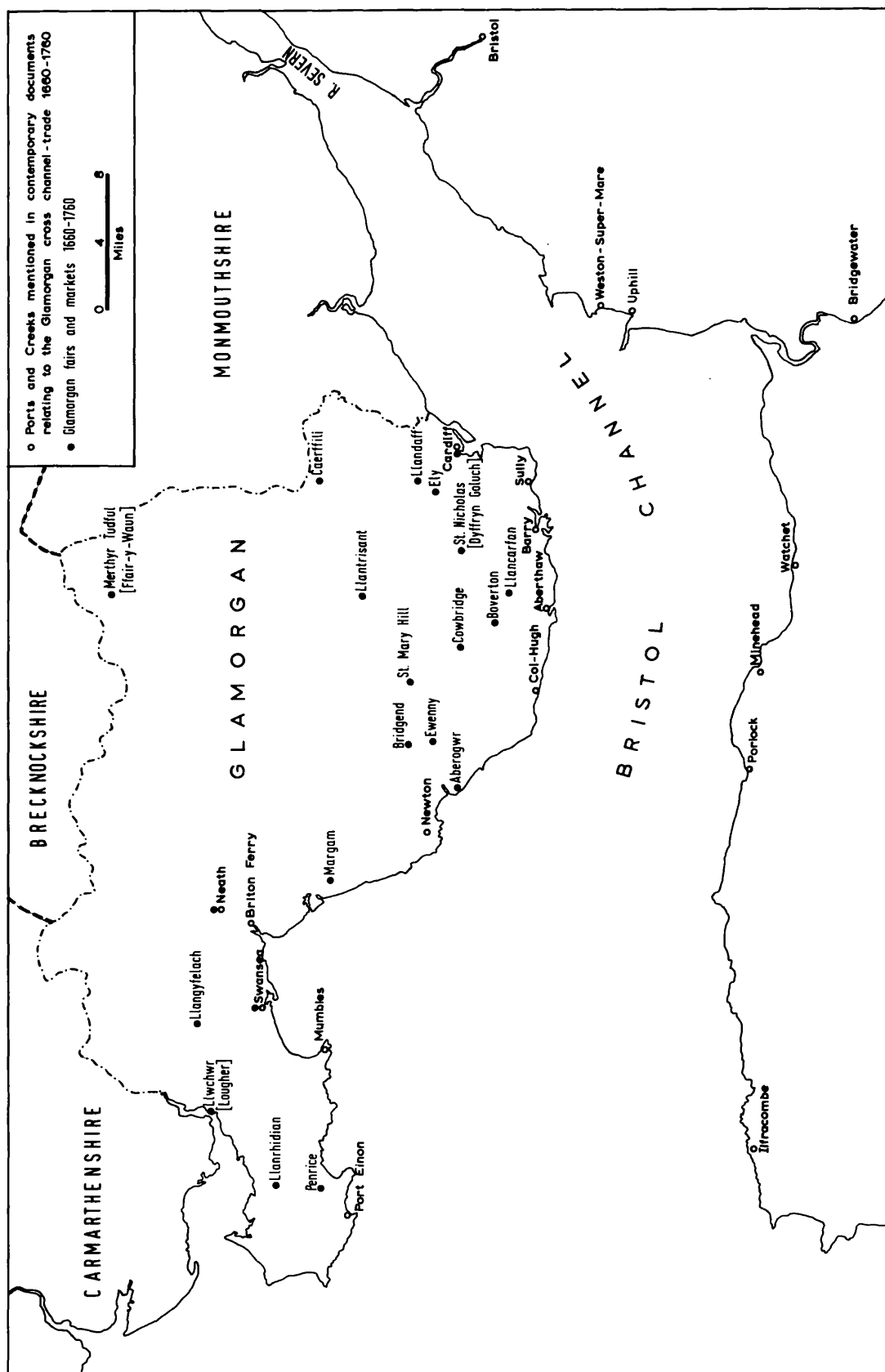
3. A.H.Dodd: Op.cit., p.23.

4. P.C.C. 31 Windsor.

5. P.R. (Ll), 1723.

6. Ibid., 1725.

7. LL/GC/P p.604.



The ramifications of the Glamorgan livestock trade are manifested, to some extent in the inventory of Evan Richard, a butcher of St. George's, which shows that his debts included £4. from John Everett of Dursley, £2.18s. Od. from John Fox, 17s.6d. from John Gibbons, and 10s. from Peter Bush "all butchers of Bristol", and 10s. from Giles Lincoln, of Newent, Gloucestershire.¹

Suppliers of grocery, etc. at Bristol are known to have taken legal action to recover their debts from Glamorgan customers as they did against John David Howard, a husbandman, of the parish of Llantrithyd.²

From the evidence we have examined, it seems quite clear that during the period under review, money was becoming increasingly a unit of account, a medium of transactions, and a store of value within the agrarian economy of the county.

Exports

In the sixteenth century, Rice Merrick (1578) listed thirteen "ports havens and creeks" at various points along the Glamorgan coast between Cardiff and Loughor.³ Six of these were situated within the more limited stretch of coastline that skirted the Vale of Glamorgan, namely Ely, Sully, Barry, Aberthaw, Ogmere and Newton. "In all this coaste of Kardyff and Glamorganshier", states an early Elizabethan document, "is grete lading of butter and cheese and other provysion partely into other

1. P.R. (11), 1716.

2. Glam.Plea Rolls. 8D.1. I am indebted to Mr. Kenneth Fox, M.A., for this reference.

3. Rice Merrick: Op.cit., p.112.

shiers of Wales where lacke is thereof and partely into Devon and
Cornewall and other places. And here goeth awaye much lether and tallowe
to the shoppes of Bristoll and so fourthe over seas..."¹ When Defoe
visited Glamorganshire, almost 150 years later, he observed that "the
low grounds were so well cover'd with grass and stock'd with cattle that
they supply the city of Bristol with butter in very great quantities
salted and barrell'd up just as Suffolk does the city of London".²

Since Elizabethan times, the ports of Glamorgan, particularly
those situated along the coast of the Vale, had provided an outlet through
which the surplus products of their pastoral-agricultural hinterland
could reach the Bristol and other West of England markets. Fortunately,
we have in the extant port books, despite their many deficiencies, a
general record of the cross-channel trade between Glamorgan and the West
of England for the greater part of our period.³ These records present a
picture of an agrarian society producing goods, not only for the local
markets, but also for the markets of the West of England. It does not
follow, however, that every small farmer in the county afforded surplus
products to be sent coastwise. Proximity to the English markets not only
provided additional chances and opportunities to sell the surplus farm
products that came from the Glamorgan countryside, but also served to keep

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1. Anglia Wallia. A transcript from Queen's Remembrancer Roll 4 Eliz.
in Arch.Camb., 1911, Vol.II, pp.423-424.
 2. Defoe; A tour through England and Wales. Everyman's edition, 1928.
Vol.II, p.55.
 3. M.I.Williams: 'A contribution to the commercial history of Glamorgan'
N.L.W.J. Vol.IX, 1955-56, pp.188-215; 334-353.
Idem. 'A further contribution...' Loc.cit., Vol.XI, pp.330-360;
Vol.XII, pp.58-81; pp.266-287; pp.353-369.

prices above the level that would have prevailed if 'demand' had been limited to the local markets.

At this point it should be explained that to conceive of a market simply in terms of a local centre for buying and selling of goods and articles may be quite misleading, and in the commercial links between Glamorgan and Bristol in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, we see a reflection of the wider significance of the term. It has been said that "no definite area can be assigned as large enough or small enough for a market. A local community, a city, a province may be a market".¹ The final consideration in defining the extent of an effective market turns around the level of prevailing prices, and the demand of the Bristol market certainly kept prices at a favourable level for the Glamorgan farmers. "London affects the price of meat everywhere", remarked Arthur Young, "and though veal and butter were cheap in Wales", he continued, "yet the prices of them were by no means those which arose from a home consumption alone, as I plainly perceived by the great quantities of provisions brought up in all the little ports of the Severn by the Bristol market boats".²

From the fifteenth century,³ the Welsh store-cattle trade with England has been steady, and on an extensive scale, in which the Welsh drovers acted as trading agents with London business houses as well as discharging their primary duties as selling-agents for stock.⁴

1. N.S.B.Grass: The evolution of the English corn market (Cambridge, 1915), pp.34-35

2. Arthur Young: Op.cit., p.329.

3. Professor H.P.R.Finberg has presented fresh evidence which carries the history of the Welsh cattle trade back to the middle of the 13th century. See A.H.R., II (1954), pp.12-14. 'An early reference to the Welsh cattle trade'.

4. Caroline Skeel: 'The cattle trade between Wales and England from the fifteenth to the nineteenth century' T.R.H.S., IX (1926), pp.135-158.

Glamorgan cattle were either driven on the hoof from local fairs to the English markets at Barnet and Smithfield, and elsewhere, or to the local ports such as Cardiff and Aberthaw, whence they were shipped to Bristol and Minehead, or to Sully where they were sent to Uphill¹ near Weston-super-mare, and then driven overland to Bristol, Bath, Exeter, and sometimes as far south as Plymouth and Portsmouth,² in order to be fattened.

There were many cattle fairs in the county, and one of the most famous of the livestock fairs was held annually on 26 August at St. Mary Hill, standing about 4 miles north of Bridgend. Cattle, sheep and horses were brought here in large numbers from the neighbouring farms, and then sold to dealers who came from all parts of the country. Then the local drovers - men like Walter Edwards, of Ystradyfodwg - would be engaged to drive the cattle to England, journeying there via Aberdare and Merthyr, and then across the Brecon Beacons and into Hereford.

Another important cattle fair in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries was Marchnad-y-waun near Merthyr Tydfil, which stood hard by a place called Waun Newydd where extensive grazing took place. Llantrisant fair was another important centre for the sale of cattle from the upland parishes of Llanwonno and Ystradyfodwg. Other cattle fairs of note were held at Penrice, in the Gower peninsula, at Neath, Cowbridge and Llandaff,

1. E. Lhuyd: Op.cit., p.45; M.I. Williams: Morgannwg III (1959), p.30n3.
2. N.L.W. MS.13089E.

near Cardiff where, in 1768 Arthur Young recorded that he "met such numbers of butchers with calves that I inquired if that little town could consume such a quantity of veal (it was market day); they told me the boats were ready in the river to buy for Bristol".¹

As already stated, large numbers of Glamorgan cattle were sent coastwise to the West of England. In this regard, the Welsh 'port books' reveal an aspect of the South Wales cattle trade which has been generally overlooked. Miss Skeel referred to the conveyance of cattle from Tenby, in Pembrokeshire, to Bridgewater, Watchet and Minehead. She also noted that "in 1670 a considerable number of bullocks (over 206) were shipped during January-June from Aberthaw to Minehead".² In fact, over 450 bullocks were shipped from Aberthaw to Minehead during Michaelmas 1669 to Michaelmas 1670³, and during two previous years, 1667 and 1669, the number of bullocks shipped from Aberthaw to the same destination was 700 and 850, respectively.⁴ Moreover, in 1666, at least 1,160 oxen and cows were exported from Sully to Uphill.⁵ It is interesting to observe that "31 Irish oxen and cowes" were also shipped to Minehead from Aberthaw in 1662.⁶ In 1720/21, 419 cattle and 35 horses were shipped off from Porteynon in Gower.⁷

It has been rightly contended that the Welsh cattle trade "furnished England with meat and Wales with money",⁸ but it also furnished

1. Arthur Young: 'A six weeks tour...' (London, 1768), p.260.

2. Skeel: Op.cit., p.149.

3. P.R.O. E.190/1278/1

4. P.R.O. E.190/1277/9; E.190/1277/2.

5. P.R.O. E.190/1277/7.

6. P.R.O. E.190/1090/1.

7. P. & M. 7175.

8. C.Skeel: Op.cit., p.155.

England with working oxen, thus enabling many English farmers to maintain a level of farming that might not have been possible without the supply of Welsh store cattle and working oxen. The inventories of some Essex farmers show that Welsh runts formed part of their stock. For example, John Mariage, who died in November 1686, had "five Welsh runts", and Richard Horsnaile of Writtle, who died in 1690, possessed "11 little Welsh runts (£14.13s. 4d.), and "43 Welsh sheep and lambs (£8.12s.)"¹. Kent farmers, too, fattened cattle which had been brought down from the Welsh mountains to the local fairs.²

It may be argued that the Glamorgan cattle trade with the Southern and Western counties of England manifested a traditional regional agricultural interdependence, where Welsh farmers reared store cattle to be finished off into prime beasts on English pastures - a pattern of production in which modern agricultural economists would see an example of a "vertical division of labour".³ Indeed, the contribution made by the hill farmers of Glamorgan to the rural economy of west and south-west England in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries is a subject worthy of a more detailed investigation.⁴

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1. F.W.Steer: Farm and cottage inventories of mid-Essex, 1635-1749. (Chelmsford,1950), pp.182,206. See also R.Trow-Smith: A History of British livestock husbandry to 1700 (London,1957), p.215.
 2. C.W.Chalklin: Seventeenth-century Kent (London,1965), p.99.
 3. Cf. Edgar Thomas: Introduction to agricultural economics (London,1949), p.72n.
 4. For a fairly full discussion on the Glamorgan cattle trade, see P.G. Hughes: 'Porthmona ym Morgannwg', T.S.C., 1946-47, pp.250-270. On the Welsh cattle trade in general, see P.G.Hughes: Wales and the drovers (London,1943) and C.S.Smith: 'Dafydd was a drover', Farmer's Weekly 4 January,1952, pp.34-35,37.

The fairly regular coastal traffic in Glamorgan livestock from Elizabethan times down to the beginning of the nineteenth century shows how closely aligned was the pastoral economy of Glamorgan to the Bristol market.¹

Calf skins, sheep skins, goat skins, coney skins, and even dog skins, frequently went coastwise to Minehead and Bristol. In 1666² over 3,500 hides and calve skins, 450 tanned hides, as well as several fardles of buckskins went from Cardiff alone to Bristol. Again, when the Five Brothers of Newton sailed for Bristol in January 1672, the cargo included "two fardles of deere skins" and "two fardles of conie skins".³ These items continued to figure prominently in the lists of cargoes leaving the Glamorgan ports until well into the eighteenth century.

Wool was exported in varying quantities from Glamorgan, and the trade records help to explain the significance of the large holdings of wool which many of the contemporary inventories disclose. For example, Jenkin Griffith, of Llangeinor, at the time of his death in 1679, had a quantity of wool valued at £9., which represented about 360 lb. of wool.⁴ Llewellyn Edwards, of Ystradfydwg, had 2,000 lb. of wool worth £50 when he died in 1688,⁵ whilst William Bowen, of Wick, whose inventory, made up in 1729, had £30 worth of wool, that is about 600 lb.⁶ Such quantities were obviously held for commercial purposes.

1. Dunster Castle MSS., Shelf 57, bundle 10.

2. P.R.O. E.190/1277/7.

3. P.R.O. E.190/1278/12.

4. P.R. (L1), 1679.

5. Ibid., 1688.

6. Ibid., 1729.

It seems fairly clear that some proportion of the annual wool crop would be sold direct at local fairs and markets to native consumers to be made up into cloth and into stockings. What remained was shipped across the channel to various centres such as Minehead, Bristol, Milverton, and Exeter, either through the farmer-dealer-merchant link, or direct to the clothier.¹ On 11 October 1616, the Harte of Aberthaw sailed to Minehead with "30 stones of Welsh wool" for Thomas Chilcott of Milverton 'a clothier'.²

Butter and cheese were exported in great quantities to Bristol and Somersetshire, and, as in the case of wool, the large holdings of these commodities accounted for in contemporary inventories make sense only when considered in relation to the coastal trade. It is said that Glamorgan butter stood "highest in fame at the markets of Bristol, Bath, etc., than any other county, Welsh or English".³ The "butter in casks" valued at £19, and the "88 cheeses" which Morgan David, of Llantrisant, had when he died in 1760, were almost certainly destined for the West Country.⁴ Similarly the "4 firkins and a tub of butter" valued at £6., and the "25 stone of cheese" valued at £3. 2s. 6d., belonging to William Thomas, also of the parish of Llantrisant in 1740, were for shipment to England.⁵ In the earlier part of the century (1637-1639), butter was sent from Glamorgan to Rochelle and Bordeaux, the ships (the Long Thomas

1. Cf. P.J.Bowden: The wool trade in Tudor and Stuart England (London, 1962), p.60.

2. P.R.O. E.190/1086/2.

3. N.L.W. MS.13,089E.

4. P.R. (11), 1760.

5. Ibid., 1740.

and Jonas of Aberthaw) returning with "wines, salt, acquabiters and nutts". The export of butter provided work for local coopers, and in the parish of St. Athan, for example, Richard Jones, cooper, was paid "for the cooping and mailing of every kilderkin of butter 1 penny, and for standing of every such kilderkin in the cellars before the shipping, 1d." There were, apparently, about 12 cellars at Aberthaw, traditionally known as the Booth Cellars, which were used for the "cellarage of wines, salt, and other goods as were brought home and landed..."¹

In passing, it should be noted that although some of the trade was illegal, it provided work for the local people, who, certainly benefited from the casual earnings they received for unloading and hauling contraband cargoes ashore, and stocking them in the cellars. It was said that as many as thirty persons were employed at a time on this work at Aberthaw. On one occasion it was stated that about twenty men and about twelve women were employed for about nine days "for the unloading of the Long Thomas of Aberthaw (burthen 80 tons), and the carrying of salt to the house of George Savour, for all of which time there was VI^d a day paid to every of the men and 4^d to every woman..."²

At the beginning of the seventeenth century, the Glamorgan butter trade was largely regulated by licence or letters patent. In 1619, the Society of Merchant Venturers of the City of Bristol obtained a share in a patent by virtue of which it had "libertie and auctoritie to buy within

1. P.R.O. E.134/23 Charles 1/Mich.1. Note: The freight of every kilderkin of butter from Aberthaw to Bristol was 6d.

2. Loc.cit.

the dominions of Wales the twae third parts of Fower thousand eighte hundred kinterkins of Welshe butter yeerely and to exporte the same any-where beyond the seas from the Portes of Bristoll and Barnstable with the members thereof, Cardiffe and Chepstowe, or any other portes in South Wales".¹

London merchants,² also, were involved in the Welsh butter trade. For instance, William Herbert, of Cogan Pill, Glamorganshire, had granted certain rights to a John Pennington, of London, which he was anxious to recover.³ But the export of butter from Glamorgan in the early part of the seventeenth century must be studied mainly in relation to the monopolies which Bristol merchants exerted in this branch of trading activities. Their sphere of influence was certainly well supervised, for we find that "Att a generall meetinge of the whole Society and Company of Merchantes Adventurers of the citty of Bristoll" held on 11 May 1639, "the Adventurers for transportacion of butter by vertue of his maiesties letters patentes in that behalfe grannted did agree and allott unto every adventurer what proporcion and parte every of them should deale in...And then for that yeere were appoynted Roger Williams and Thomas Younge of Newport, Robert Ragland, Thomas Kimborne and Richard Jones, of Cardiffe, Ellis Price of Swansea and Atwell Tayler of Carmarthen, to be buyers of butter for the saide Adventurers, and each buyer to have a deputation from

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1. P. MacGrath: 'Records relating to the Society of Merchant Venturers of the City of Bristol in the 17th Century'. Bristol Rec. Soc. Publ., Vol. 17, 1951, p. 120.
 2. See P.R.O. E.134/23 Charles 1/Mich. 1.
 3. Bute MS. 132/A/12.

the undertakers soe to doe". Moreover, four Bristol coopers were appointed "to visite search and allowe of the goodness of the said butter, and the sufficiency of Coopinge and tryming the Caske".¹ The patent which was granted to the above Merchant Venturers lapsed at the Restoration.²

A full account of exports from the ports and creeks of Glamorgan during our period of study would require a separate volume. Sufficient has been said, however, to present a qualitative account of the principal agricultural exports from Glamorgan to the West of England. They consisted of the surplus products of the pastoral-agricultural hinterland, as well as the products of the rural industries. In fact, the evidence examined shows that the commercial activities of the eastern part of Glamorgan between 1666 and 1730, were very similar in character to what they had been in Elizabethan times. But this was in sharp contrast to the state of commerce in the rest of Wales, for "of the total outward sailings from Welsh ports in 1688, both on coasting and foreign sides" it has been estimated that on a general average "about 90 per cent were coal shipments"³ If, as has been contended, the pre-eminence of Welsh coal was the chief raison d'être of Welsh maritime activity in 1688, this was certainly not true of that stretch of coastline between Cardiff and Newton. Nevertheless, the port books show that there was a fairly regular export of coal from Swansea, Neath, Briton Ferry, and, to a lesser extent, Newton, during

1. P. MacGrath: Op.cit., p.125.

2. Loc.cit., 118.

3. E.A. Lewis: 'Maritime trade of Wales in Stuart times...' in Times Trade and Engineering Supplement, 6 December, 1924.

our period. This was only to be expected, for it was merely a reflection of the groundswell of industrial enterprises, which we have already briefly discussed.

Most of the coal and culm exports went in English bottoms. The John, Betty, and Primrose, of Minehead, the Marygold, Swift, Endeavour, Truelove, Mayflower and Lyon of Watchet, the Samaritan of Bridgewater, the Exchange of Porlock, and the Blessing of Ilfracombe, sailed constantly from Neath and Swansea, carrying from between 10 and 34 chaldrons of coals at a time. Most of the coal produced in Glamorgan was probably sent coast-wise, as did the coal and culm sold from the customary lands of Thomas Price, of Trewyddfa, near Swansea. Between September 1732 and September 1733, of the total of 194 weys of coal and culm produced at Trewyddfa, 28 weys only were "sold at the pit", while 166 weys were "sold to sea".¹

Out-going cargoes sometimes included quantities of lead and iron ore. On 6 November 1666, the Mayflower of Cardiff, sailed for Bristol with 6 tons of lead ore on board, while on 20 November, the Lyon of Cardiff carried 12 tons of the ore to the same destination.² Similarly, in July 1680 the Speedwell of Newton sailed to Bristol with 12 tons of lead ore, as well as 2 tons of freestone. Such exports, however, were very rare. But it should be noted that local supplies of lead were limited, and the local efforts to win the ore were short-lived.

1. Badm. (Group 2), No.2065.

2. P.R.O. E.190/1277/7.

Imports

In-coming cargoes from the West of England to the ports of Glamorgan invariably included some of the following goods: broadcloth, serges, kerseys, canvas, mercery ware, leather, 'sacke', Spanish wine, tobacco, perfumes, oil, pitch, rozen, soap, oxbows, reap-hooks, shovels, earthenware, salt, fruit, etc. For example, on 9 June, 1662, the Elizabeth and Jane of Aberthaw arrived from Minehead with "4 hogsheads of French wine, 9 pieces of serge, one broadcloth, one piece of kersey". Again, on 26 September 1662, the Margaret of Newton left Minehead with "3 packs of mercery wares, 1 pack of candle wax, 4 pockets containing 8 pieces of lockrams, and a truss containing 6 serges, five hundredweight of tan'd leather, 3 rolls cont. 250 ells of Vittry and Hall canvas".¹ On 11 February 1700, the William of Aberthaw returned from Bristol loaded, inter alia with 108 hides and bends of leather, $\frac{1}{2}$ ton of soap, 40 trusses of linnen, 10 dozen sieves, 200 shot, 2 baskets of tobacco pipes, and earthen ware, 2 dozen chairs, 12 runlets of oil, brandy and vinegar, 1 bag of cordage, 2 hundredweight of pitch and rozen, 1 tun of grocery, 3 hampers of Spanish wine, ten bags of tobacco containing 1821 pounds.²

The goods imported into Glamorgan eventually found their way to the shops in the villages and market towns, and they are reflected in dozens of shop inventories of our period. It was principally through these distributive centres that all those who could afford them, acquired

1. P.R.O. E.190/1090/1.

2. I.A.W. MS.16. (1700).

the most sophisticated articles of consumption that the Bristol market could offer. The multifarious items which were imported into Glamorgan from the West of England signalled the growing needs of certain sections of an agrarian society which was closely geared to the West of England. Perfumes and powders, which were held in high esteem in the seventeenth century, may have represented the personal requirements of the more well-to-do classes of the community in much the same way as did brandy, 'sacke', Spanish wine¹ and tobacco. Woollen cloths, such as bays, Dunsters, Barnstables, Bridgewaters, serges and kerseys, probably represented the needs of the rising middle classes in the matter of dress and costume.

It has been argued that it was the gentry and the well-to-do who obtained "every article of consumption both in and out of the house" from Bristol - the Welsh metropolis.² But the importation of 'lockrams', 'dowlas' and 'Vittry canvas' suggests that the poorer classes also benefited from the Bristol trade. Lockrams were pieces of coarse, loosely woven, linen fabrics of various qualities used in making shirts, neck wear etc. of the poorer sections of the community. In the seventeenth century, 'dowlas' was another coarse linen fabric used by the poorer people for making shirts and aprons.³

The ramifications of the trade of the ports and creeks of Glamorgan are a positive warning against regarding the county as an

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1. Thomas Wyndham, of Dunraven Castle, still had his port wine shipped from Bristol to Newton, and carted to Dunraven late in the eighteenth century.
 2. A.H. John: 'Iron and coal on a Glamorgan estate, 1700-1740'. Econ.Hist. Rev., Vol.IV, 1951, p.98.
 3. G.W. and P.Cunnington: Handbook of English costume in the 16th century (London, 1954), p.199.

isolated and self-sufficing community. The evidence of the port books, and that of the probate inventories reveals a circulation of commerce with "an influence far beyond the ports from which, or to which, goods were shipped".¹

In the final analysis, however, it must be emphasised that during our period, agriculture and its ancillary occupations still remained the economic foundation of society in Glamorgan. Most of the people who participated in industry and commerce had a direct interest in agriculture. Moreover, it is clear that behind the activities of the ports and creeks were groups of men who, together, formed a complex organisation which served both the agricultural hinterland and the small, but scattered, local industrial ventures. But, as we shall show, agriculture remained their sheet anchor.

The mariners and merchants

Hitherto, little has been written about the Glamorgan 'mariners' of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the men who owned the ships that carried the surplus commodities of the countryside and those who sailed in them as their proud 'masters'. There were, for instance, the Greenfields, the Brewers and the Steadmans of Cardiff, the Spencers, Sweets, and Hollands, of Aberthaw, Penmark, and St. Athan, the Leyshons,

1. Cf. T.S. Willan: The English coasting trade, 1600-1750 (Manchester, 1938), p. 192.

Bowens and Spencers of Newton, the Beynons, the Williamses, the Davieses and the Maddox family of Swansea and Oystermouth, and many others who will forever remain anonymous. Although they were often described as mariners, many of them, in fact, combined sea-faring with agricultural pursuits. Morgan Hawkin, of Sully, described as a 'saylor', besides being the owner of half-a-quarter-share in the vessel Speedwell, possessed "6 kine, 15 old sheepe, and 12 lambs, 1 pig and 1 mare". His total personal estate amounted to £35. 3s. 4d., of which £8 was in respect of his share in the Speedwell.¹ These individuals formed a hard core of a rising commercial class.

Richard Robins, of Lavernock, was a typical example of the more affluent farmer-mariners who were well represented throughout the countryside between Cardiff and the 'port' of Newton. His agricultural wealth consisted of 12 milch cows and 2 young calves - £39; 8 oxen - £26; - 6 steers - £13.13s.; 13 yearling beast - £16. 5s.; 11 weaned calves - £5; mares and colts - £10; 80 sheep - £20; 50 lambs - £6. 5s.; and 17 acres of corn - £30. His 'maritime' capital included "an old bark...called y^e Providence" albeit "much decay'd", which was valued at £20, and "a half share of a vessel called the Joseph" worth £100. The total inventory of his goods, after his death in 1714, was valued at £347.12s.10d.²

In the parish of Penmark, the Spencer family had for over a century figured prominently in the activities of the port of Aberthaw.

1. P.R. (L1), 1655.

2. Ibid., 1714.

The most successful member of the family was probably Thomas Spencer who died in 1682. Described as a 'mariner', he owned an eight-roomed house at Penmark, and another six-roomed house at Aberthaw. His agricultural possessions at both these places were valued at £125.19s. 6d., while his share in 'two barks', the Blessing and Elizabeth of Aberthaw amounted to £100. The returns from his capital outlay on the two vessels, due to him at the time of his death, amounted to £10. 6s. 6d., part of which was in the hands of Arthur Sweet,¹ who operated as 'master' and 'merchant' over many years in the cross-channel trade from Aberthaw. Indeed, the port of Aberthaw had long maritime tradition, for many of the inhabitants of the neighbourhood had combined sea-faring with agriculture, and had over the years, earned the reputation of being good seamen "fit for H.M.Service". In the early part of the seventeenth century over 20 families are said to have "procured the greatest part of their sustenance by means of the open and free trade of the harbour of Aberthaw".²

The renowned Robert Jones (1706?-1742)³, of Fonmon Castle, in the parish of Penmark, a close friend and follower of Charles Wesley, possessed "two-thirds of the little vessel" which was valued at £37.10s., "two-thirds of the great vessell with the timber in the yard" worth £50., "two-thirds of the law boat" worth £8., and the old boat which was valued

1. P.R. (L1), 1682.

2. C.C.L. MS.2.111(4/11).

3. He married Mary, the daughter of Robert Forrest, of Minehead, and entertained John Wesley on many occasions when the great divine visited Glamorgan. See D.W.B. (London,1958).

at £1. - all of which were in Aberthaw harbour. His interests in the boats amounted to £96.10s., whilst his implements of husbandry were worth £27. 1s. 6d. When he died, in 1742, his personal estate was worth £2,801.15s.11½d¹

Many persons were styled 'gentlemen' and 'yeomen', yet they had extensive interest in the coasting trade as well as in farming. One of the foremost 'gentlemen' of the Vale of Glamorgan who had an interest in agriculture and commerce was Henry Hill, of St.Athan. He held property in more than one county, and when he died in 1666, his personal estate was valued at £1,135.10s., of which £100 was in respect of "a barque or vessell called the Speedwell. His household stuff was worth £50, his wearing apparell £50, and he had £100 in 'ready money'.² Similarly, William Jenkins, of Sully, yeoman, left personal estate worth £93.19s. Od., of which his "Right in two quarters and a half in y^e boats at Sully" accounted for £50, and his livestock and crops for only £33.³

Further west, near the port of Newton, lived David Bowen, who died in 1688, leaving three parts of the trow called Anne of Newton to his nephew Thomas Bowen, and the fourth part to Edward Wyn. The Anne was valued at £35. This represented a little less than a third part of his personal estate of £96.10s., which included his crops, livestock and implements of husbandry, all valued at £22.10s.⁴

1. G.R.O. D/DF F.17.

2. P.R. (L1), 1666.

3. Ibid., 1728.

4. Ibid., 1688.

Another mariner from Newton was William Leyshon, who died in 1695, leaving an estate valued at £597., of which £130 was in respect of "one trow wth all her rigging and appurtenances" and £100 in respect of "one barque". His corn within and "in the ground" was worth £30., while his stock, which included 4 oxen, 3 cows, 7 young beast, 4 horses and 2 cowlts, sheep of all sorts, was worth £67.10s. He also possessed "a parcell of saulte" valued at £50., and "p'cell of iron" worth £30.¹ Leyshon undoubtedly represented a small, but increasing, number of Glamorgan merchant-farmers who were, in fact, smallcapitalists, some of whom invested in local industrial ventures, some in land, some in shipping.

It is worth observing that before the introduction of regular banking into Glamorgan, merchants and drovers, whose profits were mainly derived from the sale of agricultural products, played an important part in providing credit facilities for local industrialists. When the earliest banks were founded in South Wales during the last decades of the eighteenth century, they were in the market towns of Brecon, Abergavenny and Carmarthen, and even in the third decade of the nineteenth century continued to be "mainly agricultural in their interest"², although Sir Herbert Mackworth's bank at Neath and Swansea from 1783-1791 was probably closely linked with Mackworth's industrial enterprises at Neath.³

1. P.R. (L1), 1695.

2. A.H.John: The industrial development of S.Wales 1750-1850 (Cardiff, 1950), p.47. See also D.J.Davies: Economic history of S.Wales prior to 1800 (Cardiff, 1933), pp.99-100.

3. I am indebted to Mr.R.O.Roberts, M.A. (University College, Swansea) for this information.

We again find ample evidence of the merchant-farmer class between Briton Ferry and Oystermouth in Gower, where the Maddox family was extensively involved in the maritime trade. Thomas Maddox, for example, the son of William Maddox, a shipwright, was described as a 'merchant' owning a quarter part of each of three ships, the Sarah, the Sea-fairie, and the Five Brothers, as well as lands and houses in the town of Swansea.¹ Of the same family was David Maddox, mariner, who owned a third part of "a vessel" valued at £30., one small 'lighter' valued at £10, and "two old drudging boats". His two daughters, Anne and Elizabeth were married eventually to William Williams, shipwright, and John Thomas, mariner, respectively.²

Swansea, in particular, had its share of merchants - men like John Williams (d.1669) who owned a moiety of a vessel called the Endeavour in the port of Swansea, valued at £50. The other moiety of this vessel belonged to Richard Morse, of Swansea, who died in 1665, having assigned to his wife "All my parte and share of the good barque...called the Desire of Swansea (burth.40 tons)...also my moytie...of the Endeavour of Swansea (burth.40 tons) now on the stocks on the strand of the sd. towne".³ Another merchant was Mathew Davies, who lived "at a mansion house" in Castle Bailey Street, and had property in several counties,⁴ whilst Samuel Hughes, also of Swansea, "owned half...of one vessel called the Richard and

1. P.R. (S.D.), 1730.

2. Ibid., 1715.

3. Ibid., 1665.

4. P.C.C. 13 Exton.

Margsrett, and a third part of another vessel called the Samuell" all valued at £30.¹ John Beynon was a Swansea mariner who, besides his "parte of a vessel at sea" valued at £10, possessed "1 cow, calves, 1 sow and 3 piggs".²

The town of Neath, also, had its families of mariners, such as the Witheridge family. William and John appear to have been entirely dependent on sea-faring for their livelihood. William Witheridge possessed capital in the form of "one moytie of the good vessel or barque called the Blessinge of Neath wth the mast, sayles, cable corde, anchors and boate..." valued at £70.³

In the neighbourhood of Briton Ferry, Thomas Morgan was one of several mariners. He owned "one moytie of the good barque or vessel called the Patience" valued at £30, as well as "one stone boat now (in 1690) on the stocks" which was valued at £15. His maritime capital amounted to £45., out of a gross personal estate of £78.15s. Od.⁴

The coastal trade that was conducted by the merchants and mariners through the small ports of Glamorgan continued until the beginning of the nineteenth century, when changes were taking place in the pattern of the trade. These vicissitudes coincided with the changing pattern of society in Glamorgan generally, and were effected mainly by the re-distribution of population following on the growth and development of the 'works'

1. P.R. (S.D.), 1670.

2. Ibid., 1665.

3. P.R. (L1), 1682.

4. Ibid., 1690/1

at Merthyr, Aberdare, the Rhondda valley and elsewhere, which started at the beginning of the eighteenth century. Whereas during our period much of the surplus agricultural products of Glamorgan went to help feed the urban population of Bristol and other West of England towns and cities, the nineteenth century witnessed more and more of that surplus being redirected locally and taken valley-wards to help feed the growing industrial population of the Glamorgan hills. In time the little ports and creeks of Newton, Sully, and Aberthaw fell into a state of desuetude, and time and tide have left little visible evidence of their former activities. Today, for example, it is difficult to realise that Aberthaw was once styled "the port of the Vale", for on the site of the old port now stands a gigantic power station which symbolises a phase in the history of society in Glamorgan twice removed from the seventeenth and eighteenth century setting of which the merchants, the mariners and their ships, formed such an essential and conspicuous part.

THE GROUNDSWELL OF INDUSTRY

1700-1760

Chapter 9

MANUFACTORIES AND THE GROWTH OF URBAN AREAS

The word 'industrial' was not current in the seventeenth century.¹ Even in the early decades of the nineteenth century, the terms generally used in published and unpublished writings relating to Wales, to describe the organisation by which raw materials were converted into more elaborate articles for sale were 'works' and 'manufactories'.² Consequently, when we employ the term 'industry' to our period "we must rid our imagination of the accretions of two centuries that have associated it with urban life, with a clear division of capital in the shape of factories, plant and machinery..."³

'Industrialism', as distinct from the rural industries, came only to certain areas in the hills and littoral regions of Glamorgan. It is customary to consider its development almost exclusively from c. 1760 onwards. Although our period falls outside the normally recognised stages of 'industrialisation'⁴, we shall see that throughout the century that preceded the year 1760, numerous small-scale 'works' and 'manufactories' had been established in many areas of the county, more particularly in the neighbourhood of Briton Ferry, Neath, and Swansea, where the unmistakable

1. Charles Wilson: England's apprenticeship, 1603-1763 (London, 1965), p.66.

2. Cf. Walter Davies: General view of agriculture and domestic economy (London, 1815), Vol. II, pp.319, 448; John Evans: Letters written during a tour through S. Wales (London, 1804), pp.165-8.

3. Charles Wilson: Op.cit., p.66.

4. See J.F.Rees: Studies in Welsh history (Cardiff, 1947), pp.130-148.

features of urban and industrial life were already discernible. The year 1760 does not, as is sometimes implied, herald the beginning of the industrialisation of Glamorgan; it is merely an arbitrary date to mark a slight quickening of the pulse of existing industrial activities. The population of Glamorgan in 1670, as we have shown earlier, cannot have been in excess of 50,000. In 1801, it was still only 70,879, of which 7,700 persons, or nearly one in every ten, resided in the industrial neighbourhood of Merthyr, while another 6,821 resided in Swansea, and a mere 1,870 in Cardiff. But by 1851, the population total stood at 231,849, and by 1901 it had reached a staggering total of 859,931. Looked at from another angle, we find that in 1831, 24 per cent of all the families in the county were still employed in agriculture, as compared with the 34 per cent engaged in trade, manufactures, and handicrafts.¹ But in 1891 only 2.2 per cent of the whole population was engaged in agriculture, whilst industrial occupations claimed 41.1 per cent of the people.² It should be argued, therefore, that the industrial 'revolution' in Glamorgan did not, in fact, take place until late in the nineteenth century. Professor J.U.Nef has suggested in another context that the rise of industrialism in Great Britain may be more properly regarded as a long process extending from the middle of the sixteenth century, and culminating in the industrial state at the end of the nineteenth century

1. Census, 1831.

2. M.I.Williams: Observations on the population changes in Glamorgan 1800-1900. Glamorgan Historian (Ed.Stewart Williams), Vol.1, pp.117-8.

"than a sudden phenomenon associated with the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries".¹ However, we are at present only concerned with the impact of the growth of industry on the agrarian economy of Glamorgan during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

Timber and Metals

The growth of early industrial enterprises in Glamorgan depended almost entirely on the abundant supplies of timber that were available over large areas of the county. In 1578, Rice Merrick², the renowned Glamorgan historian of Cottrell, near St.Nicholas, listed about forty-one woods and forests "whereof", he says "many in our dayes, about Iron Milles, were spoyled and consumed".³ In later years, the increasing demand for timber in local smelting works gave a new value to agricultural produce, and enhanced the value of neighbouring woodlands and coppices from which charcoal could be produced for iron smelting, and pit-wood and pit-props could be cut.⁴ It has been estimated that the wood from an acre of forest was required to produce three tons of iron.⁵ Therefore, the presence of an iron works often resulted in the deforestation of extensive tracts of land, some of which, in turn, became accessible for agricultural use.

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1. E.M.Carus Wilson (ed.): Essays in economic history (1954), Vol.1, p.105.
 2. A Booke of Glamorganshires Antiquities, by Rice Merrick, 1578.
Ed.by J.A.Corbett (London,1887), pp.114-5.
 3. Ibid., p.12.
 4. Cf. J.H.Clapham: An economic history of modern Britain: the railway age.
(Cambridge,1926), p.13.
 5. D.J.Davies: The economic history of S.Wales prior to 1800 (Cardiff,1933), pp.75-6.

Forges and furnaces had been set up in many parts of the county long before 1760. One of the earliest of these ventures was the Aberdulais smelting-works near Neath, which was started in 1584/5, and drew its supplies of copper ore from the Cornish mines.¹ The 'works' at Llwydcoed in the Cynon (Aberdare) Valley, at Penbwh in Llantrisant, in Llanwonno, and the Taff Valley are further examples of the early industrial ventures.²

A survey of Hafod-y-porth and Margam in 1633, refers to the existence of two iron mines in the manor, one at Bryn and the other at Cwmavan. The surrounding country was covered with timber, a feature reflected in place-names such as Forest Nant Herbert, Forest Adam, Argoed, Tewgoed and Wernderi. The neighbourhood of Coity, near Bridgend, was also a centre of early industrial activity. When Ann Gamage, of Penyrallt, in the parish of Coity died in 1679, she had bequeathed to her son two chattel leases, one of which she described as "situated by the gwayth irhan³ (i.e. gwaith haearn = iron works). Almost a century previously, in 1589, Sir Robert Sidney and his wife Barbara sold to John Thornton and John Savage, all the iron 'myne' on their manor in Coyty Anglia, together with the timber for the making of 'coles' for ironworks, with liberty "to

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1. M.B.Donald: Op.cit., pp.344-5. Note: One of the pioneers of the Cornish copper mines was William Carnsewe, a Cornish squire from Bokelly near Bodmin, whose mother was Jane Stradling, of St.Donat's.
 2. 'Sussex ironmasters in Glamorganshire'. W.Llewellyn in Arch.Camb. Vol.IX, (1863), pp.81-119; Thomas Bevan in Trans.Cardiff Naturalists' Society, Vol.LXXXVI (1956-57), pp.5-12.
 3. P.R. (11), 1679.

build a work for smelting, making and casting iron sows, to make iron by forge or furnace or other means".¹ In 1611, Viscount L'isle's forest of Coed-y-mwstwr, of about 500 acres, which stood almost adjacent to the parish of Coity, was let at 4s. per acre.² A local bard, Thomas ab Ieuan ap Rhys, had earlier lamented the fact that there was neither shelter nor firewood available in Coed-y-mwstwr because of these iron works - "ni chair klydwr ynghoed mwstwr/na phrenn ar dan, gan waith haearn".³

The prolific supplies of timber and coal with which Nature had favoured Glamorgan had further originated and fostered a considerable degree of regional economic interdependence which is particularly manifested in the history of the Cornish copper mines.⁴ For example, we find in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries that John Otes had received from Glamorgan "a freight of timber and necessities for the works"⁵ at St. Ives, while timber from the same source had also been exported to the mines at St. Just "for to bind the work".⁶ Another instance of regional interdependence may be found in the activities of Sir Humphrey Mackworth of Neath, and the Company of Mines Adventurers formed in 1695 for smelting copper, and the extraction of silver out of lead ore. He "built at great expense" in the Neath area "a number of workhouses for smelting lead and copper ore, for extracting silver out of lead, and for making lytharge and

1. H.M.C.: Manuscripts of De L'isle and Dudley, Vol.1, pp.xxx, 316-21, 413-14.

2. Ibid., Vol.V, pp.29-30.

3. Hen Gwddidau (Bangor, 1910), p.30, lines 14-16.

4. See M.B.Donald: Elizabethan Copper... (London, 1955), pp.344-5; Also Lionel Williams: 'A sixteenth century example of regional interdependence...' Morgannwg, Vol.III, pp.3-20.

5. M.B.Donald: Op.cit., pp.344-5.

6. M.B.Donald: Op.cit., p.354.

red lead".¹ Much of the lead ore was produced from the lead mines of Cardiganshire, and shipped in relatively large quantities to Neath,² where it was subsequently manufactured. In Neath in the sixteenth century, "Richard Vyvyan, called Trenowitche, had been building ships which he accompted to doe with less charges there than heere in Cornewall by reason of the good store of tymber there..."³

The multifarious demands made on local arboriculture are again manifested in a number of contracts drawn up in 1729 between Bussy Mansell of Margam, and the Commissioners for H.M.Navy, to deliver quantities of timber to the Naval stores at Portsmouth and Plymouth.⁴ The wider economic significance of such an undertaking lay in the immediate demand that arose for local labour to prepare and to convey the timber from the 'woods' to the quay side. A contract was, in fact, subsequently entered into with William Morgan Evan, of Llansamlet, yeoman, "to hall (sic) draw and carry the said timber" from the wood called Craigvelen to the Upper Coal Bank near White Rock in Llansamlet. These operations involved "finding, providing and procuring a good and sufficient way or passage through Y Vaerdre, in Llangyfelach to y^e highway near Melynyvrane in Llansamlet and to repair the same as occasion arises".⁵ These sundry tasks provided additional opportunities for employment, particularly for

1. B.M. 522 M12(2).

2. B.M. 522 M12(28).

3. Stradling Correspondence, pp.271-2.

4. P.& M. Nos.6668-6682 (refer to the period 1732-1745).

5. P.& M. No.6673. Cf. No.6104.

the unskilled workers within the agricultural economy. In this way, too, much of the 'hidden' unemployment of the countryside was temporarily relieved. Moreover, the stripping and carrying of bark from the felled trees, before they were carried away, were operations in which both women and men were employed. In April 1740, on parts of Lord Beaufort's estates, Sussi Lewis and Margaret Hopkins were each paid a ls. for "loading the carts with bark from St.Hillings to Swansea Key for 2 days at 6d. per day". Similarly, William Rosser and his wife, who were employed on the same work "with their two horses" were paid 1s.4d. per day".¹

Again, in the year 1688, Rees Edwards, a timber merchant of Brecknock, agreed to pay Sir Edward Mansell of Margam, Thomas Carne, the elder, and Thomas Carne, the younger, of Nash, the sum of fifteen shillings per ton for one hundred and fifty ashen trees which were "standing or lying in Heol Wood in the parish of Llandough, Glamorgan", and which he had undertaken to sell to four Somersetshire coopers, viz. Francis Sanders and Aron Browne of Cannington, William Hussey of North Petherton, and Henry Player of Bridgewater, for £100. The wood so bargained was to be cut and taken as and when required over a period of two years.²

Locally, there was a regular demand for timber to build and repair some of the small vessels that were employed in the cross-channel trade with England. An indication of the amount of timber that went into the building of a 'coaster' at the end of the seventeenth century is given

1. Badm. (Group 2), No.11,763.

2. P.& M. No.2625.

in the following account¹ sent by Mr. Morgan Waters to the "Right Hon^{ble} Thomas Lord Mansel for timber and other materialls had towards building his vessel on Cunfig Burus" (Kenfig Boroughs):

	£.	s.	d.
In the first place had by contractt three elums that was winfallun in the rookry and 7 tuns that was pickt out of the rows of timber that was falun in the park...	11.	0.	0.
Also from the same place three tuns att 1s.4d. per tun ...	3.	15.	0.
Also from Cum Cunfig 8½ tuns att y ^e same rate ...	10.	12.	6.
Also for 33 dealbords being duble drams toward the weskotting of the cabin att 2s.6d. per bord. ...	4.	2.	6.
Also for 70 foot of Elum planks being three insis and a half thick att 7d. per foot ...	1.	10.	10.
Also for 200 - ½ for nails att 3s.4d. per 100 ...	0.	8.	4.
Also for 700 - att 2s. per hundred ...	0.	14.	0.
Also for 300 - att 1s. per hundred ...	0.	3.	0.
Also for 900 - att 8d. per hundred ...	0.	6.	0.
Also for 900 - att 6d. per hundred ...	0.	4.	6.
Also for 1100 for 4d. Sprigs ...	0.	3.	8.
	<u>£33.. 0. 4.</u>		

Besides the local demand for timber for commercial, industrial and domestic purposes, the records of cargoes shipped from Glamorgan to the West of England during the seventeenth century show that 'spokes', 'barrell staves', and 'trenells' were frequently exported in fair quantities.² Contemporary wills also serve to emphasise the high premium placed on timber as a source of wealth. For example, William Phillips, a mercer of Swansea, who died in 1716, had instructed his executors to "fell, fall all the timber growing on my demesne lands called Llanerch wth in the parish of Swansea...for and towards the payment of my debts."³

1. P. & M. No. 6113.

2. M. I. Williams: 'A contribution to the commercial history of Glamorgan' N. L. W. J. Vol. IX (1955-56), p. 353. Cf. P. & M. Nos. 6668-82.

3. P. R. (S. D.), 1716.

New smelting furnaces continued to be erected during the first half of the eighteenth century, and these were often detrimental to local agriculture. Farmers whose lands were situated near to these new enterprises frequently suffered losses because of the damage to their crops and lands. In an account of the estate of William David, of Pentyrch, who died in 1742, it is stated that he had "half an acre of barley in the ground which was grazed and trod down by the horses belonging to the new furnace, and for that reason was not worth above 12 shillings".¹

The fuel requirements of the many smelting works in Glamorgan had, by the first half of the eighteenth century, resulted in a serious reduction in local supplies of timber. In 1779 there were behind Margam house about "three hundred acres of woodland".² But in 1759, an indenture made out between Jane Talbot (and others) and William Coles, of Neath, regarding the felling of timber for charcoal to be used in the Aberavan forge stipulated that the timber was to be cut in proper season for barking and stripping, and that the horses carrying charcoal had to "be muzzled in such manner as that they shall not graze or browse the lands or young growth in the woods where the said timber and wood shall be fallen..."³

The indiscriminate felling of timber belonged to the past. Meanwhile, the exploitation of the county's coal deposits had started. The smelting of one ton of copper, for example, required about 20 tons of coal. If,

1. LL/CC/P.660, 1742.

2. H.M.C. Earl of Verulam MSS. p.255.

3. P.& M. No.3666. Cf. T.S.Ashton: Op.cit., p.43.

then, by the end of the eighteenth century two-thirds of all the copper smelted in the kingdom were smelted in Swansea,¹ the demand for coal must have reached correspondingly high proportions.

An indication of the extent to which the demands of industry had changed the face of the county by the end of the eighteenth century is given by the Rev. Walter Davies, who observed that formerly, Glamorgan estates were sold at an inferior price "in consequence of their being crowded with timber", but by about 1800, the situation had so changed "that a few straggling trees and even coppices of sapplings are to be taken at an exclusive valuation by the purchaser of an estate by auction". The valleys lying in close proximity to the iron works had been "stripped of their grown timber" although the more remote areas of Ystradfyfodwg, Llanwonno, Glynogwr, and Llangynwyd were still heavily wooded.²

The manufacture of iron had, moreover, given rise to a number of ancillary occupations in which different categories of workmen were employed. An account of the wages paid out to the workmen at a Glamorgan iron works in the late sixteenth century indicates that there were, for example, the founders and their fellows, the fillers, the washers and the burners, and a clerk, besides the colliers, the wood-cutters, the coal carriers, wood carriers and the hammermen.³

Many of those who were engaged in unskilled industrial operations were also part-time agriculturists, sometimes employed in haulage work,

1. R. Ayton: Op.cit., p.68.

2. Walter Davies: Op.cit., Vol. II, pp.19,27.

3. H.M.C. Report on the MSS. of Lord De l'Isle and Dudley. Vol.I, pp.316-321.

for which they often used their own horses and carts. The furnace which had been erected at Whitchurch in the late seventeenth century¹, for example, had attracted local agriculturists who became employed as hauliers. Typical of this class was Morgan Howell, of Whitchurch, yeoman who, at the time of his death in 1722, had "money due to him for lime and for carrying coales and stones to the furnace".²

Coal and Metals.

Long before its adoption into the smelting processes, coal had been utilised in the burning of lime for use in local agriculture, and for domestic purposes. In the wills of the seventeenth and eighteenth century, home-consumed coal was always classified as either "lime-coal" or "fire-coal". Hopkin Popkins, for instance, who died in 1666, owned several mines in Llansamlet and Llangyfelach, desired that his son, David Popkin, should ensure that his wife "shall have her fire-coal and lime-coal" from the coal works at Llangyfelach.³ But by the second half of the seventeenth century, coal had been recognised as a valuable commercial commodity and, in consequence, a number of small capitalists had emerged who were intent on exploiting local coal deposits within the limits imposed upon them by contemporary mining techniques.⁴ As early as 1642, Richard

1. See P.R. (L1), 1692. (Lewis Morgan).

2. F.R. (L1), 1722.

3. P.R. (S.D.), 1666.

4. For a detailed account of the extent and methods of coal mining in west Glamorgan, see M.Williams: 'Early coal mining in Clyne Valley'. Gower, XI, 1958, pp.17-21. Vide also B.M.522 ML2(37).

Seys, who owned Clyne Forest and Clyne Moor, obtained a grant "for digginge of coales in Clyne Forest and elsewhere".¹ But without a doubt, the most notable of the early industrial capitalists was Sir Humphrey Mackworth who, it is said, estimated that his coal works in Neath had brought him a return of over £40,000 between 1695 and 1705.²

From the early decades of the seventeenth century, many local peasant farmers, as well as 'gentlemen farmers' had been gradually getting richer than their neighbours by judiciously combining agriculture with commercial and industrial activities. For instance, when John Williams, of Llanrhidian, in Gower, died in 1655, he possessed lands called 'Hugh John Rise', and 'Thomas Halling' and the 'Crosse', and owned "one halfe of the coale worked now in Kaerodyn". He was the owner of a "barke called the Endeavour of Burry and half parte of the lighter called the William of Burry and a littell lighter called the Flower" as well as "my great boate."³ Much earlier in the century, Hopkin Price, of Neath, had owned lands called 'Keven Sayson Yssa' and 'Kydynogge Vawr', together with "mynes and vaynes of cooles" in the parish of Llansamlet.⁴ In the eastern half of the county, the inventory of the possessions of Edward Herbert, of Cogan, near Penarth, a 'gentleman farmer', shows that he possessed agricultural stock valued at £76, and held "one grant under y^e

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1. For a list of early Gower enterprises, see R.P.Roberts: 'The history of coalmining in Gower from 1700-1832'. (University of Wales M.A. thesis, 1953, pp.49-79).
 2. B.M.Evans: 'The Welsh coal trade during the Stuart period, 1603-1709'. (University of Wales M.A. thesis, 1928, p.84).
 3. P.C.C. Berkeley 58.
 4. P.C.C. Dixy 81. (1584-1604).

Earl of Pembroke of y^e coaleworks and lymekilnes within y^e parish of Merthyr Didvill (sic) for 99 years".¹ Again, William Edward, yeoman, of Eglwysilan, bequeathed to his wife "all that coale-workes, pitts and veins of coale, together with the lime kilns and quarries of stones... situated...in a place called Tule Dowlais...wthin the parish of Merthyr Tidvill". He possessed cattle valued at £21, 2 mares, 2 young colts, 35 head of sheep, and poultry. His total personal estate was valued at £63, of which his wearing apparell accounted for £5, and his household stuff £10.² Griffith Roberts, of Penprisk, near Coychurch, possessed "a winde tree for the cole-pitt and coule",³ besides his agricultural goods.

In 1637 there were two coal works called Brin-y-wrach and Bryn-y-menin, near Bridgend, from which Thomas Carne received the sum of 50s. yearly.⁴ These 'works' were, apparently, still in existence in 1712, for the inventory of the goods of Edward Phillips, of Llantrisant, refers to "his share and proporcon of a lease on Bryn-y-menin coalwork" which was valued at £5.⁵

Seventeenth century mining ventures in the eastern regions of Glamorgan were probably more numerous than we have hitherto imagined. Some of these had, undoubtedly, attracted the attention of Andrew Yarranton⁶ who, in a letter dated 28 July 1679, and addressed to an unnamed lady⁷

1. P.R. (L1), 1670.

2. Ibid., 1697.

3. Ibid., 1691.

4. C.C.L. MS.4 309/8. (P.R.O. Rentals and Survey Rolls No.78).

5. P.R. (L1), 1712. Cf. Arch.Camb., 1878, p.121.

6. Author of England's improvement by sea and land... (London, 1677).

7. The only clue we have as to her identity is that her brother was a Mr. Wharton. The lady in question was probably Mary, the widow of Sir Charles Kemys of Cefn Mably, and third daughter and co-heiress of Philip, fourth Lord Wharton. (See G.T.Clark: Limbus Patrum; N.L.W. MS.6588C).

asked for detailed information regarding certain coal mines owned by her in order to advise her regarding the marketing of the coal and lead which were to be brought by river to Cardiff.¹ Moreover, lead was being mined in the Llantrisant area circa 1661, where Christopher Wright and John Nash, both 'lead-miners' subscribed 2s. and 1s., respectively, to the 'Voluntary Gift of Charles II.'² The ore was extracted at Cae'r Mwyn Park (which formed part of the present Higher or New Park, standing about half a mile south of Llantrisant) and Green Close. The Cae'r Mwyn project is said to have employed about eighteen to twenty miners and labourers. Again, in the eighteenth century a valuable lead mine was worked at Tewgoed, in the parish of Llangan, and it was said that the lead work on the porch of Llanmaes House was a product of that mine. The extent of this undertaking may be assessed from the fact that in 1760, about 500 miners were employed, many of the miners' fathers had come earlier to the area from Machynlleth, Dylife, etc.³

There had been considerable prospecting for coal in the parishes of Neath and Baglan during the second half of the seventeenth century. By the year 1696, there were, in the parish of Baglan alone "severall veines of coale to the number of 40 at least, in which from time to time there hath beene a world of coale dig'd".⁴ During the first half of the eighteenth century, the search for coal was prosecuted with increased vigour.

1. N.L.W. MS.19148 B.

2. P.R.O. E.179/264/47.

3. Walter Davies Diaries. (N.L.W. MS.1762B. 1811 p.1, No. III).

4. Lhuyd: Parochialia, Pt. III, p.28.

Between 1700 and 1740 "there were seven collieries operating at Briton Ferry, and sixteen more at Swansea".¹ That the countryside was now being sacrificed for coal is instanced in the operations carried out in 1724 on the lands of Henllan, in Cadoxton-juxta-Neath, where several workmen were employed for many months "to search for coale in a great many places and in a great many fields closed, and meadows, upon the s^d tenement". In these operations about "thirty holes were bored" and "four or five pitts" were sunk, for which work the workmen were paid at the rate of from 4s.0d. to 6s.0d. per week.² In the Gower Peninsula, too, the search for coal was being carried out with growing intensity.³

In passing, it is worth noting that the problems involved in disposing of industrial waste were already present in Glamorgan even at the beginning of the eighteenth century. In the 1730s, for example, we find John Popkins, one of the chief coal proprietors in the Swansea district, paying 10s. per annum to Lord Beaufort "for liberty to lay Rubbish near his coal works". Similarly, Richard Lockwood enjoyed the same liberty about his coal works at Napley, in the parish of Oystermouth, on payment of 10s. per annum.⁴ Although these early rubbish heaps did not assume such Himalayan proportions as the tips of today, the same general indifference apparently obtained concerning their proximity to places of beauty and to dwelling houses. The fact that Dr. Richard

1. A.H. John: 'Iron and coal on a Glamorgan estate, 1700-1740'.

Econ.H.R., XIII, (1943), p.97.

2. P.R.O. E.134/1 Geo.II/Mich.14.

3. R.P. Roberts: 'The history of coal mining in Gower from 1700-1832'.

University of Wales M.A. (unpublished) thesis, 1953; P.& M.No.6099.

4. Badm. (Group 2), 11,763.

Pococke could refer to Neath in 1756 as "a small town which depends on the collieries, copper works, and great markets for cattle which are brought up here by English graziers"¹ shows clearly that 'industry' had already cast its long shadows over much of the landscape.

The persistent borings for veins of coal, however short-lived they may have been, certainly provided additional employment for local craftsmen, as well as alternative employment for agricultural workers. During the above operations, for example, David Edward, of Neath, cooper, was engaged "to make one coal and one large baskett and a small pail for the use of y^e coale works". Again, the local blacksmith was employed in preparing "severall iron utensills such as pix-axes (sic), pols, picks mandralls...and other utensills for y^e windlace and...in making a sockett for the shovel...and several iron chisells..."²

The general impression one gets from contemporary documents is that the spirit of 'industrialism' was already abroad in the western part of the county, and at times it would seem that there were frenzied small-scale efforts to exploit every possible source of local mineral wealth in the Neath and Swansea areas. On 8 March 1734, for example, four labourers in the neighbourhood of Swansea were paid the sum of 4s. "for trying for lead at Park".³

The quickening tempo of industrial activity in and around the town of Swansea at the beginning of the eighteenth century is well attested

1. Travels through England ed. by J.J.Cartwright (Camden Society, 1889) Vol.II, p.200.

2. P.R.O: E.134/1 Geo.II/Mich.14.

3. Badm. (Group 2), 11,763.

in contemporary documents. In 1717, works were first erected upon the "river of Swansea" (i.e. the Tawe) for the smelting of copper and lead ores. These works were situated above the town, and about two miles beyond the Extent of the Corporation "to which works there is every year imported several hundred tons of ore and other goods and landed upon a wharf...whence they also annually ship off great quantities of goods..."¹ Again, in 1720, another works was erected upon 'Swansea river' for copper smelting.² These activities called for the extension of harbour facilities, and local blacksmiths and anchor smiths were kept fully employed in making tools for the new industries and essential equipment for ships etc.

In 1724 a lease was granted to Walter Hughes (Jnr.) and Gabriel Hughes (gent.), of Swansea, of "as much ground on the Burroughs...as shall be sufficient to erect and sett up a rope yeard or walkes with liberty to make, build and erect...all devices...for the carrying on Ropemaking...the said rope-walk to containe in the whole 420 yards or thereabouts in length and 30 feet or thereabouts in breadth" for 99 years at 2ls. per annum and a couple of fat pullets.³ Again, in 1733, Robert Morris was granted liberty by the Burgesses of Swansea to erect a dock between the timber yards of George Evans and Richard Powell, shipwright "for loading of ships and to make on each side of the dock a 'Bank' or yard fitt for setting down cooles on the same".⁴ The progress of industry is again reflected

1. W.C.Rogers: Swansea and Glamorgan Calendar Vol.I, Pt.1, pp.255,257.

2. Loc.cit.

3. W.C.Rogers: Op.cit., p.38.

4. Ibid., p.48.

in the 1730s. by the erection of new forges and dwelling houses to accommodate the workers.¹ New building operations created a demand for stone and bricks, for which, no doubt, clay was being constantly "dug on the Town hill to make bricks" as in the 1720s.²

In addition to copper smelting, coal mining was gaining momentum, and by 1720 along the Swansea river, such locations as "Mr. Popkins 'coal place', 'Walter Hughes his coal bank', 'Mr. Seys' coal bank' and 'Thomas Evans' coal bank' were well established. 'Coal works' in the Swansea area were increasingly developed during the early decades of the eighteenth century, as so many of the Borough leases testify. In the 1750s. the Burgesses of the town were still granting coal mining leases. For instance, in 1758 all the veins, mines and seams of coal on the tenement of lands called Wainwen were leased to three colliers and a blacksmith for 21 years from the 25 December. A rent of five shillings was to be paid on every wey (i.e. 10 tons)³ of coal or culm containing 72 bags, each of 24 Winchester gallons, "such rent to be accounted and paid every fortnight, plus 4 horse loads of coal or culm weekly to be delivered to the Portreave". The lessees were further "to employ a competent number of workmen for working and winning the coal" and "to sell at the Pits mouth to the Burgesses of Swansea such coal as they might require for their dwelling houses at the price of 4d. per bag of 24 gallons".⁴

1. W.C. Rogers: The Swansea and Glamorgan Calendar Vol. I, Pt. 1, pp. 49-57.

2. Badm. (Group 2), 11, 763.

3. C. Wilkins: South Wales coal trade (Cardiff, 1888), p. 37n.

4. W.C. Rogers: Op. cit., pp. 70-71.

As we have already shown, the importance of a multiplicity of non-agricultural undertakings within an agrarian economy lay in the fact that many agricultural workers, particularly the unskilled workers with no special attachments to the land, were provided with alternative means of a livelihood away from the land. Wherever the 'works' were introduced, the countryside soon lost its traditional character. In the Neath area, for instance, the backward state of the roads encouraged the employment of mules and oxen in transporting coal from the pits, and local farmers were not slow to employ their horses in carrying iron-ore, coals etc., and they drove them "becoming in great measure day-labourers".¹ The wages they received compared favourably with what they might have earned on the land, for between 10 April and 8 May 1742, the agent to the Margam Estate paid Walter Rees the sum of 15s.4d. for "23 days driving the coal horse at 8d. per day".²

The 'coal horse' had by now become a valuable part of the capital of many small farmers who dwelt near the coal mines or iron works, and the landlords, in turn, were not slow to insert clauses in the leases of tenant farmers whereby they were expected to keep "at customary rates, a certain number of horses for the use of their masters' coalworks".³ After about

1. D. Rhys Phillips: The history of the Vale of Neath (Swansea, 1925), p. 212.

2. P. & M. No. 5648.

3. R. P. Roberts: Op. cit., p. 146. For a list of tenants that ought, by their leases, to carry coal, see P. & M. Nos. 6821, 6822.

1700, the number of references to 'coal-horses' in the probate inventories of farmers is quite striking. Thomas Griffiths, of Llantwit-juxta-Neath, for example, possessed three old 'coale-horses' valued at £l. 5s. Od.¹, while Thomas Jones of the same parish, had four small coal-horses valued at £l.10s. Od., which represented about 12½ per cent of his whole personal estate²; Leyshon Rees, yeoman, of Cadoxton-juxta-Neath, possessed "five coal horses";³ James David, yeoman of Swansea, owned "7 poor small colliers' horses" which were valued at only 10s.⁴ Similarly, in the parishes of Eglwysilan, Howell Harry, yeoman, owned "4 cole-horses" valued at £3.12s. Od., and his crops and other livestock were valued at £30.⁵ Some horses carried the name 'Collier', indicating the nature of the work to which they were put.⁶ Oxen, too, were employed in hauling coal. William Rowland, of Llanvabon, had two oxen, one called "Collier".⁷

During our period, the demand for industrial labour was obviously very localised, since on account of the primitive state of inland transport, most of the seventeenth and early eighteenth century collieries were worked in, and around, those areas of the coalfield most contiguous to the 'ports' and, as we have already shown, the contemporary official trade records show clearly that during the second half of the seventeenth century, the exports from the Welsh ports of Neath, Swansea, Briton Ferry, and Aberavan, consisted mainly of cargoes of coal.

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1. P.R. (Ll), 1704.
 2. Ibid., 1730.
 3. Ibid., 1739.
 4. P.R. (S.D.), 1740.
 5. P.R. (Ll), 1700.
 6. Ibid., 1676.
 7. Ibid., 1676.

Industry and Agriculture

It may be argued that the period between the first operations of the Mines Royal at Neath and the feverish activity of the Mines Adventurers circa 1704 witnessed a process of industrial nucleation in the Neath and Swansea areas. Although the dominant features of the economy remained agricultural, conspicuous changes were taking place in certain areas along the sea coast from Baglan to Swansea where the early coasting trade in coal had later developed in conjunction with the exchange of Welsh coal for ores for the manufacture of copper. The task of extracting coal, like that of smelting copper and iron, involved the employment of many categories of workers. For example, there were the hewers, the porters carrying coal to the exits of the mines and to the waterside, and from the waterside to the ships. Again, the making and mending of barrows and trains for carrying the coal called for the services of local carpenters and blacksmiths,¹ and the need for considerable supplies of candles for use in the mines engaged the local chandlers whose work was also closely aligned with the production of leather. Tallow supplies were as important to the Chandler as hides were to the tanner, the saddler and the glover.

How, it may be asked, was the increasing demand for labour, following the development of various local non-agricultural undertakings, satisfied? Unfortunately, there are no statistical records to indicate the numbers nor the origins of industrial workers employed in Glamorgan at

1. J.U.Nef: Op.cit., Vol.II (Appendix K), pp.422-3.

this period, and conclusions must, of necessity, be based on a relatively scanty evidence.

It would be rash to assume that the labour force employed in the early industrial undertakings was recruited entirely from the ranks of local agricultural workers. There were, as yet, no real incentives to attract large numbers away from agriculture and rural industry. Indeed, between 1550 and 1700 it has been estimated that work was not available to miners for half the days of the year.¹ The techniques of mining engineering had not been mastered, and explosions, fires and floods were daily hazards, resulting in frequent stoppages. Around the year 1698, one pit in the Baglan area was "fired...four severall times within this 12 months and some sindg'd everytime but not to endanger their lives".² Moreover, demand was seasonal, and the difficulties of transportation led to short term working. Nevertheless, despite the hazards and uncertainties of industrial employment, it is fairly certain that there was a hard core of unskilled workers who had been drawn away from local agricultural occupations, and who regarded themselves as non-agricultural workers. Indeed, as early as the sixteenth century, there were men in the western coastal regions of Glamorgan who described themselves as "cole workers since the beginning of their labour",³ and by the end of the seventeenth

1. R.B.Buzzard and F.D.Kelly: Coal miners' attendance. (National Coal Board, Medical Research memoranda, No.2 (London,1963), p.19;

Cf. J.U.Nef: Op.cit.

2. Lhuyd: Op.cit., p.33.

3. Ex.Spec.Com. No.3441, quoted by J.U.Nef: Op.cit., Vol.II, p.144.

century there had emerged, in those areas, a class of workers that may be regarded as constituting a nucleus of an industrial 'proletariat' entirely divorced from the land, and wholly dependent on non-agricultural work for a livelihood. Included in this class were many female workers who often helped to supplement the earnings of their men-folk. In 1742, for example, Lord Mansel's agent at Margam made payments "to Richard David for cutting and filling coal" and "to his wife (sic) for gathering stones out of the coal..."¹

By the end of the century the employment of women in industry had become quite common, and at the beginning of the nineteenth century on the banks of the Neath canal could be seen "little companies of them chipping the large coals into small pieces for the furnaces without shoes or stockings, their clothes hanging about them, released for the sake of ease, from pins and strings, and their faces as black as the coals, except where channelled by the streams of perspiration that trickled down them..."²

The complete dependence of the small industrial proletariat on non-agricultural employment is revealed in "a petition of the cutters and drivers of coal on behalf of themselves and the rest of the colliers belonging to the several works at Briton Ferry and Baglan"³ sent to Lord Mansel

1. P. & M. No. 5648.

2. R. Ayton: *Voyage round Great Britain...* (London, 1814), p. 67.

3. P. & M. No. 6097. It is worth observing that during the first half of the eighteenth century the few scattered inventories of 'colliers' that have survived do not include 'agricultural' goods. This might reflect, from another angle, the increasing number of 'colliers' who were divorced from the land or access to it.

of Margam in the early eighteenth century. In the face of a threat by his Lordship's agent "to reduce...working coal at the several works to a much lesser quantity weekly" on account of a decline in trade, the men declared that if this were permitted "not only ourselves but our families must perish for want of food, having our dependence under God on your (Lord Mansel's) employment". The petition was signed by thirty-five coal cutters who, with the exception of two, had Welsh names. Indeed, most 'colliers' whose depositions appear in extant records of seventeenth century litigations between rival parties had Welsh names.¹

The industrial proletariat of eighteenth century Glamorgan included a sprinkling of condemned criminals such as those who were employed by Sir Humphrey Mackworth and his partners at Neath. But whether or not the workers were criminals whose sentences were revoked conditionally on binding themselves as labourers in the mines, they "were not persons likely to be accepted as social equals by the older inhabitants of the districts in which they settled".² In May 1705, the principal inhabitants of Neath complained bitterly that the workmen who were employed in the coal works and smelting works "are for the most part disorderly livers, often spending two or three daies together in drinking and other debaucherys; and some of them after y^t they have married wives and gott children have left them a Burthen on the Burrough and Parish: and others

1. Cf. P.R.O. E.134/1 Geo.II/Mich.14.

2. J.U.Nef: Op.cit., Vol.II, p.150.

after that they have debauched young women and gott them with child: and others after they have run in debt have removed into other places and left the parish and their creditors in the lurch".¹ The way of life of the industrial workers and the immorality associated with it, marked them as a distinctly new class in the social and economic life of Glamorgan.

The coal works also attracted many part-time workers such as the hauliers who, in season, helped to transport coal overland, but continued to look upon agriculture as the basis of their subsistence. But in general, the demand for local labour varied according to the numbers of immigrant workers. Mackworth invariably supplemented local labour supplies by encouraging immigrant labour. He was also accused of giving more responsible and better paid jobs to Englishmen, some of whom received 9s. to 16s. a week, while local labourers' wages amounted to 2s.6d. to 8s. per week.² Native labour, however, seems to have been employed intermittently, and was supplementary to other employment.

As already stated, the major part of the coal extracted from the Glamorgan coal seams in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries was despatched coastwise. Mariners were engaged extensively in the transportation of coal from the pits to the consumer,³ and although Glamorgan coal was transported mainly in English coasters that were manned by English seamen, the intermediary tasks of loading coal for shipment into the 'colliers' were performed by local workers.⁴

1. P.& M. No.5555.

2. *Ibid.*, No.3249.

3. J.U.Nef: *Op.cit.*, Vol.II, p.141.

4. P.& M. No.5648.

The arrival of the various vessels and their crews had the effect of temporarily increasing the population in the immediate neighbourhood of the ports. Almost invariably the masters of vessels and their crews were delayed two to three days at a time for the completion of the loading operations, and if the weather became inclement, and the tides difficult, the delays were longer.¹ In the meantime, the seamen had to be boarded and lodged, and their requirements undoubtedly stimulated local business, albeit on a small scale. At the beginning of the eighteenth century, when the extraction of coal was being prosecuted with increased vigour, Daniel Defoe visited Glamorgan, and he observed that around Swansea there was "a very great trade for coals and culm which they export to all parts of Somerset, Devon and Cornwall, and also to Ireland itself", and consequently "one sometimes sees a hundred sail of ships at a time loading coals here". It was also observed that the coal trade at Neath was 'considerable'.²

The periodic visits of English seamen to the shores of Glamorgan resulted in numerous marriages between them and the local Welsh girls³

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1. A Cornish mariner, named Giles Gudge, wrote on 21 July 1836, from Aberavan to his employers at Hayle complaining "I beg to inform you.. we have been down river nine days ready for the sea but we never had one tide in which we might have got out". (Harvey MSS. Truro Record Office).
 2. Daniel Defoe: Op.cit., Vol.2, p.55. Cf. C.Wilkins: History of the South Wales coal trade, p.21.
 3. See the will of Arthur Triplett, mariner of Cornwall. P.R. (S.D.), 1745.

The network of family relations between Glamorgan and the West of England counties is a feature of the social life of Glamorgan which is amply demonstrated in the wills of the period. There are numerous examples of testators who had settled in Glamorgan making provision for their kinsmen across the channel as naturally as if they lived in the same county. Christopher Lock, for instance, who had established himself as an innkeeper in Swansea, bequeathed twelve pence a piece "to my kinsman William Lock of Attaunton in the County of Somerset, clockmaker, and to his brothers James and George and to his sister Bridgett and to Martha Mawdy..."¹ Some of the extant Glamorgan wills are those of miners who had come from Somersetshire to Swansea and other districts in the county.²

The diversity of services required in the production and distribution of coal from the local works is revealed in the following "Account of the coal works in the Lordship of Havod-y-porth"³ circa 1749:

	£.	s.	d.
"Piloting vessels over the bar at Aberavan		7.	6.
Expenses in treating severall masters of vessells at the Corner House		4.	6.
To Mary Kollicks for meat and drink to y ^e pilots	2.	1.	3.
To Catherine Morgan for shop goods to the use of y ^e colliers		6.	6. 0.
To Mr. Plow for shop goods to the same use	11.	4.	6.
To Griffith John		3.	6. 9.
To William Griffith to pay John Thomas for Candles		6.	2. 11.
To Mrs. Lewis of Aberavan for meat and drink to severall colliers and masters of vessells	21.	16.	11.
Making packs and saddles for y ^e cole horses		14.	0.

1. P.R. (S.D.), 1716. See also P.R. (S.D.) (Eliz. Davies of Swansey), 1755. Gave to Silvanus James "son of my kinswoman Jane James late of Penzance, Cornwall..."

2. P.R. (L1), 1721. Roger Stephens, a miner from Somerset.

3. P. & M. No. 6084.

Increasing activity in the mines and in the ports created additional demands for local farm produce, and these, in turn, stimulated local agriculture. For instance, in May 1715, thirty stone of cheese at 4s. per stone was sold to the colliers in the Margam area, and butter was sold at 7s. per gallon.¹ Moreover, in 1718, the following quantities of corn were delivered "to the colliers at Britton Ferry":²

		£. s. d.
29 July.....	21 Bushells 3 pecks of wheat at 5s. per bushell	5. 8. 9.
5 Sept.....	41 Bushells of barley at 2s.6d. per bush.	5. 2. 6.
24 Oct.....	43 Bushells of barley at 2s.6d. " "	5. 8. 9.
20 Oct.....	48 " " " " " "	<u>6. 0. 0.</u>
Total value		<u>22. 0. 0.</u>

We have seen that during the second half of the eighteenth century there was a further growth and extension of small pockets of industrialism in many parts of Glamorgan, especially in the hinterland of Swansea and along the coastal areas between Baglan, Neath and Landore. But as the supplies of local timber for fuel diminished, the iron trade declined until it was found that coal was even better for smelting purposes than wood. Thus, from about 1756 to 1810, most of the great South Wales iron works were established, and they eventually extended from Blaenavon in Monmouthshire to Hirwaun in the northern reaches of the Glamorgan hills.³

1. P. & M. No. 6307.

2. P. & M. No. 2753.

3. Elizabeth Phillips: A history of the pioneers of the Welsh coalfield (Cardiff, 1925), p. 51.

Merthyr, which was to become the centre of a world-famous industrial complex, was "a village with about 40 houses" in 1696.¹ In 1760, the inhabitants were still mainly "hedgers, ditchers, farm labourers, few craftsmen, a shopkeeper, several publicans, the parson and the Squire". There were, at that time, about ninety-three farms in the parish of Merthyr, but in 1765 the first furnace was built at Cyfarthfa, and almost immediately twenty of these farms were engulfed by the 'Cyfarthfa works'. Dowlais was equally ruthless, and some farms there were converted into agents' houses and warehouses, while many others were 'tipped over' and "so undermined the foundations of others by coal and iron works that they eventually tumbled down".²

In the neighbouring parish of Aberdare, coal and iron were being mined upon the lands called Abernant y Wenallt in 1741, and sold in considerable quantities "to the furnace, particularly coal to the several parishes of Penderin, Ystradfellte and Aberdare".³ Industry was on the march in Aberdare, as well as in Merthyr, and the scale of the subsequent exploitation of local coal and iron-ore deposits in these relatively virgin areas, and of the obvious impact on agrarian life may be gauged from the following population figures which show that within a period of forty years, from 1760 to 1801, the population of Merthyr had outstripped that of Swansea and, as stated earlier in this chapter, represented about 10 per cent of the total population of the whole county:

1. C.C.L. MS.2.59.

2. C.Wilkins: The history of Merthyr Tydvil (Merthyr Tydfil, 1908), p.169.

3. P.R.O. E.134/15 Geo II/Hil.4.

	<u>1670</u> (estimated)	<u>1801</u>	<u>1841</u>	<u>1861</u>
Cardiff	1,670	1,870	10,077	32,954
Swansea	1,500	6,821	19,115	33,972
Merthyr	110	7,700	34,977	49,794

Although there was no industrial 'revolution' in Glamorgan during our period, there is, nevertheless, ample evidence to show that where small industrial undertakings existed, they always tended to modify the traditional economic life of the contiguous agricultural areas. Wages in industry were almost certainly kept in advance of those prevailing in agriculture, and in time there grew a competitive market for labour. But this did not manifest itself clearly until the end of the eighteenth century. Nevertheless, there was already a distinct economic and social cleavage between the small industrial nuclei of Glamorgan and the larger agricultural-pastoral communities of the surrounding countryside. With the more vigorous and conspicuous industrial developments of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, the gulf between rural and urban, between agriculture and industry, became more pronounced. New communities came into existence. For instance, in 1698, the lower parcel of Baglan already contained eighty houses "most of them cottages for poor colliers".¹ Again, at Aberavan in 1725, at both forge and furnace, the chief workers were provided with a "house and firing free".² In 1796, Merthyr Tydvil

1. Lhuyd: Op.cit., p.28.

2. A.H.John: Op.cit. p.102.

and Aberavan had regular markets because of the iron and copper works established near them having "brought from different parts of the country such numbers of workmen and their families, as to create a consumption of great quantities of the necessaries of life, and cause a public market once a week".¹ An irreversible trend in the social and economic life of the county had commenced.

1. John Fox: General view of the agriculture of the County of Glamorgan
(London, 1796), p.7.

Chapter 10

THE LANDSCAPE IN 1760

Although it may be said that in 1760 there were no clear indications of a great industrial future in Glamorgan¹, yet the landscape in certain areas of the county had already assumed the unmistakeable features of 'industrialism'. Along the banks of the rivers Tawe (Swansea)², Neath, and Afan, could be seen numerous wharfs and quays which had been erected to facilitate the loading and unloading of the products of the local mining and manufacturing industries. Authority to construct several quays "for the convenience of merchants" on the Tawe and Loughor estuaries was granted in the year 1750 by the Duke of Beaufort.³ The considerably increased numbers of sailing vessels - mainly colliers - that arrived and departed from these landing points at regular intervals gave to this coastal strip a distinct air of industrialism. It was during the period 1700-1760 that Swansea and Neath grew into small centres of urban life, while retaining, in some measure, the atmosphere of rus in urbe. William Mason (1724-1797), the English poet, was a frequent visitor to these parts which he described (circa 1770) as places

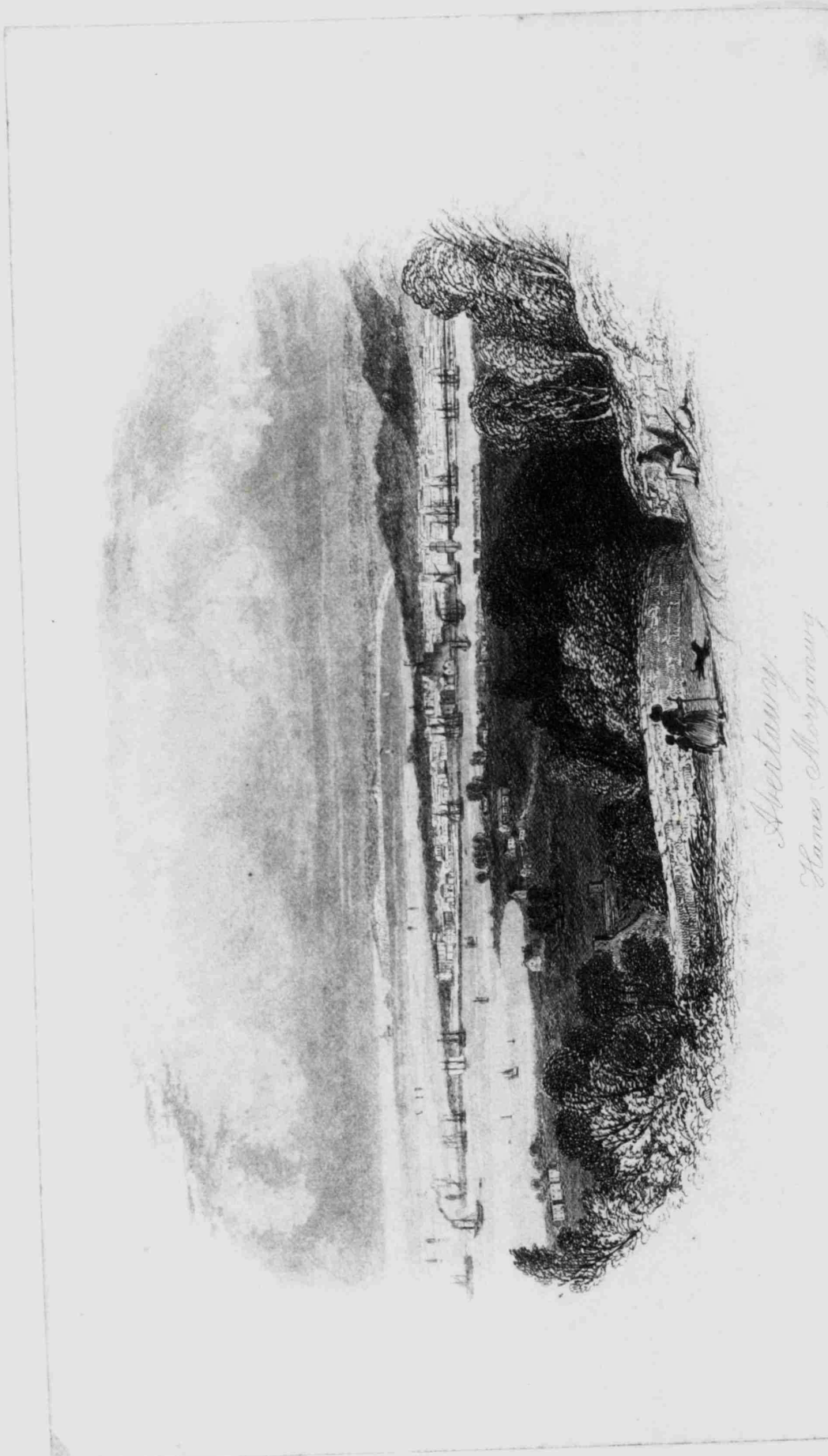
"...where commerce furls her wearied sails,
Proud to have dared the dangers of the deep,
And floats at anchor'd ease, enclos'd by vales
To ocean's verge where stray the venturous sheep"⁴

1. Cf. J.F. Rees: Studies in Welsh history (Cardiff, 1947), p.152.

2. See Map 1 in W.H. Jones: The history of the port of Swansea (Carmarthen, 1922), pp.54-55.

3. Badm. (Group 2), 1497.

4. See B.H. Malkin: Op.cit., p.602.



*Swansea.
H. Morgan*

A view of Swansea circa 1840

Minor, but significant, modifications were continually being made to the face of the countryside between Aberavon and Swansea. In 1765, for instance, the Strand at Swansea itself was converted into a turnpike road, and a certain Edward Tyler was enabled, with the consent of the Corporation, to make an arrangement with the turnpike trustees for the taking down of his forge in order that the road might be straightened: and the Corporation also consented "to the uprooting of a sycamore tree which stands on the strand in the said road".¹

Again, between 1695 and 1700, industrial developments in and around Neath had made it necessary for Sir Humphrey Mackworth to build a 'tidal cut' 18-20 feet wide, and 300 yards long from a pill on the river Neath, enabling small craft to navigate to within 400 feet of the Melyn lead and copper works. This small project may have been the first 'canal' in Glamorgan. The work of the canals was generally preceded, and sometimes supplemented, by tramroads such as the 'wooden railway' constructed by Sir Humphrey Mackworth at his coal works in Neath.² Along this track Mackworth experimented with the novel idea of attaching sails to the wagons which a contemporary observer described as "the wonder of the world" with "one horse doing the work of ten, and if the wind was good, even twenty".

In 1750 Chauncy Townsend, of London, was granted authority by the Duke of Beaufort to construct "waggon ways" over the highways and

1. W.H.Jones: *Op.cit.*, pp.40-41.

2. D.J.Davies: The economic history of S.Wales prior to 1800 (Cardiff, 1933), pp.94-95.

wastes within the manor of Kilvey.¹ In 1755 a "Waggon way" was to be constructed over the Mynydd Bach Common in the parish of Llanrhidian, in Gower "for carrying coal".² Again, in the 1750s. leases were granted of many brooks and liberty given to divert water courses on many lands on the Beaufort Estate. The brook called Clydach Isha, in the parish of Llangyfelach was leased, and liberty given to "erect a weir and divert water for the use of an iron battery to be erected" nearby.³ In 1757 the Glais and Nant bran brooks "and all streams running to the Bran mill" in the parish of Llansamlet were leased, and authority given "to construct dams and channels to lead water for the benefit of the new works lately erected for smelting and refining of copper at a place called Middle Dock in the said parish".⁴ As a final example of the development of new water ways in West Glamorgan, we find that in 1768 a lease was granted of a coal bank called Sluice Pill Bank, and such part of the marsh called Loughor Marsh in the parishes of Llanrhidian and Loughor "as would be useful for constructing a canal for carrying coal from the coal works to the bank".⁵ However, it was not until the last decade of the eighteenth century that the majority of Glamorgan canals were built.⁶

In the northern reaches of the county, in the neighbourhood of Merthyr Tydfil, iron had already turned some of the peaceful, if rugged, valleys, the haunt of sheep and goats, into busy hives of industry which

1. Badm. (Group 2), No.1095.

2. Badm. (Group 2), No.1086.

3. Badm. (Group 2), No.1082.

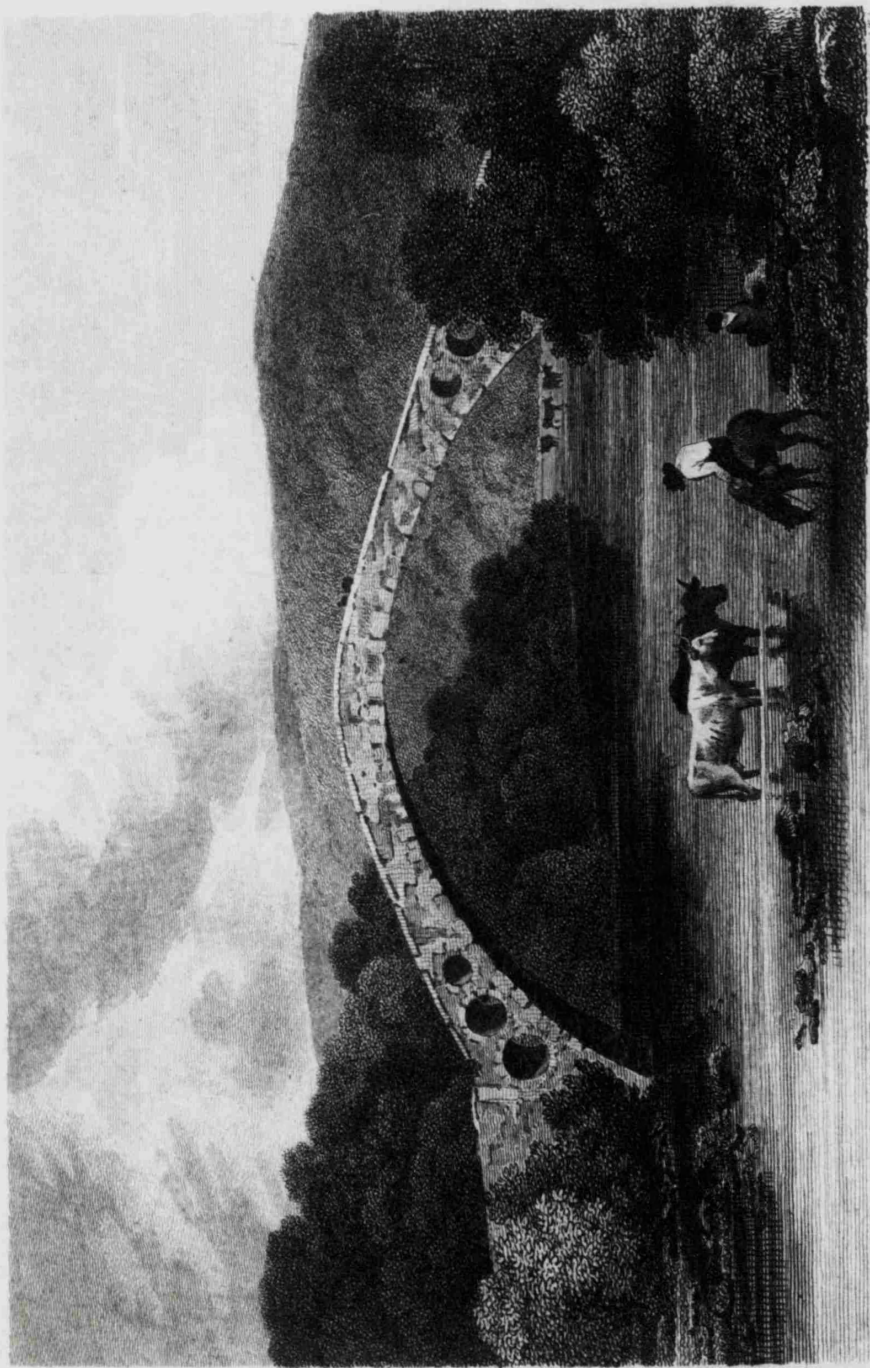
4. Badm. (Group 2), No.985.

5. Badm. (Group 2), No.987.

6. See Charles Hadfield: The canals of S.Wales and the border (Cardiff,1967).

blackened the hillsides with smoke, and covered them with refuse. Previous to the year 1790, when the first South Wales canal - the Glamorganshire canal - was constructed, the iron and surplus coal had been carried to the ports along rough tracks on the backs of mules, each carrying about 130 lb., and attended by women and boys. But in 1767, Anthony Bacon built a road from Merthyr to Cardiff, and to Swansea, in order to enable iron to be brought down to the sea in greater quantities in carts.¹ Ancient lanes and trackways were thus gradually giving way to newly constructed roads. But it was not until after 1764 that the highways of the county were divided between five Turnpike Trusts - Cardiff, Cowbridge, Bridgend, Neath and Swansea - with powers "to raise capital and make charges by gates and toll-bars for the more effectively making and improving the roads of Glamorgan". Nevertheless, the small scale improvements effected in the transport facilities up to the end of our period had certainly modified the local landscape at many points, if only by introducing minor deviations from ancient routes leading to new centres of economic activity. More important, however, was the fact that the roads which were constructed to meet the needs of industry tended to run to the sea, whereas those which served the needs of agriculture ran from east to west, such as the old drove roads which retained their identity until the coming of the South Wales railway in 1850. After that date, cattle tended more and more to be transported by rail across the border to the English markets.

1. C.S.Howells: Transport facilities in the mining and industrial districts of S.Wales and Mon. (London,1911), p.8.



NEW BRIDGE, or PONT-Y-PRYDD.
Glamorganshire.

Engraved by Whittier from a Drawing by J. R. H. H.

London: Published by J. W. G. & Co. 17, Pall Mall, Strand, W.C.

See the frontispiece of the same work.

Another important feature in the development of communications in Glamorgan in the mid-eighteenth century centred on some of its bridges. A systematic history of the bridge building in the county has yet to be written, but from the evidence we already have, it seems that after the successful completion of the now famous single-span stone bridge at Pontypridd in 1754 by the self-taught local architect William Edwards (1719-1789)¹, several others were constructed by him, including those at Morriston, near Swansea, Pontardawe, Betws, and Aberavan. Some of these stone bridges were completely new structures meeting new demands, while others (such as the one at Pontypridd) replaced more ancient constructions. Many of the old Glamorgan bridges were of the stone-slab type that were once common in most counties², but when John Leland visited Glamorgan between 1536 and 1539, he found a considerable number of wooden bridges throughout the county. At Neath, for instance, the bridge was of timber ('Ponte Castelle Nethe of tymbre'), while the river Taff was crossed in four places by wooden bridges³. But the heavier traffic that resulted from subsequent industrial undertakings in various parts of the county called for more solid structures, and some of these appeared on the landscape in the mid-eighteenth century.

We have shown in a previous chapter that by 1760 the progress of industry had taken a heavy toll of the natural timber supplies of the county, and had impoverished the landscape by leaving many coppices bare, and extensive tracts of land denuded of their woodlands. Natural beauty was

1. See D.W.B.

2. T.Bryn Richards: An outline of the history of road and bridge construction (with special reference to S.Wales and Mon.), Structural Engineer, Vol.XXIV, 1946, pp.11-18.

3. J.Leland: The Itinerary in Wales. Ed. by L.Toulmin Smith (London,1906), pp.35-38. See also E.Jervoise: Ancient bridges of Wales and Western England (London,1936), pp.84-97.



Enoll Castle

ENOLL CASTLE.

CLAREMONT, N. H.

Enoll Castle, N. H.

now being sacrificed to the requirements of industrial processes. The magnificence of the country around the Gnoll, in Neath, was already being tarnished by the 'works' that lay adjacent to it. When, in 1769, Sir Harbottle Grimston visited Sir Humphrey Mackworth's residence at the Gnoll, he observed that "If I were to consider the beauty of a place abstracted from its trade and manufactory, I should condemn the copper works, the coal mines, and the different engines to get rid of superfluous water, as being too much within view of the house, but", he continued, "as from hence the riches of the place are collected, the man who owes his support to it should look with satisfaction on the source and rather consider them as appendages on the beauty of his place than blemishes".¹ Such an attitude surely reflected a new ethos. Mineral wealth was at a premium, and was to be sought even at the expense of the natural beauty of the countryside.² The stage was being set for the coming "rape of the fairy country". From the borders of Cardiff, in the east, to Swansea, in the west, could be seen many fields and meadows which had been severely scarred by charcoal burning. Moreover, by persistent borings for coal and lead, crops, too, were sometimes ravaged by industrial traffic.

In many parishes, stone quarrying had proceeded apace, causing additional distortion of the rural scene. In the Newton and Aberavan districts tile quarrying went hand in hand with brick-making, and so great was the demand in 1774, it was reported that "the workmen here cant make

1. Diary of a tour in Wales 1769. H.M.C., Lord Verulam MSS. p.256.

2. See Supra p.308.

bricks enough for y^e Copper Co..."¹ New roads, tramways, bridges and small 'canals' combined to modify the Glamorgan landscape. New landmarks appeared which reminded contemporary observers that a new era had dawned in the economic affairs of the county.

The economic vicissitudes of our period were accompanied by many social changes. Whereas in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the agrarian position in Glamorgan may be said to have differed from the medieval period because of the modifications that were brought about by the national economy through the growing importance of land as a basis of wealth and social prestige, in the eighteenth century we find that industry and commerce provided increasing chances and opportunities for economic and social aggrandisement. More and more attention was being focussed on non-agricultural work, and parents in most social groups endeavoured to place their children as apprentices in some trade or profession. For example, most of the apprentices who were registered between 1711 and 1730 served under masters who were mainly coopers, barbers, periwig makers, painters, plumbers, shipwrights, goldsmiths, apothecaries and attorneys.²

The evidence we have of the changing Glamorgan landscape shows that by 1760 men were vigorously employed in modifying the physical environment which had been dominated, hitherto, by an agricultural-pastoral economy, and they were responding to the growing demands of an industrial economy. In these environmental changes men were unwittingly modifying

1. I.A.W. (Bedford Papers). 1774.

2. P.R.O., IR/1/41; IR/1/42; IR/1/43; IR/1/46; IR/1/47; IR/1/48.

their native cultural mould. This was partly manifested in the emergence of a small industrial proletariat wholly dependent on the industrial capitalist for employment, and completely divorced from the native agricultural and rural tradition. This class of worker was reputed to have been more prone to idleness and debauchery than the native agricultural workers¹, although they, too, were familiar with the traditional country fairs, wakes, and other diversions. On taking a closer view of the small industrial proletariat we see the former self-supporting peasant "transformed into a spender of money, for all the things he needed were now in the shops. Every hour of work now had a money-value; unemployment became a disaster, for there was no piece of land the wage-earner could turn to."²

Moreover, the rows of brick and stone houses erected to accommodate the industrial workers stood out in sharp contrast to the traditional stone-built whitewashed, thatched cottages and farmhouses that dominated the rural background. They were the forerunners of the terraced houses that were to characterise the settlement pattern in the industrial areas of South Wales half a century later.

The changing pattern of life in Glamorgan during our period of study may be interpreted as a symptom of more fundamental changes. For although it is true to say that throughout the eighteenth century agricultural wages and conditions were the economic realities which most closely

1. See Supra pp.317-318.

2. W.G.Hoskins: The Midland peasant, p.269.

affected the population of Glamorgan, yet increasing numbers of individuals were becoming personally concerned with wages and conditions in non-agricultural industries. The demand for unskilled labour in the industrial and trading sectors of employment must have introduced an element of competition between employers in industry and agriculture. From the slender evidence we have, rates of wages paid for unskilled labour in industry tended to be higher than those in agriculture. But during the early stages of the eighteenth century industrialism, there existed at many points of the economy a pool of labour which could be called into employment during brisk periods and could fall back on the land or on the earnings of other members of the family during slack periods. It was at these points that 'peasant thrift' had not yet been replaced by 'commercial thrift'.¹

The payment of wages in ready cash was also an inducement to many workers to favour industrial rather than agricultural employment. About the year 1720, Sir Humphrey Mackworth claimed that his 'work houses' in Neath employed great numbers of men, women and children, to whom several thousand pounds were paid every year "which circulates in that neighbourhood, and other Trades thereby increased, the market improved, the rents are better paid, as has often been acknowledged by Sir Edward Mansell and others, the county receiving ready money for their provisions".²

1. Cf. W.G. Hoskins: Op.cit., p.269.

2. B.M. 522. M.12(2).

The following rates of wages were paid for certain non-agricultural work in the Margam and Neath area in 1739/40:¹

	<u>Per day</u>
For unloading bricks out of a sloop	8d.
For wheeling coal	10d.
For filling coal	8d.
For filling coal (women)	6d.

These tasks were obviously performed by unskilled workers whose rates of wages compared favourably with the 6d.-9d. per day paid to farm servants hired from day to day. Between 1717 and 1747, Glamorgan ploughmen's rates of wages had advanced from 2s. to 2s.6d. per day.² In 1768, according to Arthur Young, labourers who had constant work received 1s. per day, an ox-boy 3d. and 4d. per day, while labourers were taken on at various prices, "in winter 1s., in hay-time 1s., in harvest 1s.6d." For reaping wheat, rates ranged from 4s. to 4s.6d., and for mowing corn 1s.3d. to 1s.6d. with drink.³ By 1796 it was generally recognised that "the influences of the copper, coal, and iron trades and canals of the county increased so as to raise the price of agricultural labour to between 1s. and 1s.6d. per day "although men often got 2s.6d. by the job in mowing and reaping". In winter, however, they received about 25 per cent less.⁴

The industrial and commercial expansion reflected in the changing landscape of Glamorgan, although still of small dimension, coincided with

1. P.& M. No.5648.

2. These rates have been noted in a number of probate accounts and inventories.

3. Arthur Young: Six week's tour..., p.126.

4. John Fox: General view of agriculture in the County of Glamorgan, 1796. (Appendix pp.67-69).

an upward trend in the size of the population which, in turn, exerted additional pressures on the productivity of the land. (The causes of the increases are still a subject for speculation). It was highly significant, therefore, that on 28 October 1772, at a meeting of Glamorgan farmers, held at the Bear Inn, Cowbridge, it was unanimously resolved "that a Society called the Glamorganshire Agricultural Society for the encouragement of agriculture etc. be formed..."¹ Later the Society offered premiums for improved husbandry, and in 1778, for "the best and most active highway-surveyor in each Hundred in Glamorganshire".² The requirements of an improved agriculture, and of the new industries of the county alike, made it necessary to improve the roads to carry the increased traffic.

The interplay of the economic and social forces that were inherent in the industrial and commercial developments of Glamorgan in the first half of the eighteenth century had influenced, in no small measure, the linguistic condition of the inhabitants, more especially along the coastal fringes of the Vale. There is no doubt that the vast majority of the people of Glamorgan were still Welsh speaking at that time. It is highly significant that numerous wills and inventories of the period reveal that the Welsh Bible and other Welsh books were treasured possessions in many homes. Although wills written in Welsh were rare, nevertheless many

1. John Garsed: Records of the Glamorganshire Agriculture Society (Cardiff, 1890), p.7.

2. Ibid., p.14.

testators were, as would be expected, monoglot Welshmen, who would express their desires in Welsh, while the lawyer, or other adviser, would set them down in English. The will would then be read over and explained in Welsh.¹ By the end of the seventeenth century, however, we have positive evidence that, even in some inland parishes, the English language was encroaching quite rapidly upon the native tongue. In Llangrallo (Coychurch), for example - some ten miles inland - it was reported that "y^e language is p'tly English, p'tly Welsh, our trading being for y^e moste parte with Summer (Somerset) and Devonshires w^{ch} spoiles our Welsh".² Again, when the Rev. Richard Warner visited Llantwit Major (situated a mile from the coast) in 1798, he observed that by the appearance and language of the inhabitants, they did not resemble the Welsh in either point, "There is not a trace of the Celtick tongue amongst them, their dialect approaching nearer to a broad Somersetshire than to any other."³ The same was true of Sully where, by the beginning of the nineteenth century the inhabitants were described as being "completely English".⁴

In the Neath district, circa 1690, however, we find that Welsh was common and spoken "wthout any alteration" and the inhabitants of the lower parts of the parish at that time were said to "retaine their Welsh as well as others, notwithstanding the continuall trade there is and hath

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1. Cf. P.R. (Ll), 1725 (Morgan Griffith, Neath); P.R. (Ll), 1733 (Evan Williams, Llangrallo); P.R. (Ll), 1734 (Hopkin Leyshon, Cadoxton-Juxta-Neath).
 2. Lhuyd: Parochialia (Arch. Camb. 1909-11, Pt. III), pp. 14-15.
 3. R. Warner: A second walk through Wales... 1798 (London, 1799), pp. 66-67.
 4. M.R. Spencer: Annals of South Glamorgan (Carmarthen, n.d.), p. 193.

been there for severall ages by English men for coale, and heardly (but some that have been either in schoole or over some time in England) understand any English such is their love to the Brittish language".¹ In Gower, people were inclined more to the Welsh, and mixed some Welsh words amongst their old English.²

The visible transformation that was taking place at many points on the Glamorgan landscape during the closing decades of our period were clear manifestations of the beginnings of an economic revolution. But there were other important changes taking place which we cannot overlook. The first half of the eighteenth century witnessed a Welsh literary renaissance, and a religious and educational revival. These events, taken together, constituted such a break in the continuity of the history of the nation that it may be said "that the history of modern Wales begins as this period".³ So that side by side with the changes brought about in the agricultural and social life of many sectors of the county as a result of the slow march of 'industrialism' and 'commercialism', we find that the outlook of the people was being reorientated through religious, educational and literary influences. For example, when the renowned Griffith Jones (1683-1761) started his Circulating Schools in 1719, he little realised that during his lifetime he would have established throughout Wales, no less than 3,495 classes, in which about 158,237 pupils would

1. Lhuyd: Parochialia, III, p.29.

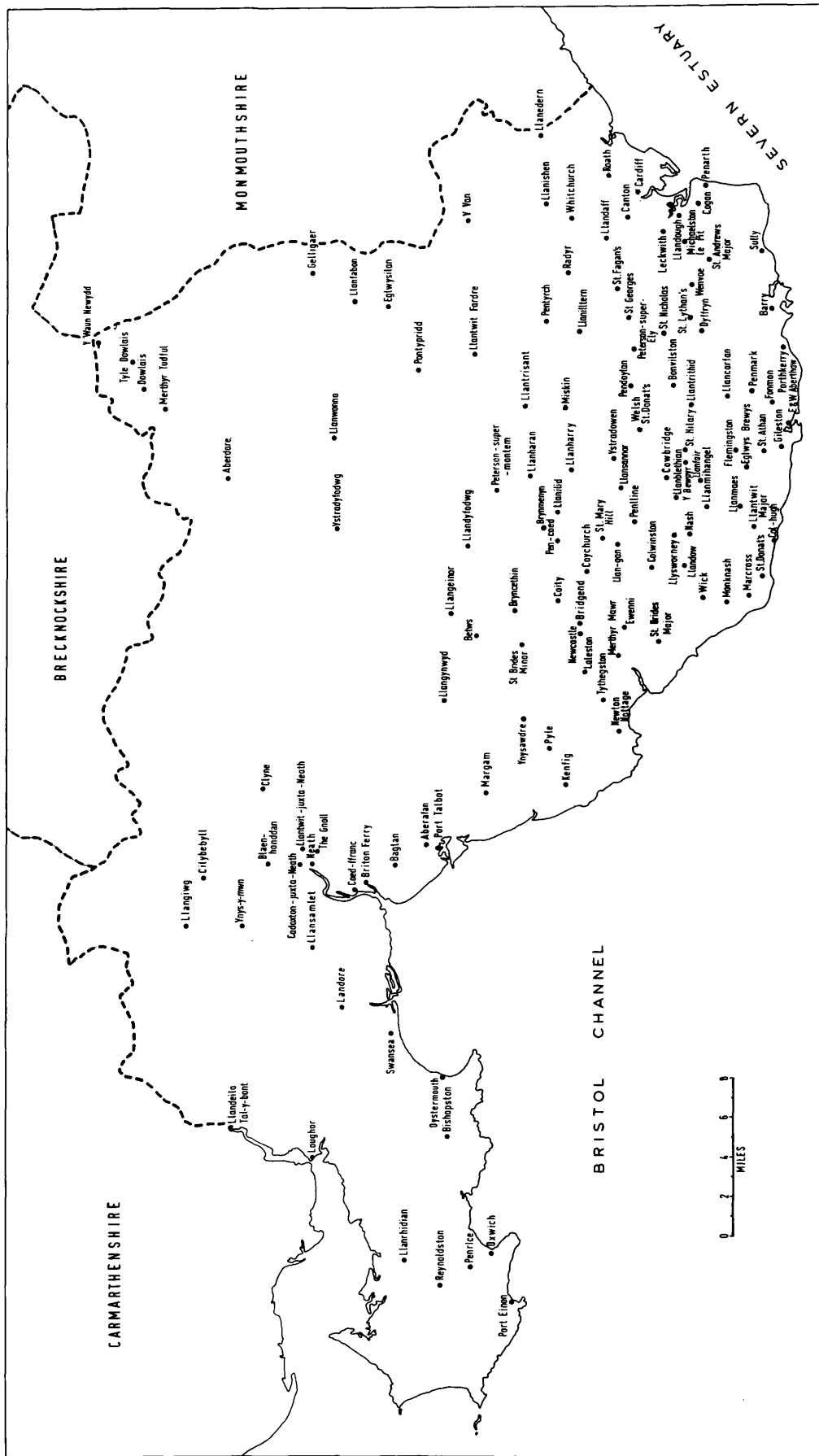
2. F.V.Emery: 'Edward Lhuyd and some of his Glamorgan correspondents: A view of Gower in the 1690s.' T.S.C., 1965, p.83.

3. David Williams: The history of Wales 1485-1931 3rd ed. (London,1961), p.48.

be taught to read and write. In the year 1759-60 there were, in Glamorgan alone, no fewer than 6,942¹ scholars attending these schools, that is to say, about 10 per cent of the whole population of the county. This spiritual and mental revival produced an enthusiasm which flowered into what is frequently referred to as the 'non-Conformist conscience' in the nineteenth century, and which eventually proved to be the motivating force in the emancipation of Welsh social life from the "domination of an anglicised squirearchy". The culmination of these events was particularly conspicuous in the industrialised areas of Glamorgan.

Meanwhile, despite the many changes that had already taken place in the physical environment, in social organisation, and in mental attitudes, life in 1760 was still preponderantly rural in character. The majority of the men, women, and children of the county remained on the land, in the nucleated villages of the Vale, and in the scattered homesteads in the hills. Agricultural interests, as modified by the industrial and commercial opportunities of the period, still dominated the social life of the people of Glamorgan. The story of the transition from the peaceful, yet arduous, pursuits of agriculture to the revolutionary development of modern industry, with the resulting transformation in men and manners, was only beginning to unfold.

1. Welch Piety (London, 1760), pp. 67-68.



MAP 5. GLAMORGAN : SHOWING PLACES MENTIONED IN THE TEXT

Appendix A

SUMMARY OF BAPTISMS AND BURIALS IN GLAMORGAN
1700-1800, ARRANGED DECENNIALY

Year	Baptisms			Burials			Excess Baptisms over Burials.
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	
1700	433	450	883	347	378	725	+ 158
1710	454	438	892	389	390	779	+ 113
1720	440	465	905	361	384	745	+ 160
1730	487	402	889	515	461	976	- 87
1740	476	446	922	419	444	863	+ 59
1750	486	484	970	427	394	821	+ 149
1760	539	555	1,094	427	428	855	+ 239
1770	580	548	1,128	480	463	943	+ 175
1780	693	649	1,342	520	561	1,081	+ 261
1790	617	564	1,181	427	436	863	+ 314
1800	557	579	1,136	495	476	971	+ 165

Source ?

Appendix B

INVENTORIES OF GOODS IN SHOPS

1. John Thomas, Shopkeeper, Laleston, 30 May 1710.

		£.	s.	d
Abt. 46 yards of shalloon at 12d. p.yard	...	2.	06.	00.
" 17 yards $\frac{1}{2}$ diamond Shagg at 16d. p.yd.	...	1.	03.	08.
" 67 yards of damask stuffe att 10d. p.yd.	...	2.	16.	10.
" 78 yards of worsted stuffe att 6d. p.yd.	...	1.	19.	00.
" 54 yards of slight worsted stuffe at 5d. p.yd...	...	1.	02.	06.
" 59 yards of black damarin at 8d. p.yd.	...	1.	19.	08.
" 163 yards of Cantaloon and other stuffe 4d. p.yd.	...	2.	14.	07.
10 yds $\frac{1}{2}$ Linsey blew and green 12d. p.yd.	...	0.	10.	06.
2 yds $\frac{1}{4}$ Say att	...	0.	05.	06.
53 yds of Sarges att 15d. per yard	...	3.	06.	03.
7 yards $\frac{1}{2}$ broadcloth att 5s. per yard	...	1.	18.	09.
A remnant of druggett abt. 6 yards att	...	0.	08.	00.
7 yards of frise att 20d. per yd.	...	0.	11.	08.
60 yards of broad colour'd Linnen 8d. per yd.	...	2.	00.	00.
4 yards of blew ditto	...	0.	02.	08.
2 yards $\frac{1}{2}$ colour'd Dimity at 10d. per yd.	...	0.	02.	01.
2 yards $\frac{1}{2}$ narrow buckram at 6d. yd.	...	0.	01.	03.
7 yards of blew broad Callicoe att 18d. per yd.	...	0.	10.	00.
3 yards of plush att 2s.6d. per yd.	...	0.	07.	06.
7 yards $\frac{3}{4}$ narrow dick att 10d. p.yd.	...	0.	06.	05.
7 yds. $\frac{3}{4}$ course ditto	...	0.	06.	05 $\frac{1}{2}$
9 yds. broader ditto at 12d. p.yd.	...	0.	09.	00.
17 yds. $\frac{1}{4}$ broad ditto	...	0.	17.	03.
16 yards chequer Linnen att 8d.	...	0.	10.	08.
13 yards $\frac{1}{2}$ striped Chequer Linen at 10d. p.yd.	...	0.	11.	03.
9 yards of white damnify'd Holland 9d.	...	0.	06.	00.
14 yards $\frac{1}{2}$ fine cheese-cloth att 4d. p.yd.	...	0.	04.	10.
13 yds. of Oseenbrig at 7d. p.yd.	...	0.	07.	07.
3 yds. $\frac{1}{2}$ course "	...	0.	01.	09.
3 yds. $\frac{1}{4}$ garlick holland at 12d.	...	0.	03.	03.
5 yds. $\frac{1}{2}$ flaxen cloth at 8d. p.yd.	...	0.	03.	08.
8 yds. $\frac{3}{4}$ broad canvas at 12d.	...	0.	08.	09.
9 Colour'd linen hankerchiefs att 8d. a piece	...	0.	06.	00.
8 yds. $\frac{1}{2}$ cloth sarge	...	0.	15.	07.
13 yds. Buckram att 10d. p.yd.	...	0.	10.	10.
10 yds. $\frac{3}{4}$ blew Harfoard att 6d.	...	0.	05.	04 $\frac{1}{2}$
3 yards Colour'd crocus	...	0.	01.	03.

John Thomas, Shopkeeper, Laleston, 30 May 1710.

	£.	s.	d.
45 yards Grape att 10d. p.yard ...	1.	17.	11.
58 yards $\frac{3}{4}$ of Colour'd Harford & remnants of Osenbrig	1.	09.	00.
Earthen ware ...	0.	05.	00.
12 Pound Rosin ...	0.	03.	00.
12 pound stone pitch 3s. abt. 100 lb. Barrill pitch 15s.	0.	18.	00.
About 10 lb. redwood 5s., & abt. 6 lb. allom ls. ...	0.	06.	00.
16 Pound of Wick yarn ...	0.	06.	00.
3 gallons of tarr ...	0.	04.	06.
Nails, buckles, candlesticks, knives & scissors ...	0.	05.	00.
Old decayed remnants of Manchester Goods as Buttons, thred, moshair, Inckle tape at ...	0.	10.	00.
11 ordinary bodices & stomachers ...	1.	10.	00.
A small quantity of tallow ...	0.	08.	00.
Abt. 15 lbs. Loggwood 3/- & $\frac{1}{4}$ hundred Copperas 2/4 ..	0.	05.	04.
4 old haire Baggs ...	0.	05.	00.
Quantity of old course wooll ...	0.	03.	00.
A few small remnants of sowing silk, a few shotts, a small quantity of brandy & other distilled liquers, a small quantity of oyle and other small & inconsiderable remnants & trumperies belonging to y ^e shop ...	0.	05.	00.
A small quantity of Indigo & Gauls Verdigrass & white copper, Senna, Saltpeter, a little Madarn & fustick	0.	04.	06.
5 barrs or sticks of wax, abt. half a bottle of Syrup of Buckthorn ...	0.	01.	06.
A few pieces of plaster with 2 or 3 pound of white & red lead ...	0.	01.	06.
A few old cards & bagg strings w th a small quantity of hemp & flax ...	0.	01.	00.
6 or 7 books of silver leaf and two books of gold leaf	0.	02.	00.
The shop board and shelves ...	0.	02.	00.
3 dozen & 4 paire of cards ...	0.	03.	00.
A small quantity of Catharides ...	0.	00.	06.
A small quantity of Chalke ...	0.	00.	06.
In old books ...	0.	02.	06.
Book debts ...	32.	02.	11.
Fresh goods bought at St. Paul's faire in Bristoll & not sold or disposed of at y ^e time of y ^e decd'ts death as appear'd by the Notes of his severall dorrespondents at Bristol. ...	94.	01.	01.

2. Joseph Hoare, Cardiff, 18 December 1707

			£.	s.	d.
20 yds. of Broad cloth	...	...	5.	00.	00.
160 yds. of serge	...	...	14.	00.	00.
30 yds. of Kersey	...	...	2.	10.	00.
50 yds. of Shellone	...	...	3.	00.	00.
60 yds. of Canteloons	...	...	1.	05.	00.
108 yds of Dammask	...	...	5.	08.	00.
80 yds. of Stuffe	...	...	2.	10.	00.
60 yds. of sayes	...	...	6.	10.	00.
20 yds. of longe woole	...	...	1.	01.	00.
45 yds. of frize	...	...	3.	00.	00.
180 yds. of Bayes	...	...	5.	05.	00.
7 Vigo printed coats	...	...	1.	15.	00.
7 yds. of plush	...	...	1.	02.	03.
3 Britches 12s., 30 yds. calico	...	...	3.	02.	00.
3 doz. worsted stocking	...	...	4.	10.	00.
15 yds. of Cotton Chequered	...	...	1.	10.	00.
36 yds. of Blew ditto	...	...	2.	14.	00.
20 yds. of Broad Blews	...	...	1.	00.	00.
40 yds. of Narrow Blews	...	...	1.	01.	00.
150 yds. of Holland	...	...	0.	12.	06.
120 yds. of	...	...		15.	06.
48 yds. of fustian	...	...	2.	08.	00.
30 yds. of Bookram	...	...	1.	02.	06.
120 yds. of broad tucking	...	...	6.	05.	00.
50 yds. of narrow "	...	...	2.	01.	00.
80 yds. of broad canvas	...	...	4.	00.	00.
240 yds. of Coarse Canvas	...	...	7.	00.	00.
40 yds. of Broad Dowlas	...	...	2.	03.	04.
70 yds. of narrow Dowlas	...	...	2.	18.	04.
80 yds. of Hagabags	...	...	3.	06.	00.
40 yds. of check linnen	...	...	1.	16.	08.
140 yds. of white Irish linen	...	...	5.	16.	08.
30 yds. of Hamburgh Holland.	...	...	1.	05.	00.
15 yds. of Isingham Holland	...	...	1.	02.	06.
40 yds of stayned linnen	...	...	1.	06.	08.
20 yds. of printed canvas	...	...	0.	10.	00.
12 yds. of crape	...	...	0.	09.	00.
8 tickings for Dust beds	...	...	2.	00.	00.
50 yds. of Russia linnen	...	...	0.	12.	06.
140 yds. of Innerlings	...	...	1.	15.	00.
40 doz. of sacks	...	...	5.	08.	00.
140 yds. of sacking	...	...	5.	05.	00.

2. Joseph Hoare, Cardiff, 18 December 1707

			£.	s.	d.
30 women bodices	...	...	10.	10.	00.
12 children's bodices	...	...	1.	10.	00.
Sweet Powder balls & balls for wigs	...	...	0.	10.	00.
Several remnants of ribbands	...	...	2.	10.	00.
5 gross of gallones	...	...	7.	00.	00.
2 remnants of Kenting	...	...	0.	08.	00.
Silk laces etc.	...	...	1.	01.	00.
Bobins and tapes	...	...	0.	18.	00.
1 gross & halfe of laces	...	...	0.	12.	00.
In holland and Cornation Inkles	...	...	0.	03.	00.
In Mohair 2ls. Mettle buttons etc.	...	...	1.	07.	00.
Thread silks 42s. in gartring stuffs, twine marling etc.			2.	18.	00.
A parcell of napkins	...	...	0.	04.	00.
3 doz. of threads	...	...	2.	14.	00.
8 gross of coat buttons	...	...	2.	00.	00.
More in buttons	...	...	3.	00.	00.
Straw hats	...	...	2.	08.	00.
Shop book and debts	15.	00.	00.
In cash, rings and other valuable gold and silver things			66.	00.	00.
			<hr/>		
			£292. 08. 11.		

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SUMMARY

During the period 1660-1760, Glamorgan was a predominantly rural and peasant county. Arable and animal husbandry, and their ancillary tasks, provided the only sources of livelihood for the majority of the people who were concentrated mainly in the mixed farming areas of the lowlands of the Vale, and the Gower peninsula, while the pastoral areas of the Blaenau, or upland districts, sustained only a small community of scattered homesteads.

Broadly speaking, the population of the county comprised the landlords, clergy, freeholders, tenant farmers, farm labourers, traders, and rural craftsmen. Occupiers of land, who were neither freeholders nor copyholders, were tenants whose tenure was determined by the nature of their leases. The labourers, however, who constituted the agricultural proletariat, had no legal title to the land, and their only means of livelihood was by selling their labour to those who required it.

The numerous physical tasks connected with agriculture were performed within a social environment, conditioned by the established system of landownership. Most family groups lived primarily on what they grew, and made for themselves. Their tools, implements, and household furniture were constructed to serve several generations of the same family, and even their houses and cottages could be regarded as part of their agricultural equipment.

Industry and commerce, however, were already exerting their influence upon the life of the county, and by 1760, the Glamorgan landscape had assumed, in many parts, the unmistakable features of industrialism, although, as yet, no industrial revolution was indicated.

In the final analysis, agricultural interests, as modified by the industrial and commercial opportunities of the period, still dominated society in Glamorgan in 1760. The story of the transition from the peaceful pursuits of agriculture to the revolutionary development of modern industry was only beginning to unfold.