

Hanes y Cymry

A history of the Welsh

The Dragon Has Two Tongues



OES YR UCHELWYR
THE AGE OF THE GENTRY



CHANNEL FOUR TELEVISION

Cynhyrchwyd gan Wasanaeth Archifau Gwynedd, Cyngor Sir Gwynedd, mewn cydweithrediad ag HTV a Sianel 4.
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Wynford Vaughan Thomas Gwyn A Williams

"... everything that has happened in the past is still influencing us about what we feel about the present, and indeed what we feel about the future."

"But the past is something we construct from the present. You called me a magpie. Every historian is a magpie including yourself, and the facts you choose invariably seem to me to turn Welsh history into something cosy, smug, and invariably support whatever status quo exists."

"I called you a Marxist magpie. The Marxist picks out certain facts in history to create a pattern for the pre-destined future."

"That is rubbish. What the Marxist does is see history as a process advancing through contradiction and you route yourself in whole peoples, not in tiny elites."

OES YR UCHELWYR THE AGE OF THE GENTRY

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Owain Tudur of Penmynydd.
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Disgynyddion Ednyfed Fychan ydoedd teulu Tudur, Penmynydd. O'u plasty ym Môn (1), rheolent grŵp pŵer dylanwadol yng ngogledd Cymru drwy gysylltiadau teuluol a'u tebyg. Ffurfiastent ran o'r dosbarth swyddogol Cymreig ers y bedwaredd ganrif ar ddeg, yn enwedig o dan Rhisiart II, ond syrthiasent o ras yn dilyn trawsfeddiant Henry IV. Hefyd buasent yn flaenllaw yng ngwrthryfel Glyn Dŵr. Collodd y teulu Benmynydd am gyfnod ac fe dienyddwyd Rhys Tudur ym 1412, ond cymerwyd ei fab yn was bach gan Henry V a rhoddi iddo enw Saesneg.

Tra'n ymdrochi (yn ôl y Gronigl) daliodd Owain Tudur lygad gweddwr ifanc Henry V, Catherine de Valois, a phriododd y ddau a chael dau blentyn o'r briodas (2). Dyrchafodd Henry VI ei frodyr maeth i fod yn leirll Rhismwnt a Phenfro. Priododd Edmunt, un o'r ddau fab, â Margaret Beaufort a ddaeth ynghyd â hi hawl i orsedd Lloegr. Ganed ei fab, Henry Tudur, wedi marwolaeth Edmunt ac fe'i magwyd gan ei ewythr, Siaspar Tudur, yng nghastell Penfro. Eto effeithiwyd ar hynt y teulu gan ansicrwydd gwleidyddol a chan golled y Lancastriaid ac fe'u gorfodwyd i gilio i Ffrainc ym 1471.

The Tudur family of Penmynydd were descendants of Ednyfed Fychan. From their modest plas in Anglesey (1) they commanded an influential power block in north Wales through kindred and other connections. They had formed part of the Welsh official class in the fourteenth century, particularly under Richard II, but had fallen from favour following the usurpation of Henry IV and had been prominent in the Glyn Dŵr rebellion. The family lost Penmynydd for a while and Rhys Tudur was executed in 1412 but his son Owain was taken as a page boy by Henry V and adopted an English style surname. While bathing, according to the Chronicles, Owain Tudur caught the eye of Henry V's young widow Catherine de Valois and was married to her and had two children by her (2). Henry VI promoted his stepbrothers to be Earls of Richmond and Pembroke. One son, Edmund, married Margaret Beaufort who brought with her a claim to the English throne. His son Henry Tudur, born posthumously, was brought up by his uncle, Jasper Tudur, at Pembroke Castle. The family fortunes were again affected by political instability and Lancastrian defeat and they were forced to flee to France in 1471.

About that time also dyed Katherine, King Henryes mother, who was interred at Westminster, in the sepulchre of her predecessors. This woman, after the death of her husband, King Henry the Fifth, being but yonge in yeres, and thereby of lesse discretion to judge what was decent for her estate, married one Owen Tyder, a gentleman of Wales, adorned with wonderfull giftes of body and minde, who derived his pedegree from Cadwallider, the last King of the Brittons, by whom she had three sonnes, Edmonde, Jaspar and the thirde, who was a monke of the order of St. Benet, and lived not long after, and one daughter who was made a noone. Afterwarde Kinge Henry made Edmond earle of Richmonde, and Jaspar earle of Pembroke, because they were his brothers on his mother's side.

After the death of Queene Katherine, the saide Owen was twice committed to warde by the Duke of Gloucester, because he had been so presumptuous as by marriage with the younge Queene to intermix his bloudde with the noble race of kinges, and in the end was beheaded.

2



Henry Tudur yn cymryd coron Lloegr

Henry Tudur takes the crown of England

2

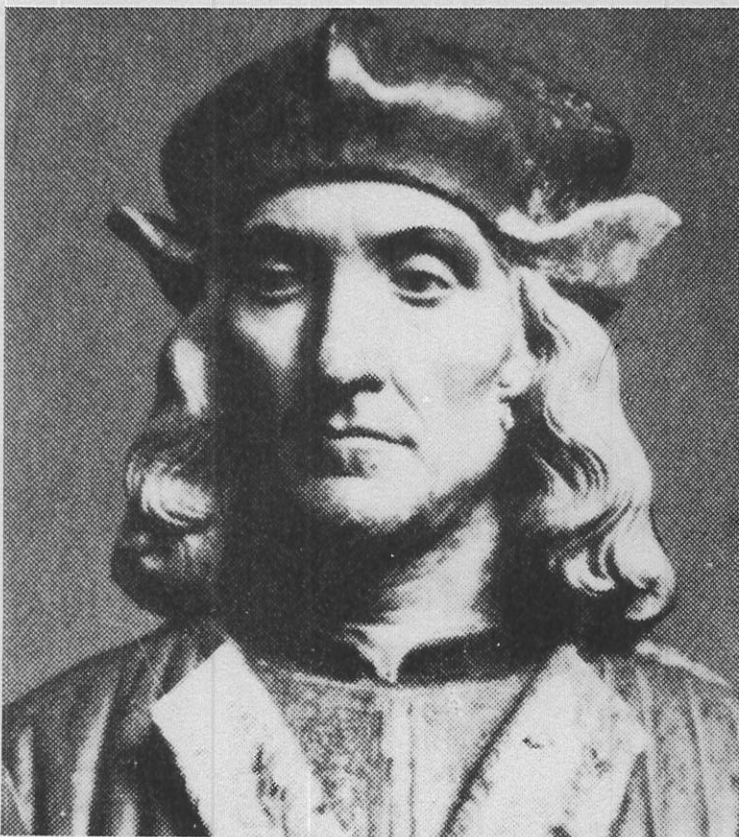
O'i bencadlys yn Ffrainc ym 1485 (1), glaniodd Henry Tudur gyda byddin fechan yn Aberdaugleddau. Dynodwyd ymgyrch Henry gan ymarferion propaganda mawr i ennyn cefnogaeth yng Nghymru ac yn Lloegr. Gyda chymorth Dafydd Llwyd o Fachynlleth tynnwyd ar ddarogianau Myrddin a'r hen chwedlau Arthuraidd. Cododd yr uchelwyr Cymreig, wedi'u symbylu gan flynyddoedd o ddeddfu hiliol, gwrth-Gymreig, ac, o dan arweiniad Rhys ap Thomas o Ddinefwr, heidiasant i'w gefnogi yn ystod ei orymdaith drwy Gymru (2). Yn dilyn brwydr dyngedfennol Bosworth (3) fe'i gosodwyd ar orsedd Lloegr ym 1485 fel Henry VII.

Cadwodd Henry VII Wyl Dewi. Llanwodd swyddi bychain ei lys â Chymry, ond, yn bwysicach fyth, enillodd reolaeth dros y gororau a arosasai, hyd yn hyn, yn hynod o annibynnol o reolaeth y Goron. Parhaodd peiriant propaganda'r Tuduriaid drwy gydol ei deyrnasiad (4). Ail-sgrifennodd y Tuduriaid hanes a chreu eu chwedloniaeth eu hunain megis pardduo Rhisiart III a phortreadu Henry Tudur fel ail Arthur: gwaredwr yn dychwelyd yn ôl darogan Arthur. Adferodd ei esgyniad eu hurddas a'u hawliau sifil i'r Cymry. Fel yr adroddodd y cennad o Fenis, 'Gellir dweud bod y Cymry wedi adfer eu hannibyniaeth am fod Henry VII, ddoeth a ffortunus, yn Gymro'.

From his base in France in 1485 Henry Tudur (1) landed with a small force at Milford Haven. Henry's campaign was distinguished by a massive propaganda exercise to rally support in Wales and England. With the assistance of the poet Dafydd Llwyd of Machynlleth he drew on the prophecies of Merlin and the old Arthurian legends. The Welsh gentry, spurred by years of racist anti-Welsh legislation which had effectively stripped the Welsh of their civil rights, rose in support led by the great magnate Rhys ap Thomas of Dynefor and flocked to him during his march through Wales (2). Following the decisive battle of Bosworth (3) he was enthroned as Henry VII in 1485.

Henry VII observed St David's Day. He packed his court's minor offices with Welshmen. More important still he gained control of the marcher lordships which had until now remained surprisingly independent of Crown control. Most important of all his reign restored stability. The Tudor propaganda machine continued in operation throughout his reign (4). The Tudors rewrote history and created their own myths such as the vilification of Richard III or the portrayal of Henry Tudur as a second Arthur, a saviour figure returning in accordance with Merlin's prophecy. His accession restored to the Welsh their civil rights and their dignity. As the Venetian Ambassador reported 'The Welsh may now be said to have recovered their independence for the most wise and fortunate Henry VII is a Welshman'.

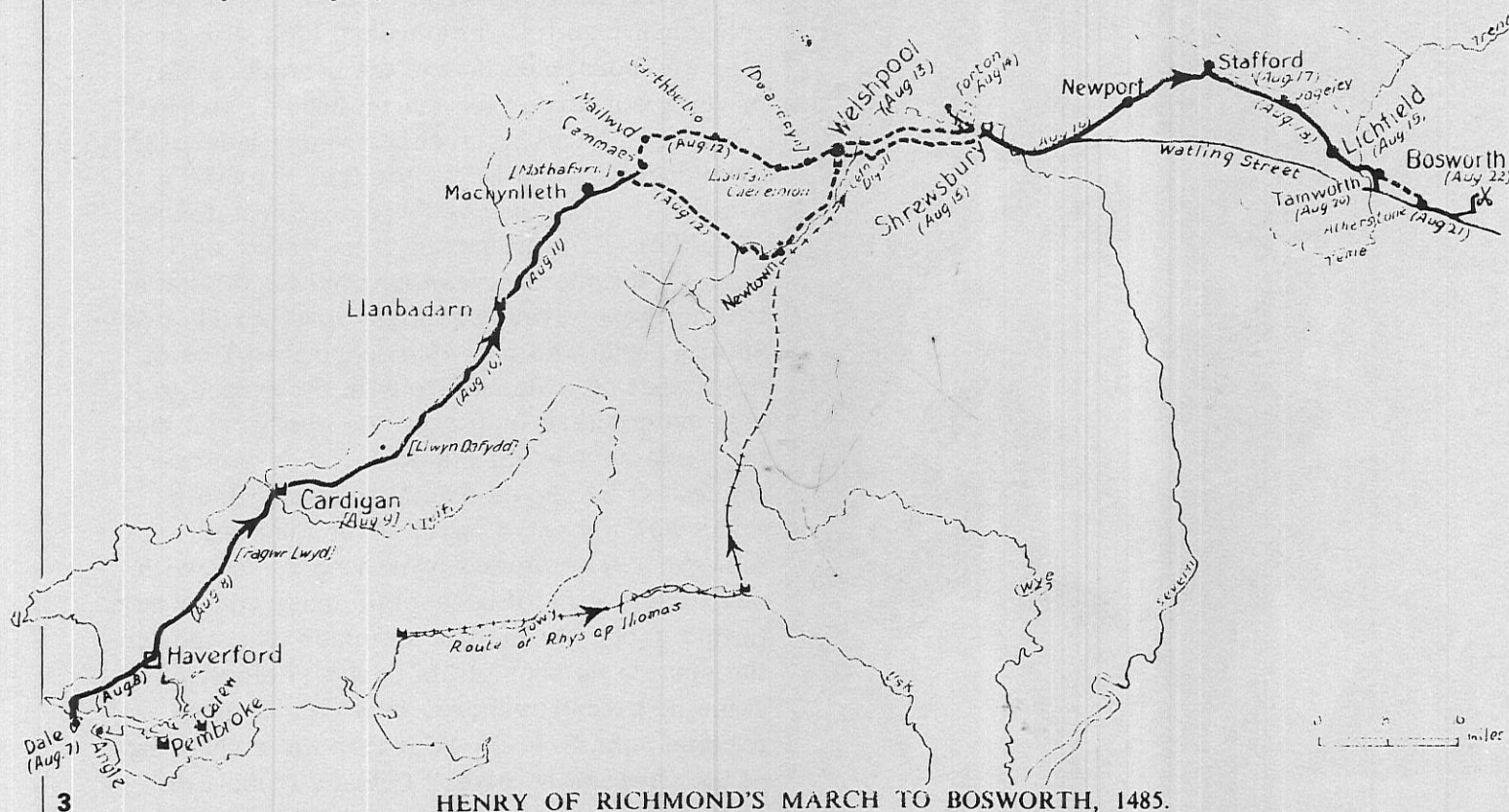
Henry, thinkinge yt nedefull to make haste, that his frinds showld not be any longer kept in perplexytie betwene hope and drede, uncertain what to do, after he had made his prayers to God that he might have an happy and prosperous journey, he lowsed from the mouth of Seyne with two thousand onely of armyd men and a few shippes, the calends of August, and with a soft suthern wynde. The weather being very fayre he came unto Wales the 7th day after, a lyttle before soone set, wher, entring thaven caulyd Milford, and furthwith going a land, he took first a place the name wherof ys Dalley, wher he herd that certane companyes of his adversaryes had had ther stations the wynter by past to have kept him from landing. From thence departing in the breake of day he went to Haverforde, which ys a toune not x myles from Dalley, wher he was receaved with great good will of all men, and the same he dyd with suche celerytie as that he was present and spoken of all at once. Heare he understandeth that Rychard Thomas and John Savage, with all ther force and frindes, dyd help King Richerd to thuttermost of ther power, clene contrary to that he was certyfyed of in Normandy. Bu thinhabitants of Pembrough at the same time comfortyd all ther dysmayyd myndes, for they gave intelligence, by Arnold Butler, a valyant man, demanding forgeavensness of ther former offences, that they wer ready ready to serve Jaspar ther erle. Henry, his army thus augmentyd, departed from Hareford, and goeth forward v myles toward cardygan. The next day after King Richard ... drew his whole hoste out of ther tentes, and arraieth his vanward stretching yt furth of a woonderfull lenght, so full replenyshyd both with foote men and horsemen that to the beholders afar of yt gave a terror for the multitude, and inth front wer placed his archers whose leder was John duke of Norfolk. After this vanward folowyd the King himself with a choyce force of soldiers. In the meane time Henry well early in the morning commandyd the soldiers to arm themselves, sending withall to Thomas Stanley, who was now approchyd the place of fight, that he wold com to with his forces to sett the soldiers to array. He aunsweryd that the earle showld set his oune folkes in order, whyle that he should coome to him with his army well apcyntyed, with which aunswer thowghe Henry wer no lyttle vexyd, yeat withowt lingering he of necessity orderyd his men in this sort. He made a sclender vanward for the smaule number of his people; before the same he placyd archers, of whom he made captane John Erle of Oxford; in the right wing of the vanward he placyd Gilbert Talbot; in



The whyle the soldyers refreshyd themselves hear a rumor was suddaynly spred through the whole camp, thautor wherof was uncertane, that Gwalter Herbert and those who wer in camp at the toun of Carmardyne wer at hand with an huge army. Wheruppon a stirre rose streightway, every man mayd ready his armor, assayd his weapon and began to advance the same, and all men wer in feare therwith a lyttle whyle, whan as thorsemen

2 Holinshead.

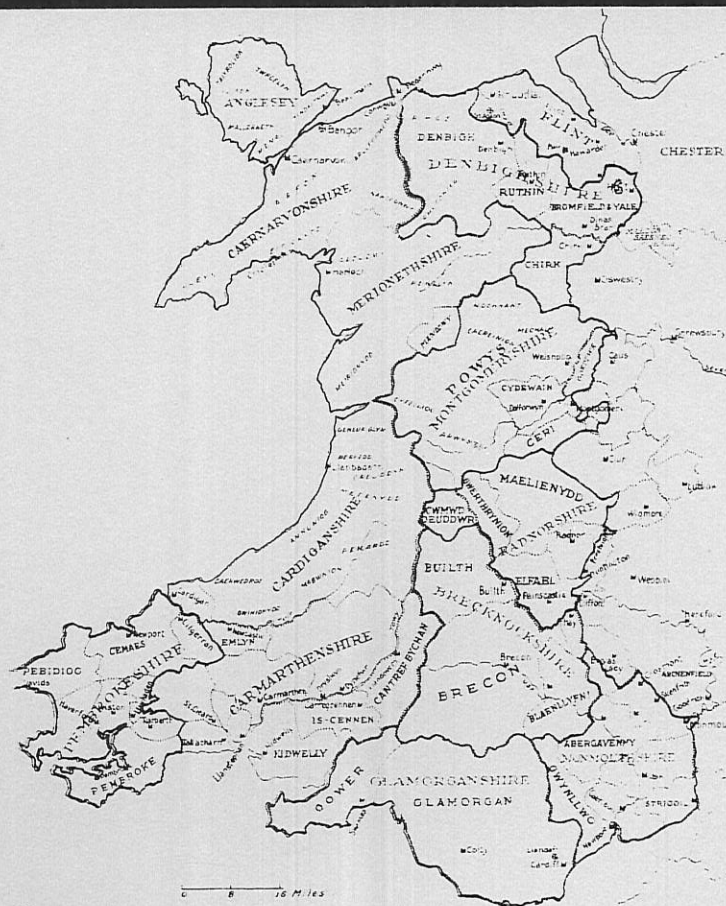
(‘No one reached as high as he;
under heaven no man will go higher’).



Adferodd y gyfres o ddeddfau, a adnabyddir fel 'y Ddeddf Uno' (1) ac a basiwyd rhwng 1536 a 1543, hawliau sifil i'r Cymry a gwnaeth Gymru'n rhan annatod o'r frenhiniaeth. Ailddiffiniwyd ffiniau Cymru. Dileuwyd y Gororau a'r Dywysogaeth oddi ar y map a rhannwyd Cymru yn dair sir ar ddeg. Gadawodd ffiniau newydd Cymru ielafrifoedd ethnig ar y ddwy ochr. Llyncwyd Erging gan Swydd Henffordd, ond arhosodd yn Gymraeg ei iaith am 300 mlynedd. Daeth Sir Fynwy yn eithriad, wedi'i chau allan o gylch y Sesiwn Fawr yng Nghymru.

Sefydlodd y Ddeddf fframwaith o lywodraeth leol a fyddai'n parhau am ganrifoedd lawer (2,3). Gosodwyd swydd allweddol yr Ustus Heddwch yn blwmp yn nwylo'r uchelwyr Cymreig a ddaeth yn rheolwyr lleol, 'Ymherodron y Fro'. Rhoddwyd cynrychiolaeth seneddol i Gymru, un aelod seneddol i'r sir ac un i'r grwpiau o fwrdeistrefi, er y ceid eithriadau: nid oedd gan Feirionnydd aelodau dros y bwrdeistrefi; yr oedd gan Hwlfordd ei aelod ei hunan; tra yn Sir Fynwy mabwysiadwyd y gyfundrefn Seisnig. Sefydlwyd cyfundrefn o weinyddiaeth uwch yn Llys y Sesiwn Fawr a hefyd Gyngor dros Gymru a gyfarfyddai'n aml yn Llwydlo. Daeth Saesneg yn iaith swyddogol gweinyddiaeth. Bu cryn ymfudo o Gymru i'r ganolfan grym, yn Llundain (4).

The series of laws known as the Acts of Union (1) passed between 1536 and 1543 restored civil rights to the Welsh and made Wales an integral part of the kingdom. The borders of Wales were redefined. The March and Principality were wiped off the map and Wales became thirteen counties. The new frontiers of Wales left ethnic minorities on both sides - Erging was absorbed by Herefordshire but remained Welsh speaking for 300 years. Monmouth became something of an anomaly excluded from the circuit of the Welsh Great Sessions. The Act set up a framework of local government which was to last for many centuries (2,3); the key office of Justice of the Peace was placed firmly in the hands of the Welsh gentry who became rulers of the locality (Emperors of the Bro). Wales was given parliamentary representation, one MP for the County and one for the groups of boroughs, though there were exceptions: Merioneth had no borough MPs; Haverfordwest had its own MP; while in Monmouthshire the English system was adopted. A system of higher administration was set up in the Court of Great Sessions and a Council for Wales frequently meeting in Ludlow. English became the official language of administration. There was considerable migration by the Welsh to the centre of power in London (4).



2



3

Judicial seal for Denbigh 1545

SINCE the Welsh were admitted to the Imperial Crown of England, they have to their just praise performed all the parts of dutiful loyalty and allegiance most faithfully thereunto; plentifully yielding martial captains, judicious civilians, skilful common lawyers, learned divines, complete courtiers and adventurous soldiers.

William Camden, 1586.

(Translated from his Latin History of Britain, 1610).

4

C A P. XXVI.

Concerning the Laws to be used in Wales.

The Causes why a Diversity hath been made between the King's Subjects of England and Wales. Bulfinch 117. Stat. Wales 12 Ed. 1.

Palmer 15. All Persons born in Wales shall enjoy all Liberties as other Subjects in England do.

The Laws of England shall be used in Wales. 12 Ed. 1. 12 Ed. 1.

1

ALBEIT the Dominion, Principality and Country of Wales justly and righteously is, and ever hath been incorporated, annexed, united and subject to and under the Imperial Crown of this Realm, as a very Member and Joint of the same, wherefore the King's most Royal Majesty of meer Droit, and very Right, is very Head, King, Lord and Ruler; (2) yet notwithstanding, because that in the same Country, Principality and Dominion, divers Rights, Usages, Laws and Customs be far discrepant from the Laws and Customs of this Realm, (3) and also because that the People of the same Dominion have, and do daily use a Speech nothing like, ne consonant to the natural Mother Tongue used within this Realm. (4) some rude and ignorant People have made Distinction and Diversity between the King's Subjects of this Realm, and his Subjects of the said Dominion and Principality of Wales, whereby great Discord, Variance, Debate, Division, Murmur and Sedition hath grown between his said Subjects; (5) His Highness therefore of a singular Zeal, Love and Favour that he beareth towards his Subjects of his said Dominion of Wales, minding and intending to reduce them to the perfect Order, Notice and Knowledge of his Laws of this his Realm, and utterly to extirp all and singular the sinister Usages and Customs differing from the same, and to bring the said Subjects of this his Realm, and of his said Dominion of Wales, to an amicable Concord and Unity, hath by the deliberate Advice, Consent and Agreement of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and the Commons, in this present Parliament assembled, and by the Authority of the same, ordained, enacted and established, That his said Country or Dominion of Wales shall be, stand and continue for ever from henceforth incorporated, united and annexed to and with this his Realm of England; (6) and that all and singular Person and Persons, born and to be born in the said Principality, County or Dominion of Wales, shall have, enjoy and inherit all and singular Freedoms, Liberties, Rights, Privileges and Laws within this his Realm, and other the King's Dominions, as other the King's Subjects naturally born within the same have, enjoy and inherit.

II. And that all and singular Person and Persons inheritable to any Manors, Lands, Tenements, Rents, Reversions, Services or other Hereditaments, which shall descend after the Death of a Person that cometh within the said Principality, County or Dominion of Wales, or within any particular Lordship, Barony or

Gafaelodd peiriant propaganda'r Tuduriaid yn narn arall o chwedloniaeth Gymreig, fel yd i felin ei bolisi ymerodrol. Dyma oes aur yr anturiaethwr (1), a gwledydd newydd eu darganfod ar draws Fôr yr Iwerydd i'w gwladychu. O dan y Tuduriaid sefydlwyd yr Ymerodraeth Brydeinig ac ymroddodd Prydain a Sbaen i ymrafael gwladfaol. Hyrwyddodd Dr John Dee, ysgolhaig y Dadeni a Chymro Llundain â gwreiddiau yn Sir Drefaldwyn, weithgarwch morol gyda'i fapiau a'i siartiau newydd ar forwriaeth (2). Cyflwynodd deitl brenhinol i Elisabeth I am ei hymerodraeth dros Fôr yr Iwerydd (3). Yn hanes y Cymry, gan Hwmffre Llwyd (4) a gyhoeddwyd yn 1584 daeth Dee o hyd i hen chwedlau Madog a ddywed i Fadog ab Owain Gwynedd ddarganfod gwlad dros Fôr yr Iwerydd lle y sefydlodd wladfa Gymreig dair canrif o flaen dyfodiad Columbus i'r Amerig. Gafaelwyd yn y fyth gan ddynion megis Syr George Peckham (5) a ddyfeisiodd gyfiawnhad iddi. Rhoddodd chwedloniaeth Gymru gyfreithlondeb i hawl y Prydeinwyr ar yr Amerig ac fe'i defnyddid fel arf yn erbyn Sbaen. Beth bynnag am ei gwired neu'i hanwiredd geill chwedl fod yn ddylanwad cryf. Cymerwyd chwedl Madog gan genhedlaeth gyfan yn gyfiawnhad i bolisi ymerodrol y Tuduriaid.

The Tudor propaganda machine seized on another piece of Welsh legend as grist to its mill in imperial policy. This was the great age of exploration (1) with newly discovered lands across the Atlantic to be colonised. Under the Tudors the British Empire was founded and Britain and Spain engaged in colonial rivalry. Dr John Dee, a London Welshman with roots in Radnorshire and a Renaissance scholar boosted Britain's maritime activity with his new maps and charts and treatises on navigation (2). He presented Elizabeth I with a title royal to her empire across the Atlantic (3). In Humphrey Llwyd's history of the Welsh (4) published in 1584 Dee came across the old Madoc legends, that Madoc a son of Owain Gwynedd discovered a land across the Atlantic where he founded a Welsh colony three centuries before Columbus's discovery of America. The myth was taken up by men like Sir George Peckham (5) who built an edifice of justification around the legend. Welsh legend gave legitimacy to the British claim to America and was used as a weapon against Spain. Regardless of its truth or falsity legend can be a powerful influence. The Madoc legend was seized upon by a whole generation as justification for Tudor imperial policy.



1

A brief Remembrance of the first discovery of the West Indies, by Christopher Columbus, in the year 1492. By John Dee, Doctor in Divinity, and Mathematicall Professor in the University of Cambridge. Printed by I. Iaggard, at the Signe of the Gunne, in the Strand, 1622.

The Lord Madoc, a Welshman, discovered a new world, and called it Wales, in the year 1170. By John Dee, Doctor in Divinity, and Mathematicall Professor in the University of Cambridge. Printed by I. Iaggard, at the Signe of the Gunne, in the Strand, 1622.

3



2

Madoc another of Owen Gwyneth his sonnes left the land in contention betwixt his brethren, and prepared certaine ships with men and munition, and sought adventures by seas, sailing west, and leaving the coast of Ireland so far noth, that he came to a land unknown, where he saw manie strange things. This land must needs be some part of that countrie of which the Spaniards affirm themselves to be the first finders sith Hanno's time; for by reason and order of Cosmographie, this land, to the which Madoc came, must needs be some part of Nove Hispania or Florida. Whereupon it is manifest, that this countrie was long before by Brytaines discovered, afore either Columbus or Americus Vesputius lead anie Spaniardes thither. Of the viage and returne of this Madoc there be manie fables fained, as the common people doo use in distance of place and length of time rather to augment than to diminish: but sure it is, that there he was. And after he had returned home and declared the pleasant and fruitfull countries that he had seene without inhabitants; and upon the contrarie part, for what barren and wild ground his brethren and nephews did murther one another: he prepared a number of ships, and got with him such men and women as were desirous to live in quietnes, and taking leave of his freends tooke his journie titherward againe. Therefore it is to be presupposed, that he and his people inhabited part of those countries; for it appeareth by Francis Loves [Lopez de Gomara] that in Acusanus [Acusamil] and other places, the people honoured the crosse; whereby it may be gathered that Christians had beene there, before the coming of the Spaniards. But bicause this people were not manie, they followed the maners of the land they came unto, and used the language they found there.

Humphrey Llwyd's account from Powells Histore of Cumbria 1584.

4

'The Lord Madoc, Sonne to Owen Gwynedd, Prince of North Wales led a colonie and inhabited in terra Florida or thereabouts'.

And it is very evident that the planting there shall in time right ampie enlarge her Majesties Territories and Dominions (or I might rather say) restore to her Highnesse aunient right and interest in those Countries, into the which a noble and woorthy personage, lyneally descended from the blood royall, borne in Wales, named Macock ap Owen Gwyneth, departing from the coast of England, about the yeere of our Lord God 11 0 arrived and there planted himselfe, and his Colonies,

and afterward returned himself into England, leaving certaine of his people there, as appeareth in an aunient Welch Chronicle, where he then gave to certaine Llandes, Beastes, and Fowles, sundrie Welch names, as the Lland of Pengwyn, which yet to this day beareth the same.

There is lykewise a Fowle in the sayde Countries, called by the same name at this daye, and is as much to saye in Englishe, as White-headde, and in trueth, the sayde Fowles have white heads.

There is also in those Countries a fruite called Gwynethes which is likewise a Welch word. Moreover, there are divers other welch wordes at this dite in use, as David Ingram aforesaide reporteth in his relations. All which most strongly argueth, the saide Prince with his people to have inhabited there. And the same in effect is confirmed by Mutuzuma that mightie Emperor of Mexico who in an Oration unto his subjects, for the better pacifying of them, made in the presence of Hernando Curtese, used these speeches following.

My kinsemen, freends, and servaunts, you do well know that eighteen yeeres I have been your King, as my Fathers and Grandfathers were, and alwaies I have beene unto you a loving Prince, and you unto me good and obedient subjects, and so I hope you will remaine unto me all the daies of my life. You ought to have in remembraunce, that eyther you have heard of your Fathers, or else our divines have instructed you that we are not naturallie of this Countrie, nor yet our Kingdome is durable, because our Forefathers came from a farre countrie and their King and Captaine who brought them hither, returned againe to his natural countrie, saying, that he would sende such as should rule and governe us, if by chaunce he himself returned not etc.

These be the verie words of Mutuzuma, set downe in the Spanish Chronicles, the which being thoroughlie considered, because they have relation to some straunge noble person, who long before had possessed those Countries, doo all sufficientlie argue, the undoubted title of her Majestie: For as much as no other Nation can truelie by any Chronicles they can finde, make prescription of time for themselves, before the time of this Prince Madocke. Besides all this, for further prooffe of her highnes title sithence the arrivall of this noble Britton into those partes ...

Sir George Peckham's True Reporte 1583

5

Perthynai deddfau'r Diwygiad i Gymru ac i Loegr fel ei gilydd (1). Ar y cyfan ymddangosai fod Cymru yn cyd-fynd â'r newidiadau hyn. Ychydig o offeiriaid Cymreig a wrthododd gymryd y llw o dan y deddfau Goruchafiaeth ac Olyniaeth. Collodd Cymru'r rhan fwyaf o'i mynachlogydd ar unwaith yn 1536 (2). Cofnododd Leland yn ei 'Taith trwy Gymru' lawer o fynachlogydd a ddiddymesid. Yn 1535 yr oedd 47 o dai crefyddol yng Nghymru a 246 o fynach, lleianod a brodyr. Awgryma'r rhifau isel ym fod y tai yn dirywio (3). Bu arferion llygredig hefyd megis gwerthu maddeuebau (4,5). Rheolai'r tai crefyddol hyn gryn dipyn o dir, adeiladau ac eiddo. Atafaelwyd y rhain i gyd. Yr uchelwyr Cymreig, a hwythau eisoes yn adeiladu eu stadau, a elwodd o'r cyfle i brynu'r tiroedd hyn o'r Goron. Dymchwelwyd y mynachlogydd yn rhannol (6) gan werthu plwm a nwyddau a gadael y bobl leol i ysbeilio'r adeiladau am garreg. Y tebyg yw mai mewn diwylliant yr oedd y golled fwyaf i Gymru. Nid yn unig y dinistriwyd pensaernïaeth gain (megis y llungerfiad o wartheg yn adfeilion Abaty Castell-nedd (7)) a hefyd darluniau, cerfluniau carreg a choed, gwaith arian a brodwaith, ond, yn waeth na dim hwyrach, llyfrgelloedd y mynaich gyda'u llyfrau a llawysgrifau amhriiadwy. Ond ychydig iawn o gasgliadau a oroesodd, megis casgliad Margam sydd yn awr yng Ngholeg y Drindod, Caergrawnt. Ni allwn wybod maint y golled, ond i Gymru, â'i threftadaeth lenyddol hir, gallai fod yn golled sylweddol iawn.

The legislation of the Reformation applied to Wales equally as to England (1). On the whole Wales appeared to acquiesce to these changes. Few Welsh clergymen refused to take the oath under the Acts of Supremacy and Succession. Wales lost most of her monasteries at a stroke. In 1536 Leland in his journey through Wales recorded many dissolved monasteries (2). In 1535 Wales had 47 religious houses and 246 monks, nuns and friars – the low numbers of the inmates suggesting the fact that they were in decline (3). There were also decadent practices such as the sale of indulgences (4,5). These religious institutions controlled a considerable amount of land, buildings and property all of which were confiscated. It was the local Welsh gentry, already building up their estates who benefited from the opportunities to purchase these lands from the Crown. The monasteries themselves were partly demolished (6), lead and goods being sold off, leaving the locals to loot the buildings for stone. The biggest loss to Wales was probably cultural. Not only was there a destruction of fine architecture, (epitomised by the engraving of cattle in the ruins of Neath Abbey (7), and also of art, sculpture, wood carving, silverwork and embroidery, but worst of all was the wilful destruction of the monastic libraries with their priceless books and manuscripts. Only a very few monastery collections such as the Margam collection now in Trinity College Cambridge survived. We cannot know the extent of the loss but for Wales with its long literary heritage the loss may well have been considerable.

"S. Cleres, vii miles from Cairmardine was a litle monasteri suppressid and given to Alsoulen-College in Oxford ...

Ther was a celle of the order of monkes of S. Dogmaels in Caldey Island now suppressid ...

Ther was a priori in Cairdigan toune, but in hit was but a ii religiose menne Blak Monkes. It stondith yet, and is a celle onto Chertesey. Llan Lleyr a nunnery of White Nunnes in Cairdiganshire apone the brook of Aeron. It was a celle of Stratflur, and stode from Stratflere x miles in the hy-way to Cairdigan ... "

Leland: Itinerary through Wales.

2

C A P. XIII.

An Act for Dissolution of Monasteries and Abbies.

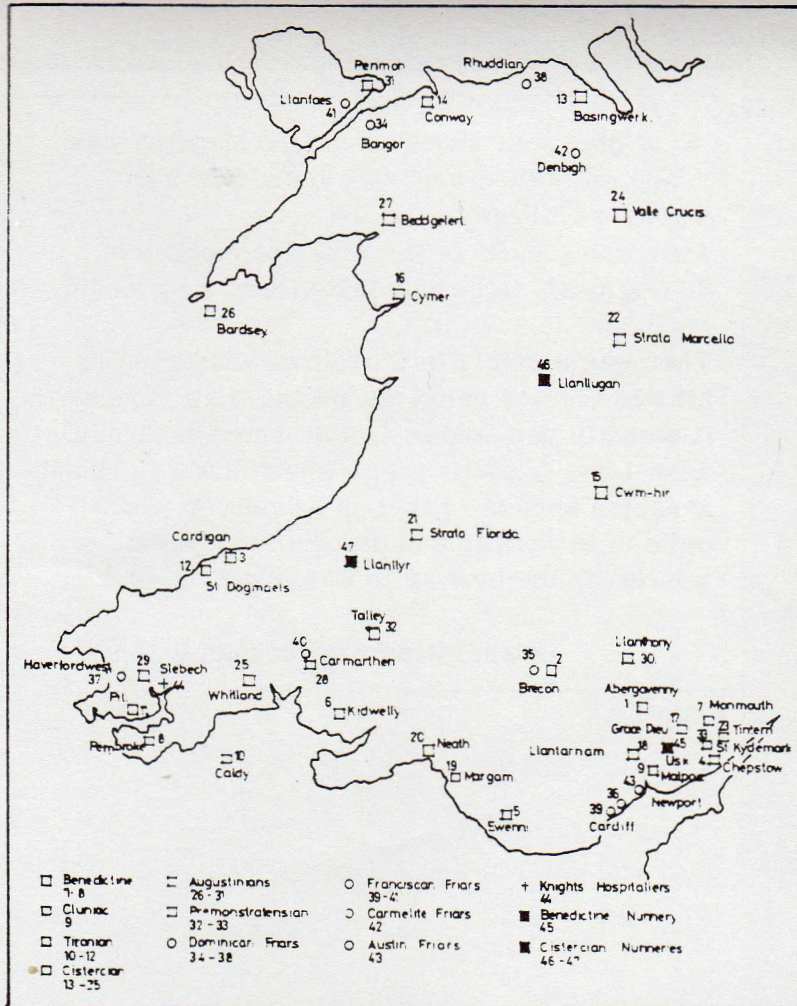
WHERE divers and sundry Abbots, Priors, Abbeffes, Prioreffes and other Ecclesiastical Governors and Governesses of divers Monasteries, Abbathies, Priories, Nunneries, Colleges, Hospitals, Houses of Friers and other Religious and Ecclesiastical Houses and Places within this our Sovereign Lord the King's Realm of England and Wales, of their own free and voluntary Minds, good Wills and Affections, without Constraint, Coaction or Compulsion of any manner of Person or Persons, sithen the fourth Day of February the twenty-seventh Year of the Reign of our now most dread Sovereign Lord, by the Order and Course of the Common Laws of this his Realm of England, and by their sufficient Writings of Record, under their Covent and Common Seals, have severally given, granted and by the same their Writings severally confirmed all their said Monasteries, Abbathies, Priories, Nunneries, Colleges, Hospitals, Houses of Friers and other Religious and Ecclesiastical Houses and Places, and all their Sites, Circuits and Precincts of the same, and all and singular their Manors, Lordships, Granges, Meases, Lands, Tenements, Meadows, Pastures, Rents, Reverfions, Services, Woods, Tithes, Pensiones, Portuages, Churches, Chapels, Advowfons, Patronages, Annuities, Rights, Entries, Conditions, Commons, Leets, Courts, Liberties, Privileges and Franchises, appertaining or in any wise belonging to any such Monastery, Abbathy, Priory, Nunnery, College, Hospital, House of Friers and other Religious and Ecclesiastical Houses and Places, or to any of them, by whatsoever Name or Corporation they or any of them were then named or called, and of what Order, Habit, Religion, or other Kind or Quality soever they or any of them were then reputed, known or taken; to have and to hold all the said Monasteries, Abbathies, Priories, Nunneries, Colleges, Hospitals, Houses of Friers, and other Religious and Ecclesiastical Houses and Places, Sites, Circuits, Precincts, Manors, Lands, Tenements, Meadows, Pastures, Rents, Reverfions, Services and all other the Premises, to our said Sovereign Lord, his Heirs and Successors for ever, and the same their said Monasteries, Abbathies, Priories, Nunneries, Colleges, Hospitals, Houses of Friers, and other Religious and Ecclesiastical Houses and Places, Sites, Circuits, Precincts, Manors, Lordships, Granges, Meases, Lands, Tenements, Meadows, Pastures, Rents, Reverfions, Services and other the Premises, voluntarily as is aforesaid, have renounced, left and forsaken, and every of them hath renounced, left and forsaken.

He Be it therefore enacted by the King our Sovereign Lord, and the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and the Commons, in this present Parliament assembled, and by Authority of the same, That the King our Sovereign Lord shall have, hold, possess and enjoy to him, his Heirs and Successors for ever, all and singular the late Monasteries, Abbathies, Priories, Nunneries, Colleges, Hospitals, Houses of Friers, and other Religious and Ecclesiastical Houses and Places, of what Kinds, Natures, Qualities or Diversities of Habits,

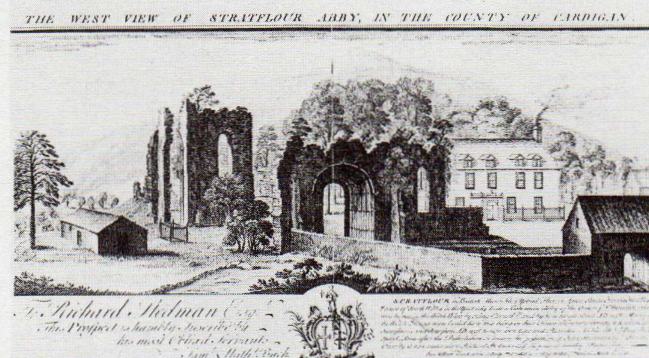
How Leaves made of Manors belonging to Monasteries dissolved, and assured to the King, shall take Effect.

3 Buft. 15a. Lee 15.

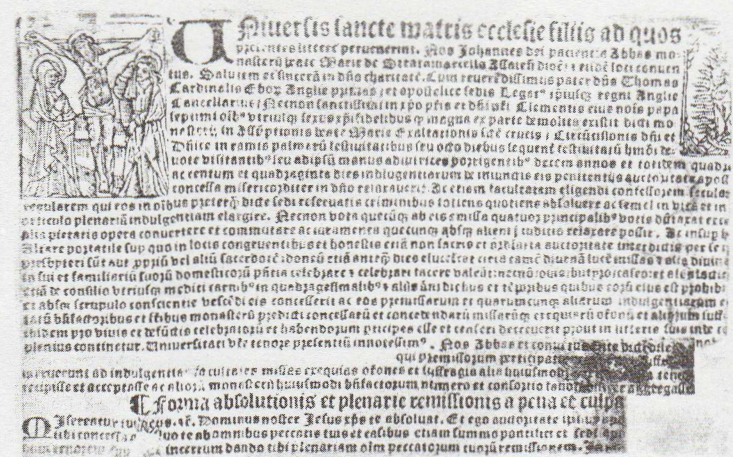
Monasteries and their Lands, before surrendered or dissolved, given to the King.



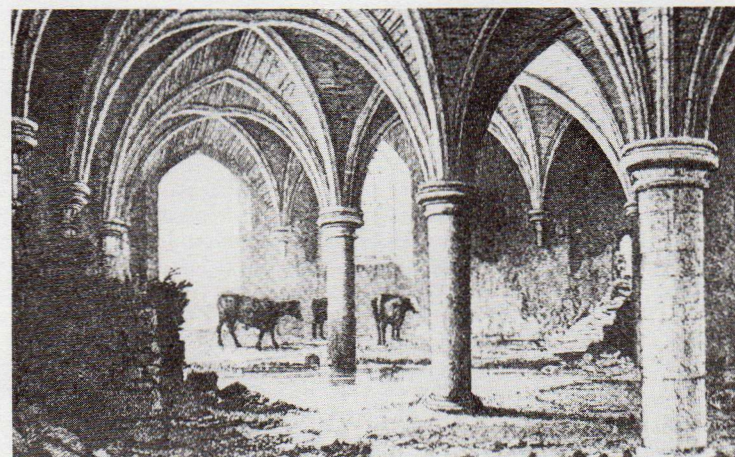
3 Welsh Religious Houses on the Eve of their Dissolution



6



4



7

THE STRATA MARCELLA INDULGENCE (see Illustration page 11)
Universis sancte matris ecclesie filiis ad quos presentes littere pervenerint
..... &c.

(Reduced and translated it reads:)

To all the sons of Holy Mother Church to whom this present letter may come. We John by the sufferance of God Abbot of the monastery of the Blessed Mary of Ystrad Marchell . . . send greeting and sincere love in the Lord.

Whereas our most reverend Father, Lord Thomas (Wolsey), Cardinal of York . . . and Chancellor . . . of England, also of our most holy Father in Christ and Lord Clement, seventh pope of that name, has released ten years and as many months and 140 days of indulgences from the penances

enjoined on all Christ's faithful people of either sex devoutly visiting the said monastery which is to a large extent in a state of ruin . . . or (have) extended helping hands to the same monastery . . . with power to absolve them from all offences, excepting only those reserved to the said See (of Rome), as often as occasion shall require . . . And also granted them leave to eat eggs, butter, cheese and other milky products, and, on the advice of a physician even flesh in Lent . . . we make known to all of you . . . that we, the Abbot and Convent aforesaid have received and accepted our well-beloved

(name(s) of 'buyer(s)')

(who, by their good offices have earned a right to participate in the things aforesaid) to participation accordingly in the indulgence . . . aforesaid.

Arhosodd Pabyddiaeth yn gryfaf yn ne-ddwyrain Cymru, ar ffin Sir Fynwy ac yn y gogledd-ddwyrain o amgylch Dinbych a Flint. Yr uchelwyr a gynhaliodd yr hen ffydd ar y cyfan (1). Ceid merthyron (2) ar y ddwy ochr o dan y polisiau gwahanol yn ystod teyrnasiad Henry VII, Edward VI, Mary ac Elisabeth I, ond, yn gyffredinol, ni symblai'r newidiadau crefyddol wrthwynebiad o unrhyw bwys ac arhosodd y rhan fwyaf o'r uchelwyr Cymreig yn deyrngar i'r Tuduriaid. Mewn sawl ffordd arweiniodd y newid i Brotestaniaeth at welliannau. Yn ystod teyrnasiad Elisabeth I ymddangosodd esgobion Cymreig am y tro cyntaf ers talwm yn yr esgobaethau Cymreig. Penodwyd 13 o Gymry allan o'r 16 esgob newydd.

Adweithiodd y Pabyddion â gwrthwynebiad crefyddol tanddaearol. Aeth offeiriad pabyddol Cymreig i'r cyfandir am loches. Smyglwyd dynion allan o'r wlad i'w hyfforddi a'u dychwelyd i Gymru. Yr oedd hyd yn oed wasg gudd (3-5) mewn ogof yng ngogledd Cymru a gynhyrchodd lenyddiaeth ddefosiynol babyddol yn y Gymraeg (6).

Catholicism remained strongest in south east Wales, on the Monmouth border and in the north east around Denbigh and Flint. It was mainly the gentry who were the upholders of the old faith (1). There were a few martyrs (2) on both sides during the reversals of policy under Henry VIII, Edward VI, and Mary and Elizabeth I, but on the whole the religious changes provoked little opposition in Wales. Most Welsh remained solidly loyal to the House of Tudor. In some ways the change to Protestantism led to improvements. In the reign of Elizabeth I, Welsh bishops appeared for the first time for many years in Welsh dioceses. Thirteen out of sixteen appointments to bishoprics were held by Welshmen.

The Catholics retaliated with a religious underground resistance. Welsh Catholic clerics sought refuge in seminaries on the continent. They smuggled men out for training and smuggled them back into Wales. The movement even ran a clandestine printing press (3-5) in a North Wales cave which produced Catholic devotional literature in Welsh (6).

'Yn lle allor trestyl trist
yn lle Krist mae bara
yn lle ffeiriad kobler krin,
yn kamv i vin yw vwytta.'

(Instead of altar, a sorry trestle ; instead of Christ,
there's bread ; instead of priest, a shrivelled cobbler,
making crooked his lip to eat it.)

1 William Llŷn (ob. 1580)

To the right worshipful Mr William Llyon & Mr John ...
Nicholas ...
greeting in Christ ...

Whereas heretofore I received letters from the Lords of her maiesties most honorable privy counsaill commanding [you] to make diligent searche and inquiry from tyme to tyme throughout my dioces of soche disorderly persons [who refuse] to com to the church and do not conforme themselves to heere devyne service but obstinatly forbear [to come] contrary to the lawes and Statutes of this realme ...

Given at Basingstoke the xxvth day of July in the xxvth year of the said most honorable Lady Elizabeth by the justice of god James of England for ever and ever ...

1583

[Signature]

Whereas heretofore I received letters from the Lords of her maiesties most honorable privy counsaill commanding [you] to make diligent searche and inquiry from tyme to tyme throughout my dioces of soche disorderly persons [who refuse] to com to the church and do not conforme themselves to heere devyne service but obstinatly forbear [to come] contrary to the lawes and Statutes of this realme ...

Caernarvonshire Quarter Sessions records 1583.

"Ai lechwedd, fann i lechu.
Mynudd roedd, neu maith rhyn:
Rhwn a elwir Rhiw ledyn.
Yn hwnn craig, mayn crogi ir môr:
Ag ogo mann, nis gwyr nemmor.
Dewis yr honn, dwys Robert:
Ei loches budd, i lechu yn bert."

"Rhai sŷ yw cael yn rhostio cŷg:
Gwnn yn ddâ, yn gogan diddig.
Cofion hŷr, kann un arall:
Budd ar cŷd, yn bobwr all.
Budd un ar lawr, a brâg yn llaw:
Côt a dawr, yn ceissio darllaw."

"Y tân ar mŷg, yn tannu or man:
Nhwy, ac ogo cyhuddan.
Ir bigeiliaid, bu yn amlwg:
O gil y mann, goley ar mŷg.
Traws modd, Syr Thomas Mostyn:
A gwlâd a bro, gwiliayr brynn.
Yw cael yr rhain, rhag cilio yn rhudd.
Cel i bawb, cilio budd:
Ar y mannay, rhud y mynudd.
A dianc yn ranc, or rhwyd:
Ir dynion, yna a dannwyd."

Llwyth a roir or llythrenne:
Bûdd yn llawn, bôbpeth ir lle.
O fewn y brunn, heb fawr or braw:
Ar gwasc prenn, y gwur sun printiaw.
Y llufr mwyn, a llawer mawl:
Ar drwch cred, Drûch Christnogawl."

Gwilym Pue of Monmouth late seventeenth century

3

THE SECRET PRESS AT RHIWLEDYN: William Griffith, J.P. writes to Archbishop Whitgift on 19 April, 1587

... ther is a place called Gogarth that buttethe upon Denbigh Sheire ...
& ther is a cave bye the Sea side about 3 faddomes deepe ... & the xliith
of this Apriell ther weare in the aforesaid Cave twelue or more Jesuites
Seminaries & recusantes the which weare discovered by a neighbour
therbye who sawe at the Caue mouth one or twoe of them with pistoles
whom he spake with & fownd them strangers & such as cared not for
officers wherfore he wente to the next Justice ... Master Thomas Mostyn
(who) Raised people xl or ther aboutes (and) came to the Caue mouth.
(He) durst not or tooke on hime not to dare to enter the Cave the mouth
therof was soe narrowe but lefte a Watch ther ouer nighte to the number
of xxtie wherof some weare his owne men. I wott not howe by the next
morninge all weare suffered to escape & none of the wach is committyd;
the Justice dwelleth within a myle. Ther was fownde the next dave in the
Cave Weapons within a myle. Ther was fownde the nekt dave in the Cave
Weapons Virtualls & the Cave borded & theire Alter. ...

5



4

Y
DRYCH CRISTIA
NOGAWL:

YN TRHWYDICHON POB CRISTIAWN
CANFOD GWREIDDHIN A DICHRYAD
pob daioni frydawb

SEF GWYBOD MODH I WASANA
ethu Duw, drwy ei garu ai ofm yn fwy
na dim, ag i dafu ymaith beth byn-
nag a r a fo rwystr i hynny.

Y
RHANN GYNTAF
yn peri gwafanaethu Duw
drwy ei garu.

Conuertimini ad me, & conuertar ad vos,
ait Dominus exercituum. 3. Malach. 7.

Dymchwelwch chiwi ataw fi, a minen a
dymchwelaf ataw chiwibeu, medd
Arglwyd y llyued.

Rhotomagi apud haredes
Iathroi Fauonis.

1585

6

Saesneg oedd iaith swyddogol gweinyddiaeth, eithr ni ellid diwygio'r Cymry i Brotestaniaeth heb ddarparu'r Beibl a'r Llyfr Gweddî yn yr unig iaith y gallent ei deall, sef y Gymraeg (1). *Yn y Lhyvyr hwnn* (2) a gynhyrchwyd gan Syr John Price, gŵr o Sir Frycheiniog, oedd llyfr printiedig cyntaf yr iaith Gymraeg. Fe'i cyhoeddwyd ym 1546/7.

Cynhwysodd gyfieithiadau o'r Credo, Gweddî'r Arglwydd a'r Deg Gorchymyn – 'lleiafswm cred na all, neu na fydd, yr offeiriad ei datguddio i'w plwyfolion'.

Ym 1536 pasiodd y Senedd ddeddf yn gorchymyn pump esgob Cymru a Swydd Henffordd i sicrhau bod y Beibl a'r Llyfr Gweddî Gyffredin yn cael eu cyfieithu i'r Gymraeg erbyn Dydd Gŵyl Dewi 1567 (3). Rhoddodd hyn gydnabyddiaeth swyddogol i'r iaith Gymraeg. Gwnaeth yr Esgob Richard Davies wahodd William Salesbury a Thomas Huet i'w balas ger Caerfyrddin lle y cynhyrchasant gyfieithiad o'r Testament Newydd (4) a'r Llyfr Gweddî Gyffredin (5).

Ym 1588 cynhyrchodd yr Esgob William Morgan (1545-1604) (6) ei gyfieithiad campus o'r holl Feibl i'r Gymraeg (7). Brodor o Ddyffryn Conwy, Sir Gaernarfon, cafodd yr Esgob William Morgan nawdd teulu grymus Wynne o Wydr.

Yr oedd effaith y Beibl Cymraeg yn fawr (8). Cryfhodd y Diwygiad Protestanaidd yng Nghymru. Daeth yn ddeunydd darllen beunyddiol y Cymry ac argraffodd arnynt ymwybyddiaeth o'u diwylliant eu hunain. Achubodd y Beibl Cymraeg yr iaith Gymraeg rhag dirywio fel y gwnaethai'r Gernyweg. Rhoddodd hwb i sgrifennu Cymraeg ar adeg pan oedd y Gymraeg mewn perygl o fynd yn iaith lafar yn unig a'r beirdd wedi tewi a'r traddodiad barddol ar drai. Sicrhodd dylanwad y Beibl orosiad yr iaith Gymraeg fel iaith rywiog mewn llenyddiaeth o fath defosiynol a llenyddol.

English may have been the official language of administration but if the Welsh were to be made Protestant then they had to be provided with a Bible and Prayer Book in a language they could understand (1). *Yn y Lhyvyr hwnn* (2) produced by Sir John Price, a Brecknock man, was the first printed Welsh book, published in 1546/7, which comprised translations of the Creed, the Lord's prayer and the Commandments ('the minimum of belief which the Clergy either cannot or will not reveal to their parishioners').

In 1563 Parliament passed an Act ordering the five bishops of Wales and Hereford to ensure that the Bible and Prayer Book were translated into Welsh by St David's Day 1567 (3), giving official recognition to the Welsh language. Bishop Richard Davies invited the scholars William Salesbury and Thomas Huet to his palace near Carmarthen where between them a translation of the New Testament (4) and book of Common Prayer (5) were produced.

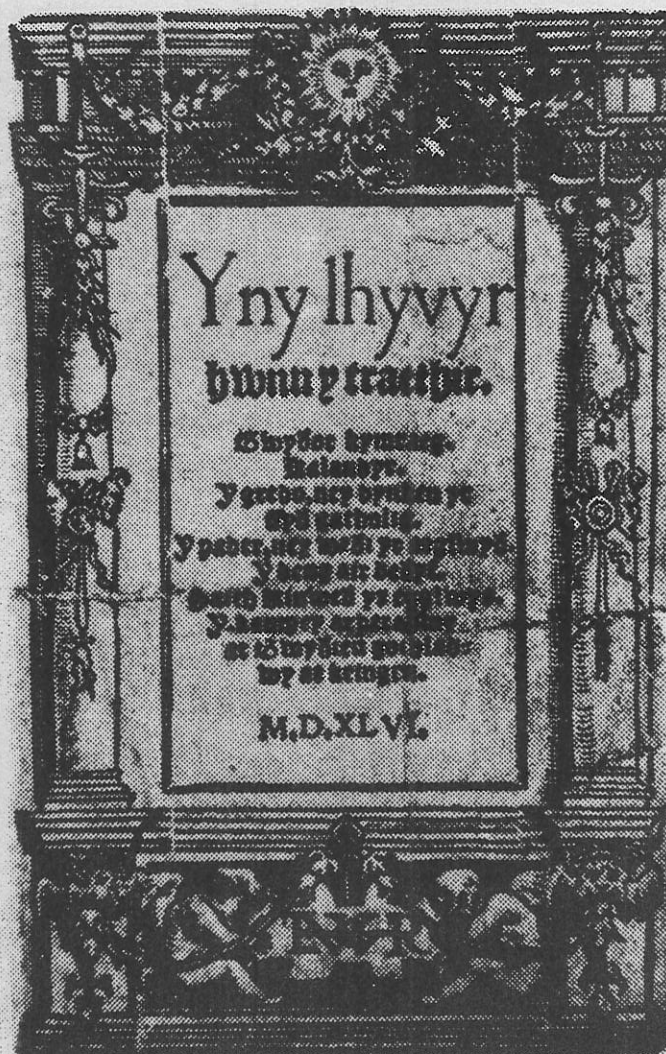
Twenty one years later Bishop William Morgan (1545-1604) (6) a native of the Conwy Valley, Caernarfonshire, and a protégé of the powerful Wynne family of Gwydr finally produced his masterly translation of the entire Bible into Welsh (7). Its influence was immense (8). It buttressed the Protestant Reformation in Wales. It became the staple reading matter of the Welsh people and stamped a cultural identity on the people of Wales. The Welsh Bible became the sheet anchor of the Welsh language; without it Welsh might have gone the same way as the language of south west England. This Bible gave an impetus to Welsh writing after the decline of the Bards and the Welsh poetic tradition, at a period when Welsh was in danger of becoming a purely oral language. The Bible's influence assured the Welsh language's survival in a literature of a devotional and religious kind.

'Let them beware lest they obstruct the truth in their eagerness for uniformity ...

There is no doubt that likeness in religion is a far stronger bond of union than uniformity of language'.

Bishop William Morgan to Queen Elizabeth 1588

1



2

C A P. XXVIII.

An Act for the Translating of the Bible and the Divine Service into the *Welsh* Tongue.

WHEREAS the Queen's most Excellent Majesty, like a most godly and virtuous Princess, having chief Respect and Regard to the Honour and Glory of God, and the Souls Health of her Subjects, did in the first Year of her Reign, by the Authority of her High Court of Parliament, chiefly for that Purpose called, set forth a Book of Common Prayer and Order of the Administration of Sacraments in the vulgar *English* Tongue, to be used through all her Realm of *England*, *Wales* and the Marches of the same, that thereby her Highness most loving Subjects understanding in their own Language the terrible and fearful Threatning, rehearsed in the Book of God against the Wicked and Malefactors, the pleasant and infallible Promises made to the elect and chosen Flock, with a just Order to rule and guide their Lives according to the Commandments of God, might much better learn to love and fear God, to serve and obey their Prince, and to know their Duties towards their Neighbours; which Book being received as a most precious Jewel with an inspeakable Joy of all such her Subjects as did and do understand the *English* Tongue, the which Tongue is not understood of the most and greatest Number of all her Majesty's most loving and obedient Subjects inhabiting within her Highness Dominion and Country of *Wales*, being no small Part of this Realm, who therefore are utterly destituted of God's Holy Word, and do remain in the like or rather more Darkness and Ignorance than they were in the Time of Papistry: Be it therefore enacted by the Queen our Sovereign Lady, the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and the Commons, in this present Parliament assembled, and by the Authority of the same, That the Bishops of *Hereford*, *Saint Davids*, *Aleph*, *Bangor* and *Londoff*, and their Successors, shall take such Order amongst themselves for the Souls Health of the Flocks committed to their Charge within *Wales*, That the whole Bible containing the New Testament and the Old, with the Book of Common Prayer and Administration of the Sacraments, as is now used within this Realm in *English*, to be truly and exactly translated into the *British* or *Welsh* Tongue; (2) and

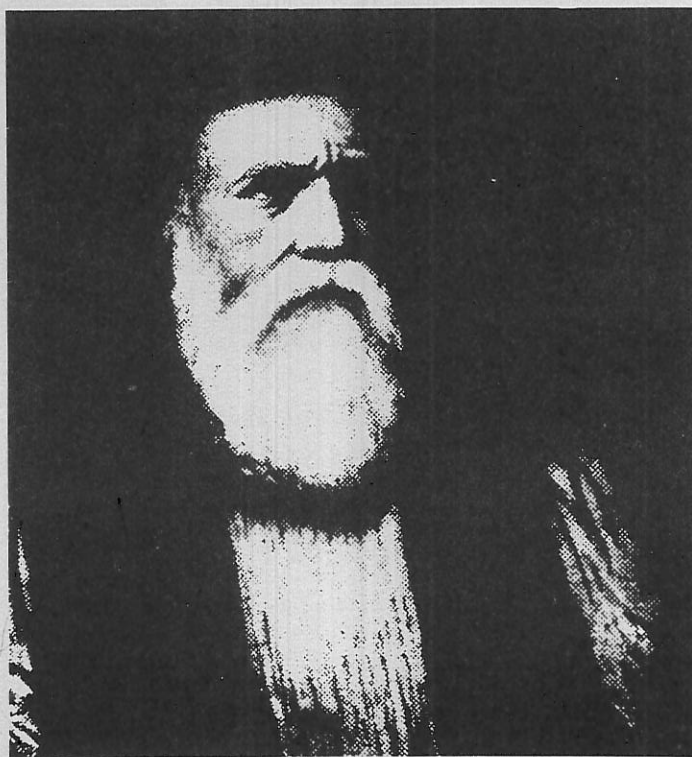
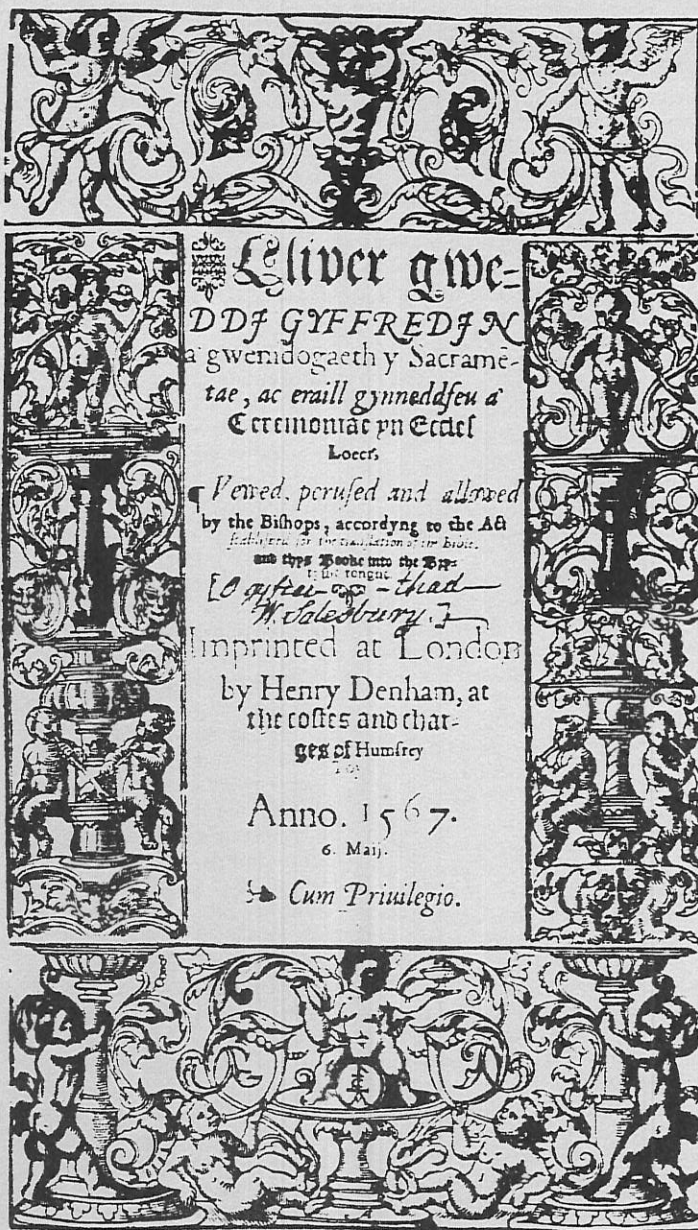
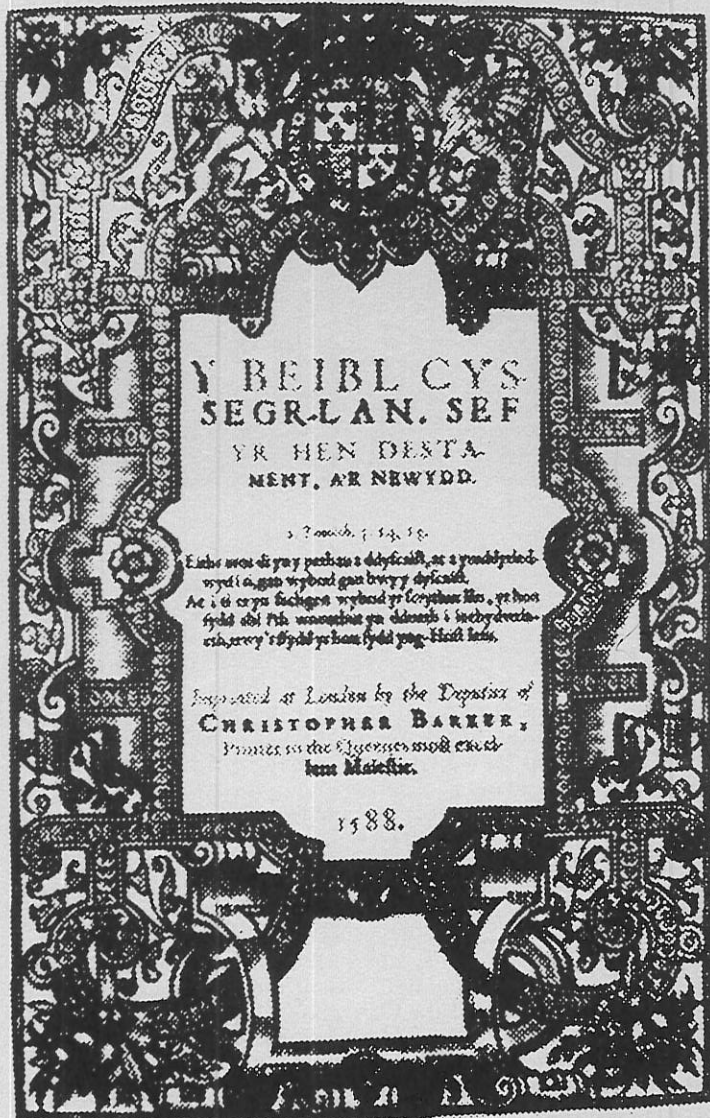
The Bible and Book of Common Prayer to be translated into the Welsh Tongue.

3

Dixit ꝑ; **Sacerdotis** ꝑn sc̃pyn **Cristi**. Et ꝑn carnis
Sagulum. Ordinat **Sacerdos** ꝑ; Angelos. Sive
discipulos. Hec **Judas**. ꝑ; ceteros. Can! **Cristi**
Ihu ꝑ; nū ꝑn hoc Deo, ꝑ; hactenq; et ꝑn desinens
gnt. Petri ꝑn p̃mōdy, ac ꝑn edictorꝝ.

typical for

Ce barbu, ghoedy p^r J^esu a^r
p gairie hyn oll, ef a ddybot w
ddiscipulon, Ch^rist wyddoch,
o * belon p bardddydd p mae i
a * M^ap p dyn a coddit i y w g
p mo yd yngannulland p^r a
Beritait a^r Beribenryddion, a * Berip
popul i naund p^r Archofficiat, a effert C^rist
ac a yngggozodint p^r bodd p dalken p^r
it^rwy i h^rad, a ei ladd. C^rist wynt a ddybot
A^rd ar p^r wyl, rae bod cynnwyl ym-plith i
pul. A^r dal yd oend p^r J^esu ym-Berhania p
Simon ohanglas, e ddaerh atate wyet, a
a hi i h^rweh o irait gwerthbatw, ac ei fy
dalwdd ac ei berin, ac ef yn eistedd * worth p
A^r phan woelw ei ddiscipulon, wy a i sozafont
ddywedyt, Pa rait i y gollet hon : can ys ef a
gwerth p^r ei irait h^rwn er l^rawer, a i rod d^r ef ir-
on. A^r J^esu a wybu, ac a ddybot m^rth^r
Daam yd p^rch yn i molek p^r wyet : can p



We have the light of the Gospel, yea the whole Bible in our native tongue . . . whereas the service and sacraments in the English tongue was a strange to many or most of the simplest sort as the mass in the time of blindness was to the rest of England.

(Geo. Owen: *The Dialogue of the Government of Wales* (1594))

Rhododd dyfodiad y Tuduriaid i orsedd Lloegr hwb i uchelwyr Cymru fel dosbarth. Heidiasant i'r brifddinas lle y llanwent lawer o swyddi'r llys a chwareuent ran yn y bywyd cenedlaethol. Dynododd y Tuduriaid swyddogaethau pwysig i'r uchelwyr Cymreig yn eu cynefin hefyd. Gosododd y Ddeddf Uno lywodraeth yn blwmp yn eu dwylo. Fel Ustusiaid Heddwch, hwy oedd rheolwyr ac arweinwyr eu bro (1).

Nid oedd plas yr Ysgweier Cymreig mor grand ag eiddo'r Saeson, yn aml nid oedd ond ffermdy sylweddol o garreg, ond dechreuodd nifer o'r uchelwyr mwyaf cyfoethog a phwerus wella'u tai. Y mae Plas Mawr yng Nghonwy yn un o'r enghreifftiau gorau yng Nghymru o dŷ trefol bonheddwyr o gyfnod Elisabeth I (2-5). Trigai rhai o'r gwyr mwyaf cyfoethog yn Ewrop yn ardal Morgannwg a Sir Fynwy yr adeg hon, a, hyd yn oed yn ucheldiroedd Cymru, gwnaeth teulu dylanwadol Wynne wella'u tŷ eu hunain (6) gan noddi'r crefftwyr gorau (7), gyflogi llu o weision (8) a hyd yn oed dderbyn aelodau o'r teulu brenhinol (9) yn ogystal â chanolbwyntio ar ddatblygiad economaidd eu stadau. Bu Syr John Wynne, Gwydr, yn brysur hefyd yn cynhyrchu hanes teulu Gwydr ac yn sefydlu ei linach. Gallai balchder y Cymry yn eu hachau (10) fod yn achos gwawd ar brydiau yn enwedig o ystyried eu tlodi cymharol (11).

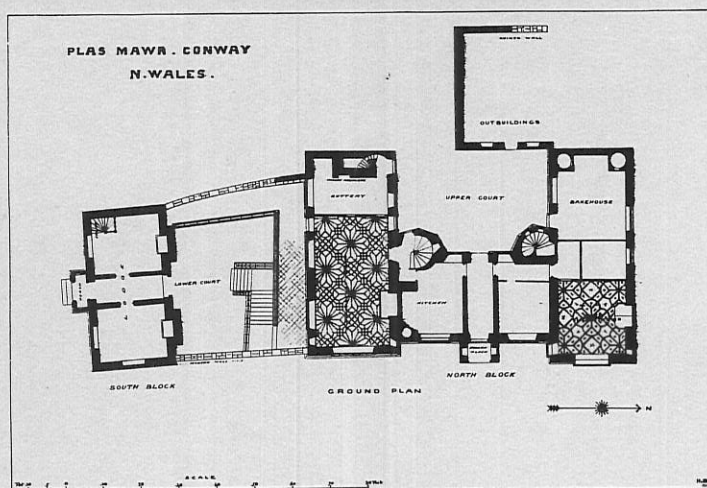
The accession of the Tudors gave a boost to the Welsh gentry as a class. They flocked in great numbers to the metropolis where they filled many positions at court, and played a part in national life. In the localities, too, the Tudors defined an important role for the Welsh gentry. The Act of Union placed local government firmly in their hands. As Justices of the Peace they were the rulers and leaders in their homeland (1).

The plas of the Welsh squire was often a modest affair, little more than a substantial stone built farmhouse, but many of the wealthier more powerful gentry began to improve their houses. Plas Mawr in Conwy is one of the finest examples of an Elizabethan gentleman's town house in Wales (2-5). Some of the wealthiest men in Europe lived in the Glamorgan and Monmouthshire area at this time, and even in the uplands of Wales, the influential Wynne family of Gwydr in the Conwy Valley, Caernarfonshire, not only improved their own house (6), patronising the finest craftsmen (7), employing a retinue of servants (8), and even entertaining royalty (9), but also concentrated on the economic development of their estates. Sir John Wynne of Gwydr was also active in producing a history of the Gwydr family and establishing his pedigree. The Welsh preoccupation with genealogy (10) particularly when contrasted with their relative poverty could sometimes arouse the ridicule of the satirist (11).

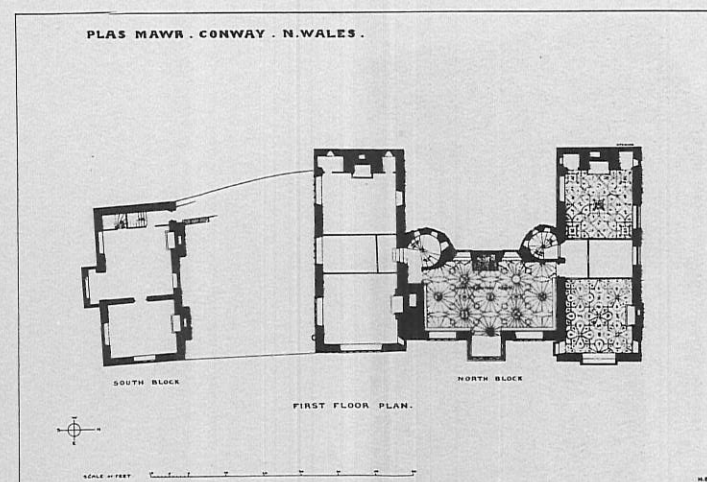


The widely renowned Wynn Justice Chair. A magnificent specimen of early Elizabethan furniture, and perhaps one of the most remarkable examples in existence, to which is added considerable historical association, in so far as it was used in the XVI Century in the dispensation of justice for the district, by the Wynn forbears.

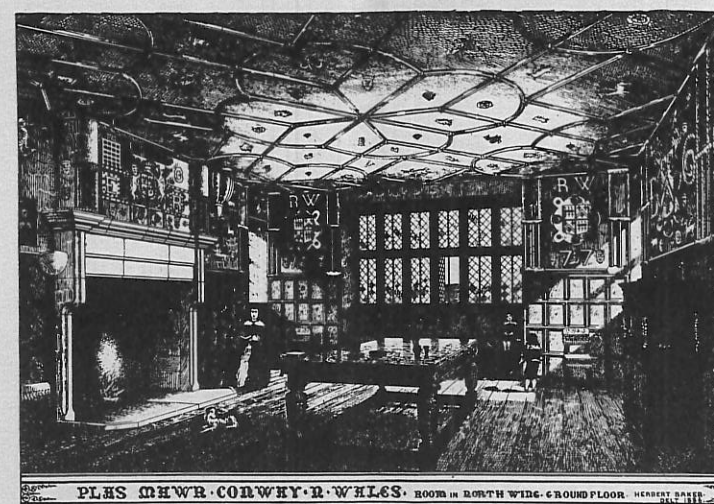
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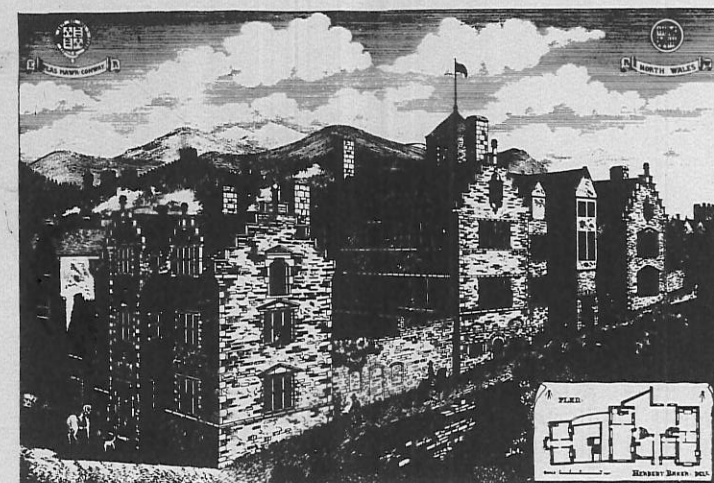
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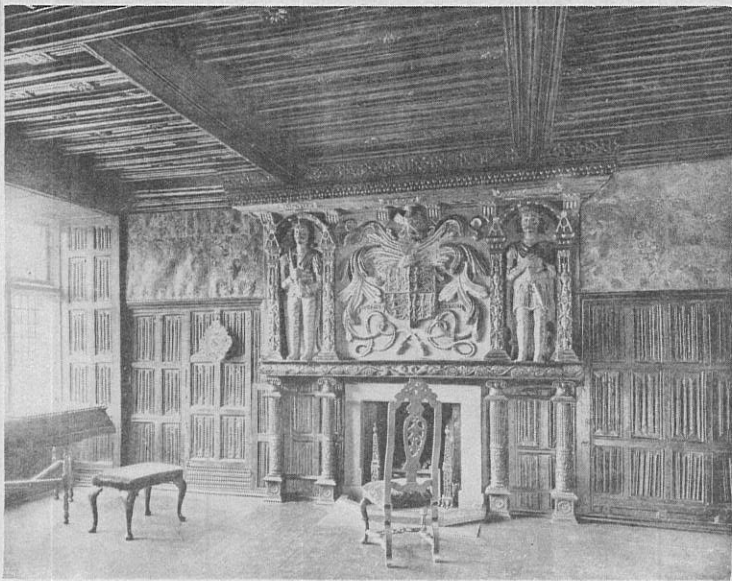
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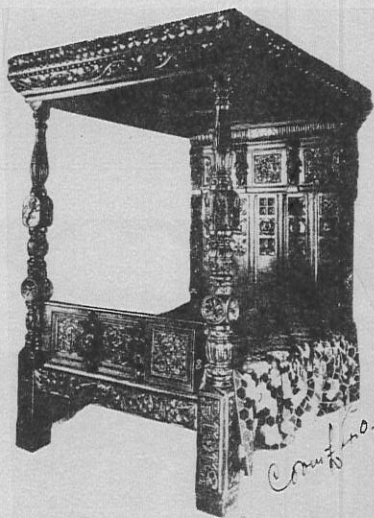


6



The renowned John Wynn's Court Cupboard, carried out in fine proportions in Gothic design and surmounted by a canopy dais, having been made in 1535 for the one whose name it bears and who enlarged the Castle. The lower portion opens in three cupboards, and two drawers decorated with armorial bearings and emblems of the Wynn family.

7



A magnificent and extremely rare and valuable Elizabethan Oak Four Poster Bedstead in which Queen Elizabeth and Charles I both slept, the same being most elaborately carved and in a fine state of preservation.

9

Sir John Wynne of Gwedir's instructions to his chaplain, John Price, how to govern himself in his service.

First, You shall have the chamber, I shewed you in my gate, private to yourself, with lock and key, and all necessities.

In the morning I expect you should rise, and say prayers in my hall, to my household below, before they go to work, and when they come in at nygt--that you call before you all the workmen, especially the yowth, and take accompt of them of their belief, and of what Sir Meredith taught them. I beg you to continue for the more part in the lower house : you are to have onely what is done there, that you may inform me of any disorder there. There is a paylyf of husbandry, and a porter, who will be commanded by you.

The morninge after you be up, and have said prayers, as afore, I wo^d you to bestow it in study, or any commendable exercise of your body.

Before dinner you are to com up and attend me, or prayers if there be any publicke; and to see that there be not greater strangers, above the chyldren, who son to teach in your own chamber.

When the table, from half downwards, is taken up, then are you to rise and to walk in the alleys near at hand, until grace time, and to come in then for that purpose.

After dinner, if I be busy, you may go to bowles, shuffel bord, or any other honest decent recreation, until I go abroad. If you see me voyd of business, and go to ride abroad, you shall command a gelding to be made ready by the grooms of the stable, and to go with me. If I go to bowles, or shuffel bord, I shall lyke of your company, if the place be not made up with strangers. I wold have you go every Sunday in the year to some church hereabouts, to preache, giving warnynge to the parish to bring the yowths at after noon to the church to be catekysed ; in which poynt is my greatest care that you be paynfull and dylygent.

Avoyd the alehowse, to sytt and keepe drunkards company ther, being the greatest discredit your function can have.

8 Quoted in 'Caernarvonshire' by John Evans 1813

'A great temporal blessing it is, and a great heart's ease to a man to find he is well-descended, and a greater grief it is for upstarts and gent. of the first head to look back unto their descents being base in such sort'.

Sir John Wynne of Gwydir (1553-1827).

10

Py Got, they be all shentlemen
Was descended from Shoves own line,
Part human and part divine . . .
And from Ffenus, that fayre Goddess,
And twenty other shentle poddies,
Hector stout and comely Paris,
Arthur, Brutus, King of Fairies.

11

An Elizabethan satirist.

Yr oedd rhwng traean a hanner poblogaeth Cymru'r unfed ganrif ar bymtheg yn dlawd iawn. Arhosai'r rhan fwyaf o ucheldiroedd Cymru'n annatblygedig a'r bobl yn byw bywyd traddodiadol, hunan-gynhaliol heb fawr o ddibynnu ar fasnach, a'r amaethyddiaeth yn seiliedig ar y gyfundrefn draddodiadol. Eithr eisoes digwyddai newidiadau o dan y sicrwydd gwleidyddol ac economaidd a ddarparwyd gan y Tuduriaid. Effeithiwyd hyd yn oed ar Gymru wledig gan y fasnach wartheg efo Llundain. Darparodd gwerthiannau gwlan a da byw bres i wlad heb arian cyfred (1). Rhoddodd y sicrwydd hwn hwb i ddatblygiad y trefi fel y ffynnai gweithgarwch masnachol. Ffynnai trefi bach marchnad Cymru (2,3).

Yng nghyfnod y Tuduriaid hefyd bu'r ymelwa cyntaf o bwys ar fwynau Cymru ers adeg y Rhufeiniaid (4). Ffynnai gweithiau pres a chopr o amgylch Abertawe ac yr oedd glofeydd ger Abertawe a Chastell Nedd. Yr oedd tunplatio cynnar yn Sir Fynwy a chwareli llechi yn Eryri. Teifl llyfrau porthladdoedd Cymru o'r unfed ganrif ar bymtheg oleuni ar weithgarwch economeg Cymru ac ar batrymau masnach. Yr oedd prysurdeb ar y môr ar hyd arfordir Cymru a gellir gweld patrwm cyffredinol o gludo glo o Abertawe, cynnyrch traddodiadol, gwledig megis grawn, gwlan, crwyn ac yn y blaen o borthladdoedd Bae Ceredigion, ac allforio llechi o ogledd Cymru (5).

One third to one half of the population of sixteenth century Wales lived close to the poverty line. Much of upland Wales remained a provincial backwater, its people following a traditional, highly self sufficient way of life with little reliance on commerce, its agriculture still based on traditional systems. But changes were already taking place under the political and economic stability provided by the Tudor dynasty. Even rural Wales was touched by the cattle trade with London and sales of wool and livestock provided money to a currency starved country (1). Stability gave an impetus to urban development as economic and trading activity flourished. Little Welsh market towns (2,3) prospered.

In the Tudor era too there was the first serious exploitation of mineral resources in Wales since the time of the Romans (4). Brass and copper founding flourished round Swansea. Coalmining was carried on near Swansea and Neath. There was early tinplating in Monmouthshire and slate quarrying in Snowdonia. The Welsh port books of the sixteenth century offer a window on Welsh economic activity and trading patterns. There was vigorous maritime activity along the coast of Wales and a general export pattern can be traced in the carriage of coal from Swansea, shipment of more traditional rural produce from the Cardigan Bay ports (grain, wool, hides etc.) and the export of slates from north Wales (5).

First as touching the trade of life, the poorest husbandman liveth upon his owne travaile, having corne, butter, cheese, beefe, mutton, Pulture, and the like of his owne sufficient to maintaine his house. He maketh the apparell of him and his familie of his owne woll, and seldome useth any money, but those that want such necessities are driven to buy altogether in a manner at daies; for seldome buyeth any of the poorer sort anything for ready money. Corne, butter, cheese, woll and such like the poore man buyeth of his ritcher neighbour at daies, and comonly their payments are from May to midd-November, for all that whiles is the countrie of Wales full of faires; then are their Cattell, sheep, Lambes, Swyne, Woll, and other matters in prise, so that he that hath any of these to sell all the summer shalbe sure of money. But from November till Maie they have nothing wherwth to make money ... Likewise for their Iron, Sallt, oyle, lync, oth, Pitch, Tarr, Spice, and such like things that are to be had out of touns, the tounesman selleth the same at daies also: and of all these things y^e he buyeth he seldome or neuer buyeth the valew of 40s. of any one man ...

And also you perceave how most of the countrie is Champion and without enclosures, so that they till in the open fields in many and severall peeces and keepe their cattell in Summer by Heardes amongst the peeces and fieldes of corne, and therefore one neighbor shall trespassse another much, and therupon all the Summer time riseth many actions of Trespas which are entered and sued in those base Courtes and surely in some pointes those base Courts are not unnecessary: for I know some, that if it were not for feare of those Actions of Trespas, would utterlie spoile their neighbours, by eating up their Corne and Meadow, w^{ch} they more carefullie forbearre fearing to be sued.

1 George Owen, Description of Pembrokeshire

RADENORSHIRE.

New Radnor towne hathe be metly well wallyd, and in the walle appere the ruines of iiij. gates. There is an olde church stondynge now as a chapell by the castle. Not very farre thens is the new parochie church buildyd by one William Bachefeld and Flory his wyfe.

There goithe by the towne, as I remember, a broket cawlyd Somergil.

The buildynge of the towne in some parte meatly good, in moste part but rude, many howsys beinge thakyd. The castle is in ruine, but that a pece of the gate was a late amendyd. The towne was defacyd in Henry the fowrthe dayes by Owen Glindowr.

Presteine, in Walche caullyd Llanandre,^d is a very good market of corne, to the whiche very many folks of Melenith resorte to by corne, and bysyde this is no notable buildynge in the lordshipe of Presteine. The toun is waterid with Lug renninge by it.

Leland's Itinerary

The houses withyn the towne of Oswestre be of tymbre and slatid.

There is a bayly and sergiantes.

Ther is a castelle sette on a mont be likelihod made by hand and dichid by south west betwixt Beterice Gate and Williho Gate, to the wich the town waul cummith.

The towne standith most by sale of cloth made in Wales.

There is a fre schole on the south west side of the chirch made by one Davy Holbeche a lawier, steward of the town and lordship, and gave x. li. land to it. Sum say that this David made David Yn yn London.

There be 4. suburbes. The greatest wherin be iiij. streates, thus caullid, Stratellan; the secunde suburbe strete Wulliho;^a the 3. Beteriche,^b wher be many barnes for corne and hay to the number of a vii. score several barnes. The 4. Blake Gate Streate, and ther be with other howses a xxx. barnes for corne longging to the tounes men. There goith thorowg the town by the crosse a broke cumming from a place caullid Simons Welle, a bow shot without the waulle by north-west. This broke^c cummith in thorough the waulle betwixt Wulliho Gate and New-Gate, and so renning thorough the towne, and goith oute under the Blak-Gate.

S. Oswaldes Wel is a bow shot from S. Oswaldes Chirch in the feldes south west. *Fabulantur aquilam brachium Oswaldi à stipite praeripuisse, sed excidisse ei quo loco nunc fons est superstitione nuper celebris.* Ther is a chapel over it of tymber and the fountein environed with a stone w[a]ll.

Kidwely, otherwise Cathgweli, *i.e. Cattilectus, quia Cattus olim solebat ibi lectum in quercu facere, alias legi Cadweli.* Ther is a litle toune now but newly made betwene Vendraith Vaure and Guendraith Vehan^a rivers but hard apon Vendraith Vehan. Vendraith Vaur is half a mile of.

Ther is betwixt New Kidwelly and the Old but a bridge over litle Wendraith.^b The old toun is pretily waullid, and hath hard by the waul a castel. The old town is nere al desolatid, but the castel is meately wel kept up. It longgid to the Duke of Lancastre. In the new toune is onely a Chirch of our Ladi, and by is the celle of Blake Monkes of Shirburne. Ther the prior is parson of our Ladi Chirch.

I saw ther iii. gates, and over one of them was the ruine of a fair toun haul, and under, a prison.

A peace of the new toune was lateli burnid. The new toune is three times as [bigge] as the old.

Sins the Haven [of] Vendraith Ve[han] decaied, the new toune is sore [de]caied.

Cairmardine [ha]th incresid sins Kidweli Havin decaied.

. . . e,^{*} as I remembre, Alice of Lon[don] wife to one of [the] Dukes of Lancastre lay in the castel, and did a [re]-paration on hit.

Reparation was done on the castel [ag]aine the cumming of King Henry the VII. into [W]encelande.^c

The castel is veri fair and doble waullid.

The se flouith by Vendreth Vehan, flouith apon half a mile above the town of Kidwelly.

Bothe Wendreth Vaur and Vehan goith into the se about a mile beneth the toune, al only a litle nesch of sand deviding their mouthes.

Ther lieth a long on eche side of Wendreth Vaur pittes, wher menne digge se cole.

At Llanethle,^d a village of Kidwelly lordship, a vi. miles from Kidwelly, the habintans^e digge coles, elles scant in Kidwelly land.

Ther be ii. maner of thes coles. Ring coles for smith be blowid and waterid.

Stones coles be sumtime waterid, but never blowen, for blowing extingushit them.^f

So that Vendwith Vaur^g coles be stone coles; Llanethle^h coles ring colis.

In Kidwelly is litle wood, but in the very litle forest of Kidwelly within a mile of the town on Vendraith Vehan.

Imports to Beaumaris 1534

Date.	Name of Ship.	Master.	—	Merchant.	Cargo.
§ Inwards (to Beaumaris).					
17 Mar.	The George of Conway (8).	David ap Hugh.	Isle of Man.	William Cristian.	6 brls. barley, 6 st. tallow, 1 st. Manksewool, 4 measures malt.
21 Mar.	The Garerey of Oldron in France (25).	Bertrand Frearneau.	Oldron.	B. F.	144 brls. bay salt.
"	The Jesus of Arglasse (7).	Henry Macultrey.	Ireland.	Richard Dobbe, junior, of Beaumaris.	30 brls. barley, 1 hhd. salmon, 2 hhd. Irish beef, 1 hhd. salted pork, 2 dikers Irish salted hides, 1 brl. unrendered Irish tallow, 1 Irish cadowe.
24 Aug.	The Gift of God of Glasgow (6).	John Esmoth.	Glasgow.	John Fynleson of Glasgow.	½ hhd. train oil, 300 yds. Scotch narrow linen cloth.
§ French wines.					
18 Jan.	The Michaell of Frodsham (8).	William Croock.	Ireland.	William Croock of Liverpool.	2 hhd. Gascony wine.

Exports from Beaumaris 1584

§ Outwards.					
1 Jan.	The James of Helbrie (18) (left 6 Jan.).	Roger Crooke.	Dublin.	R. C.	10,000 slates.
"	The Sondaie of Strangford (16) (left 6 Jan.).	Patrick Lucas.	Ireland.	P. L.	10,000 slates.
24 Jan.	The Elizabeth of Beaumaris (10) (left 28 Jan.).	John Walley.	Dublin.	Richard Dobbe, senior, of Beaumaris.	10,000 slates.
31 Mar.	The Jeans of Arglasse (8) (left 6 April).	Henry Mackcultney.	Ireland.	H. M.	8,000 sengle slates, $\frac{1}{2}$ cwt. hops.

Imports to Carmarthen 1601

Date.	Name of Ship.	Master.	—	Merchant.	Cargo.
§ Inwards (to Carmarthen).					
12 Oct.	The Mathew of Carmarthen (20).	Griffith James.	Burrey.	John Morris.	6 w. coal.
16 Oct.	The Little Mathew of Carmarthen (14).	Ievan Longe.	Bristol.	I. L.	3 t. iron, $\frac{1}{2}$ t. train, 2 hhd. metheglin, 6 kns. black soap, 2 dry vats, 2 c. hops.
27 Nov.	The Peter of Tenby (12).	John Lockier.	Tenby.	Jethero Biggs.	120 brls. salt.
"	The Margaret of Tymby (6).	Thomas Watterston.	"	Richard Barrett.	60 brls. salt.
29 Nov.	The Angell of Camphire (60).	Peter Bowen.	"	P. B.	30 t. salt.
2 Jan.	The Little Mathew of Carmarthen (14).	Ievan Longe.	Bristol.	I. L.	1 $\frac{1}{2}$ t. iron, 1 t. wood, 2 hhd. Gascony wine, $\frac{1}{2}$ t. train, 1 butt seck, 3 t. dry wares.
22 Feb.	The Jonas of Glovelly (15).	John Adams.	Glovely.	J. A.	30 brls. herrings.
26 Feb.	The Mary Fortune of Northam	William Palmer.	Northam.	Richard Browning.	5,000 dry Newland fish, 40 brls. herrings.

Exports from Carmarthen 1602

§ Outwards (from Carmarthen if not otherwise specified).					
16 Oct.	The Emanuell of Tymby (20).	Harry Fieeld.	Tenby.	John Copp.	15 st. wool.
9 Nov.	The Little Mathew of Carmarthen (14).	Ievan Longe.	Bristol.	Thomas Parry.	3 hhd. 1 brl. salt beef, 5 unsalted porks, 2 sacks wheat, 2 sacks barley, 1 sack rye, 8 sacks wool.
13 April.	The Trinitie of Tymby (8).	Nicholas Stafford.	"	Atwell Reliff.	4 packs frizes, 3 fardels skin, 2 bags wool.
28 April.	The Little Mathew of Carmarthen (14).	Ievan Longe.	"	I. L.	1 pack frize, 3 fardels skins.

Exports from Swansea 1580

Date.	Name of Ship.	Master.	—	Merchant.	Cargo.
§ Outwards (from Swansea).					
29 April.	Le Anne Gallant de Stonehowse (20).	John Limbro.	Stonehouse.	Robert Grene of Stonehowse.	10 w. ¹ smithe coal.
7 May.	Le Julian de Pero (12).	John Dolbell of Pero.	Pero in Normandy.	J. B.	7 w. smithe coal.
11 May.	Le Margaret de Mombles (16).	John Madocke.	—	John Madok of Mumbles.	8 w. smithe coal.
"	Le Phillippe de Ffoy (16).	William Jordan.	—	William Counteney de Foy.	6 w. smithe coal.
20 May.	Le Mary de Swansey (20).	John Rogers.	—	John Dowle of Swansea.	8 w. smithe coal.

Yr oedd y fasnach wartheg i fod yn asgwrn cefn economi gwledig Cymru am ganrifoedd. O dan y Tuduriaid, gyda chyfathrebu cyson rhwng Cymru a Llundain a thwf digynsail tref Llundain yn gwneud mewnfario bwyd ar raddfa anferth yn angenrheidiol, cafodd Cymru wledig gyfle i ennill arian cyfred yr oedd arni ei wir eisiau. Gwerthid, neu gesglid, gyrrau enfawr o wartheg at ei gilydd mewn ffeiriau lleol a'u pedoli ag esgid haearn dwbl. Gorfodwyd y bwystfilod i nofio ar draws afonydd ac aberoedd ac i gerdded ar hyd ffyrdd llydd y porthmyn trwy ucheldiroedd Cymru. Cerddai ymhell dros 200 o filltiroedd i'r porfeydd bras o gwmpas Llundain.

Trwyddedwyd y porthmyn gan sesiynau'r chwarter (1). Gweithredent fel bancwyr, newyddiadurwyr a negeseuwyr gan gario arian, biliau a llythyrau rhwng Llundain a Chymru. Cyffelybodd yr Esgob John Williams, Conwy, y gyrrau i drysor-lynges Sbaen (2). Parhaodd y porthmyn am ganrifoedd. Sgrifennodd Arthur Aiken ym 1797 (3) gan ddisgrifio nofio'r gyrrau mawrion dros Afon Menai. Nid tan ddyfodiad y trên a chludo gwartheg ar y rheilffyrdd y diflannodd y porthmyn o Gymru.

The Welsh cattle trade was to be one of the mainstays of the rural economy for centuries. It was under the Tudors that increased communication between Wales and London and the unprecedented spread of the town of London with a demand for imports of food on a massive scale, gave an opportunity for rural Wales to win badly needed currency. Huge herds of cattle were sold or collected together at local fairs and shod with a double iron shoe. The beasts were swum over straits, rivers and estuaries and driven along broad drove roads through the uplands of Wales. They walked a distance of well over 200 miles to the lush fattening pastures around London.

The drovers were licensed by the quarter sessions (1). They acted as bankers, news bringers and message carriers, carrying money, bills and letters between London and Wales. Archbishop John Williams of Conwy likened the drove herds to the Spanish treasure fleets (2). Droveing continued for centuries. Arthur Aiken writing in 1797 (3) described the swimming of great herds over the Menai Straits. It was not until the arrival of the railways and the shipment of cattle by railroad that the drovers finally disappeared from Wales.

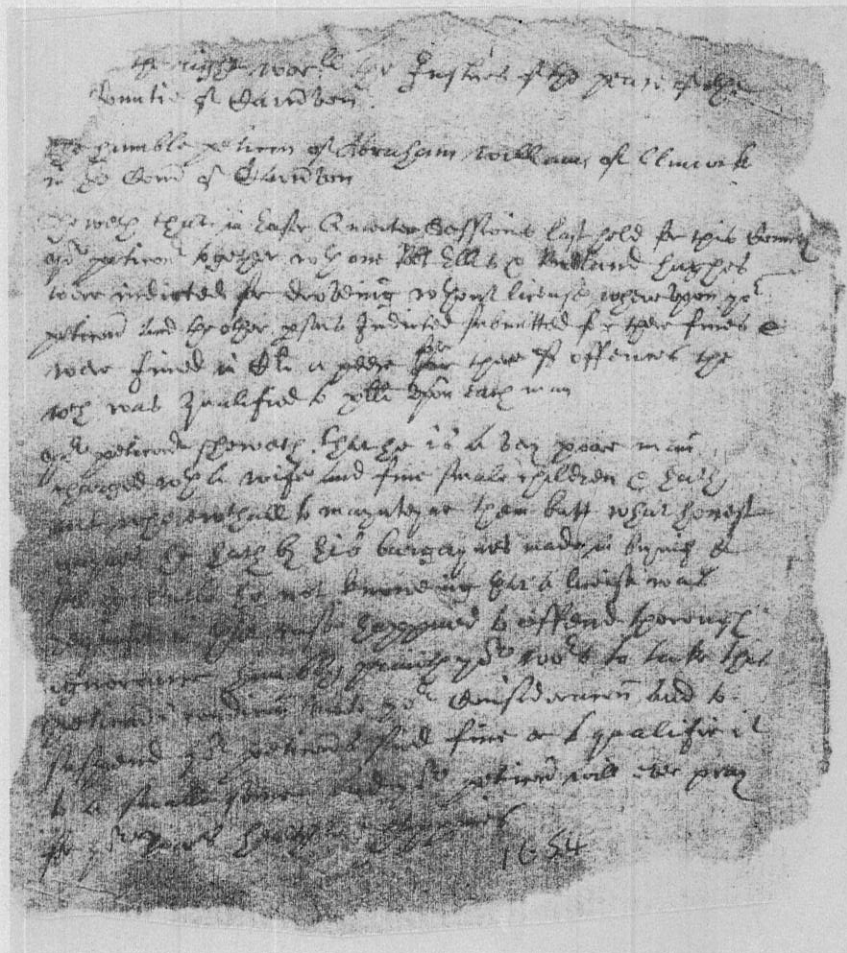
To the right worships the Justices of the Peace of the Countie of Carnarvon.

The humble petition of Abraham William of Clunock in the countie of Carnarvon.

Sheweth that in Easter Quarter Sessions last held for this Countie your petitioner together with one Robert Ellis and Richard Hughes were indicted for droveing without license whereupon your petitioner and the other persons Indicted submitted for their fines and were fined in C li a peece for their said offences the which was qualified to xl li upon each man.

Your petitioner sheweth that he is a very poor man charged with a wife and five smale children and hath not wherewithall to maynteyne

them butt what honest gaynes he hath by his bargaynes and made in bying and selling Catle, he not knoweing that a license was required in that case happined to offend thorough ignorance humbly praieth your worships to take this petitioners condicion into your consideracion and to suspend your petitioners said fine or to qualifie it to a smalle some and your petitioner will ever pray for your Worships health and happines.



1 Caernarvonshire Quarter Sessions 1660.

"The Spanish Fleet of North Wales which brings hither that little gold and silver we have".

Archbishop John Williams on the Welsh cattle trade.

2

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They are urged in a body by loud shoutings and blows into the water, and as they swim well and fast, usually make their way for the opposite shore: the whole troop proceeds pretty regularly till it arrives within about an hundred and fifty yards of the landing place, when, meeting with a very rapid current formed by the tide, eddying, and rushing with great violence between the rocks that encroach far into the channel, the herd is thrown into the utmost confusion. Some of the boldest and strongest push directly across, and presently reach the land; the more timorous immediately turn round, and endeavour to gain the place from which they set off; but the greater part, borne down by the force of the stream, are carried towards Beaumaris bay, and frequently float to a great distance before they are able to reach the Caernarvonshire shore. To prevent accidents a number of boats well manned attend, who row after the stragglers to force them to join the main body; and if they are very obstinate, the boatmen throw

XIV. THROUGH NORTH WALES. 155

throw ropes about their horns, and fairly tow them to the shore, which resounds with the loud bellowing of those that are landed, and are shaking their wet sides. Notwithstanding the great number of cattle that annually pass the strait, an instance seldom, if ever, occurs, of any being lost, though they are frequently carried to the very entrance of the Menai in Beaumaris bay. We here crossed the ferry, and soon after arrived at the neat, genteel, and beautiful little city of Bangor.

To Llanerchymedd from Amlwch we passed several ridges of the green asbestine slate before mentioned. A little beyond, the road runs along a ridge of aggregate rock containing quartz, iron, foliated magnesia, and clay. To this succeed breccias, and lime in a clay cement; then several ranges stretching to the coast, of limestone and breccia. In all these breccias and most of the others that we have met with in Anglesey, the pebbles inclosed in the calcareous cement are of quartz alone, a circumstance seemingly not easy to

3

Yn ystod y Rhyfeloedd Cartref yr oedd Cymru ar ochr y brenin ar y cyfan. Cefnogai trwch yr uchelwyr Cymreig yr achos brenhinol ac nid oedd gan y werin bobl fawr o ddewis ond ufuddhâu a chael eu presgango i wasanaethu (1,2). Ni cheid cefnogaeth i'r seneddwy'r ond yn y gymuned fasnach ym Mhenfro ac yn yr ardal o amgylch Wrecsam yng ngogledd-ddwyrain Cymru. Tywalltwyd gwŷr a phres i achos y brenin. Llwyfanwyd y ddrama o dan gyfarwyddyd y ddau gadlywydd Syr John Owen, i'r brenin (3), a Syr Thomas Myddleton, i'r seneddwy'r (4), a olynwyd gan Mytton. Pan gwympodd Castell Raglan yr oedd y diwedd gerllaw. Syrthiodd caerau Cymreig eraill yn fuan. Bu ail gyfres o ryfeloedd aflwyddiannus drwy Gymru gyfan ym 1646, ond rhwystrwyd y rhain yn ddiymdroi. Gadawodd y rhyfeloedd gymynrodd o filwyr anffurfiedig (5).

Bu cyfnod y Gymanwlad megis cyfnod o feddiannu gan y gelyn. Llywodraethwyd y wlad gan unbennaeth filwrol, clîc o 'bengryniaid' (fel y'u galwyd yn ddirmygol) yn benderfynol o drawsnewid y gymdeithas a gosod arni eu math neilltuol o foesoldeb a chrefydd. Fodd bynnag, y Piwritaniaid oedd y gweinyddiad cyntaf i roi i Gymru fesur o driniaeth wahanol. O dan y 'Ddeddf dros well ledaeniad yr Efengyl yng Nghymru', 1650, sefydlwyd corff neilltuol o gomisiynwyr lleol dros Gymru. Ymddangosodd ysgolion cyntaf y wladwriaeth yn ogystal â'r pregethwyr teithiol cyntaf. Teithiai dynion megis Vavasor Powell 100 milltir yr wythnos tra'n pregethu. O ganlyniad i'w ddylanwad troes poblogaeth pentref Merthyr Tydfil yn erbyn eu ciwrad (6). Dyma'r adeg y dechreuodd Anghytuniaeth ymwreiddio yng Nghymru.

During the Civil Wars, Wales was on the whole royalist. The bulk of the Welsh gentry supported the royalist cause and the common people, pressganged into service (1,2), had no choice but to obey the summons. Only in the merchant community in Pembroke and in the area around Wrexham in north east Wales were there parliamentary strongholds. Men and money were poured into the royalist cause. Under the two rival commanders Sir John Owen for the royalists (3) and Sir Thomas Myddleton for the parliamentarians (4), later replaced by Mytton, the drama was played out. The fall of Raglan Castle signalled the end. Other Welsh fortresses quickly fell. There was a second series of abortive uprisings throughout Wales in 1646 but these were soon crushed. The wars left a legacy of maimed soldiers (5).

Most of the Welsh lived through the commonwealth as under an enemy occupation. The country was run by a military dictatorship, a Puritan clique (6) determined on the transformation of society and the imposition of their own brand of morality and religion. The Puritans were, however, the first English administration to give Wales a measure of separate treatment – under the 'Act for better propagation of the Gospel in Wales' of 1650 a separate body of local commissioners was set up for Wales. The first state schools appeared in Wales and it was also under the Puritans that the itinerant preacher appeared. Men like Vavasor Powell travelled 100 miles a week preaching. As a result of his influence the population of the village of Merthyr Tydfil turned against their curate (6). This was when dissent first began to take root in Wales.

1 Charles R

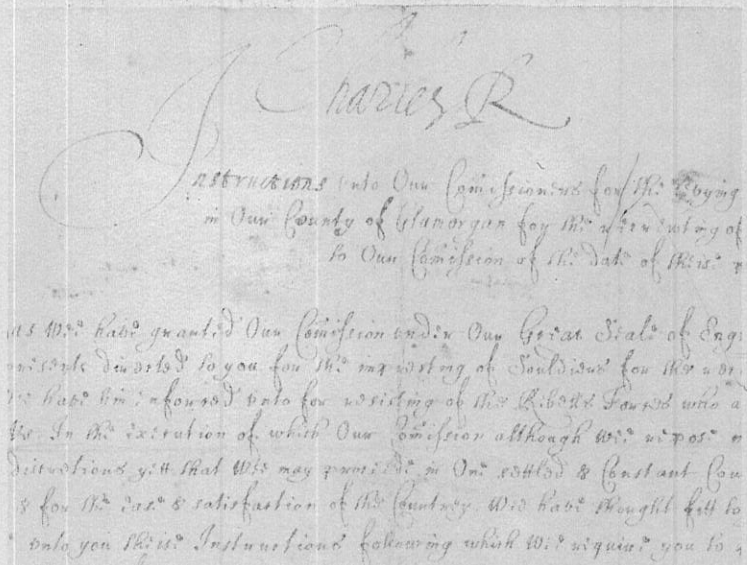
Instructions unto Our Commissioners for the levying and impresting of souldiers in Our County of Glamorgan for the recrewting Our Army according to Our Commission of the date of theise presents.

Whereas Wee have granted Our Commission under Our Great Seale of England bearing the date of theise presents directed to you for the impresting of Souldiers for the recrewting of Our Foote Forces which We have bin inforced unto for resisting of the Rebels Forces who are unnaturally rayased against Us. In the execution of which Our Commission although wee repose much trust in your wisdom and good discretions yett that Wee may proceede in One settled and Constant Course best for Our Owne service and for the ease and satisfaction of the Countrey Wee have thought fitt to give unto you And doe now give unto you theise Instructions following which Wee require you to pursue as neere as you can in the execution of this Our service.

First for the persons whome you are to imprest for Our service, you are to make choyse

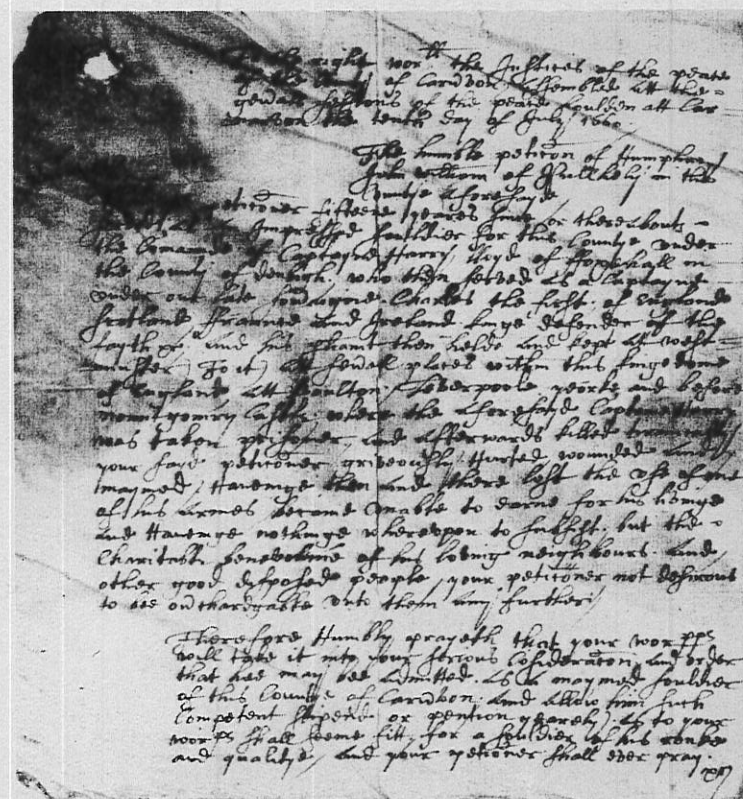
- Of such as are of able Bodyes
- Of such as are for their Quality fitt to bee Comon Souldiers
- Of such as are fitt for their age between 20 and 60 yeares
- Of such as are single men rather than married
- Of such as beeing single are not Housekeepers
- Of such as not beeing Housekeepers are out of service rather then such as are in service
- Of such as are Mechanicks rather then Husbandmen

Next you shall take care that they bee conveniently apparrelled either of their owne or by the assistance of the parish where they are imprested. That they bee Conducted to the place of Rendezvous at the tymes appoynted, which places and tymes shall bee where and when Our Lieutenant Generall of those parts shall under his hand appoynt where and when they shall bee received and enrolled. That the number to bee imprested for this County of Glamorgan doe not exceede the number of Five Hundred persons in all. Perticular Lists of whose names together with the places they are imprested from you shall send and deliver with them at the tymes and places appoynted for their beeing received and enrolled, that so if afterwards any of them



Glamorgan Quarter Sessions 1644

desert Our service they may bee the better found out and punished. That if any whome Our Commissioners thinke fitt to bee imprested refuse to take Our Imprest money, and to bee enrolled in Our service that they bee proceeded against and punished according to the Lawe. That the Meniall Servants of any of the Members, or Assistants or Officers of the Lords House of Parliament assembled at Oxford, nor the meniall Servants of any of the Members, or Officers of the House of Commons there assembled shall not bee imprested without the Consent of their Masters. And that from tyme to tyme such farther Instructions shall be observed as you shall receive from Us, or from Our Deare Nephew Prince Rupert. Given under Our Signett at Our Court at Oxford this Third of February In the Twentieth yeare of Our Reigne 1644.



Caernarvonshire Quarter Sessions 1660



To the right worshipfull the Justices of the peace of the County of Carnarvon assembled att the generall sessions of the peace houlden att Carnarvon the tenth day of July 1660

The humble petition of Humphrey John William of Pwllheli in the countie aforesayde

Sheweth

That your petitioner fifteene yeares since or thereabouts served as an Impressed Souldier for this countye under the Command of Captayne Harry Lloyd of Ffoxehall in the County of Denbigh who then served as a Captayne under our late Sovereigne Charles the first of England, Scotland, Ffraunce and Ireland Kynge defender of the faith etc. and his Parliament then helde and kept att Westminster. To it, att severall places within this kingedome of England, att Boulton, Leverpoole, Yeorke and before Mountgomry Castle, where the aforesayd Captayne Harry was taken prisoner, and afterwards killed tiranically, Your sayd petitioner griveously Hurted wounded and maymed, Haveinge then and there lost the use of one of his armes became unable to earne for his livinge and Haveinge nothinge whereupon to subsist but the Charitable benevolence of his loving neighbours and other good disposed people, your petitioner not desirous to be over chardgable unto them any further.

Therefore Humbly prayeth that your worships will take it into your serious consideration, and order that hee may bee admitted as a maymed souldier of this Countie of Carnarvon and allow him such Competent stipend or pention yearely as to your worships shall seeme fitt for a souldier of his ranke and qualitey, and your petitioner shall every pray etc.

2



Gentlemen

Whereas it is provided by the severall acts and ordinances of Parliament that the widdowes and orphans of those whose husbands and Fathers have died and such souldiers as have been maymed in the service of the Parliament should be allowed a competent pention in the respective counties where such souldiers inhabited or tooke upp armes. Yet notwithstanding there have of late been many and frequent complaints made by such maymed souldiers and widdowes that albeit they have repaired to the Justices of Peace of the respective counties where they ought to be provided for, yet the Justices have refused to allow unto them any pencion or maintenance according to the said Acts and ordinances, soe that those poore souldiers widdowes and orphants are exposed to greate extreimity (if not perishing) and diverse of them have returned back to London to seeke for remedy and releife. Wherefore I make it my earnest request to you as I have done to the Justices of Peace of other counties that in case you have not already made an assessment and rate upon your countie for the raising of a competent stock for the releife of maimed souldiers orphants and widdowes according to the said act and ordinance that you will cause the same to be forthwith done and put in execution that soe those poore souldiers widdowes and orphants may not through the neglect thereof be exposed to misery and ruine contrary to the intentions of the Parliament, and which if suffered, would very much reflect upon the honor of the nation. And I desire an account may be returned every halfe yeare to the committee of the Parliament for maymed souldiers of your proceedeings herein and to the end the said account may with more certainty come to the committes hands. I desire you will direct it to be left with the Treasurers at Ely House in Holborn. Thus hoping that yow/you wilbe willing and readie to further soe good and charitable a worke as this is. I remaine

Gentlemen,

Your very loveing friend,

O. Cromwell.

Cockpitt. January the 12th 1651.

5



"We have in the parish of Merthyr Tydvil a company of men and women combined, who have a long time been accustomed to have unlawful conventicles, wherein they have settled government as they please, contradictory to the statutes and ordinances. They have not only abolished and put down all manner of tithes, but are destroying the fabric of the material church that is in the parish. They will suffer no man to preach there but one of their own sect, and others that plunder the church."

"... they have put in school-masters whose boys have demolished so much lead it will not be made up for four or five pounds, and if it be not made up the steeple is likely to fall."

"The brethren have a meeting every Sunday in the church, and frequently in week days, where they are discussing, disputing, and settling business in an illegal and ungodly manner. They do irreverently meet there to rate taxations and contributions, squabbling and falling out with irreverent behaviour and slanderous words ill beseeeming such a place."

They will not suffer the minister of the parish to preach in the church, because they will pay him no tithes. Sometimes they have rung the bell to disturb him; other times they have pulled him out of the pulpit, tearing his clothes and using violence; other times they have put somebody to preach in a yew tree, when the minister was in the pulpit in the church."

"The people here will have neither prayers nor sacrament, and especially the holy and allowed prayers of the Church, and the sacrament at the hands of the minister. It is true that Mr. Jenkin Jones, doth monthly break bread, which together with the wine, is distributed among the congregation. I am sure we have 5,000 men and women in the parish that received not the Lord's Supper these ten years, and many children unbaptised."

Report by Nathaniel Jones, vicar of Merthyr,
after the Restoration.

6

Tref a Gwlad ar ddiwedd yr ail ganrif ar bymtheg

Town and Country at the end of the seventeenth century

Ar derfyn yr ail ganrif ar bymtheg yr oedd yr uchelwyr yn dal i gael gafael cryf ar Gymru. Rhoddodd yr Adferiad, a pholisïau 'laissez-faire' y llywodraeth ganolog fwy o rym iddynt yn eu hardaloedd cynefin. Yr oedd y penderfyniad i osod graddfeydd cyflog penodedig yn nodweddiadol o'u grym, fel y tystia'r rhestr o gyflogau gweision o recordiau sesiynau'r chwarter, Sir Gaernarfon 1670 (1). Yr oedd i gymdeithas Cymru haenau clir. Gellir defnyddio cofnodion o Dreth yr Aelwyd 1662 (2) i archwilio cyfansoddiad cymdeithasol y trefi a'r plwyfi. Rhoddir yma ddarn ar gyfer tref Conwy, gogledd Cymru. Yn y map hwn a dynnwyd tua'r ddeunawfed ganrif (3), y mae'r plas yn llawer mwy ei faint na'r eglwys neu neuadd y dref.

At the close of the seventeenth century the gentry were still firmly in control of Wales. The restoration and the 'laissez faire' policies of central government gave them even more power in their localities. Typical of their power was their decision to impose fixed wage rates, as evidenced by the table of servants wage rates from the Caernarfonshire Quarter Sessions records of 1670 (1). Welsh society was strongly stratified. Hearth Tax returns of 1662 (2) can be used to investigate the social composition of towns or parishes. The extract given is for the town of Conwy, North Wales. In the map of Conwy town in the eighteenth century, the plas dominates church and town hall (3).

The generall rates and taxacons' of serv^{ts} wages made and sett foorth by the Justices of the Peace of the County of Carnarvon to be held & observed within the County, dated at the generall sessions of the peace held att Carnarvon in the said County the 12th day of Aprill Anno Regni Regis Caroli secundi nunc Anglie etc. vicesimo secundo.

A Bayliffe of husbandrie with meat & drinke by the yeare xxxv s
A cheife hiend or hind plowman by the yeare with meate & drinke xxxv s
without meate & drinke 6li. 00
A common ser^{vt} of husbandrie ye lest with meate & drinke by the yeare oj - io
A plowright for makeing & wayeing of a plow iiijd
frame & tooles with meate & drinke by ye day vijd
Mo[w]ers of hay by the day with meate & drinke iiijd
without meate & drinke 10d
The lest reaper with meate & drinke by ye day ijd
without meate and drinke vjd
A meane labourer by the day with meate and drinke id ob
from Michelmas to Candlemas 5d
from thence to Michelmas 6
without meate & drinke from Michelmas to Candlemas
without meate & drinke from thence to Michelmas

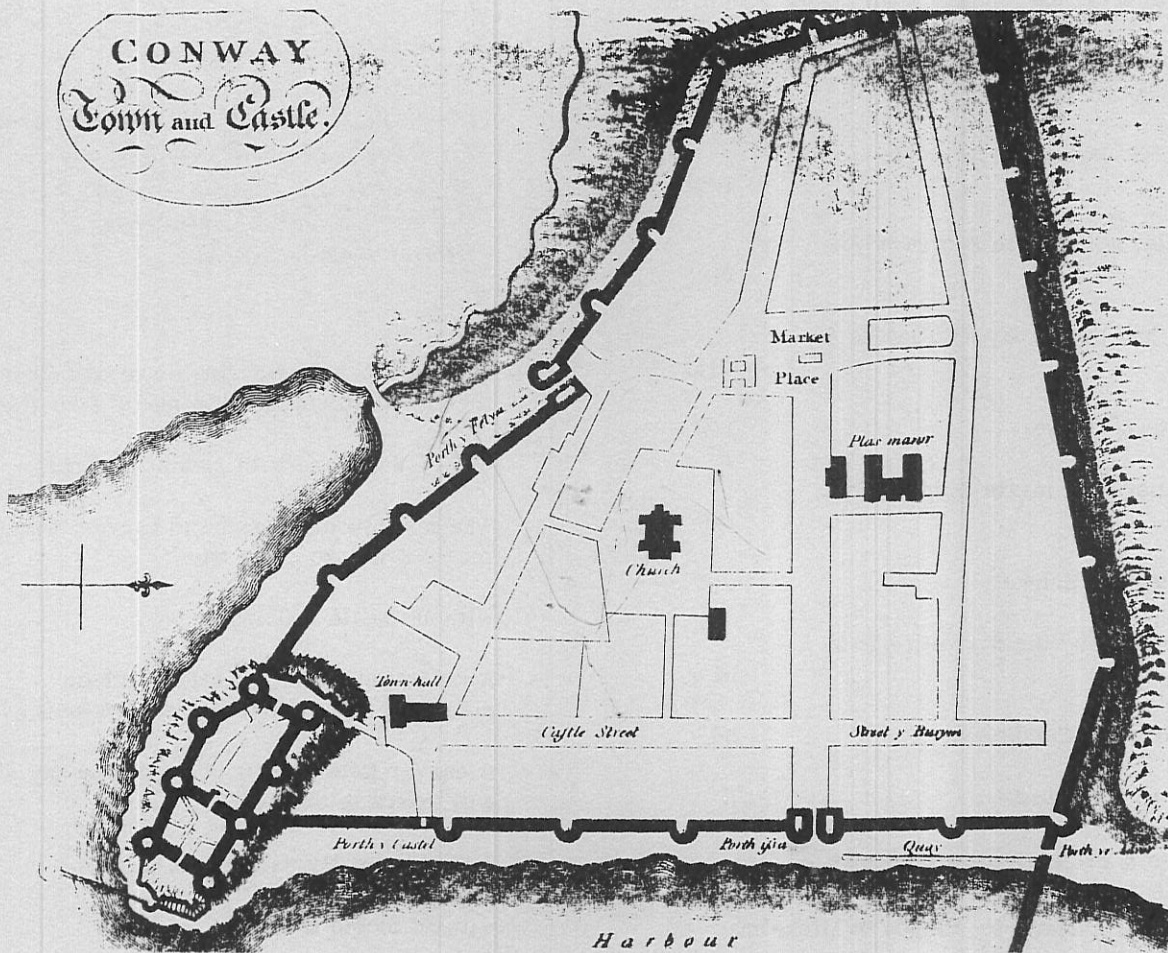
Transcript

Carnarvon per clericum J. Williams clericus pacis ibidem	The generall rates and taxacons' of serv ^{ts} wages made and sett foorth by the Justices of the Peace of the County of Carnarvon to be held & observed within the County, dated at the generall sessions of the peace held att Carnarvon in the said County the 12th day of Aprill Anno Regni Regis Caroli secundi nunc Anglie etc. vicesimo secundo.
A bayliffe of husbandrie with meat & drinke by the yeare	xxxxx s
A cheife hiend or hind plowman by the yeare with meate & drinke	xxxxv s
without meate & drinke	6li. 00
A common ser ^{vt} of husbandrie ye lest with meate & drinke by the yeare	oj - io
A plowright for makeing & wayeing of a plow	iiijd
frame & tooles with meate & drinke by ye day	vijd
Mo[w]ers of hay by the day with meate & drinke	iiijd
without meate & drinke	10d
The lest reaper with meate & drinke by ye day	ijd
without meate and drinke	vjd
A meane labourer by the day with meate and drinke	id ob
from Michelmas to Candlemas	5d
from thence to Michelmas	6
without meate & drinke from Michelmas to Candlemas	
without meate & drinke from thence to Michelmas	

A woman serv ^t labouring by ye day other then harvest woorke with meate & drinke	id
and by the yeare with meate & drinke	xvj s
The lest binder of corne in harvest with meate & drinke by ye day	ijd
without meate & drink	vjd
An infant aboue 14 ⁿ & under eighteen yeeres by ye yeere with meate & drinke	x s
A carver [Ms. Corv'] or joyner by day with meate & drinke	vjd
A Pavio ^r by day with meate & drinke	vj
without meate & drinke	xd

Christian 1/21st	one hearth
Edmund 1/21st	one hearth
William ap Ithob 1/21st	one hearth
Richard ap Ithob 1/21st	one hearth
John ap Ithob 1/21st	one hearth
Robert ap Ithob 1/21st	one hearth
William ap Ithob 1/21st	one hearth
Henry ap Ithob 1/21st	one hearth
Richard ap Ithob 1/21st	one hearth
Thomas ap Ithob 1/21st	one hearth
Rowland ap Ithob 1/21st	one hearth
Hugh ap Ithob 1/21st	one hearth
Ellen ap Ithob 1/21st	one hearth
Thomas ap Ithob 1/21st	one hearth
William ap Ithob 1/21st	one hearth
John ap Ithob 1/21st	one hearth
William ap Ithob 1/21st	one hearth

2



3

Anghytuniaeth yng Nghymru

Dissent in Wales

13

Ymestynnodd Anghytuniaeth i mewn i Gymru o Loegr. Ymddangosodd Bedyddwyr yn gyntaf yn Nyffryn Olchon, Swydd Henffordd Gymraeg yn y 1630au ac yng nghynulleidfau'r Piwritaniaid yn Llanfaches ger Cas-gwent. O dan y Gymanwlad enillodd Anghytuniaeth beth dir. Arweiniodd yr Adferiad at erlid Annibynnwyr, Bedyddwyr a Chrynwyr (1). Yn y llun gwelir erlid Anghytunwyr yn Llŷn, Sir Gaernarfon ym 1676. Er gwaethaf merthyron arhosodd Anghytuniaeth yn gryf mewn pocedi bychain yng Nghymru, er i rai ymfudo i'r Amerig megis grŵp o Grynwyr Cymreig ym 1682 a'r Bedyddwyr Armeniaidd o Sir Drefaldwyn yn 1683. Enillodd y 'chwyldro gogoneddus', 1688, beth oddefiad er, hyd yn oed ar ôl y ddeddf, arhosent yn ddinasyddion eilradd y gellid eu herlyn yn y llysoedd o hyd weithiau, am addoli yn eu ffordd yn hunain (2), fel y dangosir gan yr erlyniad hwn o anghytunwyr yng Nghaernarfon ym 1710.

Yn raddol, fodd bynnag, lleihaodd erledigaeth ac enillodd y mudiad barchusrwydd. Ar ddiwedd yr ail ganrif ar bymtheg ffurfiai'r anghytunwyr a wrthododd yr eglwys wladol tua 5% o boblogaeth Cymru a rifai ar y pryd tua 350,000 at ei gilydd. Fe'u canoliodd yn Sir Benfro ac yng ngogledd-ddwyrain Cymru (3), yn Sir Forgannwg ar raddfa gynyddol a hyd yn oed mewn pocedi ynysedig yng nghanol Cymru wledig. Yr oeddynt yn fasnachwyr, yn ffermwyr bychain, yn grefftwyr ac yn foneddigion llai pwysig gydag ambell i ddyn proffesiynol a diwydiannwr yma a thraw (4). Ffurfiert gymunedau bach o gwmpas eu tai cwrdd a'u hysgolion (5), megis y tŷ cwrdd anghydfurfiol hwn yn Llanbadarn, Sir Aberteifi, ac arferent eu math eu hunain o ddemocratiaeth leol. Safai Anghytuniaeth ar wahân i'r Eglwys Anglicanaidd a byd y diwylliant gwerin gyda'i ofergoelion, chwedloniaeth, caneuon ac anterliwtiau. Tyfodd Anghytuniaeth yn araf hyd y ddeunawfed ganrif, yna dechreuodd Hen Anghytuniaeth a'r mudiad newydd, Methodistiaeth, fel ei gilydd, i ennill tir yn gyflym, o bosibl oherwydd effaith diwydiant ar gymdeithas Cymru. Erbyn diwedd y ddeunawfed ganrif ffurfiai'r Anghytunwyr gymdeithas arall, bron, yng Nghymru, yn gwbl wahanoli fydd y sefydliad.

Dissent spread into Wales from England. Baptists first appeared in the Olchon valley of Welsh Herefordshire in the 1630s and in the Puritan congregation at Llanfaches near Chepstow. Under the Commonwealth Dissent gained some headway. The Restoration led to the persecution of Independents, Baptists and Quakers (1). Illustrated is a prosecution of Dissenters in Llŷn, Caernarfonshire of 1676. In spite of martyrs, Dissent remained entrenched in small pockets in Wales, though some like a group of Welsh Quakers in 1682, or the Armenian Baptists of Radnorshire in 1683, emigrated to America. The 'glorious revolution' of 1688 won Dissenters a measure of toleration though even after the Toleration Act they were very much second class citizens and could still on occasions be prosecuted in the courts for worshipping in their own way (2) as shown by this prosecution of dissenters in Caernarfon in 1710.

Gradually, however, persecution lessened and the movement gained respectability. The Dissenters who rejected the state church formed at the end of the seventeenth century about 5% of a population numbering around 350,000. They were centred in Pembrokeshire and north east Wales (3) and increasingly in Glamorganshire and even in isolated pockets in the heart of rural Wales. Tradesmen, craftsmen, small farmers and a few of the lesser gentry comprised their ranks with a sprinkling of professionals and industrial artisans (4), forming small communities nucleated around their meeting houses and schools (5) such as this nonconformist meeting house at Llanbadarn, Cardiganshire and practising their own brand of local democracy. Dissent stood apart from the Anglican Church and from the world of popular rural culture with its superstitions, folklore, ballads, traditions and interludes. Dissent grew slowly until the late eighteenth century. Then both Old Dissent and the emergent movement of Methodism began to make great headway, arguably due to the impact of industrialism on Welsh society. By the end of the eighteenth century the Dissenters formed almost an alternative society in Wales to the world of the establishment.



That certaine psons [persons], being Subjects of this Realme and above the age of sixteen years To witt, James Owen Davyd ap William Morrice of Clynnog, Morgan ap William ap Robert of Clynnog, Cadwalader Jones of Clynnog, Wm [William] Thomas of Llanarmon and Richard Thomas of Aberach, William Griffith of Pwllheli corvic' [corviser], William Rowland of Llangybi, John Rowland of Llangybi, Robert Griffith of Llangarmon, Griffith William of Aberar[h] and Ellice Owen of Llangybi yeom[an] in the County aforesaid over and beside them of the household did, att and upon the three and twentieth day of of April last past being the Lord's day, about tenne of ye Clock in the morning of the same day, Assemble and meet together in ye dwelling house of the said Ellice Owen att Llangybi afor[said] in the said County, under Colour and p[re]tence of Exercising Religion in other maner then According to the Liturgy and practice of the Church of England, and that then and there in the said dwelling house of the said Ellice Owen he being thereunto willing, The said James Owen did take upon him and did Preach and Teach in the said meeting, Assembly or Conventicle.

[illegible]

Root Williams
 Robert Williams
 William Williams
 John H. Goss
 W. Rowland
 George Lloyd
 David Prichard
 Rich. Evans
 Grant Woods
 Mrs. Smith Williams
 Thomas Williams
 Dr. Carl Hughes

We present David Williams of Carnarvon Mercer ... etc. for being at and hearing of divine worship in a dissenting meeting at the dwelling house of William Lloyd in Carnarvon aforesaid on Sunday the sixteenth day of July instant without being qualified according to the lawe ...

Ben. C. of David Williams 1801
 John George Brown 1801
 William Edward (son of) 1801
 Charles Williams (son of) 1801
 Robert Williams 1801
 Elizabeth Knight 1801
 John (son of) 1801
 David John (son of) 1801
 Edwin Williams 1801
 John Williams 1801
 Evan (son of) 1801
 William (son of) 1801
 Thomas (son of) 1801
 William (son of) 1801
 William (son of) 1801
 William (son of) 1801

2

CHURCH AND KING RIOTS IN WREXHAM IN JULY, 1715.

"Sep. 15, 1715. Informations were given at the Great Sessions at Ruthin against 31 of the rioters.

"Mem. Mar. 28, 1717. The rioters being removed by certiorari to the Crown office their trial came on at Salop."

3



5 Llwyn Rhys, Llanbadarn, Cardiganshire, once a nonconformist meeting house.

1715 NONCONFORMITY IN WALES.

MONMOUTHSHIRE

Place.	Minister.	Average attendance.	Social and Political Standing.
Pennmain, I. . .	David Williams . . (different from the former)	250	4 gentlemen, 38 yeomen, 5 tradesmen, 8 farmers, 35 labourers, 22 votes for the county of Monmouth, 2 for Glamorgan, and 4 for the borough of Monmouth.
Llandegveth, I. .	D. Williams, Pennmain	100	2 gentlemen, 12 yeomen, 5 tradesmen, 7 farmers, 14 labourers, 14 votes for the county, and 25 for the borough.
Park, in the parish of Cwmyoy, I.	James Watkins, residing at Brecon	120	4 gentlemen, 12 yeomen, 4 tradesmen, 10 farmers, 25 labourers, 8 votes for Monmouthshire, 8 for Herefordshire, 1 for Brecknockshire.
Trosnant, in the parish of Trevechin, I.	Jeremiah Edmunds	90	6 yeomen, 10 tradesmen, 8 farmers, 18 labourers, 3 votes for the county, and 1 for the borough.
Llanvrechva, I. .	Jeremiah Edmunds	55	4 yeomen, 6 tradesmen, 4 farmers, 12 labourers, 3 county votes, and 1 borough vote.
Goitre near Usk, I.	Morgan Thomas . .	120	5 gentlemen, 10 yeomen, 12 tradesmen, 20 farmers, 15 labourers, 13 votes for the county, and 15 for the borough.
Glyn Ebbw, in the parish of Aberystroth, I.	Daniel Rogers . .	60	10 yeomen, 6 tradesmen, 8 farmers, 12 labourers, 10 votes for the county, and 2 for the borough.
Cromindee, I. . .	Rice Davies		
Usk & Langwm, A.	Nathaniel Morgan .	200	7 gentlemen, 7 yeomen, 10 tradesmen, 17 farmers, 40 labourers, 14 county votes, 13 borough votes.
Aberystroth and Mynyddislwyn, A.	William Phillips John Harry	1000	126 yeomen, 54 tradesmen, 95 farmers, 113 labourers, 123 votes for Monmouthshire, 1 for Glamorganshire, and 26 for the borough of Monmouth.
Llanwenarth, A. .	Joshua James . .	420	2 esquires, 10 gentlemen, 34 yeomen, 38 tradesmen, 27 farmers, 54 labourers, 37 votes for the county of Monmouth, 11 for Brecknockshire, 56 for the borough of Monmouth, and 1 for Bristol.

Y Bonheddwyr

The Gentry

Tua diwedd yr ail ganrif ar bymtheg dechreuodd y farchnad dir a fuasai'n fwyiog am flynyddoedd dawelu a dirywio. Ceid pwysau ar renti a gwasgwyd y bonheddwyr bychain yn fwyfwy, a hwythau wedi'u beichio â morgeisi. Yn raddol, lleihaodd dylanwad y dosbarth neilltuol hwn o fonheddwyr lleiaf. Tyfodd stadau mawrion (1) ar draul y rhai bach ac aeth grym cyfoeth a thir yn fwyfwy i ddwylo'r ychydig. Hwy a symudodd eu harian i fuddsoddiadau ac a wnaeth briodasau i uno stadau neu i sicrhau etifeddes gyfoethog. Dalia'r bonheddwyr neu'r ysgweiriaid ag incwm tua £500 y flwyddyn, i chwarae rhan fel ustusiaid heddwch a, chydachymorth y person, i lywodraethu dros eu cymdogaethau (2). Er i'r uchelwyr Cymreig a'u tiodi fod yn achos chwerthin yn Llundain (3) fe'u parchwyd o hyd gartref.

Fodd bynnag yr oedd monopolig gan ryw dri deg i ddeugain o deuluoedd (gwerth rhwng £3,000 a £5,000 p.a. ar gyfartaledd) ar seddi yn y senedd ac ar y nawdd a aeth ynghyd â hwy. Trigai nifer fawr o'r uchelwyr yn Sir Forgannwg ffrwythlon. Nid oedd hwn yn ddosbarth digyfnewid. Ceid newidiadau sylweddol a phriodi â theuluoedd Seisnig.

Datblygodd yr uchelwyr y diwydiannau copr, glo, haearn, llechi a brethyn a buddsoddasant ynddynt. Gwnaeth gwella stadau, ail-adeiladu a moderneiddio eu tai gwledig (4), plannu eu gerddi gyda'u muriau uchel (5) a thirlunio eu tiroedd (6) drawsffurfio darnau o dirlun Cymru.

Towards the end of the seventeenth century the land market which had been buoyant for many years began to suffer depression. There was pressure on rents and the smaller gentry were increasingly squeezed, burdened by mortgages. The influence of this peculiarly Welsh class of lesser gentry diminished. Big estates (1) increased at the expense of smaller ones and landed power and wealth became increasingly concentrated in the hands of a few. It was they who moved money into funds, contracted marriages to unite estates or secure wealthy heiresses. The lesser gentry or squirearchy worth about £500 per annum still played a role as JPs and with the aid of the parson governed their localities (2). Though the Welsh gentry with their poverty were a standing joke in the capital (3) they still commanded respect in their own area. But some thirty to forty families (worth on average £3,000-£5,000 per annum) monopolised the parliamentary seats and the patronage that went with them. Large numbers of the gentry were clustered in fertile Glamorganshire. It was not a rigid group; there was considerable fluidity and intermarriage with English families.

The gentry class developed the industries of copper, coal, iron, slate and textiles and invested in them. Estate improvement, the rebuilding and modernising of their country houses (4), the planting of their walled gardens (5) and the landscaping of their grounds (6) transformed patches of the Welsh landscape.

A true and perfect Inventory of all the Household stuffe, Goods, Cattle and Chattle of Sir Griffith Williams of Vaynol Barronett, Lately Deceased, taken the Eight day of Julij Anno Domini 1669 Before Richard Griffith Esq., William Williams, William Arthur, John Evance and John Owen Gents., Nominated and appoynted to apprayse the same.

In the Hall

Imprimis Two Tables, two formes, one smale Table in the front and one old open Cupboard.

In the Parlour

Eight Chayres four stooles and one smale one, 2 Tables, one couch, 2 ould carpetts, 2 leather Covers, one Grate And Irons, fire shovell, Tongs and a payre of Bellowes, and one decayed smale Clock with a payre of Tables, 2 pictures.

In Sir Griffith and his Lady their Chamber

One Bedstid with flanen Curtaynes and valence lynd with Callico, one Feather Bed, one Boulster, 2 pillows, 2 Blancketts, one quilt Counter-pane, one litle Couch, Bedstid, Fetherbed and boulster, one blanckett and Coverlid, one Cabbennet, one Lookeing Glasse one smale square Cupboard Table 10 Chayres, one warming Pann, Andirons trimmed with brass, Flanen Hung about the roome and an old Close-stoole ...

In the Dyneing Roome

28 Turkie work Chayres, one great Turkie Carpett and a smale one, a brasse AndIron, fireshovell and Tongs, 2 large Skonshes, four sleight Spaynish Tables and a smale syde Table ...

In the Maydes Chamber

2 ould Bedsteeds 2 FeatherBeds, 2 Boulsters, 3 blancketts, 2 old Cover-lids, one ould Chest ...

In the Lower Cellar

20 Casks, most of them empty

In the Strong Beere Cellar

14 Hogsheads

In the Chitchin

2 Racks, 3 Spitts, 2 dripping pans, 3 payre of Pott-Hookes, and one salt tubb, Chest, Cleever, Chopping knife Gridiron, fireshovell, Tongs, firestorck, Beeffe-axe, fireplate, Flesh Forck, 9 Brass Potts, six smale pannes and 4 smale skilletts, One Great pann

In the Brewhouse

One Coombe, two Fatts, one Cooleing-Tubb, 3 Pailles, one litle Tubb, 3 old Barelles, one Tubb more, one payre of slings to Carrie Beere and a Funnell ...

The Lynens

All the dammasqe, dyaper, all the Napery and other New and old Table Clothes, sheetes both within and without ...

The horses and Mares both in stable and out horses

25 vide, 18 horses, 7 Mares.

Baŷ Penllech and the ould Gray Gelding.

Oxen

36 oxen

Coach-Horses and Mares

4 vide, 2 Mares and 2 Geldings

Milch Kyne

37 and a Bull

Sheape

709 Sheepe and Iambes of all sorts in Maynol Bangor, Llanberis, Llanddeiniolen, Llanvair and Hirdrefaig.

1 Selected items from Inventory of Sir Griffith Williams (N.L.W. Bangor Probate Records 1669/59)

AESOP: A WELCH WOMAN? PRITHEE OF WHAT COUNTRY'S THAT?

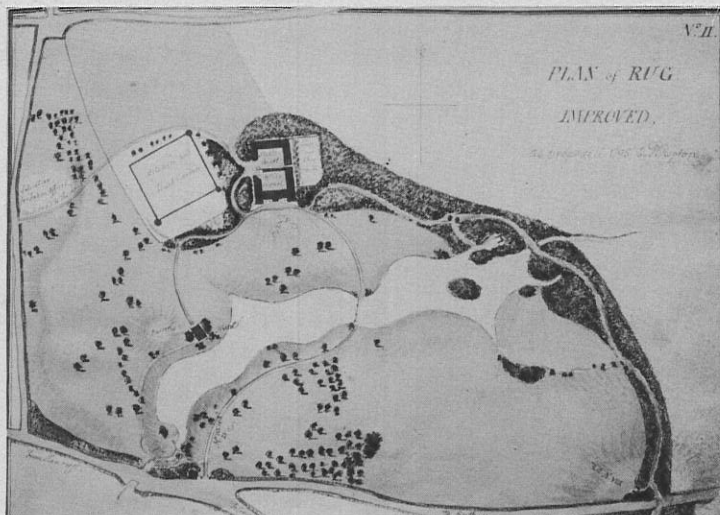
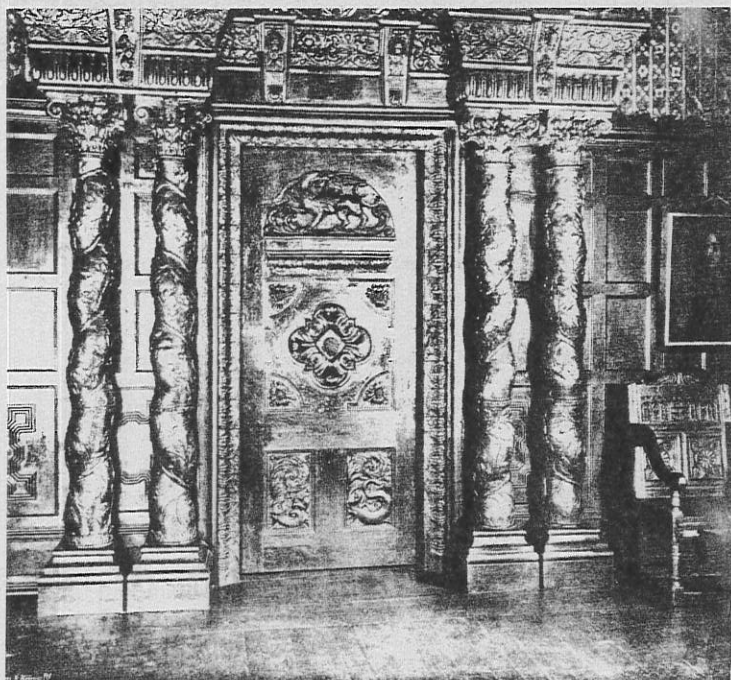
QUAINT: THAT, SIR, IS A COUNTRY IN THE WORLD'S BACK-SIDE, WHERE EVERY MAN IS BORN A GENTLEMAN, AND A GENEALOGIST.

'Aesop', a drama by Van burgh c.1697.

3



2 Sion ap Morgan: 18th century caricature of a Welsh squire.



6 Plan of proposed improvements to Rûg, Corwen, 1795.

4

Handwritten note: This is a general Catalogue of Trees wanted to complete the English Garden as approved of by a general List of Trust Trees to be planted in the Garden of Rhual, Flintshire according to my Plan drawn by Order of S^r Geo^l Wynne.

- 20 Rock Trees } For the South East Aspect.
- 10 Stand^d Cherries }
- 10 Stand^d Trees }
- 2 figs }
- 20 Dwarf Cherries S^e & W^e for the West Aspect.

- 6 Very tall Stand^d Pear Trees } for the North East Aspect
- 5 Dwarf Abriots }
- 11 Dwarf Plums } For the North West and by West Aspects
- 10 Stand^d Cherries }
- 11 Dwarf Duke Cherries } for the N. W. and by West Aspects
- 10 Stand^d Plums }

- 4 Dwarf Abriots }
- 5 Dwarf Plums }
- 6 Stand^d Pears }
- 3 Stand^d Abriots }

Handwritten note: A List of Stand^d Trust Trees in y^e open Quarters of y^e Garden in the Inside

- 2 Mulberries
- 2 Stand^d Cherries
- 2 Green Gage Plums
- 2 Bristle Abriots
- 1 Benjamin Tree Pears
- 2 Stand^d Cherries
- 2 Apples
- 2 Pears

Handwritten note: Espalier Trust in the Inside of y^e Garden.

- 52 Espalier Pears for the middle of y^e Walks
- 32 y^e Time for the S^e & W^e Border
- 10 Dwarf Plums for y^e N^e & S^e
- 14 Dwarf Abriots for the N. W. & by S^e & W^e

Handwritten note: 27 Apples on Paradise Sticks for y^e Border next the Philbeard Hedge

- 50 Philbeards for the S^e & W^e Hedge
- 20 Hedge Hollies for the Entrance at C^o

A list of fruit trees recommended to be planted at Rhual, Flintshire. In a letter from Stephen Switzer of Westminster to Thomas Griffiths of Rhual, 1 July 1739. Clwyd Record Office.

5

I amddittyn eu heiddo, lluniodd rheolwyr y gymdeithas gorff llym o ddeddfau troseddol. Dilynwyd y drosedd leiaf â chosbau creulon. Yn y llun (1) y mae achos o 1770 o sesiynau'r chwarter, Morgannwg. Gweithredai'r bonheddwyr fel ustusiaid heddwch a hwy oedd yn gyfrifol am gyfraith a threfn yn ogystal â gweinyddiaeth leol yn eu hardaloedd.

Ymysg y deddfau mwyaf blinderus i'r Cymry gwledig oedd y deddfau llym a reolai hela. Hawliai'r uchelwyr bob math o helgig ac o bysgod a hyd yn oed, ar brydiau, gynnrych y môr fel y gwelir yn y llun (2).

To defend their property the rulers of society erected a formidable body of criminal law. Harsh punishments followed the most trivial of offences. Illustrated (1) is a case of 1770 from the Glamorgan Quarter Sessions. The gentry acted as Justices of the Peace and were responsible for law and order as well as for local administration in their localities.

Among the most irksome laws to the people of rural Wales were the stringent game laws. The gentry laid claim to all kinds of game, fish, and even as we see illustrated (2), on occasions, to the produce of the seashore.

Appointments in April, 1770.		MEMORANDUMS, or OBSERVATIONS.
Monday		
Tuesday		
Wednesday		We ordered a Man to be transported for 7 years for stealing two Handkerchiefs and a bit of Ribbon. A severe Sentence!
Thursday		
Friday		

We ordered a Man to be transported for 7 years for stealing two Handkerchiefs and a bit of Ribbon. A severe sentence!

The Expenses for Transporting a man to America
at Quarter Sessions for Stealing two
Silk Handkerchiefs and a Ribbon L - S - S
To Paid the merchants S - S - 0
To Paid for a boat to Carry him up 10 - 10 - 6
To my own Expenses 2 - 2 - 0
7 - 17 - 6

The Expenses for Transporting a man to America at ye Quarter Sessions for Stealing two silk handkerchiefs and a Ribbon

	£	S	D
To Paid the merchants	5	5	0
To Paid for a boat to Carry him up	0	10	6
To my own Expenses	2	2	0
	7	17	6

Whereas we whose names are hereunto subscribed
have severally Caught Crabs & Lobsters in the Rocks and on
the Salt Sands within the Manors of Pennard & Bishopstone
which do belong to his grace the Duke of Beaufort as Lord of ye
said Manors, and committed other Trespasses there for which we
severally declare our Sorrow & humbly beg his grace's pardon &
forgiveness And do severally promise to pay to his grace the Sume
of Sixpence at the feast of St. Michael the Archangell yearly as
an Acknowledgement of his Grace's right to the said Rocks
& Sands for so long time as we are permitted to Catch such Crabs &
Lobsters or have any other liberty thereupon As Witnesseth
our hand this 27th day of May anno domini 1762

Signed by David Hugh, John Taylor & Daniel
Taylor In the Presence of
Gab. Powell Junr

Signed by John Jenkins Robert Jones
In the Presence of
Gab. Powell Junr
The Witnesses

Signed by John David, Jenkin Borne, John David
In the Presence of
John Powell
Gab. Powell Junr

Signed by Benjamin Bynon
In the Presence of
John Powell
Gab. Powell Junr

David Hugh
John Taylor
Daniel Taylor
John Jenkins
The mark of
Robert Jones
John David
Jenkin Borne
The mark of
William David
The mark of
John David
Benjamin Bynon

Whereas we whose names are hereunto subscribed have severally Caught
Crabs, Lobsters in the Rocks and on the Salt Sands within the Manors of
Pennard and Bishopstone which do belong to his grace the Duke of Beaufort
as Lord of ye said Manors and committed other Trespasses there for which
we severally declare our Sorrow and humbly beg his grace's pardon and forgive-
nesse And do severally promise to pay to his grace the Sume of Sixpence at the
feast of St. Michael the Archangell yearly as an Acknowledgement of his
Grace's right to the said Rocks and Sands for so long time as we are permitted
to Catch such Crabs and Lobsters or have any other liberty thereupon. As
Witnesseth our hand this 27th day of May anno domini 1762.

O dan y Tuduriaid arosasai'r uchelwyr yn Gymraeg eu hiaith, dysgasai eu gwagedd o Loegr iaith eu gwŷr ac arosasent fel 'ymerodron lleol y Fro'. Cynhaliwyd Eisteddfod yng Nghaerwys (1,2) ym 1523 ac yr oedd deddfu yn ystod teyrnasiad Elisabeth I ar gyfer yr Eisteddfod (3). Fodd bynnag, newidiodd rhan yr uchelwyr fel noddwyr y beirdd a hynny am fod yr uchelwyr yn chwilio am draddodiadau cysurus mewn barddoniaeth Gymraeg yn hytrach na her a newid. Yn anochel felly, rhoddwyd sedd gefn i farddoniaeth ym mywyd yr uchelwyr Cymraeg; nid cymaint o ganlyniad i seisnigeiddio dall, ond o ganlyniad i'r newid a ddigwyddai mewn anghenion ei noddwyr (4-7). Collodd barddoniaeth Gymraeg gysylltiad â'r byd Prydeinig modern, ymerodrol ac â'r economi newydd. O'r diwedd ymwahanodd y beirdd a'u noddwyr oddi wrth ei gilydd (8,9).

Under the Tudors the gentry remained Welsh speaking, their English wives were taught Welsh and they remained as local emperors of the Bro. An Eisteddfod was held at Caerwys (1,2) in 1523 and there was Elizabethan legislation (3) on the Eisteddfod. However, the gentry's role as patrons of the poets changed. It was not so much a blind anglicisation of the Welsh gentry (to see it as such is a simplification), but rather that what they expected of Welsh poetry and culture were not challenge and innovation but a comforting traditionalism. Inevitably the result was that in the lives of the gentry Welsh poetry and culture were increasingly relegated to a subsidiary role (4-7). Welsh poetry lost contact with the modern British imperial world and the new economy. The result was ultimately a drifting apart of poets and patrons (8,9).

Elizabeth by the grace of god of England, ffraunce and Ireland Quene defender of the faythe, &c. To our trustie and right welbeloued Sr Richard Bulkeley knight, Sr Rees Gruffyth knight, Ellice Price Esquior doctor in Cyvill Lawe, and one of our Counsaill in our marches of wales william mostyn, Jeuan lloyd of Yale, John Salusbury of Ruge, Rees Thomas, Maurice wyne, wim Lewis, Peres mostyn, Owen John ap holl vaughan, John wim ap John, John Lewis owen, morris gruffyth, Symound Theloall, John Gruffyth, Ellice ap wm lloyd, Robt Puleston, harry aparry, william Glynne and Rees hughes Esquiors and to euery of them, Greeting.

Whereas it is come to the knowledge of the Lorde President and other our said Cunsail in our marches of wales that vagrant and idle persons naming theim selves mynstrelles Rithmers and Barthes, are lately growen into such an intollerable multitude within the principalitee of north wales, that not only gentlemen and other by their shameles disorders are oftentimes disquieted in their habitacions / But also thexpert mynstrelles and musicians in tonge and Conyng thereby much discouraged to travail in the exercise and practize of their knowledges and also not a little hyndred in their lyvinges and prefermentes. The Refourmacion whereof and the putting of those people in order the said Lorde President and Counsaill have thought verely necessarye and knowing you to be men both of wysdome and vpright dealing and also of Experience and good Knowledge in the scyence / have apointed and aucthorized you to be Commissyoners for that purpose / And forasmuch as our said Counsaill of late travalyng in some parte of the said principalite had perfect vnderstanding by credible report that thaccumstomed place for the execution of the like Commissyon / hath bene heretofore at Cayroes in our Countie of fflynt, and that william mostyn Esquior and his auncestors have had the gyfte and bestowing of the sylver harpe appertayning to the Cheff of that facultie / and that a yeares warning at the least hath bene acustomed to be geven of thassembly / and execution of the like Commissyon Our said Counsaill have therefore apoynted the execution of this Commissyon to be at the said towne of Cayroes the monday next after the feast of the blessed Trynitee which shall be in the yeare of our Lorde god/1568. And therefore we require and commaund you by the authoritee of these presentes not only to cause open proclamcions to be made in all ffayors, markettes, Townes, and other places of assembly within our Counties of Anglizy, Carnarven, meryonneth, denbigh and fflynt / that all and eury person and persons that entend to maynteigne their lyvinges by name or Colour of mynstrelles, Rithmers, or Barthes.

Let it be known to all gentlemen and common men that an eisteddfod for craftsmen in poetry and music [will be held] within the town of Caerwys in Flintshire the second day of the month of July in the fifteenth year of the crowning of Henry VIII before Richard ap Hywel ap Ieuan Fychan Esquier with the collaboration of Sir Wiliam Gruffudd and Sir Roger Salusbury and with the personal counsel of Gruffydd ap Ieuan ap Llywelyn Fychan and Tudur Aled, a chaired poet, and many gentlemen and wise men besides in order to bring order and government to the craftsmen in poetic art and their art according to the words of the Statute of Gruffudd ap Cynan, Prince of Gwynedd, namely to certify and confirm master craftsmen and those who were previously awarded a degree and to award [a degree] to whoever deserved it and to give space [of time] to others to learn and meditate as deeply as conscience allows and by the Statute of Prince Gruffudd ap Cynan.

I yma brllad copi
or rfaais afb car
broun ytalaisioc
dywysoc cruff ap fymau =
Bid ysbys i bawb sydd o belon talaiu
Aberffro bod eisteddfod ar wyl
wylu cerdd tabod alyant yu cybr:
cithawon o belon tref Caerwys a Gwys
a fribudd droy aindirbod car bron
ytalaiuiau dywysoc yu berstuo
Gwys ap fymau a Gwys ap fymau
at orail o bouhedigion a lrethron tref
Cadod or bwrwyl dalaiu i lwnaethir
fribraith allpwodraeth ar holl anant a
achredidyr tabod alyant at ar i felw:
ddrd yu grynauit alybui odrweigi
on chwyrn yu ch plith anhaeddiedic
harbolli kays na buant dan lailu
fribreithlawn or Gwysddyd jddied
yr kaim o gwbl ac i gadarnhad ac
aeddiedic yu hacuiddigion kae ddeordiedig
ion pob bu yni-radd mebis at ir
fpaeddai

LLYTHYR SION PYWEL
AT DDAFYDD IONES O DREFRIW

... Mae'r bonedd hefyd ym mysg tramor
estron genedl, yn anghydnabyddus a
diystyrlyd o iaith eu hen deidiau, yn
baldorodd Seisnaeg, yn codi ar eu tir-
oedd, yn gwasgu ar eu deiliaid, yn
gorthrymu y tlodion, yn preswyliaw
yng Nghaer Ludd, yn cadw puteiniaid,
yn meddwi, ac yn godinebu, a'u hen
balasau a'u llysoedd gynt yn anghyf-
annedd, ac yn ogofau gwilliaid a lladron,
yn gorlanau geifr a bychod. Lle clywid
ynddynt blethiadau telynau, a phibau
pereidd-lais, a phob offer cerdd, haws
yn awr yw clywed y dylluan yn canu, a
cathod yn cymharu, a phob pryfed drwg
yn nythu. Lle bu llawer hardd balasdy,
y mae yn awr yn waeth na beudy, heb
ddyn yn cyfanneddu, i roi na bwyd na
gwely. ...

Rhyd Eirin, Llan Sannan:
Hydref 13, 1766.

4

We came down upon the great bulk of a vast yawning
manor house, the dogs and crows having torn its eyes
out, its owners having gone to England or France, to
seek there what they would more easily have found at
home; so instead of the old goodhearted, charitable,
countrified family formerly to be found there, no one
is now in possession but that stupid beldame the owl,
the rapacious crows, or the motley conceited magpies,
or some such creatures to tell of the exploits of the
present owners. One could find there a host of such
abandoned manor houses which but for pride could
have been, as of yore, the haunt of the best of men,
a shelter for the weak, a very school of peace and all
goodness, and a blessing to a thousand lesser houses
around them.

From Ellis Wynne, Gwledigaethu y Bardd
Cwsc 1703

5

Nid oes nawr (dirfawr darfu) - na maswedd
Na miwsig ynghymru;
A diau oedd fod dydd a fu
Telyn gan bob penteulu.

There is in Wales, one must lament
No music and no merriment,
And yet there was in days of old
A harp in every household.

Lewis Morris 1726

7

I see not one house suitable for my journey
To go on praising, as I used to do
With a profound song, and there is no more
A thronging crowd which likes my voice
To pure Welsh they turn not willingly,
Twice better than the joyful note of a cywydd
To them is rich talk in the Saxon tongue.

Alas! There is destroyed all over the land
Their generous power and helpful grace,
Which were so good to me in many a manor,
Their friendly gift I accepted so freely,
Today my cheek is sad, without warmth,
I see none that beckons me close,
No meat and drink, and no reward.

Gwaiath Owen Gruffydd, 1691.

6

The old customs are now held in low regard, because
they are so uncommon. However, the crowd which came
together were well pleased with the clumsy poesy that
was there, so much so that they ordained another
Eisteddfod to be held at Corwen in Merioneth on May
12th next, expecting more bards to come there, and
many promise to come there, but what stops many is
poverty. Many are held back by worldliness, others
by faintheartedness, for there is neither profit nor
advantage from such a custom, so everyone is very
slack, dragging their feet, and slow to build or beautify
or extend the bounds of the Welsh language, and now
we, the few natives, greet you and believe that there
is in you some remains of the spirit of fraternity. We
would beg for your patronage if you would be pleased
to give us some small present, out of goodwill to those
who are trying to crawl after their mother tongue, that
is, the language of our mothers.

Jonathen Hughes on the Llangollen Eisteddfod
1789

8

The greatest part of these melodies I have committed
to writing from hearing them sung by old people, and
from their being played by the most venerable harpers
in North Wales; and it is very fortunate that I did so,
because most of them are since dead. Being a native
of Meirionydd, where our national customs are best
retained, and where I was generally used to pass my
summers: being also well acquainted with most of the
popular Welsh airs from my infancy, from having been
brought up in the musical profession, and having
always had a predilection for native customs; I may
perhaps have the advantage of my contemporaries on
this subject, or at least I hope I shall be found adequate
to the task I have undertaken, in rescuing some of the
bardic lore from being irretrievably lost.

Edward Jones: The Bardic Museum 1802.

9

Fel y collid nawdd y plas dirywiai barddoniaeth a sgrifennu Cymraeg nes iddynt gael eu neilltuo i ddwy adran: crefydd a llenyddiaeth ddefosiynol ar y naill law a'r traddodiad llafar a diwylliant y werin ar y llall. Siaradai'r werin iaith a âi fwyfwy yn iaith lafar a thafodieithoedd tra-amrywiol ganddi. Dirywiodd y traddodiad cerddorol a llenyddol i fod yn farddoniaeth leol (gweithiau beirdd gwledig), caneuon gwerin, almanacau, carolau, anterliwtiau a dramâu poblogaidd. Yn erbyn y byd hwn o ddiwylliant gwerinol y cyfeiriodd y Methodistiaid eu hymgyrchoedd (1-6). Ni anelai'r ymgyrchoedd Methodistiaidd at ddileu diwylliant Cymru, eithr at ddileu pechod ac ofergoel. Yn wir gweithiai arweinwyr Methodistiaidd megis Hywel Harris drwy gyfrwng y Gymraeg. Sicrhaodd Anghydfurfiaeth ddyfodol yr iaith Gymraeg, ond, yn anffodus, gweithiau o natur grefyddol oedd y gweithiau sgrifenedig bron i gyd.

Bu gwaith y Cymry yn Llundain er hwyr yn dyfod i adfer diwylliant Cymreig a sefydliad yr Eisteddfod yn gryn gymorth i ailennill parch i'r diwylliant poblogaidd (7,8).

As Welsh poetry and letters went into decline as the patronage of the plas was lost the Welsh language became increasingly relegated to two areas of experience – one was religious and devotional literature, the other area was the oral tradition and the popular culture of the ordinary people. The 'werin' spoke a language that became increasingly an oral language, fragmented into dialects. The Welsh musical and literary tradition degenerated into local poetry (the works of country poets) and the popular world of ballads, almanacs, chapbooks, carols and interludes and popular drama. It was against this world of popular folk culture that the Methodists directed their attacks (1-6). The Methodist attacks were aimed at stamping out sin and superstition and were not specifically directed at Welsh culture. Indeed, Methodist leaders like Hywel Harris worked through the medium of the Welsh language. Nonconformity ensured the survival of the Welsh language, but unfortunately the written language became almost wholly associated with works of a religious nature. The work of the London Welsh movement to restore Welsh culture and the institution of the Eisteddfod belatedly helped to restore some respectability to this surviving popular culture (7,8).

And the enthusiasm of the Methodists together with the tyranny of the landowners have spread an universal gloom over the country.

William Jones of Llangadfan to Edward Jones the harpist, June 1789.

1

This thing grasped so firmly in Harris and Rowlands, so that its mark is left strongly to this day on the Methodists more than on any other religious denomination in Wales, so that they cannot (with a few exceptions) join in the Welsh societies, nor enjoy the sound of the harp or other instrument.

William Roberts, Crefydd yr Oesoedd Tywyll. 1852

2

This revival of religion has put an end to all the merry meetings for dancing, singing with the harp, and every kind of sinful mirth, which used to be so prevalent amongst young people here. And at a large fair, kept here a few days ago, the usual revelling, the sound of music, and vain singing, was not to be heard in any part of the town; a decency in the conduct, and sobriety in the countenances, of our country people, appeared the whole of that fair, which I never observed before.

Jenkins, Thomas Charles of Bala 1791

3

Fanaticism is unquestionably gaining ground. Games and amusements promote good humour and cheerfulness, but are harassed by absurd and tyrannical laws and by a restless spirit of meddling.

Edmund Hyde Hall, A Description of Caernarvonshire 1809.

6

Huw Maurice, Glan y Gors, Sierlyn (Edward Charles) etc., are talked of here as being three of the rankest infidels of all the Gwyneddigion, who are all of them considered as ten thousand times worse than Tom Paine, and all this on the word of Ginshop Jones, who was at the Methodistical Association at Bala a month ago. North Wales is now as Methodistical as South Wales, and South Wales as Hell.

Iolo Morganwg 1799

7

The Welsh harp, which Satan had almost taken possession of, has now been wrested from him, and is protected by the Eisteddfod now inside the place of worship, like the Ark at Obed Edom.

William Roberts, Crefydd yr Oesoedd Tywyll

8

The sudden decline of the national minstrelsy, and customs of Wales, is in a great degree to be attributed to the fanatic impostors, or illiterate plebeian preachers, who have too often been suffered to over-run the country, misleading the greater part of the common people from their lawful church; and dissuading them from their innocent amusements, such as singing, dancing, and other rural sports, and games, which heretofore they had been accustomed to delight in, from the earliest time. In the course of my excursions through the Principality, I have met with several harpers and songsters, who actually had been prevailed upon by those erratic strollers to relinquish their profession, from the idea that it was sinful. The consequence is, Wales, which was formerly one of the merriest and happiest countries in the world, is now become one of the dullest.

Jones, The Bardic Museum, 1802.

4

But of these folleries and pastimes the greater part now lie buried in the grave dug for them partly perhaps by the growing intelligence of the people, but certainly with a more immediate effect by the sour spirit of Methodism.

Edmund Hyde Hall, A Description of Caernarvonshire 1809.

5

Erydu diwylliant Cymraeg III
Yr iaith GymraegThe erosion of Welsh culture III
The Welsh language

18

Câi iaith a diwylliant Cymru eu bygwth. Portreada llungerfiad a gyhoeddwyd ar dudalen flaen geiriadur Sbaeneg, Ffrangeg, Eidaleg a Saesneg ym 1659 yr iaith Frythonig (sef y Gymraeg) allan yn yr oerfel: arwres farbaraid o'i chymharu â merched soffistigedig y llys (1). Honnai llawer fod yr iaith yn marw (2).

Yr oedd cyhoeddiad gramadeg William Gambold ym 1727 ac ymdrechion eraill yn gymorth i adfer peth statws i'r Gymraeg (2-6). Erbyn diwedd y ddeunawfed ganrif ceid math o ddadeni yn y diwylliant Cymraeg ac adnewyddu'r Eisteddfod a sefydliad yr Orsedd gan Iolo Morganwg a gynorthwyodd i adfer safonau llenyddol yr iaith Gymraeg. Eto i gyd bygythid y Gymraeg trwy gydol y bedwaredd ganrif ar bymtheg gan nerth y Saesneg (7), iaith ymerodraeth anferth, iaith byd yr economi llewyrchus (8).

Welsh culture and the Welsh language looked increasingly threatened. An engraving of 1659, published as a frontispiece to a dictionary of Spanish, French, Italian and English, pictured the Welsh (or British) language out in the cold – a barbaric warrior maiden contrasted with the sophistication of court ladies (1). Many held it to be a dying language (2).

The publication of William Gambold's Welsh Grammar in 1727 and the efforts of others helped to restore some status to it (3-6). By the end of the eighteenth century there was a kind of Renaissance in Welsh culture, a renewal of the Eisteddfod, and the institution of the Gorsedd by Iolo Morganwg. This helped to restore the literary standing of the Welsh language. But the Welsh language remained threatened (7) through the nineteenth century by the sheer dominance of the neighbouring English language, the language of a vast empire, the language of the world of economic prosperity (8).



1

Yet our name hath not been quite blotted out from under heaven: we hitherto not only enjoy the true name of our ancestors, but have preserved entire and uncorrupted for the most part (without any notable change or mixture with any other tongue) that primitive language spoken as well by the Antient Gauls and Britans some thousands of years ago.

Thomas Richards, Thesaurus 1753.

3

Long in barb'rous Welsh I went astray
And talk'd by rote, as country fiddlers play,
Broke Priscian's head as oft as when at school,
Nor thought the language was confined to rule,
'Till your ingenious pen improved my sense,
And shew'd me number, gender, mood, and tense,
Prov'd Greece and Rome excelled us not in speech,
This scarce as copious, scarcely that as rich:
No wonder, when of old our Druids rul'd,
We read the Gauls came hither to be school'd.
But haste your lexicon to publish too;
We still want words to make us Welshmen through:
That copious magazine, so fully stor'd
All needful aid to student would afford ...
And to our ancient speech such lustre give,
That phoenix-like its ruins would revive.
The softer southern tongues we then should slight,
As but for women or for eunuchs fit;
For sure, the stout and brave would all uphold,
A language, like themselves, that's masculine and bold.

David Meredith, Dedication to William Gambold's Welsh Grammar, 1727.

4

The native gibberish is usually prattled throughout the whole taphydome, except in their market towns, whose inhabitants being a little rais'd, and (as it were) pufft up into bubbles, above the ordinary scum, do begin to despise it ... 'tis usually cashier'd out of gentlemen's houses ... the lingua will be English'd out of Wales.

William Richards, Wallography, 1682.

2

Its misfortune is, that it is not at all known in foreign countries, unless in a small province of France; and very little known in this our own island, the Principality of Wales only excepted. Yet herein the language as well as proprietors, did but share in the common fate of all conquered nations; for it is very obvious that the language of such must as well give way to the language of the conquerors, as the necks of the inhabitants must truckle under the yokes of their subduers.

William Gambold, Preface to his Welsh Grammar,
1727.

5

God has shown more love and favour to the Welsh than to almost any other nation under the sun ...

Although we were conquered by the Romans, and driven by the Saxons from the lowlands of England to the Welsh highlands; and later on conquered by the Normans, and although laws were passed specifically to delete our language totally from the face of the earth: yet the most high has given us strength and resilience to withstand all the incursions of our enemies, however frequent they have been: and to retain our language, and some of our possessions also, despite them all: and let us hope that we shall remain so for ever more.

Rice Jones, Gorchestion Beirdd Cymru, 1773.

6

The Welsh language, as long as it is in the hands of men blinded by national prejudices, and is made the tool to oppose the progress of improvement - to exclude the acquirements and knowledge of other nations, and to narrow the field for the development of Welsh minds - must operate as the greatest curse of Wales and Welshmen. What other nation bids men look for its grandeur, intelligence, and virtues, in barbarous ages, and exploded literature and among decayed carcasses?

quoted by D.R. Phillips, History of the Vale of
Neath.

7

The old dry utilitarian factual paths taken by the wordly nation which is next door to us ... Oh, one must have a fact, a fact, and a reason, a reason, endlessly, ceaselessly. One sticks aridly to facts and unreasonably to reason. What harm in all seriousness, is there in a little innocent honest imaginative untruth, if it has a good lesson in its tail?

Trans. from Glan A lun, Traethodydd, 1848.

8

I bob pwrpas rheolid nawdd yn yr Eglwys Anglicanaidd yng Nghymru gan y bonheddwyr Cymreig (1). Adlewyrchir y nawdd hwn yn llythyrau Hugh Owen, perthynas Syr Hugh Owen, Bodeon, at asiant Ystâd Bodeon (2). Erbyn y ddeunawfed ganrif yr oedd cryn luosogaeth (3) ac absenoldeb (4) ymysg y clerigwyr ac ni cheisiodd pawb, fel y gwnaeth Hugh Owen (5), i ddysgu Cymraeg. Nid oedd yr eglwysi eu hunain hyd yn oed yn rhydd i unrhyw un fynd a dyfod ychwaith, oherwydd, yn y rhan fwyaf ohonynt, yr oedd teuluoedd arbennig yn berchen ar y seddi (6). Cododd y broblem, i raddau helaeth, o dlodi'r Eglwys yng Nghymru, a hyn, yn ei dro, yn ganlyniad i'r ffaith fod cyfran fawr o'r degymau yn cael eu hadfeddiannu gan fonheddwyr anonest a'u defnyddio at ddibenion amgen na chrefyddol (7).

Patronage in the Anglican Church was often, effectively, controlled by the Welsh gentry (1). This patronage is reflected in the letters of Hugh Owen, a relative of Sir Hugh Owen of Bodeon, to the Bodeon estate agent (2). By the eighteenth century there was considerable pluralism (3) and absenteeism (4) amongst the clergy and not all the clergymen like Hugh Owen (5) made an attempt to learn Welsh. There was not even general right of access to the churches, for, in most of the churches, pews (6) were owned by particular families. Much of the problem arose from the poverty of the Church in Wales and this, in turn, stemmed from the fact that a great proportion of the tithes had passed into the hands of lay owners and were not applied for religious purposes (7).

expen I shall repay when I meet you with many thanks. I shall be happy to hear from you when you receive that; pray direct to me Peters Row, Dublin when your messenger returns from Mr. Hugh Owen with my seals. On your acquainting me therewith I shall lose no time in going over to Anglesea where I shall hope to meet you. Pray will there be any difficulty in my getting possession of my parish as I am not conversant in ye Welsh Dialect. Mrs. Owen writes with me in affectionate compliments to you and family. I am Dear Sir Your obliged humble servant.

Hugh Owen

July 28th 1779.

2



1

Letter of Rev. Hugh Owen to R. Poole, agent of the Bodean Estate Anglesey

Dear Sir,

I shall beg leave to begin a correspondence with one to whom I am credibly informed I am much indebted for a late kindness unsolicited to being very instrumental in urging my friends to push their interest for me on the late vacancy of the Rectory of Aberffraw. to which I am appointed. I shall ever be mindful of your disinterested friendship on that occasion last past. I had a letter from Mr. Hugh Owen from London who is now at Oriulton. He has brought down my appointment with him expecting to meet me there which I cannot accomplish at present. I enclose a letter for him which I shall beg the favour of you to forward to him with a line from yourself to request he will send to you my Presentation. You will on my account employ a trusty messenger on the occasion your

Extract from a letter of Rev. Hugh Owen to R. Poole

January 19th 1781;

... I have had a hint that my friends think it more eligible to get some addition in North Wales for me if an opportunity offered, and the Town member has said that he would be glad to further it if there was any such to offer. I should be glad they had early notice of the vacancy that they might have no excuse to put their good intention into execution.

I had a letter from John Jerman this week who gives but a poor account of my corn etc. at Aberffraw. I had hopes that the price was rising. He says he expects some cash from John Thomas soon which he will lodge with you according to my direction. I hope he will soon have it as I shall be glad to have a remittance at this critical period. Mr. Cooper promised to take a view of the Glebe house and have a plan and estimate of additions and repairs. I do not know whether he has done it. If he has not I should be glad if it was done as I must immediately think of doing something to the house at least brushing up the present miserable mansion ... I enclose a letter for John Jerman. He tells me the tenants were in possession of my glebe till Christmas, which I fancy they had no right to do as their time was out at All Saints and even then it was with regret they quitted it ...

3

'As the Christian Service is thus totally diffus'd in some places, there are other some that may be said to be half serv'd; there being several Churches, when we are but rarely, if at all to meet with Preaching, Catechising, or Administring of the Holy Communion; In others the Service of the Prayers is but partly Read, and that perhaps but once a Month, or once in a quarter of a Year; nor is it indeed reasonable to expect that they should be better serv'd while the Stipends allow'd for the Service of them are so small that a poor Curate must sometimes submit to serve three or four Churches for Ten or Twelve Pounds a Year, and that perhaps when they are almost as many miles distant from each other.'

'... I could not forbear thinking, that the disposing of Welsh Preferments, I mean those especially that are attended with the Cure of Souls, to such as are wholly ignorant of that Language, to be a Practice that has contributed not a little to the Decay and Desolation of our Religion.'

'There is, I believe, no part of the Nation more inclin'd to be Religious, and to be delighted with it than the poor Inhabitants of these Mountains. They don't think it too much when neither ways, nor Weather are inviting, over cold and bleak Hills to travel three or four miles, or more, on foot to attend the Public Prayers, and sometimes as many more to hear a Sermon, and they seldom grudge many times for several hours together in their damp and cold Churches, to wait the coming of their Minister, who by Occasional Duties in his other Curacy's, or by other Accidents may be obliged to disappoint them, and to be often variable in his Hours of Prayer.'

Erasmus Saunders, 'A view of the state of Religion in the diocese of St. David's', 1721.

4

Ext ract from a letter of Rev. Hugh Owen
to Richard Poole

October 23rd 1779

... I found Mrs. Owen and my little daughter very well. Cannot prevail upon the former to visit Aberffraw this winter so I must think of returning the beginning of the month. Hope the Bishop of Bangor will not much longer defer my institution after I arrive. I continue to practice the Welsh ...

*Bangor will not much longer defer my institution after I arrive. I continue to practice the Welsh and every thing will at last be completed to my wishes. We have no news here worth relating. Mr Owen unites with me in best respects to you Mr Poole & the young Lady. I am I hope Miss they have had no return of her complaint. Your affectionate obliged humble Servt
Peter's Row, Dublin
October 23. 1779
Hugh Owen*

5

*At an Adjournment of the Meeting of the Trustees of the
Welsh Church in the City of London on the 10th day of June
1780 the Trustees have resolved that the Trustees should
take down and rebuild upon a more extensive scale the
Chapel of Saint Mary in the Town of Carnarvon held in that
Town Hall in the said Town of Carnarvon on Wednesday the
twentieth day of August 1800 pursuant to Public Notice
Thomas Lechford Smith Esq. in the Chair*

*Resolved That the Committee appointed by the last Meeting
be requested to proceed to the Alteration of the Pew to the
different Inscriptions as far as to ascertain the Number that are to be
expended to do so and that the Report of such Alteration be
reported to the next Meeting*

6

Letter of the Rural Dean to R. Poole
Agent for the Bodean estate Anglesey

Carnarvon June 18th, 1785

Dear Sir,

In compliance with the Bishops desire I visited the Churches within the Hundreds of Menai and Malltraeth and understanding that Sir Hugh Owen is to repair Llanfair Church and Bodowen Chapel in Llanadwalader I take the liberty of writing to you on the subject. It is the Bishop's Resolution to have all the Churches within this Diocese repaired during the course of the summer, and his Lordship has given direction to the Rural Dean to point out the Repairs necessary to be done. Give me leave then to mention what Repairs are required in Llanfair and Bodowen chapel. The latter wants only flagging and to have the seats repaired - Then Llan gad waladr will I believe be as neat a Church as any in the island. Llanfair also you will please to flag and to give orders for repairing the Roof of it. A pulpit with a Cloth and cushion, also a cloth for the Communion Table are wanting. It would add much to the decent appearance of the Church were the Benches placed in a regular order, which may be done at a trifling expense. There should be gates fixed at the Entrance into the Churchyard. If you will please to order these Requisites for the Church by Michaelmas next I shall then have the pleasure of making a good Report of it to My Lord Bishop - for I must at that time visit the several Churches within my District again to see whether the Repairs directed for them are properly executed.

I am dear Sir very sincerely Yours

L. Hughes

7

Er yn debyg ei naws i fudiadau cyfoes yn Lloegr a'r Amerig, dechreuodd Methodistiaeth yng Nghymru yn annibynnol gyda diwygiad y ddau Anglican, Hywel Harris (1), yn Sir Frycheiniog, a Daniel Rowland, yn Sir Aberteifi, yng nghanol y 1730au. Yr oedd effaith emosïynol eu hefynglyaeth yn ehangach o lawer am iddi gael ei mynegi yn yr iaith Gymraeg a thrwy farddoniaeth delynegol emynau William Williams, Pantycelyn. Mudiad trefnus iawn ydoedd ac, er i'w berthnasau â'r Hen Anghytuniaeth amrywio, arhosodd yn gadarn o fewn yr Eglwys Anglicanaidd hyd ddiwedd y ddeunawfed ganrif. Yr oedd yn debyg i eglwys o fewn yr Eglwys a'i dai cwrdd a'i bregethwyr ei hunan yn aml.

Calfinistaidd oedd y mudiad yng Nghymru. Gwnaeth John Wesley, yr arweinydd Methodistaidd Saesneg mawr (2), sawl ymdrech i ddylanwadu ar Gymru, ond ychydig iawn o lwyddiant a gafodd (3). Yr oedd problemau iaith wrth wraidd hyn. Pan ymwelodd Wesley â gogledd Cymru cafodd ei hunan mewn gwlad estron lle na châl ei ddeall heb gymorth cyfieithwyr. Bu gwasanaeth Hywel Harris fel dirprwy i George Whitefield yn ystod y cenadaethau i'r Amerig yn gadarnhad i Galfinistiaeth y Cymry ac yr oedd perthnasau â'r Wesleiaid yn llai na chysurus ar brydiau. O'r diwedd sefydlodd Harris, gŵr o bersonoliaeth gref (4) a oedd hefyd yn ddiwygiwr amaethyddol, wladfa grefyddol yn Nhrefeca (5), a chytunodd Wesley iddynt sianelu eu hymdrechion ar wahân. Ni ddechreuodd Methodistiaeth Wesleiaidd ddylanwadu ar Gymru o ddifrif tan ddyfodiad y siaradwyr Saesneg tua diwedd y ganrif.

Er y blinid y mudiad yng Nghymru gan holltau ac ymneilltuadau, fe dyfodd yn gyson ac, ar ddiwedd y ddeunawfed ganrif, cyflymmodd ei gynnydd, yn enwedig yng ngogledd a gorllewin Cymru. Thomas Charles oedd arweinydd mawr y genhedlaeth newydd. Ef a roddodd eu ffurf adnabyddus i'r ysgolion Sul yng Nghymru ac a sefydlodd ganolfan y mudiad yn y Bala, Meirionnydd. Yn ystod ei amser ef, gorfu i'r mudiad, ym 1811, erfyn nawdd y Ddeddf Oddefiad ac i drwyddedu ei weinidogion oherwydd y straen cynyddol o fewn yr Eglwys ac erledigaeth y pregethwyr di-drwydded. Ym 1811 felly, aeth y Methodistiaid Calfinistaidd yn anghydfurfwyr a ffurfiasant yr enwad unigol mwyaf yng Nghymru.

Welsh Methodism, though similar in tone to the contemporary movements in England and America, began independently, with the conversion of two young Anglicans, Howell Harris (1) in Breconshire and Daniel Rowland in Cardiganshire in the mid-thirties. The intensive emotional drive of its evangelicalism was all the more effective in that it was expressed in the Welsh language and achieved lyrical poetry in the celebrated hymns of William Williams, Pantycelyn. The movement was also highly organised and while its relationships with the Old Dissent varied, it remained resolutely within the Anglican Church, though by the late eighteenth century it was virtually a church within the Church, often with its own meeting-houses and preachers.

The movement in Wales was Calvinist. John Wesley the great English Methodist leader (2) made repeated sorties into Wales but made slow headway (3). Language problems were at the heart of this. When Wesley visited north Wales he found himself in a foreign land unable to make himself understood without the aid of interpreters. Howell Harris's service as deputy to George Whitefield during the latter's American missions, confirmed the Welsh in their Calvinism and relations with the Wesleys were often strained. In the end, Harris, a towering personality (4) who was also a leading agricultural reformer and founded a religious colony at Trefeca (5) and Wesley agreed to channel their efforts separately. Not until the influx of English-speakers towards the end of the century did Wesleyan Methodism start to make serious headway in Wales.

Though the Welsh movement was plagued by splits and secessions, it grew remorselessly and in the late eighteenth century its increase accelerated, particularly in north and west Wales. The great leader of the new generation was Thomas Charles, who gave the Welsh Sunday Schools their familiar form and established the centre of the movement in Bala, Merioneth. Under him, the growing strain within the Church and the persecution of unlicensed preachers during the Napoleonic War forced the movement in 1811 to seek the protection of the Toleration Act and to license their ministers. In 1811 the Calvinistic Methodists therefore became Nonconformists and while they were outnumbered by the other sects, formed the largest single denomination in Wales.



1



JOHN WESLEY

From an engraving by Bland of a portrait by Nathaniel Hone, R.A.

SUNDAY, 6. We went to Llangefni church, though we understood little of what we heard. O what a heavy curse was the Confusion of Tongues! And how grievous are the effects of it! All the birds of the air, all the beasts of the field, understand the language of their own species. Man only is a barbarian to man, unintelligible to his own brethren!

In the afternoon I preached at Llanfihangel, about six miles south-west of Llangefni.² I have not seen a people so deeply affected since we came into Anglesey; their cries and tears continued a long time without any intermission. O that we could declare to them in their own tongue the wonderful works of God!

In the evening I preached at Glan-v-gors. When I had done Mr. Jones repeated in Welsh (as he likewise did in the afternoon) the substance of what I had said. The next morning we returned to Holyhead and found there all the packet-boats which we had left.

I was determined not to stay another day at an inn, so in the afternoon I took lodging in a private house not a bow-shot distant from the town and removed thither without delay. My congregation this evening was larger than ever, and several of the gentry agreed to come the next. But it was a little too late, for at midnight the wind came fair and before one we sailed out of the harbour.

6 March 1747

THURSDAY, 6. Between three and four in the afternoon we with some difficulty reached Caernarfon. This has the face of a fortified town, having walls (such as they are) and a castle as considerable as that of Cardiff. Here we parted with our guide and interpreter, Mr. Phillips. Mr. Tucker and I set out for Holyhead. We intended to cross over into Anglesey at Moel y don ferry, four miles from Caernarfon, but not being able to inquire our way (as we spoke no Welsh and the country people no English) we could not find where the ferry was till we saw the boat coming over. We went into the boat about sunset, and lodged that night at a little inn by the water-side.

6 Aug. 1747

Pembroke, Sunday 29 July 1764

The minister of St. Mary's (Pembroke) sent me word he was very willing I should preach in his church, but before the service began the mayor sent to forbid it, so he preached a very useful sermon himself. The mayor's behaviour so disgusted many of the gentry that they resolved to hear where they could, and accordingly flocked together in the evening from all parts of the town. And perhaps the taking up this cross may profit them more than my sermon in the church would have done.'

Wednesday 2 September 1767

'About twelve I preached to a large and serious congregation in the Assembly Room at Cowbridge, and in the evening in the court-house at Cardiff where, both this and the following evening, we had most of the gentry in the town; and, both the mornings, the hearers were more than for many years. Who knows but, even in this desolate town, God may build up the waste places?'

I rode on THURSDAY the 22nd to Dale, a little village at the mouth of Milford Haven. It seemed to me that our preachers had bestowed here much pains to little purpose. The people, one and all, seemed as dead as stones—perfectly quiet and perfectly unconcerned. I told them just what I thought. It went as a sword to their hearts. They *felt* the truth and wept bitterly. I know not where we have found more of the presence of God. Shall we at last have fruit here also?

22 Aug. 1771

WEDNESDAY, 28. I called at Neath on one of our friends, but before I could sit down, was informed a congregation was waiting for me. This I had no thought of. However, I gave them a short sermon, and hastened on to Coychurch, near Bridgend.³ I preached as deliberately as possible, as great part of the audience were Welsh, and I believe, by this means, all of them could understand at least the substance of the discourse.

Aug. 1771

SUNDAY, 21. At nine, I began the service at St. Daniel's, and concluded a little before twelve. It was a good time. The power of the Lord was unusually present, both to wound and to heal. Many were constrained to cry, while others were filled with speechless awe and silent love.

After dinner, I went over to Haverfordwest, but could not preach abroad because of the rain. Both here and at Pembroke I found the people in general to be in a cold, dead, languid state. And no wonder, since there has been for several months a total neglect of discipline. I did all I could to awaken them once more, and left them full of good resolutions.'

21 Aug. 1774

SUNDAY, 20. The congregation at St. Daniel's was more than the church could contain. After reading prayers, I preached an hour (an uncommon thing with me) on *Not everyone that saith unto Me 'Lord, Lord'*. Many were cut to the heart, and at the Lord's Supper many were wounded and many healed. Surely now, at least, if they do not harden their hearts, all these will know the day of their visitation.

20 July 1777

MONDAY, 21. Having been much pressed to preach at Jeffreston, a colliery, six or seven miles from Pembroke, I began soon after seven. The house was presently filled and all the space about the doors and windows, and the poor people drank in every word. I had finished my sermon when a gentleman, violently pressing in, bade the people get home and mind their business. As he used some bad words my driver spake to him. He fiercely said, 'Do you think need to be taught by a chaise-boy?'. The lad replying, 'Really, sir, I do think so', the conversation ended.

In the evening I preached in the market-place at Carmarthen to such another congregation as I had there before, and my heart was so enlarged towards them that I continued preaching a full hour.

21 July 1777

THURSDAY, 26. I preached at five and again at eleven. I think this was the happiest time of all. The poor and the rich seemed to be equally affected. Oh how are the times changed at Cowbridge since the people compassed the house where I was and poured in stones from every quarter! But my strength was then according to my day and (blessed by God) so it is still.

In the evening I preached in the large hall at Mr. Mathews' in Llandaf. And will the rich also hear the words of eternal life? *With God all things are possible.*

26 Aug. 1779

3 Extracts from Wesley's diary

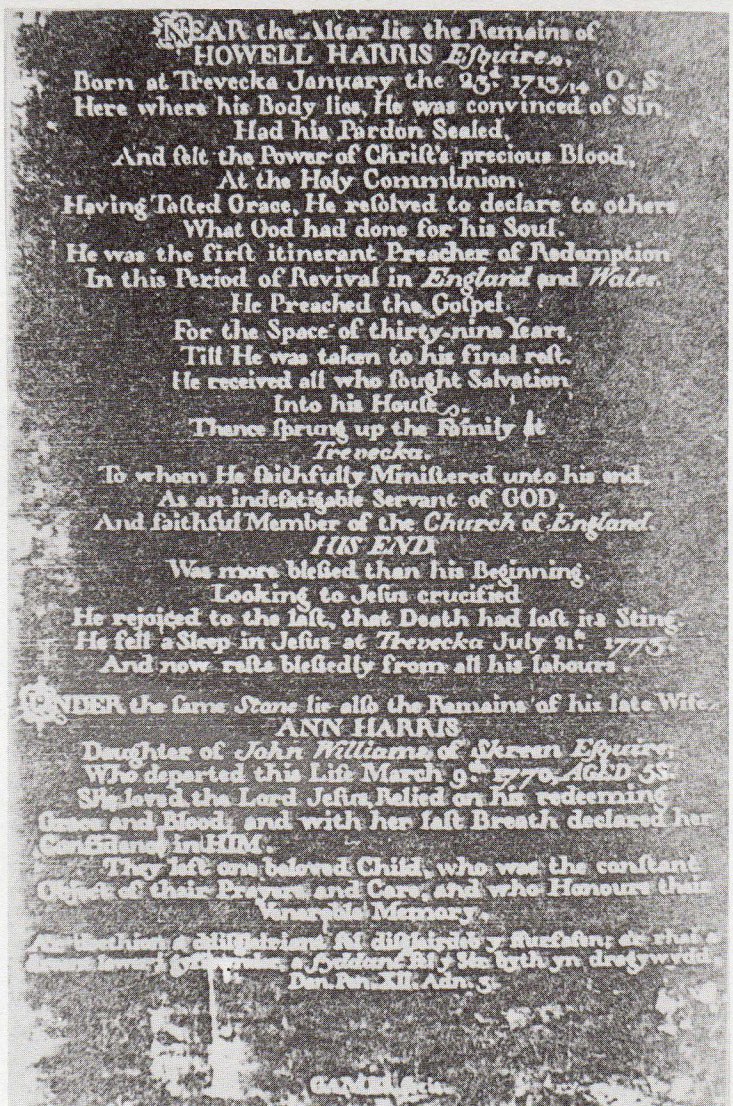
Before I talked with him myself I wondered H. Harris did not go out and preach as usual. But he now informed me he preached till he could preach no longer, his constitution being entirely broken. While he was thus confined he was pressed in spirit to build a large house, though he knew not why or for whom. But as soon as it was built men, women and children without his seeking came to it from all parts of Wales. And except in the case of the Orphan House at Halle, I never heard of so many signal interpositions of Divine Providence.

FRIDAY, 19. I preached near the market-place, and afterwards rode over to Trefeca. Howell Harris' house is one of the most elegant places which I have ever seen in Wales.² The little chapel and all things round about it are finished in an uncommon taste, and the gardens, orchards, fish-ponds and mount adjoining make the place a little paradise. He thanks God for these things and looks through them. About six-score persons are now in the Family—all diligent, all constantly employed, all fearing God and working righteousness. I preached at ten to a crowded audience, and in the evening at Brecon again, but to the poor only, the rich (a very few excepted) were otherwise employed.

From a letter dated 20 October 1748 to Thomas Boddington

'Tis now about 9 weeks since I begun to go round South & North Wales. & this week I came Home from my last journey Round North Wales – I have now visited in that time 13 Counties & travaill mostly 150 miles every week. & Discoursed twice every Day & Sometimes three & four times a Day: & this last Journey I have not taken off my Cloaths for 7 nights & travaill from one morning to ye next evening without any Rest above 100 miles. Discoursing att 12 or 2 in ye morning on ye mountain, being oblig'd to meet at that time by Reason of Persecution –

4 Extracts from Wesley's diary



Enillodd Methodistiaeth dir drwy'r pregethwr teithiol a thrwy gyfarfodydd mawr lle y tystiai'r diwygiedig (1). Anelai moddion darbwyllo'r Methodistiaid at y synhwyrau a'r emosiynau yn ogystal â'r meddwl. Yr oedd 'diwygio' yn brofiad canolog i'r grefydd – yr ail-eni.

Ni welir yr apêl hwn i'r emosiynau yn well nag ym marddoniaeth delynegol (2) emynau Williams Pantycelyn (3). Daeth canu emynau yn ffordd o fyw i'r Cymry (4).

Ar gychwyn y ddeunawfed ganrif yr oedd y rhan fwyaf o'r 70 o gynulleidfaoedd cofrestredig yr Hen Anghytuniaeth yn y de. Nid oedd ond 10 yn y gogledd, yn y gogledd-ddwyrain ran fynychaf. Fel y pylodd erledigaeth aethant yn barchus ac yn sefydlog a bu cynnydd yn araf. Nodweddi eu sectau, p'r un bynnag, gan ddadlau dwys, dysgedig a wreiddid yng Ngoleuedigaeth y ddeunawfed ganrif. Blinid yr academi Bresbyteraidd yng Nghaerfyrddin yn enwedig, gan heresiau Calfinistaidd, ac ym 1755 fe'u diarddelwyd dros dro. Ym 1726 dechreuodd grŵp a ymwahanasai oddi wrth Gaerfyrddin droi ardal neilltuol ar Afon Teifi yn 'Smotyn Du' y Calfinistaidd; cadarnle Anghytuniaeth hanner wleidyddol, ryddfrydol, radicalaidd a ymestynnodd drwy Gymru ac a gynhyrchodd o'r diwedd enwad yr Undodwyr, ychydig ei aelodau, ond mawr ei ddylanwad.

Rhedodd y tueddiadau hyn o fewn Anghytuniaeth yn erbyn tueddiad arall, tuag at efengylaeth angerddol, boblogaidd y Methodistiaid. Pan ddaeth cynnydd i Anghytuniaeth a Methodistiaeth, yn hwyr yn y ddeunawfed ganrif, cynhyrchodd gyffro'r meddwl a'r enaid. Rhwygwyd y Bedyddwyr a oedd yn cynyddu'n gyflym ar y pryd.

Cyd-ddigwyddodd y cynnydd hwn â newidiadau cyflym yng nghymdeithas Cymru a achoswyd gan ddiwydiant, moderneiddio mewn dulliau amaethu a'r rhyfel hir yn erbyn Ffrainc y Chwyldro a Napoleon. O ganlyniad ymestynnodd Anghydfurfiaeth hen a newydd o'r de a'r gorllewin i'r gogledd a'r dwyrain. Yn y broses daeth y gogledd a'r gorllewin allan fel cadarnleoedd yr efengylaeth newydd, yn enwedig Methodistiaeth, er i'r enwadau oll fod yn bresennol ymhobman.

O ddiwedd y ddeunawfed ganrif i mewn i'r bedwaredd ganrif ar bymtheg tyfodd Anghydfurfiaeth yn gyflym. Erbyn 1811 troesai rhyw 15-20 y cant o'r boblogaeth at Anghytuniaeth, hen a newydd. Erbyn y cyfrifiad crefyddol cyntaf ym 1851 (5) gor-rifai'r Anghydfurfwyr dros yr Anglicaniaid o bump i un. Mewn manau yr oeddynt yn uwch fyth: saith i un, a hyd yn oed deg i un. A'i natur yn datblygu'n fwyfwy

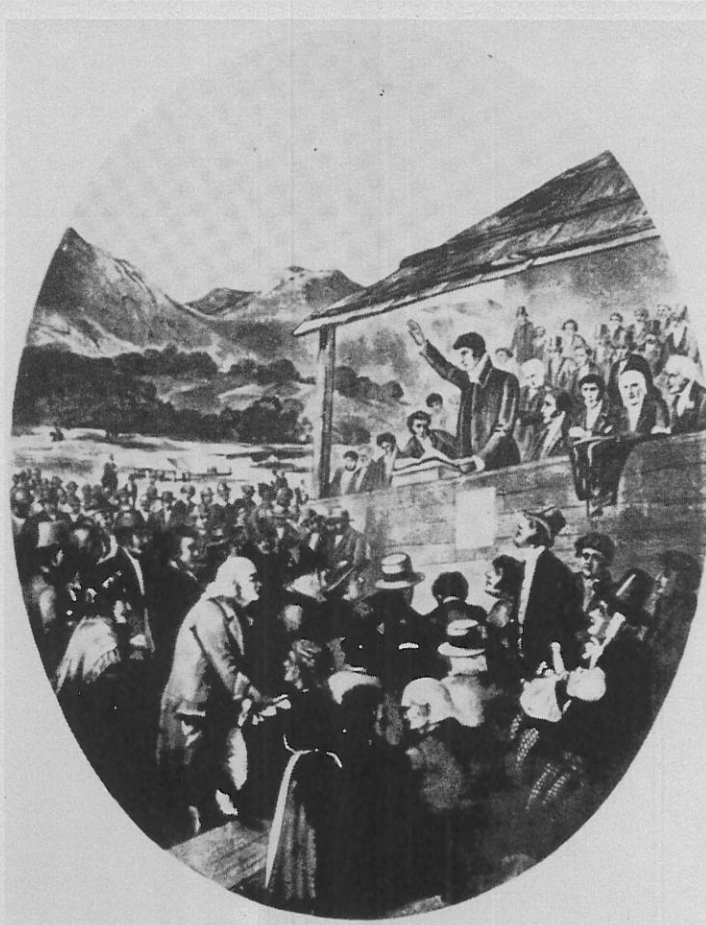
Methodism gained ground through the itinerant preacher and the mass meeting where converts bore witness (1). The Methodists' means of persuasion were designed to reach the senses and the emotions as well as the intellect. Central to the religion was a religious experience of 'conversion', of being born again.

The appeal to the emotions is nowhere better manifested than in the lyric poetry (2) of the hymns of William Williams (3) of Pantycelyn. Hymn singing became part of the Welsh way of life (4).

In the early eighteenth century most of the seventy recorded congregations of the Old Dissent were in the south, only ten were in north Wales, mostly in the north-east. As persecution faded away, they grew rather respectable and established, though expansion was slow. Their sects, however, were characterised by intense intellectual debates stemming from the eighteenth century Enlightenment. The Carmarthen academy of the Presbyterians in particular, was afflicted with heresies from Calvinism; in 1755 it was temporarily excommunicated. In 1726 a break-away from Carmarthen started to turn a particular district on the river Teifi into the 'Black Spot' of the Calvinists, a stronghold of liberal, radical, semi-political Dissent which spread through Wales and ultimately produced the Unitarian denomination, few in number but powerful in influence.

These tendencies within Dissent ran counter to an opposite trend, towards the passionate, popular evangelicalism of the Methodists. When both Dissent and Methodism experienced an upsurge in numbers during the late eighteenth century, this produced intellectual and spiritual turmoil. The rapidly expanding Baptists went into a schism.

The expansion coincided with the rapid changes in Welsh society caused by industrialisation, agricultural modernisation and the generation-long war against Revolutionary and Napoleonic France. In effect, Nonconformity old and new spread from south and east into north and west. In the process, it was the north and west which emerged as strongholds of the newer evangelicalism, particularly the Methodists, though all the denominations were competitively present everywhere. From the late eighteenth into the nineteenth century, the growth of Nonconformity was precipitate. By 1811 something of the order of fifteen to twenty per cent of the population had rallied to Dissent, Old and New; by the first religious census of 1851 (5),



1 Christmas Evans preaching in Anglesey

HYN yw 'mhleser, hyn yw f'ymffrost,
Hyn yw 'nghysur yn y byd—
'Mod i'n caru'r addfwyn Iesu ;
Dyna 'meddiant oll i gyd :
Mwy yw 'nhrysor
Nag a fedd y byd o'i fron.

Ac ni allaf fyth fynegi
Ped anturiwn, tra fawn byw,
Pa mor hyfryd, pa mor felys,
Pa mor gryf, ei gariad yw :
Fflam ddiderfyn
Ddaeth o ganol nef i lawr.

Yn y bywyd byth a bery,
Caf fi ddwfn chwilio i maes
Faith ddyfnderoedd cariad dwyfol,
A changhennau nefol ras ;
Ehengir f'enaid
I 'nabod datguddiadau'r nef.

Derfydd awyr, derfydd daear,
Ac a grewyd is y ne',
Derfydd haul a sêr a lleuad,
Daw tywyllwch yn eu lle ;
Fyth ni dderfydd
Canu iechydwrïaeth gras.

William Williams

radicalaidd deuai'r enwadau anghydfurfiol bron yn grefydd genedlaethol i Gymru: un o'r trawsfurfiadau diwylliannol hynotaf yn hanes unrhyw genedl.

Nonconformists outnumbered Anglicans by five to one; in some places the ratio was seven and even ten to one. With their increasingly radical temper, the sects of Nonconformity were becoming almost a Welsh national religion. It is one of the most remarkable cultural transformations in the history of any people.



3

DACW gariad, daew bechod,
Heddiw ill dau ar ben y bryn ;
Hwn sydd gryf, hwnacw'n gadarn,
Pwy enilla'r ymgyrch hyn ?
Cariad, cariad
Wela'i'n perffaith gario'r dydd.

Dringa' i fyny i'r Olewydd,
I gael gweled maint fy mai ;
Nid oes arall, is yr ŵybren,
Fan i'w weled fel y mae ;
Annwyl f'enaïd
Yno'n chwysu dafnau gwaed.

Pechod greodd ynddo'r poenau,
Pechod roddodd arno'r pwn,
Pechod barodd iddo ochain ;
F'unig haeddiant i oedd hwn :
O ! na welwn
Fore fyth na phechwn mwy.

4 William Williams

RELIGIOUS DENOMINATION.	Number of Places of Worship.	Number of Sittings.			Number of Attendants at Public Worship on Sunday March 30, 1851, [including Sun- day Scholars].			Number of Places of Worship.	Number of Sittings.			Number of Attendants at Public Worship on Sunday March 30, 1851, [including Sun- day Scholars].		
		Free.	Appro- priated.	Total.	Morn- ing.	After- noon.	Even- ing.		Free.	Appro- priated.	Total.	Morn- ing.	After- noon.	Even- ing.
584. NEATH. Population, 46,471.														
TOTAL	100	13,512	12,064	25,576	14,290	4757	16,476	100	14,846	15,726	33,618	14,039	3778	15,859
PROTESTANT CHURCHES:														
Church of England	25	2313	1503	6109	2202	1092	1545	27	2416	4305	9367	5022	2052	1488
Independents	27	5827	4045	10,201	6607	2001	7223	25	3730	5212	8942	5797	220	6115
Baptists	17	2377	1572	4249	2002	74	2691	15	2494	2142	4636	1743	270	2849
Society of Friends	1	154	..	154	40	16	..	1	240	..	240	22	13	..
Unitarians	2	15	120	135	93	..	125	2	500	..	900	221	..	121
Wesleyan Methodists	6	406	840	1235	356	..	548	14	1166	1099	2265	657	162	1530
Primitive Methodists	1	60	..	60	105	..	35	4	460	160	620	200	50	540
Bible Christians	1	40	100	140	..	..	120	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Calvinistic Methodists	17	2326	3572	5892	2853	1560	4125	13	2684	2154	4838	1417	711	2116
L'Huntingdon's Connex.	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	50	600	650	450	..	660
Undefined	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	4	876	..	876	160	230	100
OTHER CHRISTIAN CHS.:														
Roman Catholics	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	200	12	212	300	..	200
Latter Day Saints	3	..	..	..	32	14	64	1	..	..	..	50	70	200
Jews	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	30	42	72	..	..	..

5

Bodolai perthynas glos rhwng crefydd ac addysg. Yn ei lythyrau at deulu'r Ffonmon ym Morgannwg (1) gwelodd John Wesley mai hyfforddiant a gwelliant moesol oedd diben addysg. Diben tra gwahanol i amcanion yr addysg glasurol a gynigid gan yr hen ysgolion gramadeg, ac fe'i anelid at ddisgybl tra gwahanol. Mynegid yr amcanion hyn yn yr ysgolion gwladol yr oedd y gyfundrefn Biwritanaidd yn ei chreu ac fe aildddechreuodd ar yr ymgyrch dros ddysgu darllen a sgrifennu ym 1672 gan yr ysgolion a grëwyd gan yr Ymddiriedolaeth Gymreig fyrhoedlog, a chan yr SPCK a sefydlodd ryw 96 o ysgolion rhwng 1700 a 1740.

Cynigiai'r rhain addysg dda, ond fe'u cyfyngwyd gan eu dibyniaeth ar yr iaith Saesneg. Dyfeisiodd un o'u hathrawon, fodd bynnag, system gwbl newydd a brofodd ei hunan yn hynod o effeithiol. Gruffydd Jones oedd yr athro hwnnw.

Dyfeisiodd Gruffydd Jones (2), ficer Llanddowror, gyfundrefn unigryw o athrawon teithiol (yn seiliedig, hwyrach, ar y syniad o bregethwyr teithiol). Gwelodd Gruffydd Jones angen addysg Gymraeg yn y rhan fwyaf o ardaloedd Cymru gyda phwyslais mawr yn y cwricwlwm ar ddarllen y Beibl. Wedi'u noddi gan Madam Bevan (4) gwraig aelod seneddol dros Gaerfyrddin, profodd yr ysgolion i fod yn llwyddiant ysgubol (5) er i ambell feirniadaeth godi yma a thraw (6). Dyma addysg boblogaidd ar raddfa nas gwelwyd erioed o'r blaen yng Nghymru. Dysgid oedolion yn ogystal â phlant. Sefydlid yr ysgolion cyntaf ym 1730 ac aethant ymlaen hyd farw Madam Bevan ym 1779 pan heriwyd ei hewyllys. Erbyn hynny cafodd 250 o ysgolion eu cynnal a thros 13,000 o bobl eu cofrestru. Bu cannoedd o filoedd o oedolion a phlant mewn cysylltiad â'r ysgolion teithiol hyn er i ffigurau honedig Gruffydd Jones ei hunan o 300,000 o oedolion a 160,000 o blant dros gyfnod o 30 o flynyddoedd fod yn chwyddedig yn ôl pob tebyg. O leiaf, yn ddamcaniaethol, erbyn chwarter olaf y bedwaredd ganrif ar bymtheg dysgasai'r rhan fwyaf o boblogaeth Cymru i ddarllen Cymraeg. Yn ddiau, gweithio trwy gyfrwng y Gymraeg oedd cryfder mawr ysgolion Gruffydd Jones (7,8). Dysgodd disgyblion i ddarllen mewn cyd-destun a oedd bron yn llwyr grefyddol (9,10). Darllenid y Beibl yn unig. Aeth diwygio poblogaidd law yn llaw â darllen a sgrifennu poblogaidd ac yr oedd llwyddiant ysgubol Anghydfurfiaeth yng Nghymru yn rhannol ddibynnol ar yr egwyddor hon.

Close ties existed between religion and education. John Wesley in his letters to the Fonmon family in Glamorgan (1) saw the purpose of education as being moral training and improvement.

This was a far different sort of education from the classical style education offered by the old grammar schools, and it was aimed at a far different audience.

Such impulses had found expression in the state schools created by the Puritan regime and the religious campaign for literacy was resumed in 1672 by the schools created by the short-lived Welsh Trust and, more seriously, by the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge which between 1700 and 1740 established some ninety six schools.

These, while offering a good education, were limited in their effect by their reliance on the English language. It was one of their teachers, however, Griffith Jones, who devised an entirely new system which proved remarkably effective.

Griffith Jones (2) an Anglican clergyman from Llanddowror devised a distinctive system of itinerant teachers (modelled perhaps on the idea of the itinerant preacher). His schools (3) were grounded in the Welsh language with a curriculum in which Bible reading figured prominently. Backed by the money of Madam Bevan (4), wife of a Carmarthen M.P. the schools proved a brilliant success (5) though there were occasional criticisms (6). It was mass education on a scale never before seen in Wales. Adults as well as children were taught. The first schools were founded in 1730 and continued until the death of Madam Bevan in 1779 when her will was challenged. By then 250 schools had over 13,000 people enrolled. Hundreds of thousands of adults and children had contact with these circulating schools (though Jones's own claimed figures of three hundred thousand adults and one hundred and sixty thousand children in thirty years are almost certainly exaggerated.) By the last quarter of the nineteenth century a majority of the population of Wales had probably become at least technically literate in Welsh. The schools worked through the medium of Welsh (7,8). This was undoubtedly one of their strengths.

Students learned to read in an almost exclusively religious context (9,10). The Bible was often the only book read. Mass religious conversion went hand in hand with mass literacy and the sheer success of the Nonconformist takeover of Wales was in part dependent on this base.

Letter of John Wesley to the family at Fonmon Castle

Bristol

Feb. 12 1747/8

At my Return from Ireland if not before I believe the school in Kingswood will be opened. If your son comes there you will probably hear Complaints, for the discipline will be exact. It being our View not so much to teach Greek and Latin as to train up Soldiers for Jesus Christ. I am obliged now to go the shortest way to Holyhead my Brother being almost impatient for my arrival. I am sorry to hear that Mr. Thomas thinks of leaving Mrs. Hodges. I doubt their Separation will not be for the furtherance of the Gospel. My love and service attend all your Family.

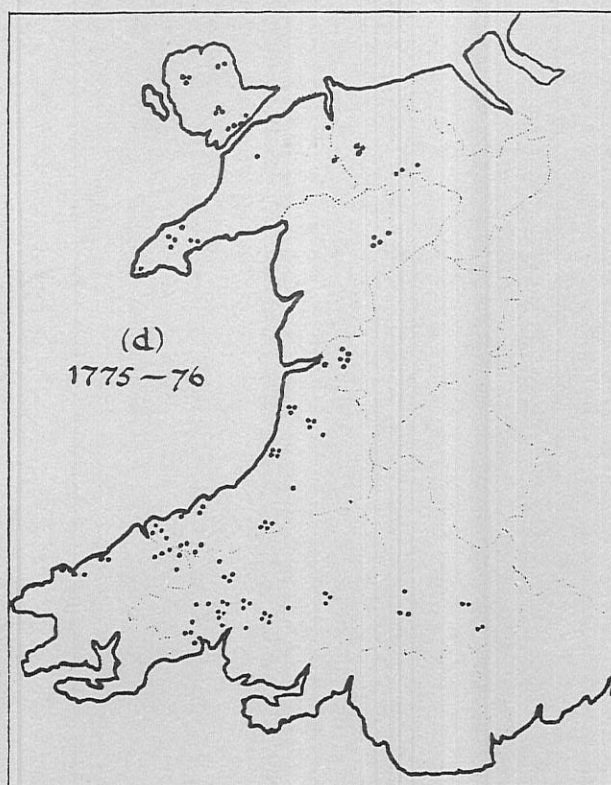
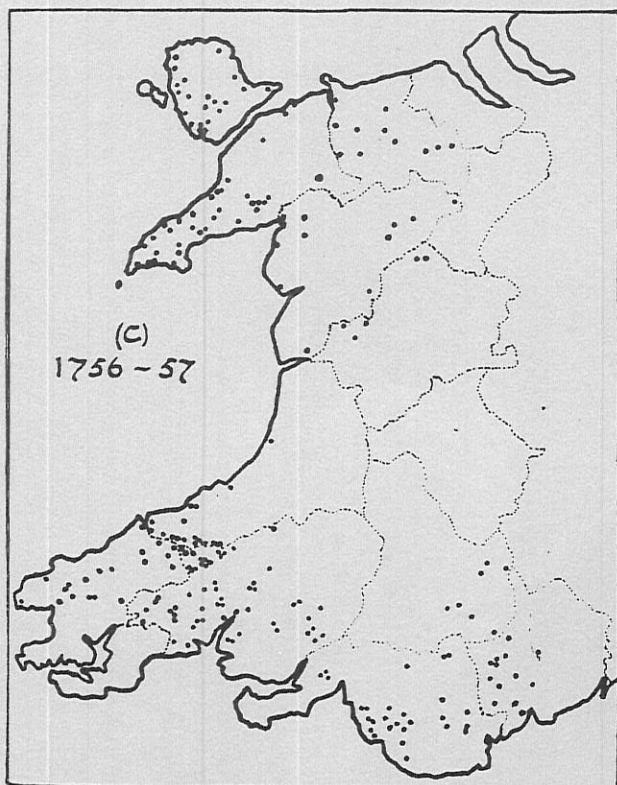
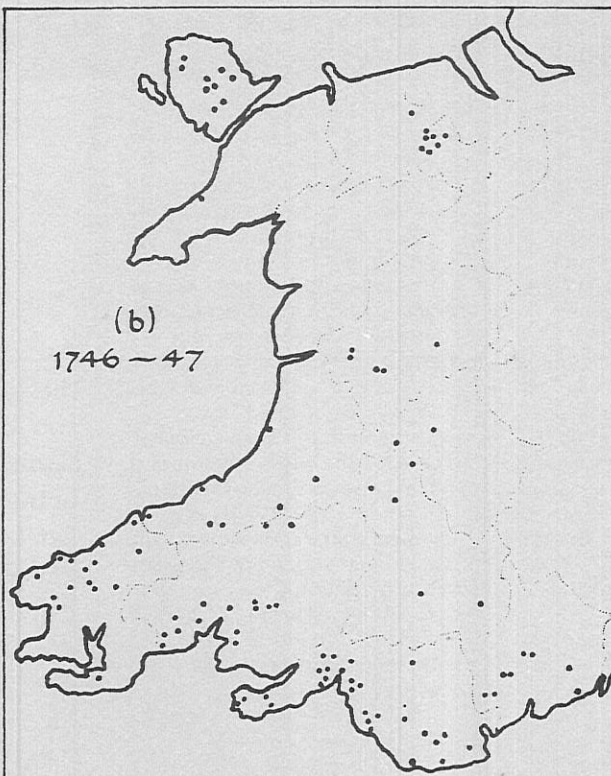
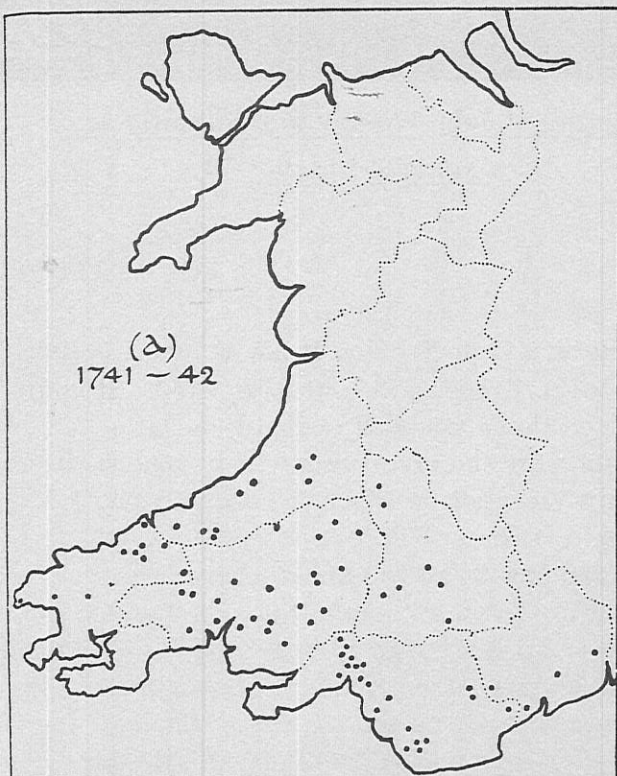
Your affectionate Friend and Servant

John Wesley.

1



2



GRUFFYDD JONES'S CIRCULATING WELSH SCHOOLS :
(a) IN THE YEAR 1741-42 ; (b) IN 1746-47 ; (c) IN 1756-57 ; (d) IN 1775-76.



"I was born a Welshman and have not unlearned the simple honesty and unpoliteness of my mother tongue".

Griffith Jones.

7

'Perhaps it may be suggested, that it were better to set up Charity Schools for the Welsh people in the English language, which, to be sure, will be altogether as edifying as preaching English sermons to Welsh congregations, that understand no tongue but their own. Shall we be more concerned for the propagation of the English language, than the Salvation of our people? Alas, Sir, must they not be taught in the things which concern their salvation, till they be instructed in a language they do not as yet understand?'

8

Neither the Poor nor any others, are, at all, to be taught *Writing* or *Cyphering* in these Schools, that the Masters may exert *all* their Endeavours, and lay out *all* their Time, and *all* their Pains, to instruct them in the Catechism . . . for as they are, for the most Part, very Poor, they cannot afford to stay long in School: and besides, it is by no means the Design of this spiritual kind of Charity, to make them *Gentlemen*, but *Christians*, and *Heirs* of eternal Life.

(Gruffydd Jones and Madam Bevan: *Welch Piety*, 1749-50)

9

Welch Piety, 1744

The design of the Circulating and Catechising Welsh Charity Schools, is to prepare the poor ignorant people, and their children to receive instruction from their ministers concerning the things which belong to their peace with God, and the salvation of their souls through Jesus Christ . . . The business of the schoolmasters is 'To teach all the ignorant people that come to them to read the Word of God in their mother tongue; to sing a psalm, and to pray with them night and morning; to instruct them twice a day in the Church Catechism, and the meaning thereof, by the help of such expositions as both the masters and scholars are provided with; to talk to them about their duty to God and man, and to warn them against all, particularly, the reigning vices of the world; likewise to teach them a devout and decent behaviour in divine worship, and to train them up to answer reverently in our Divine Service, and to bring their scholars to the parish church, that the Minister, when he finds it convenient, may examine them publicly.'

10

'Another reason why the people are more respectable and better informed than might be expected in a district apparently little calculated for the progress of improvement, is, that the advantages of decent education have been longer established in Wales than in most parts of England . . . There are few persons in the towns, who are unable to read, and even in the villages, and the more mountainous parts, schools are very common, and in many instances of ancient establishment.'

(B.H. Malkin, *The Scenery, Antiquities and Biography of South Wales*, London, 1804.)

5

Madam Bevan's Church School.—A school for boys and girls, taught together by a master in a room rented for the purpose. Number of girls, 11; of boys, 17. Subjects taught—the Bible and Church Catechism, reading, writing, and arithmetic. The instruction is free.

I visited this school December 24; the children were not assembled. It is held in a room over a boat-house upon the shores of the lake. The clergyman rents it at 5s. a-year, having obtained assistance from Madam Bevan's trustees for one year only. The room is cold and dreary, and has no fixtures or apparatus of any kind for the purpose of a school.

The master was formerly a common labourer; being accidentally deprived of one arm, he was placed upon the staff of Madam Bevan's schoolmasters; but 15 years' practice in tuition have left him unchanged in appearance and manner. He can understand very little English. He is represented by the clergyman as having no idea of keeping the children in proper obedience and discipline. He is said to be a good accountant.

Such are the men who are in the pay of Mrs. Bevan's trustees. The mischief they do is not confined to one locality. In three years they are removed to another, and teach another set of children in this injurious manner.

The school at Talyllyn, Merioneth. From Report on Education in Wales, 1847.

6

Yr oedd y diwydiant gwlân a'r fasnach wartheg yn sylfaenol bwysig i Gymru fel yr allforion a ddaeth ag arian cyfred i mewn i'r wlad. Buasai'r diwydiant brethyn yn gryf yn y canolbarth ac yn y gogledd ers cyfnod y Tuduriaid (1). System a seilid ar weithwyr gartref ydoedd—yn eu bythynnod ac ar eu ffermydd yn nyddu ac yn gweu; gweithwyr gwahanol ar sawl cyfrif i'r werin draddodiadol (2,3). Gellir priodoli cynnydd yn y boblogaeth yn ystod y ddeunawfed ganrif yn rhannol i'r diwydiant gwlân. Yr oedd gan ddiwydiant brethyn Cymru gysylltiadau agos ag ymerodraeth Brydeinig dramor. Siopwyr Amwythig oedd yn gyfrifol am farchnata gwlân Cymru. Aeth gwlanenni allan drwy Neuadd Blacknell i Ewrop ac America, ac allforiwyd hyd yn oed weoedd a hosannau salach Meirionnydd o Abermaw i ddilledu milwyr Prydeinig, pobl wynion dlawd a chaethweision America (4).

Canolwyd masnach hosannau debyg yn Nhregaron ac yn Llanymddyfri. Ffurfiad menywod graidd o'r boblogaeth weithiol hon; diwydiant cartref oedd y fasnach hosannau a'r gweithwyr yn cyfarfod mewn grwpiau gwau yn nhai ei gilydd er mwyn arbed canhwyllau. Byddai'r bobl dlotaf yn troi ac yn gwau gwlân a loffesid o'r perthi neu mewn partion a gynhelid ar ôl cneifio i gasglu gwlân.

Wool and cattle were rural Wales's basic exports and brought currency into Wales. The Welsh cloth trade had been strong in mid and north Wales since Tudor times (1). It was a farm-based system of farmer weavers and cottage industry workers different in many respects from the traditional peasants (2,3). An eighteenth century rise in rural population is partly attributable to the woollen industry. The Welsh cloth trade had close links with British imperialism overseas. The marketing of Welsh woollens was in the hands of the Shrewsbury drapers. Flannels of Montgomery went out through Blacknell Hall to Europe and the Americas. Even the poorer webs and stockings of Merioneth went out from Barmouth to clothe the backs of British soldiers, poor whites and American slaves across the Atlantic (4).

A similar stocking trade was centred on Tregaron and Llandovery. Women formed a core of this working population; the stocking trade was a cottage-based industry of workers who met in groups in each others houses to knit and save on candles, the poorer members spinning and knitting wool which might have been gleaned from hedges or collected by post-shearing, wool-gathering parties.

There were two kinds of spinning wheels, the small wheel (*y droell fach*), usually pedal driven, and the large spinning wheel (*y droell fawr*), which was the kind used by my grandmother. Many scores of times have I watched her working at her wheel, and I can describe the wheel fairly minutely even today. First of all there was a small three-legged bench, about two feet high; in the centre of this bench was set a stick, also about two feet high, with a small axle or bobbin at its end. The wheel itself was precisely like the wheel of a vehicle, with this difference, that the spinning wheel was very lightly built. The rim was some six inches wide and an eighth of an inch thick. At the end of the bench was another post or stick, with a forked end and a hole bored through. The whorl was placed in the fork and the spindle was then pushed through the hole and the whorl. A strap or belt, plaited from the woollen yarn was run around the wheel and the whorl, and the wheel was turned by placing the finger between the threads. Since the wheel's diameter was three feet or more and that of the whorl only an inch and a half, the revolution of the spindle was very rapid. The end of the coil was tied to the spindle, and the weaver began work by giving the wheel a quick turn with one hand while holding the coil in the other. It was necessary to hold the yarn out until the revolution became rapid enough to keep it from winding. Then the spinner would bring his hand gradually nearer, allowing the thread to wind around the spindle, the coils meanwhile being joined by his other hand. For some reason unknown to me, at early rate, a pound (*pwys*) of wool was always called a *pwysgwr*; that is the term I have always heard used. I cannot say how many yards of yarn might be in one *pwysgwr*. I can remember the time when there were eighteen ounces in a pound of butter, and my grandmother insisted on making her butter eighteen ounces to the pound to the end of her life, despite the fact that she sold it for the same price as the people who gave the more orthodox sixteen ounces. I have been told that the *pwysgwr* used in the woollen trade meant *pwys cywir*—the correct pound—because it was a pound of eighteen ounces.

After spinning the next process was that of twisting the spun single yarn into two or three ply yarn. The process was similar to that of spinning; two or three strands were hooked on to the spindle, the coils being in a basket on the floor.

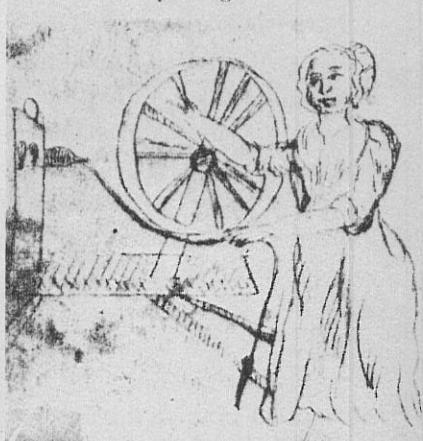
If the yarn was to be dyed it had to be made into hanks. It could not be dyed on the bobbins, for they were too hard and tightly packed to allow the dye to penetrate. In order to make the hanks holes were bored in the spokes of the spinning wheel, about half way between the axle and the rim. These holes were in each alternate spoke, and there was a peg in each hole. The end of the yarn was tied to a peg and as the wheel revolved the yarn was wound into a hank off the spindle.

Practically every farm in those days had a loom shed, usually a lean-to outhouse, and when weaving went out of fashion those sheds were used as tool sheds and as places where other odds and ends about the farm could be kept, but the old name still clung to them and they continued to be known as *ty'r gwydd* (the loom shed). Farm servants of fifty years ago were familiar with the direction "Look for it in the loom shed." Usually the farmer himself, or it might be one of his sons, could use a loom, and on some of the larger farms a weaver was employed all the year round. All the bedclothes as well as the material for the wearing apparel of the men and women on the farm were woven on the farm loom; they were genuine

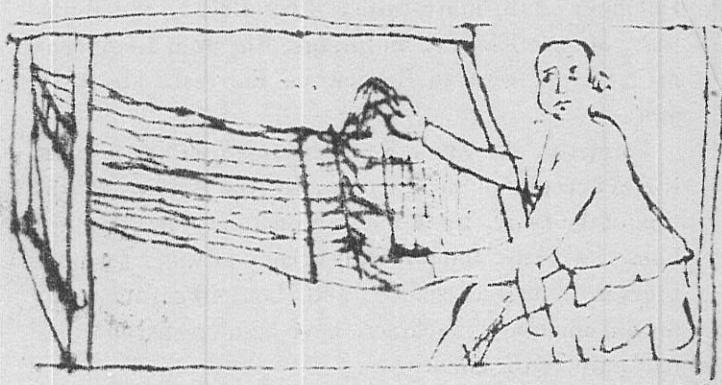
Carding



Spinning



Weaving

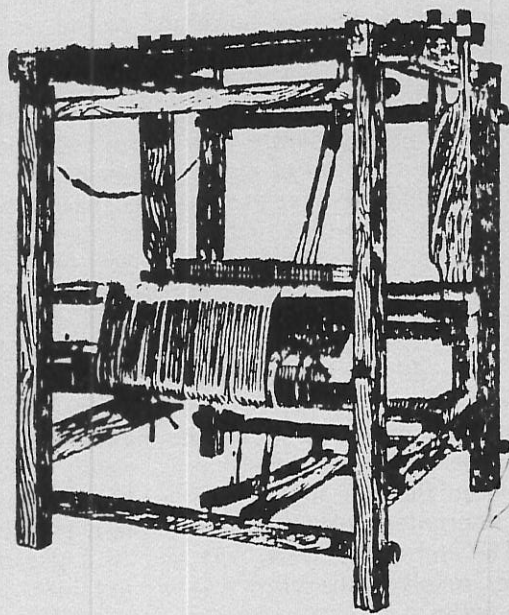


homespun. Anything surplus to the farm requirements would be sold.

I do not remember the era of the farm weavers, but I can recollect several weavers working in their own homes. There were two weavers in Cerrig y Drudion; they each employed a workman or two, and many a time on my way to or from school have I stood to watch them at work. It is not so many years since the son of one of those weavers, a well-known Wesleyan minister, died. Before very long the factory weavers took the trade and the home weavers died out.

When the cloth was taken off the loom it was taken to the fulling mill to be finished, to be treated with fullers' earth, to have the natural oil pressed out of it, and to be shrunk. When this process was complete the cloth was supposed to shrink by about a fourth of its original length, that is, a two yards breadth of cloth would come out of the trough measuring no more than about a yard and a half. The fulling mill, like the factory, was worked by water power. After being soaked in the trough for a certain number of hours the cloth or flannel, as the case might be, would be taken out and spread to dry on the frame in a field behind the mill. This frame was composed of upright poles with iron tenterhooks on which the material would be tightly stretched until dry. The press, where the final process was carried out, consisted of two iron sheets, measuring about four feet by two and a half. After the cloth to be pressed had been placed between the two sheets weights were placed on the upper side and a fire of dried cow dung was lit underneath, to dry the material.

2 Hugh Evans, Cwm Eithin.



Hand-Loom

3

THE chief staple commodities of North Wales, as well as of the nation at large, are those manufactured of wool. The several breeds of sheep, on which this most useful article grows, have been already described in the Chapter on *Live Stock*: in this Section, some account will be given of the various uses to which it is applied, in each county of this portion of the Principality.

In *Anglesey*, the inhabitants buy quantities of the Snowdon coarse wool, at the fairs of Caernarvon, and Bangor; out of which, mixed with their own wool, they manufacture deep blue coloured cloth, flannels, blankets, &c. a sufficiency for home use, and no more. They dispose of the remainder of their wool, some to the Yorkshire clothiers at Chester fair; and, being so conveniently situated, some, as it is reported, by owl-ing.

In *Caernarvonshire*, they apply themselves somewhat more to spinning and weaving; for, besides supplying themselves with wearing apparel, they annually send several pieces of blue cloth into Meirionyddshire, and of a peculiar drab-coloured cloth, called *brethyn sîr fon*, to be sold at Llannerch-y-medd fairs, in Anglesey. These cloths are generally seven-eighths of a yard wide, and sell from 3s. to 5s. per yard of 40 inches. Caernarvonshire flannels are coarse, of the value of from 1s. to 20d. per yard. The Dolgellu manufacturers are also supplied with warp-yarn for their webs from hence.

In *Flintshire*, and the greater part of *Denbighshire*, they are still less disposed to the exercise of the wheel and the loom. They either sell their fleece wool to the manufacturers of the adjoining districts, or take it to Chester and Shrewsbury fairs, to meet the more crafty clothiers of the North.

In the other part of *Denbighshire*, in the south-west of *Meirionyddshire* and *Montgomeryshire*, the inhabitants have imbibed more of the spirit of industry; and add the profits of manufacture to the value of the raw material. Here, flannels and webs on the tenters, form a pleasing contrast with the verdure of the dales. Instead of the sullen silence of indolence—the incessant monotony of looms, fulling-mills, and other machineries, sound more grateful, and much more profitable, music, to the manufacturer's ear, than the most favourite oratorio of Handel. The articles manufactured in these three counties, are flannels, webs, and stockings.

I. The flannel district is confined to the south-west part of Montgomeryshire; extending, in length, from Dolobran on the north-east, to Llanidloes on the south-west, about 21 miles; and in breadth, from Llanbrynmair on the west to Berriew on the east, about 19 miles.

Formerly, the whole was *manufactured*, in the most literal acceptance of the term, by the tedious operation of the *hand*, by farmers and cottagers in their own houses. Of late, the powerful agency of water has been brought to their assistance; and about 40 carding, and several spinning, machines, have been erected in different parts of the county.

Beside these, there are other manufactories, upon

larger scales. Several at New Town; one near Berriew; one at Welsh Pool; one on the Dulas stream, near Machynlleth, by Mr. Arthur Williams. He buys the greater part of his wool from the counties of Brecon and Radnor, in South Wales; and finds constant employment for 20 weavers: but more webs are made here than flannels. Another at Dolobran, about six miles west of Welsh Pool; built in the year 1789 on a branch of the river Vyrnwy. This establishment at one time employed about 100 weavers...

The second article of woollen manufacture, consists of what are provincially called *webs*: and by London drapers, Welsh plains, or cottons. They are a coarse sort of thick white cloth, made in pieces of from 90 to 120 yards. They are exclusively the production of *three* small districts: the *first* is the town of Dolgellu in Meirionnyddshire, and its neighbourhood of about 12 miles round; the *second* is the town of Machynlleth, and the Vale of the Dovey, in Montgomeryshire; the *third* is the district of Glynn in Denbighshire, comprehending some few parishes to the north and west of the town of Oswestry...

Until within these few years, the only market for these webs was held weekly, on Thursday, at Shrewsbury; where they were exposed to sale in a hall belonging to the drapers of that town, and where no buyers but of that particular fraternity, were admitted. In this court of justice, the biddings of Monopoly were equal to dictatorial edicts; neither remonstrance nor appeal could be of any use. But lately, the manufacturers have had the good fortune of the market in their own houses, and the drapers the well-deserved pleasure of employing buyers by commission at about 17. 5s. per cent.; who frequently purchase the pieces before they are out of the loom. Ever since that period, the face of the country has changed much for the better; the seeds of opulence seem to have taken root in the land, and the baneful effects of imposition and disappointment begin to disappear.

In those ten years of British prosperity, between the termination of the American war and the commencement of the present European struggle, the manufacturers established a warehouse at Barmouth, and from thence conveyed by sea about one-third of their manufacture annually to London. The following are extracts from the Custom-house entries at Barmouth.

Export of Webs.

Year.	No. of Pieces.	No. of Yards.	Average Yards in each Piece.
1789,	2616	247370	94½
1790,	3031	276612	91½
1791,	2558	237596	93
1792,	2666	246802	92½
1793,	810	71232	88

The effect of the war is obvious in the decline of the export in the year 1793. In 1794 there was not a piece sent by sea; and ever since that period, they have returned to their usual method of land conveyance, which is five times as expensive; the carriage to London by sea being 4s., and by land 20s. a web. The vessels employed were from 80 to 100 tons burden, taking upon an average about 300 webs each,

over a ballast of slate, or paving stones...

Knit stockings and socks, constitute the third article of Welsh woollen manufacture. Bala is the chief market for them, as well as the centre of the circuit in which they are made; the boundary of it extending from Corwen to Bettws, Ysbytty, Llanrwst, Penmachno, Ffestiniog, Llanuwchllyn, Bwlch y groes—and from thence, along the northern side of the Berwyn hills, down again to Corwen; and including a most mountainous tract of about 18 miles in length, and 12 in breadth. They are of all sizes, and of various degrees of fineness; consequently of all prices from 6s. to six guineas a dozen. Some pairs have been actually sold for half-a-guinea each, and 8s. is a common price. When Mr. Lewis Morris, in the year 1747, estimated the weekly sale of stockings at Bala at 200*l.*, they were but of low price compared with the present: 2s. 6*d.* a pair was then reckoned high; but now a much higher price constitutes by far the greater part of the total amount...

When peace shall have restored the olive-branch to Britain, our woollen trade will become more brisk than ever. Besides the London market by sea, the manufacturers may find others in the interior of England; and send their webs and flannels, with a reduction in the expense of carriage by means of the Montgomeryshire Canal, to any quarter, to meet clothiers from the North, the West, or even drapers from Germany, Russia, or America. Competition in the market is what this trade has long wanted: monopoly, with its deadly fangs, had checked the efforts of industry, and benumbed the very vitals of commercial freedom. Every well-informed person must have beheld with indignation the truth of the observation of Campbell and other political writers—that in their manufactures, “*The Welsh have the labour, and strangers the profit.*” This begets an anxiety in every generous mind, that the present race should rouse from their lethargy, and make use of the advantages which the all-bountiful hand of Nature has so profusely strewed before them. They may have their vallies as so many forests of waving corn, judiciously intermixed with pastures, covered with herds of lowing kine: they may have their hills whitened with improved breeds of sheep, to enable them to increase their manufacture in a threefold degree: they may make their mountains verdant with evergreen plantations, variegated with the autumnal russet of the deciduous oak, that valuable component in Britain’s bulwark, while their bowels are pregnant with the ores of various metals: they have perennial streams issuing in every direction: and to crown the whole, the ocean offers its service, to waft their exports abroad, to return them the profits of barter, at many safe and commodious harbours; and to supply them with fish, along a line of 200 miles of beautifully variegated shores.

4

Walter Davies (Gwallter Mechain), General View of the Agriculture and Domestic Economy of North Wales, 1810

Bodolasai'r diwydiannau copr, tunplatio a glo a'u diwydiannau cysylltiedig yn ne Cymru ers cyfnod y Tuduriaid (1) yn arbennig o gwmpas Castell Nedd (2), Abertawe a Phontypŵl. Erbyn y ddeunawfed ganrif, de Cymru oedd y cynhyrchydd mwyaf ym Mhrydain. Erbyn y 1790au yr oedd diwydiant haearn y de (3) yn cynhyrchu 40% o haearn bwrw ac yr oedd ganddo beiriannau ymhlith y rhai mwyaf modern yn y byd. Yr oedd diwydiant metel a diwydiant glo ar raddfa lai yng ngogledd-ddwyrain Cymru. Yn y llun gwelir cyfrifon o Bwll Glo Plas Teg yn Sir y Fflint (4). Yn Sir Fôn, lle'r oedd pwll copr ym Mynydd Parys (5), cafodd Thomas Williams fonopoli o'r fasnach gopr. Seiliwyd diwydiant toddi a bwrw ffyniannus yn Sir y Fflint o amgylch Treffynnon (6). Yr oedd ardaloedd llechi gogledd Cymru eisoes wedi'u datblygu'n sylweddol erbyn diwedd y ddeunawfed ganrif. Yr oedd cloddio am fwynau eraill ar raddfa lai drwy Gymru gyfan (7). Dyma lun cynnar o Bwll Plwm Cwmsyllog, Sir Aberteifi ym 1670. Daeth cyfalaf ar gyfer y mentrau diwydiannol hyn o ffynonellau lleol, y tîrffeddwyr yn aml, ac o Lundain a Bryste. Tarddodd tipyn ohono o fasnach gaethweision ar Fôr yr Iwerydd. Gorweddai marchnad ar gyfer y cynhyrchion hyn o ddiwydiant Cymru yn yr ymerodraeth Brydeinig dramor.

Yn ystod y ddeunawfed ganrif yr oedd datblygiad diwydiannol yn amlwg, ond arhosai ar raddfa fechan. Trigai'r rhan fwyaf o'r boblogaeth o ddwy filiwn yn yr ardaloedd gwledig o hyd. Yr oedd mudo i'r canolfannau diwydiannol ar raddfa fawr i fod yn nodwedd o'r bedwaredd ganrif ar bymtheg.

Copper, tinplate and coal mining and related industries had existed in south Wales since Tudor times (1) especially around Neath (2), Swansea and Pontypool. By the eighteenth century the south Wales area was Britain's biggest producer. The iron industry of the south (3) was by the 1790s producing forty per cent of British pig iron and had some of the most advanced plant in the world.

There was a metal industry and coal industry on a lesser scale in north east Wales. Illustrated are accounts from the Plas Teg coal mine, Flintshire (4). In Anglesey where copper mining was carried out at Parys Mountain (5) Thomas Williams achieved a monopoly of the copper trade. A thriving smelting and founding industry was based in Flintshire around Holywell (6). The slate producing areas of north Wales were already well developed by the end of the eighteenth century. Mining for other minerals was carried out on a smaller scale throughout Wales. Illustrated (7) is an early sketch of Cwmsyllog lead mine, Cardiganshire in 1670. Capital for these industrial enterprises came from local sources, often from the landowners and from London and Bristol; much of it was derived from the Atlantic slave trade. The markets for these products of Welsh industry lay in the British Empire overseas.

In the eighteenth century industrial development although noticeable was on a small scale. The majority of the two million population still lived in the rural areas – large scale migration of population to the centres of industry and escalating industrial growth was to be a nineteenth century phenomenon.

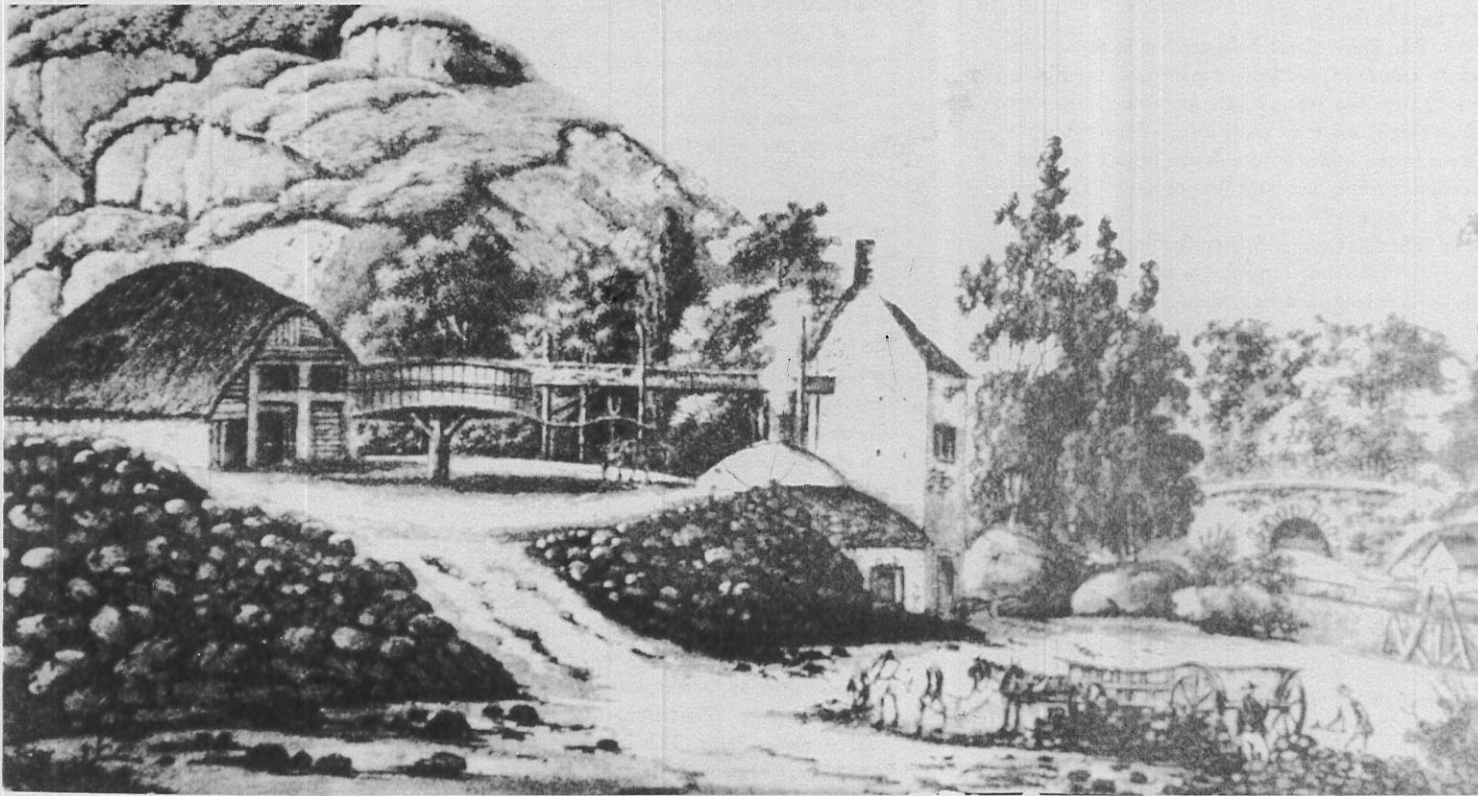
George Owen, Description of Pembrokeshire.

'They sink their pits down right four square about 6 or 7 feet square and, with a windlass turned by four men they draw up the coals by rope, a barrellful at once, . . . They commonly sink down as deep as 12, 16 or 20 fathoms before they come to the coal. They work sundry holes, one for every digger, some two, some three or four as the number of diggers are, each man working by candle light and sitting while he works. Then they have bearers which are boys that bear the coals in fit baskets on their backs, going always stooping by reason of the lowness of the pit. Each bearer carrieth this basket 6 fathoms where upon a bench of stone he layeth it, where meeteth him another boy with an empty basket which he giveth him and taketh that which is full of coals and carrieth it as far, where another meeteth and so till they come under the door where it is wound'.

1



3 Trade token, Carmarthen iron works 1792



2 Neath coal works 1798

January 4th

To William Thomas for two dayes in
the helping out with timber out of an ould pitt 0 1 4

To William Howell for the like 0 1 0

To Rondulp Dekin for the like 0 1 0

More to William Thomas for entringe one
Wickett and getting of one tunn and six
peck of coales 0 2 0

To William Howell three dayes mending and
making pickes 0 1 6

To Rondulp Dekin for the like 0 1 3

To Edward ap William for making two pickes
to sinke with 0 0 8

January 21st

To William Thomas for gettinge three tunne of coales 0 3 0

To Hugh Enos and his sonne for three tunn and a halfe 0 3 6

More to him for entringe one wickett 0 0 6

To Rondulp Dekin for five dayes winding at 5d the day 0 2 1

January the 4th

To William Thomas for two dayes in
the helping out with timber out of an ould pitt 0 1 4

To William Howell for the like 0 1 0

To Rondulp Dekin for the like 0 1 0

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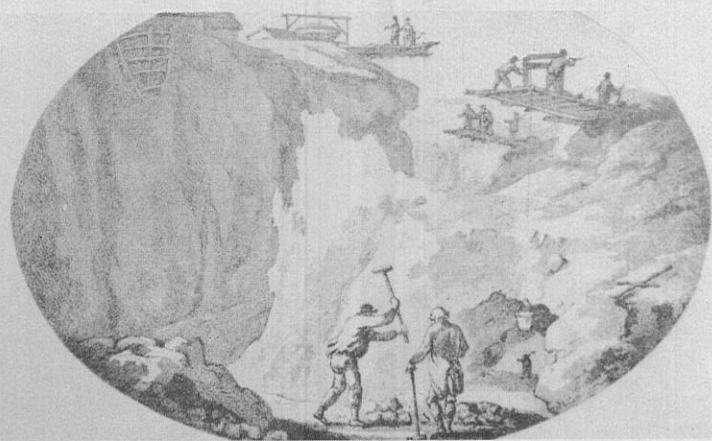
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Clwyd Record Office D/G/33/2

5



36

FLINT TO HOLYWELL

MILLS AND MANUFACTORIES.

1. A Corn Mill, a large building that stands near the head of the stream.
2. The Upper Cotton Mill, erected in the autumn of the year 1783, and finished in the short space of six weeks from the laying of the foundation. It is six stories high, and forty yards long.—This and all the other cotton works on the stream belong to a partnership concern, under the firm of the "Cotton and Twist Company."
3. The Old Cotton Mill, erected in the spring of 1777. This is only three stories high: it is thirty-three yards long, and eight wide.
4. The Crescent Cotton Mill, erected in the spring of 1790. It is six stories high; twenty-six yards long, and ten wide.
5. The Brasi Battery Mills, built in the year 1765. These works are at present in the hands of Thomas Williams, Esq. and Co. under the firm of "The Greenfield Copper and Brasi Company *." Goods are here prepared for Africa, America, and other parts of the globe. For Africa, large brasi pans, called *Neptunes*, in which the negroes make salt: pans for getting the gold out of the beds of the rivers, that has been washed from the mountains by the violence of the torrents: bright and black *manillas*; the latter are the current coin of some parts of the African coast, and the first are rings to orna-

* Since this work was sent to the press, Mr. Williams is dead, and the property has been advertised for sale.

6

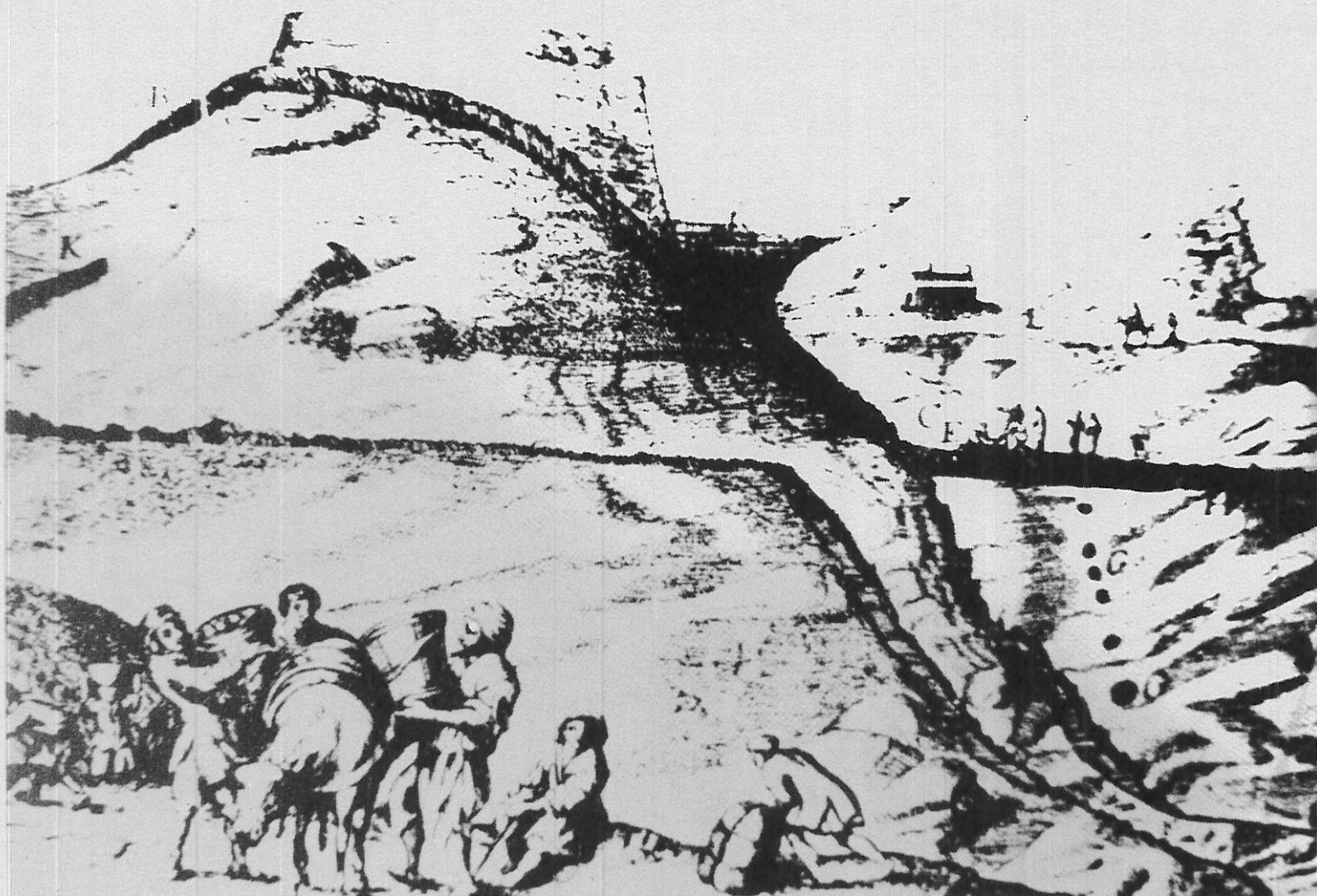
FLINT TO HOLYWELL

31

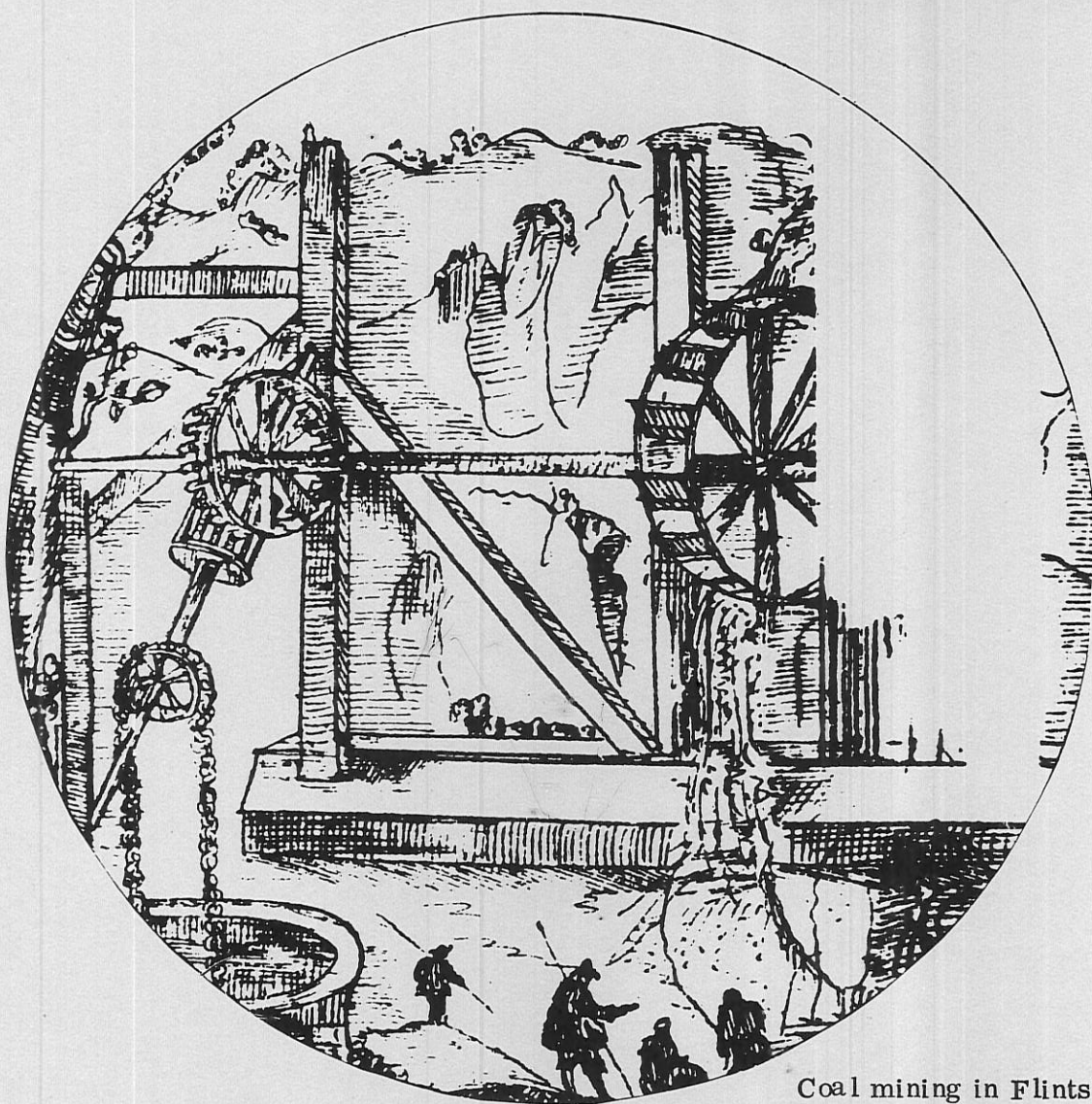
- ment the arms and the legs of the negroes. Brasi vessels are also made here for various other purposes, and brasi and copper rods.
6. A Copper Rolling Mill, erected in 1787. This is the largest and most commodious building of the kind in the kingdom, being eighty-six feet long, sixty-nine wide, and near thirty high in the centre. It is the property of the Greenfield Copper and Brasi Company.
 7. The Lower Cotton Mill, was built in the summer of 1785. It is six stories high; thirty-six yards long, and ten wide.
 8. A Copper Wire Mill, belonging to the Parys Mine Company, situated on the east side of the stream. This is a manufactory for brasi wire of every denomination. Square materials are also drawn at this place for making copper nails, in the common way of beating and heading.
 9. A Copper Rolling Mill of the Parys Mine Company.
 10. Brasi Melting Houses belonging to the Greenfield Copper and Brasi Company. At these works the proprietors make plate-brasi for the purpose of being manufactured at their Battery Mills; plate-brasi for wire for the pin manufacturers, and ingot brasi for the founders, &c. They have a mill, conveniences to calcine, buddle, and grind calamine, &c. and a copper forge. The latter is now out of use.
 11. A Copper Forge. This is the property of the Parys Mine Company, and stands on the lower part of

W. Bingley, North Wales
... Excursions during
the Summers of 1798
and 1801. (1804 ed.).

2 2



7



Coal mining in Flintshire,
late seventeenth century.

Nid oedd gan y gweithwyr diwydiannol cynnar drefnoliad effeithiol. Yr oedd y gymdeithas gyfalafol gynnar yn dadolaidd, yn darparu tai, ysgolion ac yn y blaen, ond, ar ochr arall y geiniog, ceid ei diffyg goddefiad o gyfuniad (1) a'i hymdrechion tuag at fargeinio cyfunol (2). Parai'r cylch o gynnydd a gostyngiad i'r gweithwyr chwarae i ddwylo'r diwydiannwr yn aml (3). Yn aml cyfeiriwyd llid y bobl nid yn gymaint yn erbyn y diwydiannwr ag yn erbyn y siopwr.

Dylanwadwyd ar Undebaeth yn ne Cymru gan fudiadau yn Swydd Gaerhirfryn a ymestynnodd drwy ogledd Cymru. Tueddai gwrthdystiad poblogaidd cynnar i fod yn ysbeidiol ac ni chafwyd ymdeimlad o benbleth gyffredin tan y 1820au. Tueddai'r amlygiadau cynharaf o wrthdystiad trefnus i fod ar gyfer amddiffyn pris cyfiawn a chyflog teg, a hyn yn cynnwys gwrthdystiadau'n erbyn y siopau tryc, megis y gwrthryfel yn erbyn prinder angenrheidiolau bwyd ym 1800 ym Merthyr. Yn ystod argyfwng Luddite ym 1812 ymddangosodd yr undebau masnach cyntaf ymysg y crefftwyr.

The early industrial workers lacked effective organisation. Early capitalist society was often paternalist, providing housing, schools, etc. but the other side of the coin was its intolerance of combination (1) and attempts at collective bargaining (2). The cycle of boom and slump often caused the workers to play into the hands of the industrialist (3). Often popular anger was directed not so much against the industrialist as against the shop keeper.

Unionism in south Wales was influenced by movements in Lancashire spread via north Wales. Early popular protest tended to be spasmodic – not until the 1820s did some sense of common predicament emerge. The earliest expressions of organised protest tended to be in defence of the just price and fair wage, including revolts against the truck shops – like the revolt over food prices in 1800 in Merthyr. During the Luddite crisis of 1812 the first trade unions appeared among the skilled workers.

Cardiff 3rd February 1799

Dear Brother

I shall not wonder at more Combination of the kind you mention but I differ with you in opinion as to the Conduct to be pursued, you must act with firmness, 'tis the want of that hitherto in the Manager which has made the men so unruly.

I advise your going to Mr. Homfray or Mr. Crawshaw and get them to Commit to Bridewell 2 or 3 of the Ring Leaders under the Act 6 Geo. 3 Chap. 25 which you will find extracted in Burn in 20 section of 'Servants' – Respecting Miners Colliers etc. etc. and in the 16th Edition (which mine is) you will find it at the bottom of Page 181 – they may afterwards be Indicted for the Conspiracy notwithstanding the Commitment. I have consulted Mr. Wood on this, who is so of opinion. Pursuing this mode now will save us much trouble hereafter ...

Dowlais Iron Company Records, Glamorgan Archives Service

1

Dear Brother
Cardiff 3 Feb 1799
352
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J. Thomas

The Jurors for our Lord the King upon Oath present that John David Edward of Neath in the said County Labourer, Phillip George of Cadoxton near Neath in the said County Labourer, William George of the same Labourer, Edward David the younger Labourer, Rees Richard the Younger of the same Labourer, Richard William of the same Labourer, Morgan Richard of the same Labourer, William Thomas Bach of the same Labourer, Hopkin George of the same Labourer, and John Harry the Younger of the same Labourer, and John George of the same Labourer, on the first day of July in the fifth Year of the Reign of our Sovereign Lord George the third thence King etc., being Workmen and Labourers in the Art, Mystery, and Manual Occupation of a Collier and not being Content to work and labour in that Art and Mystery at the usual Rates and Prices for which they and other Workmen and Colliers were wont and accustomed to work, but Falsely and Fraudulently Conspiring and Combining unjustly and Oppressively to Increase and Augment the Wages of themselves and other Colliers and Labourers in the said Art and unjustly to Extract and Extort great Sums of Money for their labour and hire in the said Art, Mystery and Manual Occupation, from their Masters who employ them therein afterwards to witt, on the same day and Year at the parish aforesaid in the County aforesaid together with divers other Workmen, Colliers and Labourers in the same Art, Mystery and Manual Occupation, unlawfully did assemble and meet together and so being assembled and met did then and there unjustly and Corruptly Conspire, Combine and Agree among themselves that none of the said Conspirators after the same first day in the Yeare aforesaid would work at any lower or lesser Rate than Nine Score Fathom for four shillings and one penny when the Accustomed price was three shillings and five pence, to the great damage and Oppression not only of their Masters employing them in the said Art, Mystery and Manual Occupation but also of divers others of his liege subjects to the evil Example of all others in the like Case Offending and against the peace of our said Lord the King his Crown and Dignity.

Colliers are prosecuted in court for forming a trade union

The jurors for our Lord the King upon Oath present that John David Edward of Neath in the said County Labourer, Phillip George of Cadoxton near Neath in the said County Labourer, William George of the same Labourer, Edward David the younger Labourer, Rees Richard the Younger of the same Labourer, Richard William of the same Labourer, Morgan Richard of the same Labourer, William Thomas Bach of the same Labourer, Hopkin George of the same Labourer, and John Harry the Younger of the same Labourer, and John George of the same Labourer, on the first day of July in the fifth Year of the Reign of our Sovereign Lord George the third thence King etc., being Workmen and Labourers in the Art, Mystery, and Manual Occupation of a Collier and not being Content to work and labour in that Art and Mystery at the usual Rates and Prices for which they and other Workmen and Colliers were wont and accustomed to work, but Falsely and Fraudulently Conspiring and Combining unjustly and Oppressively to Increase and Augment the Wages of themselves and other Colliers and Labourers in the said Art and unjustly to Extract and Extort great Sums of Money for their labour and hire in the said Art, Mystery and Manual Occupation, from their Masters who employ them therein afterwards to witt, on the same day and Year at the parish aforesaid in the County aforesaid together with divers other Workmen, Colliers and Labourers in the same Art, Mystery and Manual Occupation, unlawfully did assemble and meet together and so being assembled and met did then and there unjustly and Corruptly Conspire, Combine and Agree among themselves that none of the said Conspirators after the same first day in the Yeare aforesaid would work at any lower or lesser Rate than Nine Score Fathom for four shillings and one penny when the Accustomed price was three shillings and five pence, to the great damage and Oppression not only of their Masters employing them in the said Art, Mystery and Manual Occupation but also of divers others of his liege subjects to the evil Example of all others in the like Case Offending and against the peace of our said Lord the King his Crown and Dignity.

Dowlais Iron Company Records, Glamorgan Record Office.

2

Welcombe Park 12th Mar. 1813.

Dear Sir

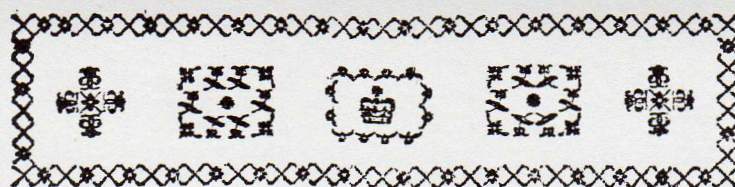
In consequences of the further reduction of Bar Iron I think something may be done by the Iron Masters to reduce the Wages. The best time to effect it, is when the Trade is in that state that the Master is full as much benefited by the works standing still as going on, that period is now arrived and in justice to ourselves, the experiment should be made if you are of the same opinion and will give directions to Mr. Guest to look into the different parts of the manufacture and see where a reduction can be made. I shall readily agree to it. All the works must be of one mind or nothing efficient can be done ...

Dowlais Iron Company Letters.

3

Ysbrydolodd cychwyniad y gwaith adeiladu ar gamlas Dug Bridgewater yn 1759 lu o gynlluniau tebyg ac, o'r diwedd, rwydwaith o ddyfrfyrdd gwneud ar draws y wlad. Effeithiodd yr hoffter mawr hwn o gamlesi ar yr ardaloedd yng Nghymru a ddatblygai'n ddiwydiannol ar y pryd ac a fynnai ddull rhatach a mwy effeithiol o gludo swmp nwyddau. Gwnaed camlas gyntaf gogledd Cymru yn 1768 i gludo glo Hawarden i Afon Ddyfrdwy. Yn y 1790au yng ngogledd Cymru yr oedd cynlluniau uchelgeisiol i gysylltu'r Ddyfrdwy, y Fersi a'r Hafren pan ffurfiwyd cwmni camlas Ellesmere. Yr oedd y cynllun terfynol yn llai uchelgeisiol na'r gwreiddiol, ond cynigiodd cynllun Ellesmere ynghyd â phrosiect camlas arall yn Sir Drefaldwyn system gludiant fwy effeithiol a darparodd gyfathreb uniongyrchol rhwng ardaloedd gwlan ac ardaloedd ffermio Sir Drefaldwyn a, hefyd, rhwng ardaloedd glo a haearn Sir Ddinbych a Sir y Fflint ac ardaloedd diwydiannol gogledd-orllewin Lloegr ar raddfeydd rhatach o lawer na phrisiau cludo ar yr heol. Gwelodd y 1790au orhoffedd o adeiladu camlesi ym Morgannwg a Gwent (1). Gyda chwbllhad y gamlas o Ferthyr i Gaerdydd, newidiodd cwmni Dowlais o ddefnyddio badau i gludo'i haearn bwrw (3).

The start of construction work on the Duke of Bridgewater's canal in 1759 inspired a host of similar schemes and eventually a network of artificial waterways spread over the country. This canal mania affected the industrialising areas of Wales looking for a cheaper and more efficient means of transporting bulk goods. The first north Wales canal was dug in 1768 to carry Hawarden coals to the Dee. In the 1790s in the north of Wales there were ambitious schemes to link the Dee, Mersey and Severn when the Ellesmere canal company was formed. The final system was less ambitious than that originally planned but the Ellesmere project together with another canal project in Montgomeryshire offered the industrialised districts of north east Wales a more efficient transport system and provided direct communication between the woollen and farming districts of Montgomeryshire, the coal and iron of Denbighshire and Flintshire and the industrial districts in the north west of England at far cheaper rates than those charged for road transport. The 1790s too saw a mania of canal building in Glamorgan and Gwent (1). With the completion of the Merthyr Cardiff canal, the Dowlais Company switched from the use of pack horses (2) to boats for the carriage of its pig iron (3).



ANNO TRICESIMO

Georgii III. Regis.

C A P. LXXXII.

An Act for making and maintaining a Navigable Canal from *Merthyr Tidvile*, to and through a Place called *The Bank*, near the Town of *Cardiff*, in the County of *Glamorgan*.



HEREBAS the making and maintaining a Canal for the Navigation of Boats and other Vessels from a Place called Merthyr Tidvile, in the County of Glamorgan, to and through a Place called The Bank, near to the Town of Cardiff, in the said County, will open Communications with several extensive Iron Works and Collieries, and be of publick Utility; And whereas several Persons herein-after named are desirous, at their own Expence, to make and maintain the said Canal; but cannot effect the same without the Aid of Parliament: May it therefore please Your Majesty that it may be enacted; and be it enacted by the King's most Excellent Majesty, by and with the Advice and Consent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, in this present Parliament assembled, and by the Authority

1

19 N 2

ritp



2

Pack mules, Merthyr to Cardiff, 1794

Cardiff 22 January 1793

I have settled with Mr. Lewis about the carriage of the Pig iron. You are in future to send the whole down by the canal ... You must not send any more by horses over the Hills. Forward as much as possible by boats ... I remain your very humble servant

W. Taill.

Cwynodd ymwelwyr â Chymru, megis Thomas Pennant yn 1777 (1) neu Arthur Aiken yn 1797 (2), yn arw am ffyrdd gwarthus Cymru. Yn ddiau cyfrifai cyfathrebu gwael am neilltuaeth Cymru mewn sawl maes.

Yn aml nid oedd heolydd, yn enwedig yn yr ucheldiroedd, yn well na llwybrau garw a wasanaethai anghenion lleol; yn fwy addas i geffyl neu gar llusg nag i gerbydau ar olwynion. Daethai tair ffordd yn bwysig yng Nghymru ers y canoloesoedd. Rhedai un yn y gogledd o Gaer i Gaergybi, ffordd arfordirol lle gorfodwyd teithwyr i wynebu croesfau anodd ar fferis dros Aber Conwy, Afon Menai a'r llwybrau peryglus dros Benmaenmawr. Rhedai ffordd fawr arall o Henffordd i Aberhonddu ac yna i'r gorllewin i Gaerfyrddin a Hwlfordd. Y drydedd ffordd o bwys oedd y ffordd drwy Goedwig Dean ac ar hyd arfordir de Cymru. Er gwaethaf y ffaith fod y ffordd hon yn cynnwys croesfau anodd o'r aberoedd, enillai bwysigrwydd erbyn tua diwedd yr ail ganrif ar bymtheg.

Arweiniodd dau beth at wella ffyrdd Cymru. Y cyntaf oedd angen diwydiant i gludo ei nwyddau gwneud a'i swmp nwyddau i borthladdoedd y môr (3). Y ceffyl, y car llusg, y cert a'r wagen oedd cludwyr mwyaf swmp cynnyrch diwydiannol, er i'r gamlas neu'r dramffordd gymryd eu lle yn nes ymlaen. Mynnai masnach fwy a diwydiant mwy well cysylltiadau. Atebwyd yr angen hwn gyda ffyrdd newydd tyrnpeg (4). Yr ail beth oedd cynnydd mewn trafnidiaeth rhwng Cymru a Lloegr. O ddiwedd y ddeunawfed ganrif ymlaen dechreuodd mwy o deithwyr ymweld â Chymru: newid a symbylwyd gan Chwyldro Ffrainc a'r rhyfeloedd Napoleonig a gaeodd gyfandir Ewrop fel lle ar gyfer 'ymdaith fawr' y bonheddwyr ac a barodd iddynt droi eu sylw i ardaloedd gwyllt eu gwlad eu hunain. Bu cyfathreb gynyddol ag Iwerddon hefyd yn arbennig yn sgîl y Ddeddf Uno, 1800. Hyn a orfododd i'r llywodraeth ymyrryd â gwelliant y ffordd o Lundain i Gaergybi ac i dalu am adeiladu'r pontydd dros Afonydd Conwy a Menai (5): pontydd a gynlluniwyd gan y peiriannydd, Telford (6). Erbyn 1840 ceid gwelliant sylweddol i gysylltiadau (7).

Eighteenth century travellers to Wales such as Thomas Pennant in 1777 (1) or Arthur Aiken in 1797 (2) complained bitterly about the execrable and sometimes virtually non-existent roads in Wales. Poor communications undoubtedly accounted for Wales's isolation in many fields.

Many roads, particularly in the uplands, were no more than rough tracks or paths serving localised needs, and more suited to the pack horse or sledge than to wheeled transport. Three major routes had emerged in post-medieval Wales. One in north Wales ran from Chester to Holyhead, a coastal route on which travellers had to face difficult ferry crossings of the Conwy estuary and the Menai Straits and the treacherous paths over Penmaenmawr Mountain. Another major route ran from Hereford to Brecon and then westwards to Carmarthen and Haverfordwest. The third route of importance was the route through the Forest of Dean and along the coast of south Wales. Despite the fact that this route involved difficult crossings of the estuaries it was gaining in importance by the late seventeenth century.

Two factors led to the improvement of the roads of Wales – the first was the need of industry to transport its bulk and manufactured goods to the seaports of the coast (3). The packhorse, the sledge, the cart and the wagon were the main carriers of bulk industrial products though they were later replaced where possible with the canal or tramroad. Increased trade and increased industry demanded better communications which was met by turnpiking and new road construction (4). The second factor was increased travel between Wales and England. From the late eighteenth century onwards more travellers began to visit Wales – a move that was given impetus by the French Revolutionary and Napoleonic wars which closed off the continent of Europe to the gentry for their grand tour and caused them to turn their attention to the wilder parts of their own country. There was also increasing communication with Ireland, especially after the passing of the Act of Union of 1800. It was this which forced the government to intervene in the improvement of the London-Holyhead road and to finance the construction of the bridges over the Conwy and Menai (5) engineered by Telford (6). By 1840 communications had improved greatly (7).

FROM *Waen Oer* we made a most hazardous descent to *Cwm Bwchllwyd*, and from thence to *Llyn Ogwen*. The way from that place into the valley, or rather chasim, of *Nant Francon*, is called *The Ben-glog*, the most dreadful horse path* in Wales, worked in the rudest manner into steps, for a great length.

1

JOURNAL OF A TOUR

lower lake, we still kept on the left side of the vale, following a narrow rugged foot-path, that at length brought us to the upper extremity of Llyn-gwinedd: hence with some difficulty we forced our way through a steep swampy wood on our right, and recovered the road. This road from the beginning of its ascent out of the valley, for above a mile, is a continued series of rude broken steps, very narrow and winding, ascending the steep face of a craggy mountain that overlooks the lake, without any parapet wall, or the slightest barrier, in places where the descent is all but perpendicular. A more dangerous horse road (for these mountainous stairs are actually ascended and descended by the Welsh horses) I imagine no country can exhibit: it poured with rain as we went up, and the whole of this formidable pass was one continued cascade from top to bottom. Having at length surmounted the difficulty of the ascent, we turned our backs on the grand scenery that had so amply compensated for the unpleasant weather, and proceeded to cross a tract of boggy mountains as bare and desolate as can well be imagined. The clouds in which we were involved, concealed entirely the majestic forms of the Snowdon mountains, which otherwise would have rendered this dreary country highly interesting; whereas now, as far as the eye could reach on every side, it was tired by the unvarying repetition of flat, naked, barrenness: the only object that occupied the attention was the road; which, sometimes perplexed by a number of diverging paths, at other times so full of water as to be confounded with the courses of the streams, occasionally caused us no small perplexity. At length we joyfully descried the ruins of *Castell-Delwyddelan*, a fortress situated so as to command the passage off the mountains into the vale. Hence a quick descent conducted us to the small village of *Delwyddelan*, where, with some difficulty, owing to our almost total ignorance of the Welsh language, we procured refreshment, which, however coarse and homely,

2

CARNARVONSHIRE.

TO LABOURERS.

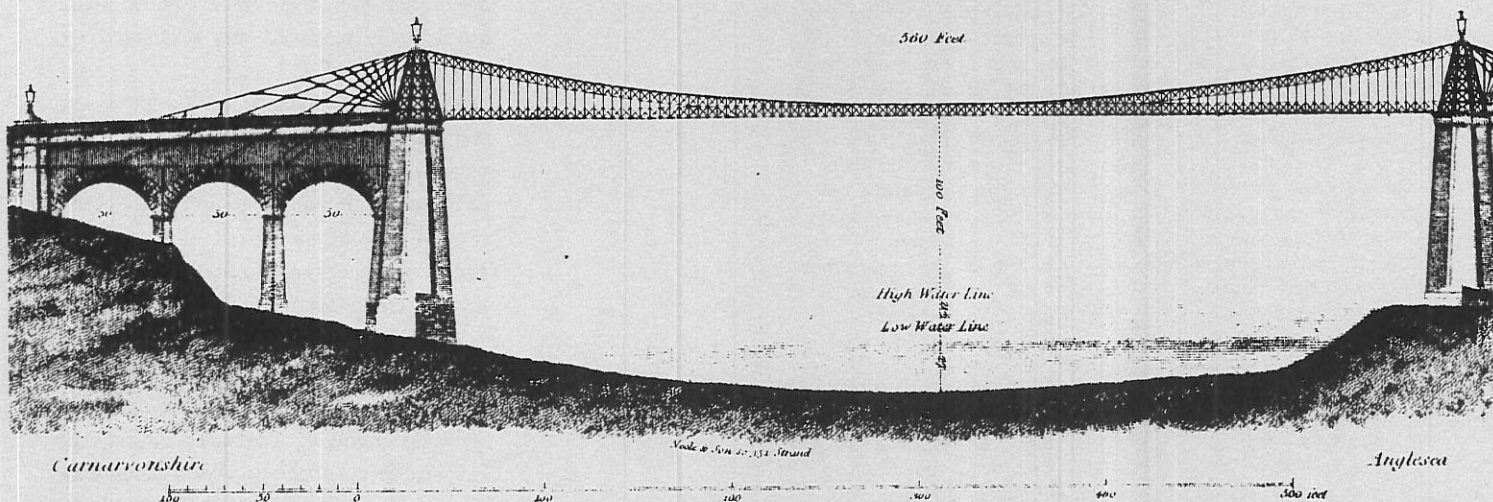
TO BE LET, the Making a New Road leading from the Slate Quarries of Thos. Asheton Smith, Esq. in the Parish of Llandegai to join, the present Road to the Quay where the Slates are Shipped.

Mr. JAMES DEFFEND, of Llandegai will attend at the Quarries on Friday, 8th Day of Sept. next, at Ten o'clock in the Forenoon to receive Proposals.—from whom any Particulars may be had in the mean time.

Likewise a BRIDGE at the same Place.
August 25th, 1809.

An Act for repairing and widening the Road leading from *Tal y Cafn Ferry* in the County of *Carnarvon*, and through the Towns of *Conway*, *Bangor*, and *Carnarvon*, to the Town of *Pwllhely* in the same County.

ENACTS the Road from *Tal y Cafn Ferry* in the County of *Carnarvon*, through the Towns of *Conway*, *Bangor*, and *Carnarvon*, to the Town of *Pwllhely* in the said County, is in many Places narrow, inconvenient, and dangerous, and greatly out of Repair, and cannot be effectually amended, widened, and kept in Repair, by the Laws now in being: *Enacted* therefore please your Majesty, that it may be enacted; and be it enacted by the King's most Excellent Majesty, by and with the Advice and Consent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, in this present Parliament assembled, and by the Authority of the same, That *Ellis Anwyl*, *Hugh Anwyl*, *John Bartholomew*, *James Briscoe*, *Robert Carreg*, *Hugh Davies*, *Charles Evans*, *Richard Ellis Clerk*, *John Ellis*, *John Ellis*, *Clerks*;



CARDIFF AND LONDON

In One Day!!!



The Public are respectfully informed, a new and elegant Fast Four-horse Coach

'ST. DAVID!'

LEAVES THE
ANGEL INN,

CARDIFF, every

TUESDAY, THURSDAY, & SATURDAY MORNING,
AT SIX O'CLOCK;

NEWPORT, - at a Quarter past 7;

CHEPSTOW, - - - 9;

NEWNHAM, - - - 11;

GLOUCESTER, Half-past 12;

AND
CHELTENHAM, Half-past 1;

LONDON at 9 o'clock the same Evening.

BRADLEY & Co., Proprietors.

Tramffyrdd cynnar

Early tramroads

28

Adeiladwyd y dramffordd bren gyntaf yng Nghymru yn 1697 pan adeiladodd Syr Wmffre Mackworth system dramffordd ar gyfer cludo glo yn hen bwl glo Castell Nedd a brynasai. Estynnodd y dramffordd am dri chwarter milltir y tu hwnt i'r gweithiau (1); gweithred a arweiniodd at ymrsonau ag awdurdodau'r sir a farnodd y dramffordd yn niwsans cyhoeddus lle y croesai ffordd Merthyr i Gaerdydd yng nghwm Tawe (2). Erbyn y 1740au, rhedodd un dramffordd o lofa Llansamlet i Afon Tawe ac un arall o lan arall yr afon o lofa Glandŵr (3). Ymhellach i'r gorllewin adeiladwyd rheilffordd bren o'r pyllau yn Llanelli yn y 1750au. Erbyn tua diwedd y ddeunawfed ganrif yr oedd tramffyrdd yn gyffredin drwy gydol ardaloedd glo de Cymru. Adeiladwyd tramffordd bren gyntaf y gogledd tua 1770 yn ardal Hawarden i gludo glo o fryniau Ewloe i'r gamlas newydd ac ar ôl 1790, yn y gogledd-ddwyrain, ymddangosodd nifer o dramffyrdd haearn, byr ar gyfer cludo mwynau. Ymhellach i'r gorllewin yn ardal y chwareli llechi adeiladodd Arglwydd Penrhyn dramffordd geffyl yn 1800 a gludai lechi o'i chwareli i'r môr (4).

Tarddodd rheilffyrdd pren o'r system a ddatblygwyd yn Sir Amwythig yn Coalbrookdale. Leiniau bach oeddynt a defnyddient dryciau bach. Rhoddwyd cledrau haearn yn lle'r rhai pren erbyn diwedd y ddeunawfed ganrif gan ddilyn enghraifft Coalbrookdale. Wrth ddefnyddio cledrau a llechweddau graddol iawn gallai pâr o geffylau dynnu rhwng 30-40 o dryciau wedi'u llwytho. Gellid gwneud defnydd, weithiau, o lethrau disgyrchiant (*gravity inclines*). Cynigiai tramffyrdd fanteision mawr ar gyfer cludo nwyddau trwm (5,6). Yn 1804 gwnaeth peiriant ymsymudol ager Trevithick, yr un cyntaf o'i fath yn y byd, ei rediad cyntaf. Arweiniai'r datblygiad hwn at ddatblygiad rhwydwaith y rheilffyrdd.

The first wooden tramroad in Wales was constructed in 1697 when Sir Humphrey Mackworth taking over the abandoned coal works at Neath, built a tramroad system for carrying coal within the mine and extended it for three quarters of a mile beyond the works (1), an action which led to disputes with the county authorities who declared the tramroad a public nuisance where it crossed the Merthyr to Cardiff highway in the Swansea valley (2). By the 1740s a tramroad ran from Llansamlet colliery to the Tawe and another on the opposite river bank ran from Llandore colliery (3). Further west a wooden railway was built from the pits at Llanelli in the 1750s. By the eighteenth century, tramroads were common throughout the coal districts of south Wales. The first wooden tramway in the north was built about 1770 in the Hawarden district to convey coal from the Ewloe Hills to the new canal, and after 1790 numerous short iron tramroads for the carriage of minerals appeared in the north east. Further west in the slate quarrying district Lord Penrhyn in 1800 built a horse tramway to convey slate from his quarries to the sea (4).

Wooden railways in Wales were derived from the system developed in Shropshire at Coalbrookdale. They were small gauge lines and used small trucks. Iron rails were substituted for wooden rails by the late eighteenth century following the example of Coalbrookdale. Using rails and gently graded inclines a pair of horses could haul thirty to forty laden trucks. Gravity inclines could sometimes be employed. Tramroads offered great advantages for the transport of heavy goods (5,6). In 1804 Trevithick's steam locomotive – the first steam locomotive in the world – made its first run, a development which was eventually to lead to the development of the railway network.

He travelled into other countries to find Skilfull Workmen or Miners to assist him therein, and after great Expences, and by carrying on a level and Wind-way, commonly called a Foot-rid or Waggon-way, after the manner used in *Shrop-shire* and *New-Castle*; he recovered the said Coal-works, and at great Expences continued the said Waggonway on Wooden Railes from the face of each Wall of Coal twelve hundred Yards under Ground quite down to the Water-side, about three-quarters of a Mile from the Mouth of the Coal-pit; the said Coal-works without the conveniency of this Foot-rid and Waggon-way, could not be carried on to any Profit; but by means thereof, great quantities are brought forth and sold to Sea. . . .

These Waggon-ways are very common, and frequently made use of about *New-Castle*, and also about *Broseley*, *Bentall*, and other places in *Shropshire*, and are so far from being Nusances, that they have ever been esteemed very useful to preserve the Roads, which would be otherwise made very bad and deep by the Carriage of Coal in Common Waggons and Carts. . . .

where the Coalworks were lost for want of Air . . . and could not be recovered for want of Artists in that Country; whereupon Sir *Humphry Mackworth* got some out of *Shropshire* to instruct others, and to carry on an Artificial Waggon and Windway, for draining the Water, Circulating the Air, and driving out the Coal, which was never seen in that Country before. . . .

an Indictment was presented and found by the Grand Jury against Sir *Humphry Mackworth*, for erecting a *Nusance* cross the Highway leading from *Neath* to *Cardiffe*, which was set forth in the said Indictment to be *Ten Foot high, to the great annoyance of her Majesty's Subjects, passing that way* . . . the Place presented was the said *Waggon-way* for carrying down the Coal to the Water-side, and has been made by Sir *Humphry Mackworth* Eight Years before, and upwards, and quietly enjoyed by the general Approbation not only of the Overseers of the Highway, and the neighbouring Justices, but of all others travelling that Road, it being formerly a *deep Pool of Water and Dirt*, and thus amended by the said Sir *Humphry Mackworth*, and by the Slag of the Smelting-houses, made the best Spot of Ground for heavy Carriage between *Neath* and *London*, the highest part of it being three Foot two Inches on one side, and two Foot five Inches on the other, with a gradual Ascent of thirty-six Foot and upwards on each side. . . .

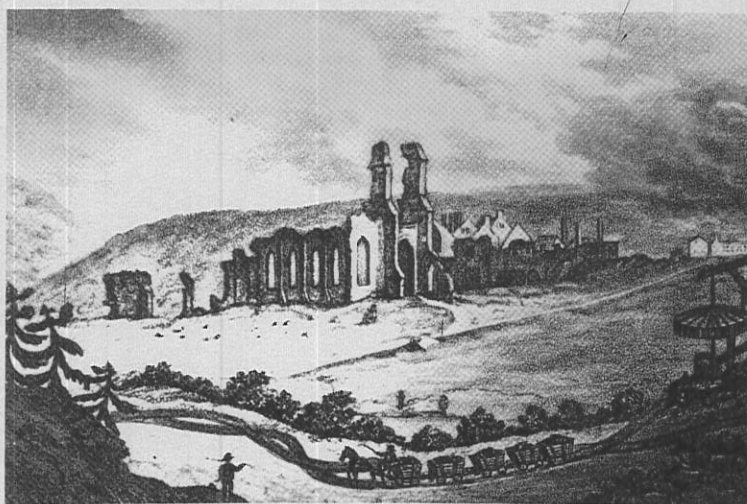
They supposed that they might then justly pull down the said *Waggon-way*, and hinder the carrying of Sir *Humphry Mackworth's* Coal to the Waterside; and according on the *Eighth Day of September last* [1705], *John Morgan* and *Philip Williams*, two notorious wicked Fellows, were employ'd to break down the said *Waggon-way*, and the . . . Agents to the said Justices . . . were then present, countenancing and directing the said Illegal Proceeding. . . .

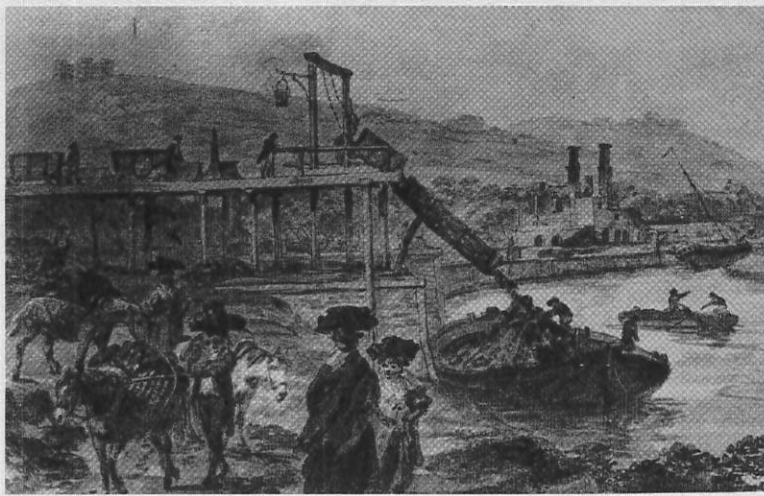
On the 17th of September following the Way being Mended, the said *John Morgan* and *Morris Morgan*, with an Iron Bar, two Hatchets, two Pickaxes, two Shovels, broak up the said Way, and cut the saw'd Railes of Sir *Humphry Mackworth* in two Places, which were laid by him to mend the Way, and support his heavy Carriage cross the same. . . .

The next day, the said Railes or Waggon-way were broak and cut in Pieces not only cross the High-way, but also *within the lands of Sir Humphry*

Mackworth, in his own Possession on each side thereof; and that his Waggons loaded with Coal, and coming down from the Pits towards the Waterside (where Vessels waited for their loading) were actually obstructed, not only by Cutting in Pieces the said Railes; but when they saw that by strength of Horses, and Assistance of Men, the Agents of Sir *Humphry Mackworth* were able to draw the Waggons cross the High-way, without the Benefite of the said Railes, they dug deep holes in the Ground to let in the wheels of the Waggons, and to make the Way impassible for such sort of Carriage.

1 From pamphlet, *The Case of Sir Humphrey Mackworth*





3

6 Geo. IV.—Sess. 1825.



AN

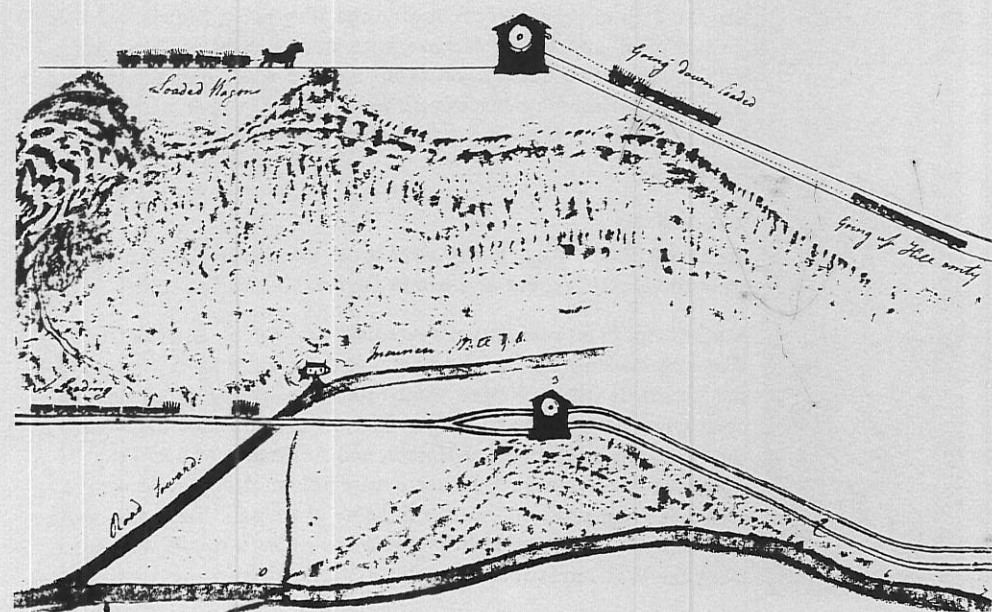
ACT

For making and maintaining a Railway or Tramroad from or near a certain Slate Quarry, called *Gloddfarlon*, in the Parish of *Llandwrog*, in the County of *Carnarvon*, to the Town and Port of *Carnarvon* in the same County.

[Royal Assent 20th May 1825]

WHEREAS the making and maintaining a Railway or Tramroad for the Passage of Waggon and other Carriages, commencing at or near a certain Slate Quarry, called *Gloddfarlon*, situate in the Parish of *Llandwrog*, in the County of *Carnarvon*, in and through the several Parishes or Places hereinafter mentioned, and terminating in the Town and Port of *Carnarvon* in the same County, will be the means of opening a more direct, easy, cheap, and commodious Communication between the interior of the principal District of Slate and other Quarries of the County of *Carnarvon*, and the various shipping Places at *Carnarvon* in the same County, and will greatly facilitate the Conveyance of Coals and other heavy Articles to the several Slate and other Quarries and Mines in the said District, and the Conveyance of the Slates, Copper and other Ores, and other Productions of the said Slate and other Quarries and Mines, and of the surrounding Country to the Sea-side, and will otherwise be of great public Utility;

6



5

Port Penrhyn is principally used by vessels coming from different parts of the kingdom for the slates obtained from lord Penrhyn's quarries, between five and six miles distant. About six hundred tons are shipped per week. These, for many years, were conveyed to the port at an enormous expence, by means of carts and horses, but his lordship has just completed an iron rail-road that extends all the way from the quarries quite round the quay. Two horses are now able, in fifteen waggons, chained to each other, to draw upwards of twelve ton of slates along the levels. Notwithstanding the general mountainous character of the country, there are no more than four inclined planes (besides those in the quarry) on the whole of the road; and the longest of these extends two hundred and twenty yards. At the top of each there is a windlass, where, by means of a lever pressed against the cylinder, the velocity of the full waggons going down, and drawing up the empty ones, is regulated. Only three waggons, when I saw them, were suffered to go down at once, and in the longest plane the whole fifteen occupied about twenty minutes in passing. By means of this road, as the waggon wheels are concave, and, running on the top of a narrow circular bar, have consequently but little friction, the slates come down in a much shorter time than they did before. Formerly, betwixt three or four hundred horses were used in the work, which is now performed by no more than six or eight. The saving from this is not only very material to lord Penrhyn, but the difference in expenditure of hay and corn, in a country where so little can be grown, and of various other articles of common utility, is of material importance to the people at large. Besides slates, there are shipped at Port Penrhyn, hones, paint, dry colours, chert, &c. to Liverpool and various other parts.—Vessels of about three hundred tons burthen can come up to load at the quay.

4

Plan of tramway, Cedrun quarry, Dyffryn Conwy, 1813

Yn hwyr yn y ddeunawfed ganrif yr oedd yr arfer traddodiadol o fudo o'r hendre, y cartref dros y gaeaf, i'r hafod, y cartref hafol, yn dal i fodoli mewn mannau yn y tiroedd uchel (1) er iddo fod wedi marw bron yn gyfan gwbl ddeng mlynedd ar hugain yn nes ymlaen. Yr oedd cymeriad lleol cryf i'r tai gwledig a amrywiai yn ôl deunydd adeiladau lleol ac arferion lleol. Amrywiai trigfannau gwledig o'r bwthyn un stafell, to gwellt o Sir Aberteifi (2) i'r bwthyn dwy stafell, to llechi o Sir Gaernarfon (3) neu'r tŷ hir o Sir Gaerfyrddin (4) neu'r tyddyn to brwyn o gorsydd Sir Ddinbych (5). Fodd bynnag, tueddai sgrifenyddwr yn hwyr yn y ddeunawfed ganrif ac yn gynnar yn y bedwaredd ganrif ar bymtheg i gytuno â'r ffaith fod y tai yn sâl o'u cymharu ag ardaloedd gwledig Lloegr (6,7). Mewn sawl enghraifft y mae'n rhaid bod tai'r boblogaeth wledig wedi aros yn ddigynfawr eu harddull am genedlaethau, a'u lloriau pridd, ffenestri bychan bach ac aelwydydd. Yr unig wahaniaeth oedd y duedd gynyddol i ddefnyddio llechi yn hytrach na gwellt neu bridd ar y to.

Gydag ychydig o eithriadau mewn rhai o'r tiroedd isel, yr oedd amaethu yn y cyflwr cyntefig a awgrymir gan y disgrifiad o Ystad y Faenol (Sir Gaernarfon) a sgrifennwyd yn 1799 (8). Nid oedd ond ychydig iawn o fuddsoddi gan dirfeddianwyr ar gyfer adeiladau gwell ac ychydig iawn o fynd gan y tenantiaid o ffermwyr ar y gwaith o'u gwella. Bu'r ddeunawfed ganrif a blynyddoedd cynnar y bedwaredd ganrif ar bymtheg yn gyfnod o bwysau poblogaeth gynyddol hyd yn oed yn yr ardaloedd gwledig. Y mae'r duedd i gyfanheddu'r tiroedd ymylol (9) a'r arfer o swatio ar y tir diffaith yn tystio i'r pwysau hyn.

In the late eighteenth century the traditional practice of transhumance – seasonal migration from the old 'hendre' or winter quarters to the 'hafod' or summer quarters was still in operation in parts of the Welsh uplands (1) although it had virtually died out thirty years later. Rural housing was strongly regional in character, dependent on the availability of local building materials and local practices. Rural accommodation ranged from the one roomed thatched cottage of Cardiganshire (2) or the two roomed slated cottage of Caernarfonshire (3) to the long house of Carmarthenshire (4) or the rush thatched tyddyn of the Denbighshire moors (5). However, writers of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries tended to concur in the fact that the accommodation was poor in contrast with the rural areas of England (6,7). In some cases the hovels inhabited by the rural populace must have changed little in style for generations, with their earthen floors, tiny windows and open hearths, apart from the increasing use of slate rather than thatch or sods.

With a few exceptions in the more favoured lowland areas, farming was in the backward condition suggested by the description of the Vaynol estate (Caernarvonshire) written in 1799 (8). There was little capital input by the landowners towards the provision of improved farm buildings and little enterprise by the tenant farmers in the matter of improvement. The eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries were an age of increasing population pressures, even in the rural areas, evidenced by the push of settlement into the marginal areas (9) with the practice of squatting on the wastelands.

The Practice of Transhumance – Pennant – Tours in Wales 1777

This mountainous tract scarcely yields any corn. Its produce is cattle and sheep, which, during summer, keep very high in the mountains, followed by their owners, with their families, who reside in that season in Hafodtai, or summer dairy-houses, as the farmers in the Swiss alps do in their Sennes. These houses consist of a long low room, with a hole at one end, to let out the smoke from the fire, which is made beneath. Their furniture is very simple: stones are the substitutes of stools; and the beds are of hay, ranged along the sides. They manufacture their own cloaths; and dye their cloths with Cenn du y Cerrig, or Lichen omphaloides; and another Cenn, the Lichen parietinus; native dyes, collected from the rocks. During summer, the men pass their time either in harvest work, or in tending their herds: the women in milking, or making butter and cheese. For their own use, they milk both ewes and goats, and make cheese, for their own consumption. The diet of these mountaineers is very plain, consisting of butter, cheese, and oat-bread, or Bara Ceirch: they drink whey: not but they have a reserve of a few bottles of very strong beer, by way of cordial, in illness. They are people of good understanding, wary and circumspect; usually tall, thin, and of strong constitutions from their way of living. Towards winter, they descend to their Hên Dref, or old dwelling, where they lead, during that season, a vacant life.

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I visited many cottages in Talyllyn and the adjoining parish of Llanfihangel. The house accommodation is wretched. The cottages are formed of a few loose fragments of rock and shale, piled together without mortar or whitewash. The floors are of earth; the roofs are wattled, and many of these hovels have no window. They comprise one room, in which all the family sleep. This is in some cases separated from the rest of the hut by wisps of straw, forming an imperfect screen. These squalid huts appear to be the deliberate choice of the people, who are not more poor than the peasantry in England. They are well supplied with food, clothing, and fuel; every cottager has a right to cut turf on the mountain; the farmers give them wool at sheepshearing; their cottages are well supplied with bacon, and many poach the streams for salmon, and the moors for game. But they have never seen a higher order of civilization, and though they have the means to live respectably, they prefer from ignorance the degraded social condition above described. Nor is this confined to the labouring population. The farmers, who might raise the standard of domestic comfort and civilization, although they live well and dress in superfine cloth, are content to inhabit huts scarcely less dark, dirty, and comfortless.

6 Report on Education in Wales, 1847

Account of a farmer's cottage 1800 -
Bingley Tour of North Wales.

Descending from this station, I was requested by the gentleman who attended me*, to examine the cottage of a small Welsh farmer in Cwm y Glo, as he said it was a tolerable specimen of this description of buildings in Caernarvonshire. I entered at a small gate, and first observed a wretched hovel for his cattle: the hay-rick was formed by a large slate, placed near one side, with its edge on the ground: the roof was so broken in and damaged, that only one corner afforded shelter to the miserable beasts from the fury of the mountain storms. I remarked, on the outside of this place, in an angle formed by the junction of two walls, a small slated roof, to protect from the rain the turf intended for fuel. A path between two rude stone walls, adorned with holly hedges, led me to the dwelling. The door was so low, that I was obliged to stoop considerably to enter; and coming out of a bright sun-shine, it was not till some time had elapsed that I was able to distinguish any thing in this hut, except the

gleam of light that came down the chimney. This was at least equal to what the six small panes of glass in the window afforded. On the open hearth were a few peat-ashes, the remains of a fire with which the old man had a little while before cooked his dinner. The frame of the roof was formed by branches of trees fixed to larger timbers by straw or hay-bands. This frame was covered with sods, and the whole with slates, which in the mountains, are obtained in great plenty. The furniture consisted of an old bed, an oak chest, a range of shelves for such poor eating utensils as were necessary in this lowly habitation, some old earthen vessels, some dingy pewter dishes, and a few other things, which, from the darkness of the place, were rendered indistinguishable to me. The whole character of this dwelling was such as clearly to prove the truth of Goldsmith's observation that

'Man wants but little here below'.

* The Reverend Peter Williams, the rector of Llanrŷg and Llanberis, who was my companion in most of my rambles among the mountains.

On most of Mr. Smith's Estates in the Counties of Carnarvon and Anglesey, the Buildings are very old, & not proper for the Occupation of them, and most of his present Tenants appear to be very indifferent farmers, and do not attend to the proper Cultivation of their farms and lay out no Money in the improvement of them, It will therefore be advisable for Mr. Smith to change his Tenants where there is good Buildings & the Tenants on those farms been negligent for he may be assured that no New Tenants will take farms where the Buildings are not in Repair and Sufficient for the Occupation thereof,

The present Tenants have very much neglected the Improvement of their meadow which a great part of them might be done by floating, draining - Laying their Dung or Compost on the Meadows or on the pasture Land - on the contrary they encourage the Cultivation of Gorst, for their Horses eat all the Winter, & put their Dung or Manure for potatoes or for Corn and

On most of Mr. Smith's Estates in the Counties of Carnarvon and Anglesey the Buildings are very old, and not proper for the occupation of them, and most of his present Tenants appear to be very indifferent farmers, and do not attend to the proper Cultivation of their farms and lay out no Money in the improvement of them. It will therefore be advisable for Mr. Smith to change his Tenants where there is good Buildings (and the Tenants on those farms been negligent) for he may be assured that no New Tenants will take farms where the Buildings are not in Repair and Sufficient for the Occupation thereof.

The present Tenants have very much neglected the Improvement of their meadow which a great part of them might be done by floating, draining and laying their Dung or Compost on the Meadows or on the pasture Land - on the contrary they encourage the Cultivation of Gorst for their Horses to eat all the Winter, and put their Dung or Manure for potatoes or for Corn and ...

8

CABAN UNNOS

Yr oedd yn hen arferiad yng Nghymru godi cabanau unnos, neu y tai tywyrch fel y gelwid hwy. Codid hwy ar y cytir. Pan feddyliai hen lanc am briodi, chwiliai am nifer dda o gyfeillion, ac aent ati gyda'r gwyll i godi tŷ tywyrch. Byddai'n rhaid i'r tŷ fod wedi ei orffen cyn i'r haul godi, a mwg wedi dyfod allan trwy'r simnai; ac os ceid amser, a digon o gymorth, gwneid clawdd tywyrch o amgylch darn o dir i wneud gardd, a byddai'r tŷ a'r ardd yn eiddo bythol i'r adeiladydd. Ond gofidus yw dywedyd i dirfeddianwyr Cymru ddwyn canoedd ohonynt trwy eu traha a'u hystrywiau.

Yr oedd nifer o dai tywyrch o gylch fy hen gartre. Bŵm mewn pedwar ohonynt pan oeddwn yn hogyn. Yr oedd teulu-oedd yn byw ynddynt, a bŵm yn chware lawer tro mewn dau ohonynt. Magwyd chwech o blant yn un ohonynt. Yr oedd yno ryw fath o derfyn ar ei ganol i wneud dwy ystafell, ac yr oedd y tad wedi rhoi croglofft isel wrth ben y siamber i rai o'r plant gysgu ynddi.

9 Hugh Evans, Cwm Eithin

Pamffled ar y Chwyldro Americanaidd oedd y cyhoeddiad gwleidyddol pur cyntaf yn yr iaith Gymraeg. Gwelwyd hwn gan lawer megis rhyfel cartref Prydeinig ac fe danlinellwyd yr effaith yng Nghymru gan rym arbennig y Cymry yn yr Amerig. O'r rhyfel daeth y mudiadau difrif cyntaf dros ddiwygiad gwleidyddol, yn enwedig yn Sir Forgannwg a Sir Ddinbych, a'r ymwybyddiaeth gwleidyddol gyntaf ymysg ysgolheigion Cymru. Cadarnhawyd hwn yn rymus gan effaith ddramatig Chwyldro Ffrainc. Yn ystod y 1790au cynyddodd nifer y cyhoeddiadau gwleidyddol yn y Gymraeg chwe gwaith. Cyd-ddigwyddodd yr her gwleidyddol â'r argyfwng cymdeithasol a achosid gan anturiaeth ddiwydiannol ac amaethyddol newydd a thrallodion a phryderon y rhyfel hir.

Daeth y rhyfel gyda Ffrainc, 1793, â phres-gangio (1), chwyddiant, prisiau bwyd uchel a phrinder bwydydd. Rhoddodd hwb i newidiadau eraill megis cau'r tiroedd comin: digwyddiad a aflonyddai cymdogaeth weithiau. Yn y 1790au bu terfysgoedd ysbeidiol yng Nghymru (2). Gellir dadlau am natur y gwrthdystiadau hyn, i ba raddau'r oeddynt yn rhan o'r hen draddodiad o derfysgoedd bwyd neu i ba raddau'r oeddynt yn gwleidyddol eu natur (3-5). Gwelasai cymdeithas y ddeunawfed ganrif amlygiadau cyson o brotest poblogaidd pan y'i symbylid gan galedi a newyn: protestiadau economaidd eu natur yn hytrach na gwleidyddol. Darfuont pan ddigonwyd chwant bwyd. Ni fygythient adeiladwaith y gymdeithas. Yn wir, protestiadau digymell oeddynt yn aml, ynghylch anghyfiawnderau neu ymelwa, ac wedi'u cyfeirio yn erbyn y rhai a godai brisiau eithafol neu a allforiai rawn mewn cyfnod o brinder.

Yr oedd cefn gwlad mewn cyflwr o dyndra yn ystod y 1790au. Gwelwyd anhrefn sifil ar raddfa fawr ym Machynlleth (6), Dinbych a Llanbryn-mair. Dathlwyd Chwyldro Ffrainc yn nhafarnau'r Bala a chyfieithwyd y Marseillaise i'r Gymraeg (7). Yn 1802 martsiodd chwarelwyr o'r brynau ar dref Caernarfon a'i meddiannu. Nid oes ddwywaith nad oedd yr awdurdodau yn ofidus. Daeth hysbysebwyd â sôn o gytundebau rhwng glowyr Sir y Fflint a chwarelwyr Sir Gaernarfon (9). Ar yr awgrym lleiaf o drafferth byddai'r awdurdodau'n rhuthro'r dragwys i mewn i'r ardal. Meddiannwyd Caernarfon a'r Bala gan ddragwys. Ystyriwyd y Methodistiaid gydag amheuaeth.

Cynigiwyd delfrydiaeth newydd o natur radicalaidd i gymdeithas yr Anghytuniaeth gan fudiad y Cymry yn Llundain: clwb diwylliannol a gwleidyddol yr oedd lolo Morganwg (9) yn

The first purely political publication in the Welsh language was a pamphlet on the American Revolution. This was perceived by many as a British civil war and the peculiar strength of the Welsh in America sharpened the effect in Wales. From the war sprang the first serious political reform movements, particularly in Glamorganshire and Denbighshire and the first political stirrings among Welsh intellectuals. This was powerfully re-inforced by the dramatic impact of the French Revolution. During the 1790s the number of political publications in the Welsh language multiplied six-fold and the political challenge coincided with social crises induced by new industrial and agricultural enterprise and the stresses and strains of a prolonged war.

The French war of 1793 brought press gangs (1), inflation and high food prices and food shortages. It gave impetus to other changes like enclosure which sometimes disrupted communities. The 1790s saw sporadic disturbances in Wales (2). How far this was the old traditional food riot type of protest and how far it was political in character is a matter of debate (3-5). Eighteenth century society had experienced regular eruptions of popular protest when hard times and hunger provoked action. Such riots were economic rather than political; they ended when hunger was satisfied, they did not threaten the fabric of society; indeed the riots were often spontaneous protests against injustices or exploitation, directed against those who charged excessive prices or exported grain in time of shortage.

The countryside was certainly in a state of tension during the 1790s, Machynlleth (6), Denbigh and Llanbryn-mair saw large scale civil disorder. The French revolution was toasted in Bala public houses and the Marseillaise was translated into Welsh (7). Quarrymen from the hills marched on the county town of Caernarfon in 1802 and occupied it. The authorities were certainly nervous. Informers brought rumours of alliances between Flintshire miners and Caernarfonshire slate quarrymen (8). At the slightest hint of trouble the authorities would pour dragoons into an area - Caernarfon and Bala were occupied by dragoons. Methodists were regarded with suspicion.

The alternative society of Dissent was offered a new ideology of radical temper by the London Welsh movement, a cultural and political club of which lolo Morganwg (9) was a prominent member. They formed a sort of underground movement sympathising with the American and French revolutions (10,11) and combining these doctrines with a paraphernalia of Welsh

Food riots in Wales, 1793-1801



Resistance to enclosures



Disaffection during the Napoleonic Wars



aelod amlwg ohono. Ffuriasant fath o fudiad cyfrinachol a gydymdeimlai â chwyldroadau America a Ffrainc (10,11), gan gyfuno'r credoau hyn â chymhlethdod o ddiwylliant a thraddodiad Cymraeg a chan adfywio'r Eisteddfod gydag ychydig o ychwanegiadau o'u dychymyg eu hunain. Pan fethant â gwireddu'r wawr newydd o ryddid a fyddai'n adennill statws i Gymru rywsut, troes y grŵp hwn ei sylw at symud cymdeithas gyfan yr Anghytuniaeth i ganolfan yn yr Amerig (12). Bu mudo sylweddol yn ystod y blynyddoedd hyn.

culture and tradition, reviving the Eisteddfod and adding a few fanciful additions of their own. When the new dawn of freedom in which Wales would somehow regain its status failed to materialise, this group turned its attention increasingly towards removing the alternative society to a base in America (12). These were years of considerable migration.

Letter of Thomas Griffith, J.P., Rhual, near Mold, to Mr. Dundas. Sir

As a magistrate of the County of Flint I am again under the disagreeable necessity of troubling you on account of the present situation of it, which is by no means so peaceable as I could wish.

Different mobs in considerable numbers, have repeatedly assembled in different parts, upon the plea of the high price of corn. Hitherto they have been talked into tolerable order by the interference of the Magistrates, but how long this may have effect is difficult to guess.

As yet no material Injury has been done. The greatest violence used, was at Mold, where they broke open the Warehouse of a man, who buys corn in this Country for the use of Cheshire and Lancashire, and forced him to sell it to them somewhat under the market price. But had they taken it for nothing, they were in too great strength for us to have attempted to oppose with the Civil Power only. Our Request therefore is, (for I write in the names of several Magistrates) that some Troops may be quartered within our reach. At present there are none in this County or near it, and should the numerous Body of Colliers and Miners again assemble, the property of the whole Country might be laid waste and destroy'd before Assistance could be procured.

Permit me to observe that there is a Regt of Cavalry at Shrewsbury, and if it should be thought proper to order one Troop to march to Mold, and these to be quarter'd, it would probably be sufficient to keep Order, and secure the peace of the County.

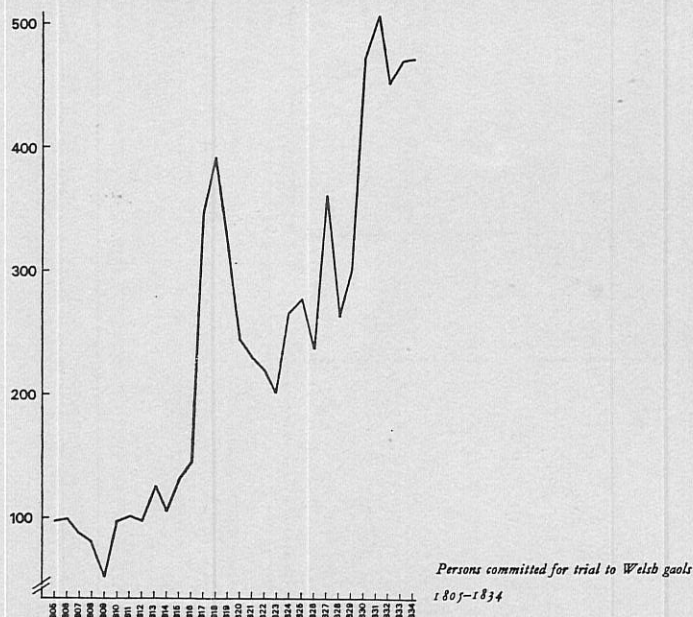
I am Sir,
Your most obedt
Humble Servt
Thos. Griffith

Rhual,
near Mold,
Chester.

2nd April 1795.

I am sorry to add that I have just heard of a formidable Mob being yesterday assembled at Denbigh, in opposition to raising of recruits for the Navy, under the late Act. The Object being changed makes it more alarming, and I wish there may not be Instigators who have other purposes than those of reducing the price of corn.

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No.	Name of man enrolled	Age	Calling	Place of birth or settlement	Capacity, whether seaman or landman	Bounty	Advance at time of enrolment	Date
1	John Tyrer	38	Seaman	Beaumaris	Able Seaman	£31. 5. 0	£8.15. 0	25 April 1795
2	Robert Roberts	30	Ship's Carpenter & Seafaring man	Denio, Caerns.	Ordinary Seaman	£21. 0. 0	£7. 0. 0	27 April 1795
3	John Owen	44	Seaman	Amlwch	Able Seaman	£31. 5. 0	£8.15. 0	28 April 1795
4	Thomas Kitto	22	Seaman	Redruth, Cornwall	Able Seaman	£31. 5. 0	£8.15. 0	28 April 1795
5	John Owen	33	Shoemaker	Ceidio, Anglesey	Landman	£23.10. 0	£7. 0. 0	28 April 1795
6	William Jones	24	Seaman	Tregwalchmai, Anglesey	Seaman	£31. 5. 0	£8.15. 0	28 April 1795
7	Robert Dooding	27	Miner	Penrhyn du, Co. Carnarvon	Landman	£17.10. 0	£5. 5. 0	28 April 1795
8	William Williams	23	Labourer	Llanfaes, Anglesey	Landman	£17.10. 0	£5. 5. 0	28 April 1795
9	John Parry	17	Labourer	Llandyfrydog, Anglesey	Landman	£17.10. 0	£5. 5. 0	28 April 1795
10	William Pritchard	19	Labourer	Llanwenllwyfo, Anglesey	Landman	£17.10. 0	£5. 5. 0	28 April 1795
11	Richard Roberts	19	Miner	Llandyfrydog, Anglesey	Landman	£17.10. 0	£5. 5. 0	28 April 1795
12	David Williams	19	Labourer	Llangefni	Landman	£17.10. 0	£5. 5. 0	28 April 1795
13	Rowland Jones	18	Labourer	Heneglwys	Landman	£17.10. 0	£5. 5. 0	28 April 1795
14	William Roberts	19	Labourer	Llangefni	Landman	£17.10. 0	£5. 5. 0	28 April 1795
15	Thomas Roberts	21	Labourer	Nevin, Caerns.	Landman	£17.10. 0	£5. 5. 0	28 April 1795
16	Jeffrey Boyd	24	Gardener	Waterford, Ireland	Landman	£17.10. 0	£5. 5. 0	1 May 1795
17	Henry Parry	25	Seafaring man	Caernarvon	Ordinary Seaman	£21. 0. 0	£7. 0. 0	4 May 1795
18	John Williams	19	Seafaring man	Llanbeblig, Caerns.	Ordinary Seaman	£21. 0. 0	£7. 0. 0	4 May 1795
19	John Williams	37	Able Seaman	Holyhead	Seaman	£31. 5. 0	£8.15. 0	5 May 1795
20	William Parry	25	Landman	Bangor	Landman	£15.15. 0	£5. 5. 0	7 May 1795
21	William Lewis	21	Labourer	Llangaffo	Landman	£15.15. 0	£5. 5. 0	9 May 1795
22	Jno. Williams	38	Tailor and Seafaring man	Ceirchiog, Anglesey	Ordinary Seaman	£23.10. 0	£7. 0. 0	11 May 1795
23	Robert Hughes	41	Labourer	Denio, Caerns.	Landman	£15.15. 0	£5. 5. 0	11 May 1795
24	Owen Roberts	22	Labourer	Llanllechid	Landman	£15.15. 0	£5. 5. 0	11 May 1795
25	Humphrey Jones	24	Labourer	Llantrisant, Anglesey	Landman	£15.15. 0	£5. 5. 0	14 May 1795
26	Maurice Jones	18	Labourer	Llangwyfan, Llangweinwen, Anglesey	Landman	£15.15. 0	£5. 5. 0	14 May 1795
27	Robert Roberts	38	Labourer	Llandrillo, Denbs.	Landman	£15.15. 0	£5. 5. 0	16 May 1795
28	Evan Jeffreys	24	Seaman	Clynn, Merioneth	Able Seaman	£26. 5. 0	£8.15. 0	15 May 1795
29	Richard Hughes	19	Ordinary Seaman	Liverpool	Ordinary Seaman	£21. 0. 0	£7. 0. 0	28 May 1795
30	Thomas Morris	29	Landman	Llangian, Caerns.	Landman	£15.15. 0	£5. 5. 0	28 May 1795
31	John Owen	18	Landman	Llanddeusant	Landman	£15.15. 0	£5. 5. 0	28 May 1795
32	John Williams	18	Landman	Amlwch	Landman	£15.15. 0	£5. 5. 0	28 May 1795
33	John Humphreys	42	Seaman	Llanaber, Barmouth	Able Seaman	£26. 5. 0	£8.15. 0	28 May 1795
34	William Lister	32	Shoemaker	Blackburn	Landman	£15.15. 0	£5. 5. 0	3 June 1795
35	Hugh Jones	20	Labourer	Ynys, Caernarvon	Landman	£15.15. 0	£5. 5. 0	5 June 1795
36	Robert Francis	36	Miller	Llannor, Caernarvon	Landman	£15.15. 0	£5. 5. 0	5 June 1795
37	Evan Evans	19	Seafaring man	Llanbeblig, Caernarvon	Landman	£15.15. 0	£5. 5. 0	6 June 1795
38	John Thomas	19	Labourer	Llanddeiniolen, Caernarvon	Landman	£15.15. 0	£5. 5. 0	8 June 1795
39	John Prichard	21	Labourer	Llanddeiniolen	Landman	£15.15. 0	£5. 5. 0	8 June 1795
40	William Griffiths	19	Seaman	Denio, Caerns.	Ordinary Seaman	£21. 0. 0	£7. 0. 0	10 June 1795
41	William Jones	23	Seaman	Llanbeblig, Caernarvon	Ordinary Seaman	£21. 0. 0	£7. 0. 0	11 June 1795
42	Robert Jones	29	Labourer	Amlwch	Landman	£15.15. 0	£5. 5. 0	13 June 1795

1 U. C. N. W. Porth yr Aur MSS (quoted in Aled Eames, Ships and Seamen of Anglesey)

B. *Seren Tan Gwmmwl*, gan John Jones Glan-y-Gors. Dated
10 October, 1795 (pp. 43-4).

... gwell ydyw dioddef a chwyno am ryddid, na chodi yn fyddin yn
erbyn y llywodraeth, er bod yn gyfreithlon i ryw nifer o bobl ddanfôn eu
cwyn i'r senedd, neu fyned at swyddogion y brenin, a chwyno eu hunain
yn erbyn rhyw beth a fo'n eu blino; ac er i ryw nifer o bobl gychwyn i
ryw dref ar fedr rhoddi eu cwyn yn bwylllog, ac yn amyneddgar ger bron
swyddogion y brenin, ond cyn yr elont i ben eu taith, *mi ddaw rhyw bobl
anwybodus, a direolaeth i'w plith, ac a ddechreuant amharchu'r ustusiaid, ac
a ymddygant yn anweddaidd*, fel ag y bu'n ddiweddar yn rhai mannau yng
Nghymru; felly gwell yw dioddef cam nag amharchu swyddogion i geisio
uniondeb, pa rai nad oes yn eu gallu wneuthur ond ychydig heb gennad
y senedd.

5

The Poor are oppressed by the Rich and we are
determined to have another government and it is
not in the Power of the Gentlemen of the County
to prevent it ... If they do it shall be blood for
blood.

Speech of John Ellis of Machynlleth 1796.

6

William Morris of the Parish of Rhew saith that on the 10th of this Month he
overtook a Man of about 26 years of Age in middle size and strong made who
appeared to be in disguise in a Cartmans frock. He spoke the Welch language
after the Manner of the Flintshire People. This Deponent asked him which way
he was going towards Ffestiniog; that he was a native of that place. This Depon-
ent asked him whether he knew Mr. Sylvanus Evans he said he knew him well,
but afterwards he told this Deponent he was a native of Ffestiniog but had not
been there many years from which conversation this Deponent was led to suspect
him as Mr. Evans was very lately gone there to live. He afterwards asked
this Deponent what was the state of the Poor in this County. This Deponent
answered very bad. He then said in Welch 'Ni phery yr byd yma ddyrn yn hir'
which being interpreted means the present state of the world will not last long.
This Deponent replied he hoped it would not meaning that the hoped Market would
lower. He answered 'Efe ffydd ymma laddfa fawr yn fyan' which being inter-
preted means 'there will be here a great slaughter soon. This deponent asked
him what He meant. He said there were 400 people at Braich y Cafn armed
with Pikes which they fabricated. He described the iron part of the pike to be
about 20 inches long. The end about the thickness of a mans wrist fixed to a
pole of about 8 feet in length such as were used for boarding vessels at sea.
That they held an intercourse and connection with the slate Quarry men at
Braich y Cafn that they had taken an oath to be faithful to each other. That it
was their intention if attacked by the Military to divide in small bodies to
prevent cannon having an effect on them ...

8 Gwynedd Archives Service Poole Papers, 1801

CAN RHYDDID

Chwi feibion Rhyddid daeth yr amser,
Ac wele myrdd yn galw i ma's!
O glywch ruddfannau plant gorthrymder,
Yn gwawdd i silgo'r cleddyf glas!
A gaiff hyll dreifwyr, llawn drwg fwriad,
A'u byddin lŵg (hull arfog lu!)
Ladd a dinystrio wr bob tŷ.
Is gwaedu o Rhyddid, héd a chariad?

I'r maes! - I'r maes rai dewr!
Ein llawn ymroad fydd;
Ymlaen! - Ymlaen! awn oll yn un,
Am farw, neu fyw'n rhydd!

Clywch! Clywch y dymestl a'r taranau,
A'r rhyfel poeth yn gwasgu 'mlaen!
Ac wele'n meufydd a'n meddiannau,
A llawer dinas dŵg a'r dân!
A gaiff b--nh-n--dd, a'u cwm gwaedlyd,
Eu harfau a'u lluoedd ar bob llaw,
Wneud ing a thrallod yma a thraw,
A Ninnau'n goddef heb ymfynimud?
I'r maes! - I'r maes! &c. &c.

Gormodedd balchder a chybydd-dod,
O gylch yr hyll orthrymwyr fydd;
Ac o chwant i arian ormod,
Mesurant, gwerthant oleu'r dydd!!!
Fel Duwiau gwnant i'w caethion grymmu,
I'w parchu, a'u haddoli hwy:
Ond dyn yw dyn, a phwy fydd fwy?
A gant hwy'n hwyach ein gorthrymmu?
I'r maes! - I'r maes! &c. &c.

O crynwch, crynwch, euog dreiswyr;
Ac mwyach byth na lawen hewch;
A chwitheu hefyd gas fradychwyr
O ffrwyth eich llafur y bwyttewch:
Ac er i'ch hên fyddinoedd dawnus,
Guro ein hifaingc wyr i dre;
O'r llwch daw eraill yn eu lle,
I yrru'n oll eich lluoedd dawnus.
I'r maes! - I'r maes! &c. &c.

A ninnau rodiwn yr un llwybrau,
A phan na b'o'n cyfeillion mwy,
Ymaflwn yn ei hên gleddyfau
I'w dial, neu i'w dilyn hwy
Wrth wel'd arwyddion eu gwroliaeth
A'u gwaed yn llifo ar hyd y llawr,
'E gwyd o'n mewn eiddigedd mawr
Am gyd-gyfrannu o'u marwolaeth.
I'r maes! I'r maes! &c. &c.

7

Plan of a Welsh Colony

1. To petition Congress for their interfering assistance in purchasing, on peaceful and equitable terms, of the Indians, a portion of land near the Mississippi between the Ohio and the Illinois.
2. As soon as 100 Welsh emigrants exclusive of Women and Children are obtained, to engage a vessel to carry them over.
3. As there are none rich, it is requisite that each person or family should be able to pay the proper quota towards defraying the expence of passage and land travelling.
4. Those who are able to purchase land, to give freely for ever as many acres as necessary for raising provisions for their families or otherwise to require no other payment than X months' labour for every acre to the donor.
5. That plans of Government and religious polity on the purest principles of Justice, Peace and Liberty shall be assented to by solemn affirmation and manual signature by every emigrant before he can be admitted of the party.
6. That such mechanics as appear to be remarkably skilful and of good character shall with consent of the majority be taken over at the expence of the Association provided such mechanics shall engage to follow their profession for seven years.
7. The mechanics deemed necessary and to be taken over at the common expence are Masons, Carpenters, Smiths, Miners, Weavers, Fullers, Potters, Braziers etc., schoolmasters.
8. Every one that can pay £5 towards the Land-Purchase money, exclusive of passage and travelling expences, to be admitted of the company of Colonists, all others to be admitted of another company of Mechanics, who are to be endowed with proper privileges during the time which they shall follow their several occupations.
9. That none be admitted of the Company who cannot speak Welsh or have at least a wife that can.
10. That the legal language of the Colony shall be Welsh and all pleadings in Law, all Religious worship etc. shall be in it, the English also to be taught as a learned language and source of knowledge.
11. To purchase a common Library, 2 copies of Chambers' Cyclopedia, 1 of the Scotch Cyclopedia, Pryde's Mineralogy, Watson's Chemistry, 5 copies Owen's Dictionary for a select society.

required from Congress

1. some pieces of cannon
2. a garrison to be paid by the Colonists.

12 Iolo Morganwg, 1792

9 Iolo Morganwg

Breeches, petticoats, shirts, shifts, blankets, sheets (for some received the news in bed) have been most woefully defiled in South Wales lately on hearing that a thimblefull of Frenchmen landed on our coast. I hope that you will have the goodness to compassionate our unfortunate washwomen. Our *Dragooners* sent us some companies of Dragoons after the old women of Pembrokeshire had secured the *damned Republicans* as it seems we are requested to call them. Are there no lamp-irons in Downing Street? I fear that the hemp-erop of the last season failed. We must allow that the French are beforehand with us in the most useful arts and sciences, witness their invention and use of the *guillotine*.

10

All the whores and thieves of London are assembled about the fellow called *Reeves* and his *fiddlers* and *faddlers* in a mighty band, *bawling* and *squawling* like the Songs of Caterwauling, *God-save-the-king* — *Church and King for ever!* They press every one that passes by into this infernal service, crying to him — *Blast your eyes! Cry Church and King! Church and King, damn your soul!* I jabber'd Welsh, squeaked out *Church SANS King*, in as broken a manner as I could, and passed for a *Dutchman*.

11 Iolo Morganwg

Canlyniad y rhyfeloedd hir Napoleonig oedd dirwasgiad diwydiannol a gwledig. Achoswyd gostyngiad yn y farchnad nwyddau yn rhannol oherwydd i archeb y fyddin am frethyn, bwyd ac arfau beidio. Cyfunwyd hyn â phrisiau bwyd uchel, tywydd gwael a chynaeafau sâl. Cododd pris bara yn 1817 o 9c i 18c am dorth chwarter dros gyfnod o ychydig fisoedd. Fel canlyniad ceid pwysau aruthrol ar system ddeddf y tlodion na allai ymdopi â'r sefyllfa mewn rhai ardaloedd, ac fe fu trallod eithafol. Un o'r ardaloedd gwaethaf oedd Sir Aberteifi (1). Bu cryn anhrefn yno. Mewn rhai achosion, y perchnogion tir a gymerodd gyfrifoldeb am leddfu'r dioddefaint. Mewnforia llawer o'r tîrfeddianwyr rawn i'w werthu am bris isel ar adegau prinder. Yn Sir Fôn trefnodd Ardalydd Môn gyfarfod sirol a rhoi ger ei fron gynllun manwl er adfywio economi'r sir (2).

The end of the long Napoleonic wars resulted in an industrial and rural depression with a lack of demand for goods, caused in part by the termination of the army's orders for cloth, food and weaponry. This was coupled with high food prices, bad weather and poor harvests. The price of bread in 1817 rose from 9d. to 18d. the quarter loaf in the space of a few months. This resulted in massive demands on the poor law system which in some areas was unable to cope, and there was acute distress. Cardigan was one of the areas worst affected (1), and there was considerable disorder there. In some cases it was the landowners who took the initiative in relieving the distress. Many landowners imported grain to be sold at a subsidised price in times of shortage. In the county of Anglesey the Marquis of Anglesey even organised a county meeting and put forward a detailed plan for the revival of the county's economy (2).

sea shore—where she remained taken care of by a poor man and woman for two days—when she got up, carried her child back, begging on the way—I could mention a man and his child, in the next farm to me, who locked himself and his child in determined to submit quickly to his fate, when he was found—but who in the middle Class of life would believe me, or what is the use to mention individual instances when the whole furnish examples of the same kind: Solitary distresses might be relieved but what can relieve the whole—what can remove the mighty mass of misery and mendacity that surrounds us here? For my own part I have kept my post as long as it was tenable—I have witnessed scenes of distress and wailing and lamentation of ungovernable ebullitions of rage prompted by the severest suffering—of such torpid apathy proceeding from despair—of such callous indifference rising from the constant recurrence of the same scene—that my memory will bear the impression wherever I go and as long as I live.

I think of throwing some of these Hill Parishes on the lower ones which are comparatively speaking so well off this year—but I am afraid it will be difficult if not impossible. I looked into the Act to authorize the Issue of Exchequer Bills with the greatest anxiety but cannot trace a glimpse of hope in it—who is mad enough to go security for parishes already insolvent, and become debtor to the Crown? what works or public undertakings are likely to produce in this neighbourhood the interest due on the loan and as much again for reimbursing part of the Monies so advanced? None but such a grand undertaking as a Pier at New Quay or such a useful one as a road to Breconshire—but in both these cases I fear that personal securities will be demanded, and who will give them? Still when I explained to men in my Parish the scheme—they said 'let us have the money on the security of the Parish rates at all events—we will work on the roads all of us and get at all events for the present—better times may come, or if not—who knows where we shall be three years hence.' If the thing is practical, I will try it—nothing can be worse than it is now. it will be ruin then, it is so now, and three years of life may be gained for many—Heaven I hope will reward you and all those who have felt and acted for the poor at this horrible Period.

Letter of 1817 re the distress, Dyfed Record Office

1

County of Anglesey Meeting

I have seen in some late Chester Papers a Requisition to the High Sheriff of the County of Anglesey, signed by many respectable Gentlemen, 'to call a Meeting to consider the Propriety of making application to Parliament on the Subject of the present distressed State of Agriculture'.

As I might fail to obtain much attention by a personal delivery of my Sentiments, I take this method of offering a few Remarks on the Question proposed to be discussed, and on other topics to which its discussion may be expected to lead – There is a prevailing Spirit excited in the Nation tending to impress a belief that all our distresses originate with Government. – The Landlord who cannot collect his Rents, and the Tenant who cannot pay them – The Manufacturer whose Looms are Motionless, and the Mechanic who is thrown out of Work – The Merchant whose Vessels are laid up in Harbours, or Navigating the Ocean without a freight, and the Mariners who can find no employment neither on Land nor Sea – In short all those who are Unfortunate and all those who are discontented now join in one common cry for Legislative Relief.

It is very much to be lamented that to numbers associated under the accustomed and regular forms of a Constitutional Proceeding, and for Constitutional purposes only, are to be added all those who seize every occasion of public calamity, no matter whence it may arise, to excite disturbance and insult

In answer to yours of the third of June, which I recd the day before yesterday, I am grieved to be compelled to state, that things have come to such a Pass in the District of Country you allude to, from Ysptyty Cynfyn to Tregaron that the imagination cannot conceive the prevalent distress—*none but those who witness it can conceive its extent and its intensity.*

All the farmers that could get money purchased their seed corn—those that could not sowed what they could get—and very much of that apparently bad—they have since been all purchasing Corn for food—and selling all they can for that Purpose—Their credit went with the times gone by—not a bushell is to be obtained without ready money—and whence is that to come? Their stock is unsaleable—I was at Lampeter fair and there was no Inquiry made as to the prices of cattle or sheep—Good three-year old Oxen were sold at Llandovery Fair at £10 and £12 a pair—Yearlings (the few that were sold) averaged about 4s. 6d. per head—and two year olds for 6s.—*No demand for pigs.*

Now the whole stock of corn is exhausted and the Potatoes upon which the poor existed entirely consumed—and the whole Population for the last month have been supplied with bread Corn from Carmarthen, Cardigan and Aberystwyth—when the barley comes up here it averages 7s. 6d. and 8s. a winchester, which is not half as high as in 1800—and the Importations seem now to be pretty steady—but what signifies that to men who have nothing to give in lieu of it—of whom there are hundreds and thousands in the District? The farmer cannot employ the labourer because he has neither Corn, Money nor Credit to give as a recompence for work done—the Consequence is that the whole of the Population, Labouring I mean, is out of employment and have been so these six months, and of course are all demanding relief which the wretched farmers who are almost as much without resources, can by no means supply.—The overseers testify their total inability to keep them alive—and call God to witness that it is so—If they distress as they constantly do, they can get no money for what they sieze. The poor are attempting to prolong life by swallowing barley meal and water—boiling nettles etc.—and scores in the agonies of famine have declared to me this last week that they have not made a meal for two days together—nor could they possibly have dragged life on so long had it not been for the universal Practice of this Country to give meal at their doors where they have any—hundreds have therefore been in the constant habit of begging from door to door near the sea shore and over the whole country—by which they gain a few handfuls of meal with which they hasten back to their famishing young ones—many likewise have had temporary relief from Lord R. Seymour, of Mr Powell, yourself etc. and seed potatoes were given last week by the same means to a large tract of country—but these Subscriptions though infinitely handsome and generous in the Donors are but a drop in the Ocean when compared with the immense extent of the misery.

I declare to God from what I see and hear, that I fear half the labouring poor will perish as things are, before next harvest in this neighbourhood—nor did I ever conceive before that human nature could bear up amidst such Privations as these poor have endured and are suffering. Nor does the prospect for the ensuing year appear less gloomy—The weather has been so cold—so dry—and the frosts and the hoar frosts (which last have continued till now) have been so prevalent that the Country looks nearly as bare of grass as in the month of March—while the oats and Barley in many places have hardly showed themselves—in many cases undoubtedly from the badness of the seed, while many farms are unoccupied and unsowing—Early Potato-planting will not do in these cold regions. I planted some in a warm dry situation, and covered them, in the month of February—they have hardly made their appearance yet—and I believe wht I sowed in April and May will produce their crop as early. Potatoes cannot bear the frost—and their haulm or shows are constantly cut off by it as they appear. This want of grass and verdure keeps the stock in a deplorable condition, and hinders the farmer from making much butter, upon which they so much depend, thus the Cows are yet kept generally in the hayfields, which will probably be in consequence very scanty and backward. It seems likely that the poor must have all that remains to the farmer, after his own consumption, this year—I think Government taxes can by no means be paid—I am certain that no rents can be obtained—

Such is the deplorable state of the vicinity truly described, without the least exaggeration—I could have mentioned a woman I met three days ago, of this Parish, who had been siezed with the pains of labour as she was begging near the

Authority even at the Foot of the Throne - Example, altho that of just & honorable men, is therefore the more contagious & pernicious, when it has any feature of resemblance or fellowship with persons whose proceedings are of the above description -

If the same ostensible circumstances, and the same period of time be chosen for an address from the County of Anglesey, it may receive the same stamp & Character as Addresses proceeding from Palace Yard, Spa Fields or from the consistent Common Council of the City of London - I shoude therefore be anxious

to draw the Attention of my Countrymen to a means of relieving public distress which may not remove them from their own Natural and dignified Station in the Community - In this Island, where every one knows his neighbour, and can judge, the one of the Power and the other of the Wants of the Individual, can there be any need to resort to a County Hall and still less to the High Court of Parliament for a knowledge of the reciprocal duties that bind them to each other? For I do not conceive that our Agricultural distresses, or distresses arising from any other causes are removable by any Act of general Legislation. 'How small of all that Human hearts endure That part which Loves or Kings can cause or cure'.

There remains to enquire by what other means Agricultural depression, and the very prevailing wretchedness of the Labouring Classes, and the consequently harassed feelings of every other Class can be relieved - The Landlord who has lived up to very stretch of his Income, and the Farmer who has expended his Capital, are neither of them in a Situation to lay out money in Improvement of the Soil, and it must, so far as they are concerned, remain in a state comparatively unproductive; but surely there are Landlords and Tenants to be found who have made some provision for an adverse Season; and if they were to lend an helping hand to their less provident Neighbours it might insure to all an adequate return in the production of another year -

It has been said that it is in the Contemplation of Government to recommend Advances by the Bank to distressed Agriculturists whose Stability & Security are nevertheless unexceptionable - But whether this should be case or not I am firmly persuaded that every practicable aid will be afforded by Administration to alleviate the Sufferings of the People, if their efforts are not Paralysed by the intemperance of local Meetings.

We all know from the Prince on the Throne to the Beggar in our Public Streets, we are identified by our Laws in the equal protection they afford and that in Prosperity and distress, the blessing & the evil are the way or another equally participative. The most material point which engages our anxiety at present is Employment for the Labouring Poor. - There is still to be found among us a numerous class, in the higher and middle ranks of life, who prefer to the popular exposition of public grievances, a quiet & sane course of remedy which every individual has within his own power - I dont here allude to State grievances because I believe they have nothing to do with the Scarcity of Corn or the low price of Cattle.

The aid I mean is that which can be afforded with so much the more effect as it will proceed from Occular demonstration of distress, and consequently from feelings of Sympathy, communicating to the Suffering object consolation the most soothing & Satisfactory, and in this way 'Every man may gather bliss to see his fellow blessed'. In this Island, although many facilities are afforded for giving employment to the Poor, it is surprising that there should be found no one Establishment for promoting general Industry amongst them; and it is to be feared that is very little excitement to it by individual example - Indigence is at once consigned to the Parish, and the Pittance drawn from the Poor Rates only increases the Public Burthen, and Poverty becomes permanent & irremovable.

A well ordered Work House which at the same time that it might afford employment suited to the capacity age and bodily strength of the Pauper, who could not obtain Work elsewhere, and a safe and comfortable assylum for Old Age, would soon reduce Poor Rates and clear the numerous Parishes of the Island of a race of unfortunate Beings whose appearances & dwellings impress the most melancholy reflections; diminishing in habitation where want does not enter, all the enjoyments of well earned prosperity and ease - An Establishment of this description might combine other important objects - Education with Religious duties and Industrious habits - Medical Assistance and general Parochial Reliefs - There is wealth enough in the Island to form such an Establishment; and it cannot be doubted that a suitable appeal to the Benevolence which distinguishes its inhabitants would soon produce a fund to erect an edifice on a properly extended Scale - We see large sums of money subscribed for Parochial Schools in several districts. Why should not these be consolidated into one

Central Establishment in Connection with the House of Industry? - On the system of Mr. Bell Instruction is communicated to one hundred with the same facility as to twenty; and there might always be a limited number fed & lodged as well as Educated within the house. The latter to be the Children of Parents whose habitations might be too distant to admit their daily attendance & return home, or whose degree of poverty might render them fit objects for this extended degree of relief - But it ought to be the immediate concern of every Individual, as far as his power and influence may extend, to assist in giving employment to the Poor. Everyone possessing more than will supply the Wants of his own family should employ the superfluity in some convenient or productive Work - Those who have a Garden may employ an additional Labourer in Improving it - Those who have besides Grounds and Plantations may employ two - Those who have Parks and Woods may employ ten; for it is always to be supposed that in proportion to his Possessions, every man if he have not otherwise the requisite superfluity of Wealth, may contract some less necessary expense, in furtherance of a more important object - There are few Women in Wales who cannot knit or spin; & these are occupations in which they may engage themselves at intervals of family duties - The Mother may earn her three or four Shillings a week & her daughters according to their ages will soon be taught the value of Industrious habits - I have seen much good done in a Neighbourhood by the distribution of a few pounds of flax - My own most useful shirt of Linen has been thus supplied. I have also stockings made at the cheapest rate and of the most durable kind; and thus without loss or inconvenience to myself I have the Satisfaction to know that I have done some good - The Turnpike and Parochial Roads in this Island stand much in need of repair & now is the time for getting it done with effect at the cheapest rate - Building Stone, Marble Quarries, Lime Stone and Minerals of various kinds abound in this Island - Its Coasts swarm with fish - Much land remains uncultivated - Rivers & rapid streams flow in all directions - The Soil & Climate are favourable to Plantation and in a Picturesque point of view the County offers so many situations for Embellishment - The Isle of Wight which is considered as one of the most beautiful of Insular districts has not the Natural Beauties of the Island of Anglesey; but Art has made it much more beautiful - In short nothing seems to be wanting to render Anglesey the abode of Industry & Plenty, Peace and Contentment, but Energy and Common feeling to apply those enviable resources to this still more enviable end - I

should not omit to Notice one other great defect in our Insular Policy - I mean the want of decent Cottages with a small allotment of Garden & Grass Land - Nothing has contributed more than this in other Countries, to the comfort & happiness of the Labouring Classes; and here a sacrifice of Property is required to carry a similar plan extensively into effect. - Grant to every Industrious Labourer, who may wish it a Lease of a couple of Acres of Waste Land; & let him build his Cottage upon it at his own Expence - or if he cannot do this, lend him a helping hand; & fix his rent accordingly. But the mere property of a Lease attaches importance to its possessor and friends are soon to be found who will afford their aid on that security - But it is not to the mere wants of a Population that a real Patriot would confine his view - Its Comforts also would be the reward of his expanded and generous heart - With him Morality & Filth are incompatible - Decency & Cleanliness are handmaids - Religion & Piety are associated with these habits - Let these habits then be recommended both by precept & Example.

I have said enough to show that the Evils to be complained of are rather within the scope of Private rather than of Legislative Remedy; and I sincerely hope that whatever Resolution may be proposed at the Meeting it will not pass unless it be a Resolution expressive of confidence in the Wisdom and Energy of Government to provide every practicable means of alleviating Agricultural & other distress, in aid of more effective exertions among ourselves.

J. Sanderson

The Plas Newydd estate's blueprint for revitalising the economy of Anglesey, 1826.

Cau'r tiroedd comin

Enclosures

Cyfnod o amgau o dan ddeddf Senedd ydoedd y ddeunawfed ganrif a rhan gyntaf y bedwaredd ganrif ar bymtheg. Bu adennill tir diffaith a chorsydd yn fwy cyffredin nag ad-drefnu'r daliadau yn y cytiroedd yng Nghymru (yn wir, gwnaed hyn yn aml drwy gytundeb y perchnogion tir yn hytrach na chau o dan ddeddf Senedd). Rhoddodd y rhyfeloedd Napoleonig symbyliad i amgau tiroedd oherwydd y prisiau yd uchel a ddeuai yn eu sgîl, y prinder bwyd, a'r angen i drin tiroedd ymylol yr oedd cymaint ohonynt yng Nghymru. (Erbyn hyn daethai Prydain yn wir fewnforiwr o rawn). Bu rhai cynlluniau sylweddol i adennill tir, megis adeiladu cobiau yn Nhraeth Mawr a Bae Malltraeth yng ngogledd-orllewin Cymru ac i adennill miloedd o erwau o'r môr.

Gallai amgau weithiau beri gwrthwynebiad (1) y bobl y bygythid eu hawliau i dywyrchfeydd neu'u hawliau pori. Er enghraifft bu terfysg yn Llanddeiniolen, Sir Gaernarfon (2) yn 1809 pan amgaewyd y tiroedd comin (3).

Fel y peidiodd yr arfer o fudo o hendre i hafod, troes yr hafod yn fferm ynddi'i hun a bu amgau cyson o'r ffridd neu lethrau is y mynydd. Dull arall o adennill ardaloedd ymylol ar yr adeg hon oedd swatio; sef adeiladu bwthyn o ychydig erwau o ucheldir neu dir diffaith (4). Yr oedd perchnogion y manorydd yn barod yn aml i drwyddedu swatio ar yr amod y byddai rhyw dâl iddynt hwythau. Yr oedd gan y traddodiad poblogaidd, fodd bynnag, amgyffrediad gwahanol o'r gyfraith. Amgyffrediad a ddywedai fod hawl gyfreithiol gan berchennog a adeiladasai dŷ, a gwaliau pridd neu garreg ganddo, a mwg yn ymddangos trwy'r simdde o fewn pedair awr ar hugain. Aeth amaethu'n uwch fyth i fyny bryniau Cymru yn ystod rhyfeloedd y Chwyldro a'r rhyfeloedd Napoleonig nag yr aeth hyd yn oed yn ystod y Rhyfel Byd Cyntaf a'r Ail Ryfel Byd. Fe'i delid ar y lefel uchel honno drwy ran fwyaf y bedwaredd ganrif ar bymtheg er gwaethaf dirwasgiad amaethyddol a diweithdra cuddiedig.

The eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries was the era of Parliamentary enclosure. The reclamation of waste and marsh was more common in Wales than the rationalisation of holdings in the common fields (this indeed was often effected by mutual consent or by exchanges between landowners rather than by Act of Parliament). The French and Napoleonic wars gave an impetus to enclosure because of the ensuing high prices for corn, food shortages and the need to cultivate marginal lands which Wales possessed in great quantity (Britain by this time had become a net importer of grain). There were some impressive reclamation projects such as the construction of embankments at Traeth Mawr and Malltraeth Bay in north west Wales to reclaim thousands of acres from the sea.

Enclosure could sometimes provoke popular protest (1) by the cottagers whose rights to grazing or turbary were threatened. There was rioting in Llanddeiniolen, Caernarfonshire (2) for instance in 1809 when enclosure of the commons took place (3).

As the practice of transhumance died out and the hafod became a farm in its own right there were frequently enclosures of the ffridd or lower mountain slopes. Another form of reclamation of marginal areas common at this time was squatting — the construction of a cottage and piecemeal enclosure of a few areas of upland or waste (4). The lords of the manor were often prepared to license squatting provided some payment to them was made. Popular tradition had a different concept of the law, however. There was a firm belief that if a turf walled or stone walled house was built within twenty four hours and a fire lit in the chimney, its owner had a legitimate claim to the site. Cultivation marched higher up the Welsh hillsides in the Revolutionary and Napoleonic wars than it did even during the First or Second World Wars, and population pressure and land hunger kept them up there for much of the nineteenth century in spite of agricultural depression and concealed unemployment.

In the beginning of the Month of September 1809 a person built the Walls of an intended Cottage upon a Common within the Manor of D(inorwig) in the parish of L(landdeiniolen) without the consent of the Lord of the Manor or his Agent — The Solicitor of the Lord of the Manor threw down a part of such Walls and the Masons then promised not to rebuild them — In a Day and Night the walls were risen and green Sods thrown over as a Roof — The Solicitor of the Lord of the Manor, his Agent, several Tenants and a Magistrate and Constables attended in order to take down the Walls of the Cottage, the person who had built it and several others being aware of an Intention to take down the Walls got into it, put a door upon it, no windows, had fire lighted, heated Water in order to throw over the persons who attended to take down the Walls: when the Magistrate and the other persons before mentd. attended at the Cottage there appeared a great Number of Men and Women who in a very violent manner declared that no person should take down the Incroachment — they were addressed by the Solicr. for the Lord of the Manor in a peaceable manner and informed that they were doing wrong and that they had no right to Incroach upon the common and that the Walls of the House would be taken down, they declared that they should not and would lose their lives in Opposition, they were informed that a Proclamation under the Riot Act wd. be made and that if they did not disperse within one Houre they would commit a capital Offence and that they would be liable to be hanged, they persisted in their Opposition and the Solicitor of the Lord of the Manor attempted to take down the walls when he was attacked by a great Number of Men and Women some of them throwing Stones, Mud, Hot Water and others assaulting him and the Constables who were sworn upon the spot before the Mob to Keep the Peace — Then the Proclamation by virtue of the Riot Act was made by the Magistrate and the Mob to the number of 50 or 60 were requested to disperse and to return in a peaceable manner to their respective Dwellings and the Solicitor of the Lord of the Manor attempted to take down the said Walls, he and some of the Constables were violently opposed, pelted with mud, Hot Water thrown over the Solicitor and otherwise assaulted, Men and Women considerably above Twelve in Number continued upon the Spot above an Hour after the Proclamation was made and absolutely refused to depart but continued in a tumultuous manner to oppose the removal of the Incroachment and committing violent assaults, though repeatedly requested to disperse.

(U.C.N.W., Porth yr Aur 13035)

2

Riotous opposition to new Inclosures has often happened and perhaps with some Colour of Excuse on the part of the Poorer People, but when under the Mask of such Grievance they are incited to murmur against all order and to be dissatisfied with their situation the mischief requires the severest Check.

1 Sir Robert Mostyn in a letter to Rev. H. Eylon 1793.

To the Hon. Lord Newborough.

I William Williams of Nant Melai bach in the parish of Llanfair Talhaearn County of Denbigh being now one of your lordships tenants do humbly beg that your Lordship will condescend to give me an hearing with respect to the following facts - the farm which I now occupy was enclosed from the Common by a man named Henry Williams, son to Mary Williams of Nantmelaiach, in or about the year 1809 and after some 6 or 7 years the said Henry Williams sold it to his mother Mary Williams for the sum of 22 pounds and went to America - The said Mary Williams being my grandmother left Nantmelaiach to me as a remuneration for my service with her (for about 18 years). I being then a young man in the prime of life went there to live and repaired the building, * and fences which had gone by then to a very dilapidated state almost come down. Having improved it by my labour etc. I also enclosed some more of the Common land adjoining, paid all fees and expenses for the said enclosures - in or about 1829. Mr. Elias came to me and had some men with him and broke down the fences, which compelled me to pay him the sum of 10/- yearly for enjoying the place in peace. About 1845 Mr. Jones of Corwen accompanied by Mr. Elias told me that the place had been bought by Mr. Elias as agent to Lord Newborough. The following year I had a notice to quit after which I consented to pay £3.10.0. a year being given to understand that the rent should remain so.

Now Mr. Elias told me that the rent for the future will be £8.0.0. yearly and I think it very unfair by taking into consideration that the place has cost nothing except the sum paid to govern to anyone.

I therefore trust beg and trust that Your Lordship will take my case into consideration, as I feel myself grieved having worked hard and spent a sum of money to bring the said place to its present worth and at the end to loose the benefit of my labour.

I humbly trust that your lordship will take the case and sympathise with me, by allowing me to have Nant Melaiach for the remainder of my days without any advance in rent.

And your humble servant will ever pray and beg to remain your lordships most Obedient servant

William Williams.

*[There was only one small kitchen and that almost without a roof when I went to Nantmelai bach. Afterwards from time to time I have erected a Chamber, Dairy, Cowhouse, Barn, Stable, Pigsties, and a cartshade which run to me a great deal of money].

4

Gwynedd Archives Service,
Glynllifon/Rhug Papers

Inclosing Lands in the Parish of Llandeniolen, in the County of Carnarvon.

WHEREAS there are within the Parish of Llandeniolen, in the County of Carnarvon, divers Commons and Waste Lands of the inheritance of the Crown, and of the Lord of the Manor of Dynorwicke, otherwise Dinorwicke, within the said Parish, and Owner of the Soil of the Commons and Waste Lands within the said Parish (subject to a certain Annual Rent payable to the KING's Most Excellent Majesty, His Heirs, and Successors for the same):

And whereas Thomas Ashteton Smith, Esquire, is Lord of the Manor of Dynorwicke, otherwise Dinorwicke, within the said Parish of Llandeniolen, and Owner of the Soil of the Commons and Waste Lands within the said Parish (subject to a certain Annual Rent payable to the KING's Most Excellent Majesty, His Heirs, and Successors for the same):

And whereas His said Majesty in Right of his Crown is entitled to all Mines Royal and Mines of Lead and Tin within the said Manor:

And whereas the said Thomas Ashteton Smith, Rice Thomas, Esquire, and several other Persons are Proprietors of Messuages, Tenements, or Lands within the said Parish, and claim Right of Common in, upon, and over the said Commons and Waste Lands, in proportion to their several Estates within the said Parish:

And whereas an Act was passed in the Forty-first Year of the said Majesty, intituled, "An Act for consolidating in one Act certain Provisions usually inserted in Acts of Inclosure, and for facilitating the Mode of proving the Facts usually required on the passing of such Acts:"

And whereas the said Commons and Waste Lands are in present State incapable of any considerable Improvement, would be advantageous to the several Persons interested therein if the same were divided, and specific Parts thereof allotted to respective Proprietors thereof and Persons interested therein according to their respective Rights and Interests and such Allotment inclosed; But such Division, Allotment, and Inclosure cannot be effected without the Aid and Authority of Parliament;

May it therefore please your MAJESTY,

That it may be Enacted; And be it Enacted by the KING's Most Excellent Majesty, by and with the Advice and Consent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, in this present Parliament assembled, and by the Authority of the same, all the said Commons and Waste Lands shall be divided, allotted, and inclosed by Walter Jones, of Corwen in the County of Merioneth, Gentleman, who is hereby appointed Commissioner for setting out, dividing and allotting the same, and for carrying this Act into execution; subject nevertheless to the Rules, Orders, and Directions mentioned and contained in the said recited Act, except in such Cases where the same are hereby varied or altered.

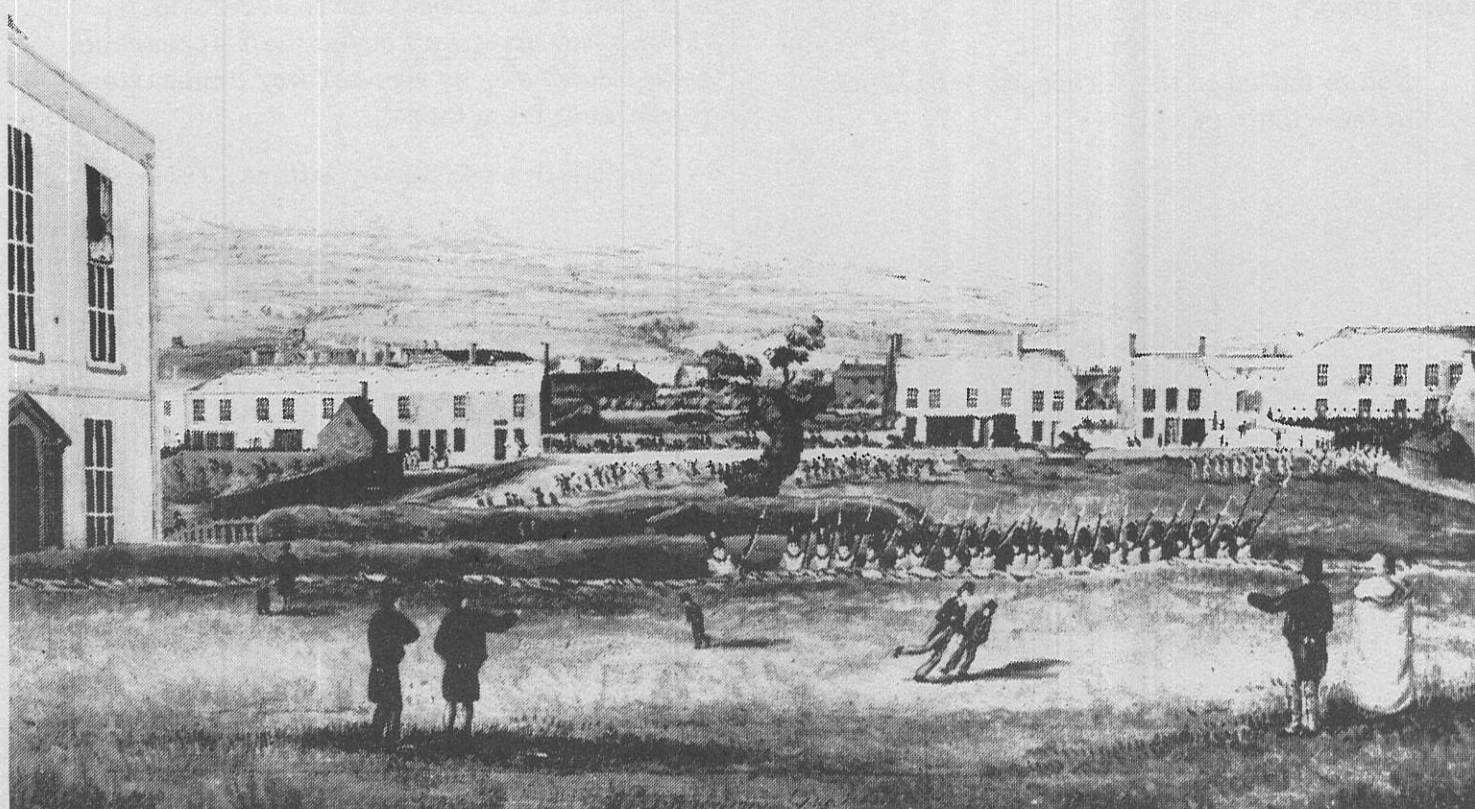
Achosodd adladd y rhyfeloedd, a'i doriadau deugain y cant mewn cyflogau, y gwrthryfel unigol mwyaf yn hanes maes glo y bedwaredd ganrif ar bymtheg. Bu terfysgoedd ym Merthyr a lleoedd eraill yn 1816 (1). Yn y terfysgoedd, cyd-fodolai ffurfiau traddodiadol o brotest megis yr ymosodiad ar y siop (2), y gwrthdystiad, a'r giwed fartsio (3,4) gyda'r undebau annatblygedig a chyda gweithredoedd ac iddynt ddibenion gwleidyddol (5,6). Ceid cysylltiadau hefyd â mudiadau chwyldroadol mewn mannau eraill o Brydain.

The post war depression with its forty per cent wage cuts provoked in 1816 the most massive single insurrection in the history of the nineteenth century coalfield. Rioting broke out at Merthyr and elsewhere in 1816 (1). In the disturbances traditional forms of protest like the attack on the shop (2), the demonstration and the marching gang (3,4) co-existed with embryonic unions and politically directed activities (5,6). There were connections too with revolutionary movements elsewhere in Britain.

52. **Penry Williams**
Arrival of the Troops
during the riots of
Merthyr 1816 c. 1820

Oil on canvas 38.1 x 53.4
Penry Williams, born 1802 attended the Royal Academy schools, but Williams left Britain in 1826 to join the colony of British painters in Rome and to pursue his career as a landscape painter. His depiction of the second Merthyr riot of 1816 is an unusual subject and one that involved miners and iron workers protesting at

the prospect of lower wages and unemployment. A series of skirmishes between the workmen and their employers led to the use of militiamen and cavalry from Cardiff, Newport and Swansea. Involving workers from neighbouring iron works and collieries, the disturbances spread to the South Wales Coalfield. But Penry Williams' early painting stands as a unique visual narrative of the event.



1

My dear sir,

The enemy in too great strength to oppose with any probability of success have possessed themselves of all our works and wholly stopped them. They are yet exulting in their victory and are about to proceed to Pendaran to Dowlais. My spies tell me they threaten raid your shop for they are hungry. I have been in the midst of them and I found as usual argument useless. I have just had a messenger from Mr. Hill. He says all his works are stopped the same as ours - I am very truly Mr. Dear Sir
Your sincere friend W. Crawshay.

2

Dowlais Iron Company Records,
Glamorgan Archive Service.

"On Friday morning last we received the first intimation of a popular commotion at Merthyr and its vicinity . . .

The workmen have since been gradually returning to their labour in the Merthyr and other furnaces in the neighbourhood; some of those, however, towards Abergavenny, continued on Wednesday in a refractory state, but order and regularity were expected to be restored yesterday, two troops of the 23d Light Dragoons having been dispatched from Bristol by the direction of Lord Sidmouth. . . .

The disposition to riot and disorder originated in a notice given by one of the works in the hills of a further reduction of wages. The iron industry has unfortunately been in a declining state for a long time, and it may be doubted whether, for the last two or three years, the iron-masters have not been working at a loss instead of a profit. Thus, circumstanced, the men's wages have been reduced considerably, and in some classes are so low as to cause great distress where the families are numerous. When the above-mentioned notice of a still further reduction was given on Wednesday se'night, a numerous body of the men assembled, and in the course of that and the two following days stopped the work at every furnace in and out of Merthyr, with one exception, we believe, only. They were ineffectually resisted at Dowlais, on Thursday evening, by some magistrates and gentlemen at the head of about 60 special constables, armed with pikes; the latter were disarmed and dispersed, and four of the former were much hurt by volleys of stones. The windows of Mr Guest's house were demolished, and the mob paraded the streets all night . . .

Some alarm was excited at Pontypool, but it soon subsided. Fears were also entertained for the safety of the depot at Brecon, where there are 40,000 stand of arms, but it is now effectually secured against any attack by a detachment of the 55th from Milford, and the Staff of the Carmarthenshire Militia."

The Cambrian

(Dydd Sadwrn, Hydref 26, 1816)

3

"For your own information and those who are assembled with you, I tell you we will make no promises nor treat with you at all in your present riotous state".

Sheriff Richard Hill's reply to a
deputation of colliers October 19th,
1816

4

"Take Notice

The Poor Workmen of Tredegar to prepare
Yourself with Musquets, Pistols, Pikes, Spears
and all kinds of weapons to join the Nattion and
put down like torrent all Kings, Regents,
Tyrants of all description and banish out of
the Country every Traitor to this Common
Cause and to Bewry famine and distress in the
same grave".

Notice put up in the Tredegar Iron Works
in the winter of 1816

5

"I am not naturally an Alarmist, nor inclined
unnecessarily to excite alarm in others. But
I have this day received from so many, & so
respectable quarters, intimations of the
progress of a considerable spirit of discon-
tent among the workmen of the neighbouring
iron-works, ... Merthyr Tidvill at the distance
of 20 miles, is the spot, at which we anti-
cipate the first explosion, but my informants
have given me strong reason to believe, that
emissaries from that quarter have spread
themselves all over the hills to the different
works & have endeavoured even to seduce the
labourers in agriculture in the lower parts of
the Country. I have this evening sent a
confidential friend to the nearest ironworks
at Blaenavon, to put the different agents on
their guard & to endeavour to ascertain,
whether any strangers make their appearance
there tomorrow, or whether any emissaries
may be sent from there".

6 Dowlais Iron Company letters, 1816.

Gyda mewnfudiad gweithwyr o ardaloedd gwledig Cymru i'r manau diwydiannol, mewnoforiwyd hefyd rai elfennau o'r diwylliant poblogaidd.

Yr oedd allanolion y 'Scotch Cattle', sef y cymdeithasau cyfrinachol, yn rhan o'r diwylliant gwledig trawsblanedig hwn. Y tu ôl i'r 'Scotch Cattle' gorweddaï traddodiadau'r ceffyl pren o ddefodau'r pentref. Darparodd y defodau hyn y pridd i dyfu mudiadau'r 'Scotch Cattle' a 'Rebecca'. Mudiad tanddaearol ydoedd y 'Cattle' a weithiai yn hollol gyfrinachol fel y gymdeithas 'Luddite'. Ymosodid ar droseddwyr yn erbyn moesoldeb y gymuned, ar dorwyr streic, ar siopwyr barus ac yn y blaen. Ymwelai'r 'Gyrr' â hwy (fel arfer o gwm arall) o dan arweiniad y 'Tarw Scotch' corniog (1). Gwisgai'r dialwyr grwyn anifeiliaid neu ddillad yn rhith menyw a llwyfanai ddefod ar ddrws troseddwr. Yr oedd bygythiadau (2), nodiadau rhybuddiol, seiniau trwmped yn y pellter, ymgynulliadau yn y nos, gorymdeithiau a thrais wedi'i drefnu: malu ffenestr yma a chosfa acw (3). Gwnaeth teyrngarwch i'r grŵp nonsens o drafodion y llys.

Digwyddodd terfysgoedd difrifol eraill ym Merthyr yn 1831 (4,5). Triniwyd yr arweinwyr, yn eu mysg Rhisiart Lewis - 'Dic Penderyn' - a Lewis Lewis 'yr heliwr' yn eithriadol o lym gan y gyfraith (6-8). Gwnaed cocyn hitio o'r ddau (9) er iddynt gael eu cofio ymhlith merthyron y maes glo yn ddiweddarach.

Parhaodd propaganda 'Scotch Cattle' yn ystod streiciau a helbulon pellach yn 1832 (10).

With the influx of Welsh workers from rural areas to the industrial districts some elements of popular culture were imported too. The trappings of the Scotch Cattle societies - the secret societies - were part of this rural culture in a new environment. Behind the Scotch Cattle lay the traditions of the 'ceffyl pren' (wooden horse of village rituals). These rural traditions provided the soil out of which both the Scotch Cattle and the Rebecca movement grew. The Cattle were an underground movement which worked in total Luddite secrecy. Offenders against the community morality were the objects of attack, and blacklegs, exploiting shopkeepers etc. would be visited by the Herd (usually from another valley) under its horned Bull the 'Tarw Scotch' (1). The avengers wore animal hides, turned coats or women's clothing as a disguise and staged a ritual at the offender's door. There were threats (2), warning notes, trumpet calls in the distance, night assemblies, parades - and organised violence sometimes the breaking of a window sash, sometimes a beating up (3). Group loyalty made court proceedings a mockery. Further serious rioting occurred at Merthyr in 1831 (4,5). The ring leaders including Richard Lewis (Dic Penderyn) and Lewis Lewis (the Huntsman) were treated with the full severity of the law (6-8). They were made scapegoats (9), though their names were later enshrined among the coalfield's martyrs.

Scotch Cattle propaganda continued during further strikes and disturbances of 1832 (10).

"Drwg gennym glywed fod y dyhirod creulawn nyn wedi ail ddechreu ar eu gweithredoedd anfad yn nghymdogaeth Pontypŵl, swydd Fynwy. Ymddengys fod yn anghenreidiol, trwy effaith y Ddeddf newydd i gyfathu pwysau a mesurau yn yr holl deyrnas, gwneyd huriau (wages) gweithwyr yn gyfartal â'r amgylchiadau newyddion, ac yn ganlynol i leihad gymmeryd lle, trwy ostwng yr hur mewn enw, ond nid mewn gwirionedd, ond gwrthodai llawer o'r gweithwyr gydsynio; a'r rhai oeddynt ewyllysgar i aros gyda'u gwaith, a rwystryw gan eu cydweithwyr terfysgld, y rhai a'u bygythient â dialedd os na fyddai iddynt sefyll allan fel hwythau. Yr ynadon cymmydogaethol a gymmeradwyasant fesurau yn ddioed i gadw yr heddwch, ac a wnaethant bob ymdrech i roddi diogelwch i'r rhai ufydd, trwy sefydlu corff cryf o heddwch-gidwaid; ond er eu holl ofal gwyliadwrus, ymgynnullai y terfysgwyr yn y nos, a gwneient lawer o niwed ac aflonyddwch. Ar nos Fercher, y 4ydd o Fawrth diwethaf, torasant i mewn i dŷ dyn o'r enw Appleton, yn Garndiffaith, ac i dŷ arall hefyd yn yr un gymmydogaeth, a dystrywiasant yr holl ddodrefn. Y mae y ddau a gafwyd yn euog o droseddau cyffelyb, yn Mynwy, wedi eu halltudio dros fywyd."

Seren Gomer, Mehefin, 1835.

1

"How many times we gave notice to you about going in to work before you settle all together to go on better terms than were before and better than what you ask at present?"

"Notice to you David Thomas John, and David Davis, and Andrew Cross, that the Bull and his friends are all alive, and the vale of Llamarch is wide, and woe shall be to you, since death you shall doubtless have all at once, you may depend upon this. It may be that the night you do not expect, we shall come again. We are not afraid were you to go all at once to work".

2

"SCOTCH CATTLE - John James (otherwise Shoni Coal Tar), aged 33, John Griffiths, aged 19, William Jenkins, aged 31, and Thomas Jarman, aged 35, were indicted for a burglary in the house of Thomas Rees, in the parish of Bedwellty, on the night of the 5th of January last. Thomas Rees, the prosecutor, stated that he lived at the Rock, in the parish of Bedwellty; that on the night of the 5th of January he went to bed about eleven o'clock - In about an hour and a half, he was alarmed by his servant girl, Sarah Jenkins; he got up and went towards the head of the stairs, where he saw two men ascending, the foremost of whom carried a blazing curtain upon the end of a pole . . . Directly after witness had retreated into the servant's room, the door was burst open by a man with a pole, and with which he commenced beating witness till he cried out, "O God! Let me have my life;" . . . After the men were gone away, witness went to the landing-place, and at length succeeded in extinguishing the fire, which had been fed with gowns, curtains, coats and other clothes; - he afterwards went downstairs, and discovered that the windows had been smashed in, the outer gate and the door burst open, three chairs, a bureau, a chest of drawers, earthenware and other things, broken to pieces, and in several places were marks as if the violence had been done with a sledge. He had had an iron chest, which stood upon the landing-place upstairs; this he found in the middle of the room down stairs, with the top demolished. It had contained on the night before 136 sovereigns, bills on different banks to the amount of about £65, and £24 in silver, all of which were taken away . . ."

The Cambrian,

(Dydd Sadwrn, Ebrill 11, 1835)

3

The way-faring traveller passes the scene of outrages often bordering on murder, in silence and fear; no sound escapes his pale lips, no gesture indicates the tragedy of which he is a witness; for all that he sees is a living proof, that from Dowlais to Abergavenny, TO HIM THERE IS NO LAW.

5 The Cambrian June 1831.

"On Friday the 10th inst. after a very laborious investigation before Evan Thomas, Esq. Chairman of the Quarter Sessions, J. B. Bruce, and Walter Coffin, Esqrs. and the Rev. George Thomas, Magistrates acting for the Hundred of Caerphilly, ten prisoners (many of them principal Ringleaders, all deeply implicated, in the late disgraceful Riots) were sent in coaches to the County Goal at Cardiff, escorted by parties of foot-soldiers and the 3rd Dragoon Guards. Among the ringleaders were Lewis Lewis (the Huntsman) David Jones alias Dai Solomon, Richard Lewis alias Dick Penderin, William Thomas Williams, flag-bearer, Phelps (a pensioner!) David Richards . . ."

"Merthyr June 15, 1831 - we are happy to say, that the greater part of the Ringleaders in the Merthyr Riots have, through the unabated exertions of the Civil Authorities been secured. Since our last accounts, David Hugh and David Richard, have been committed, and on the 15th David Thomas, known at Merthyr as Dai Llaw-harn (David with the Iron Hand) was apprehended at Swansea; he is charged with being the most conspicuous in the demolition of Mr. Coffin's property. John the Racer and Richard Evans, Hirwaun puddlers, have also been committed."

The Cambrian, (Mehefin 18, 1831)

"RIOTS AT MERTHYR - We regret to learn that a serious riot broke out at Merthyr Tydfil, yesterday. A letter we have just seen, says - 'After the riot Act had been read last night, the populace gutted two or three houses - broke all the windows at Mr. Coffin's house, which they entered, and burnt his furniture in the Street. The magistrates sent expresses to the Lord Lieutenant of the County, to the Commanding Officer of the troops stationed at Brecon, and to the Staff of the Glamorgan Militia at Cardiff.' The riotous proceedings we are informed have been confined to the attacks on Mr. Coffin's house and the houses of the Officers of the Court of Requests, from which it is conjectured that the unlawful tumults originated from the unpopular character of that Court."

The Cambrian, (Mehefin 4, 1831)

"Lewis Lewis and Richard Lewis, you have severally been convicted of offences for which your lives are forfeited to the laws of your country, and it now becomes my painful duty to pronounce that sentence . . .

It now only remains for me to pass upon you the awful sentence of the law, which is, that you, Lewis Lewis, and you, Richard Lewis, for the crimes which you have respectively been convicted of, be severally hung

by the neck until you are dead, and God Almighty have mercy upon your souls, through Jesus Christ our Lord."

"David Hughes, Thomas Vaughan, and David Thomas - I cannot hold out to you any hope beyond that of your lives being saved, but you must expect to be removed to another country for the remainder of your lives. Let sentence of death be recorded." "John Phelps - I can hold out no other hope but that your life may be spared; you must expect to be removed to another country, not during the whole of your life, but for fourteen years." "John Morgan . . . and what I propose, therefore, to recommend to his Majesty is, that your life should be spared, upon the condition of being imprisoned and kept to hard labour for the space of twelve calendar months."

The Cambrian, (Gorffennaf 13, 1831)

7

"On Saturday last the awful sentence of the law was carried into effect, at Cardiff, on Richard Lewis alias Dick Penderrin . . .

On arriving in the court yard, the executioner put a cap on Richard Lewis's head and pinioned his arms, as usual; the prisoner being all the while engaged in fervent ejaculations, accompanied by uniform protestations of his innocence. He ascended the platform with a firm step . . . declaring, as he walked up the ladder, "I am going to suffer unjustly. God, who knows all things, knows it is so."

Lewis Lewis: "Richard is innocent! for I know him not to have been there. I was by the soldier. If I had been sharing the same fate, I would have disclosed it on the scaffold." "

The Cambrian, (Awst 20, 1831)

8

" . . . But the generality of the prisoners express their penitence and in no way deny their guilty conduct, and attach all the blame for the lamentable bloodshed to their own attack upon the soldiers . . . and the conviction of all parties of the workmen is that the loss of life and blood is alone to be attributed to the rash conduct of the desperate villains who excited and led on the mob to the excess of Friday last . . ."

The Cambrian, (Mehefin 11, 1831)

9

To all Colliers Traitors, Turncoats and others.

We hereby warn you the second and last time
We are determined to draw the hearts out of all the
men. Above named, and fix two of the hearts upon the
horns of the Bull; so that everyone may see what is
the fate of every traitor - and we know them all.
So we testify with our blood.

X Hoar Frost Castle April 19th 1832.

Letter written in red ink (blood) put out during strike
of 1832.

10

Ni phrofodd un dref arall yng Nghymru'r bedwaredd ganrif ar bymtheg gynnar dwf aruthrol Merthyr, na chyrraedd yr un maint. Tyfodd Merthyr o dref fach farchnad, ychydig yn fwy na phentref, i dref arw o arloeswyr gyda phoblogaeth o dros 40,000. Yn seiliedig ar economi o lo a haearn, gwrthiodd y dref i fyny'r bryniau ac ymestynnodd ar hyd y cwm. Aeth canol yr hen bentref, Tseina, yn ardal olau coch o buteindai, lletau rhad a thai yfed. Pwysleisr y newidiadau mawr a ddigwyddai ym Merthyr yn y darnau hyn allan o Gyfeiriadur Pigott, 1835 (1), a'r Adroddiad ar Addysg yng Nghymru, 1847 (2).

Yr oedd y rhan fwyaf o drigolion y dref yn well eu byd na'u cyfeillion yn yr ardaloedd gwledig. Yr oedd eu cyflog, ar wahan i gyfnodau o ddirwasgiad, yn uwch o lawer na chyflogau yn yr ardaloedd gwledig; y tai, gorlawn ac afiach fel yr oeddynt wedi'u hadeiladu'n well na phentair cefn gwlad. Perthynai'r problemau'n fwy i anallu llywodraeth leol (a drefnwyd ar gynllun plwyfol o hyd) i ymdopi â'r newidiadau - diffyg carthffosiaeth a thraenio, diffyg cynllunio a adawodd i dai gael eu hadeiladu ymhob lle posibl, a diffyg gwasanaethau cyhoeddus (3). Yr oedd marwoldeb babanod yn uchel iawn a dioddefai'r bobl yn arw yn ystod yr heintiau aml a'u plagiai. Yn y colera, 1849, bu farw 1400 o bobl ym Merthyr yn unig.

Ar yr un pryd yr oedd yn gymdeithas newydd, nwydus a gynigiai gyfleoedd newydd, profiadau cyffrous a newidiadau mawr. Yr oedd hefyd yn gymdeithas lle y gallai pobl gyffredin drefnu eu hunain, lle y gallai'r syniadau newydd gylchredeg a'r ymwybyddiaeth ddosbarth gweithiol dyfu. Yr oedd Merthyr yn unigryw yng Nghymru yn gynnar yn y bedwaredd ganrif ar bymtheg o ran ei faint, ond bu cynnydd tebyg mewn trefi a phentrefi mewn ardaloedd diwydiannol eraill yn y de ac yn y gogledd.

No other town in the early nineteenth century in Wales experienced such drastic growth or reached such dimensions as Merthyr. Merthyr grew from a small rural market town, scarcely bigger than a village to a rough raw frontier town of over 40,000 people. Based on an economy of coal and iron, the town pushed up the hillsides and spread along the valley. The heart of the old village, China, became a red-light district of brothels and cheap lodging houses and drinking dens. The immense changes which Merthyr was undergoing are highlighted in the selected extracts from Pigott's Directory of 1835 (1) and the 1847 Report on Education in Wales (2).

Most of the town's inhabitants were better off than their compatriots in rural areas - their wages except in time of slump were far higher. The houses, overcrowded and insanitary as they might be, were better built than the rural hovels. The problems were more those stemming from the inability of local government still organised on a parish basis to cope with the new changes - lack of drainage and sanitation, lack of planning allowing cheapjack houses to spring up in every available space, and lack of public services (3). Infant mortality was rife and the population suffered drastically during frequent epidemics. In the cholera of 1849 1,400 people died in Merthyr alone.

At the same time it was a vibrant new society which offered new opportunities, change and experiences. It was also a society in which working people could effectively organise, in which new ideas could circulate and in which working class consciousness could evolve.

Merthyr was unique in early nineteenth century Wales in its sheer size but other industrial areas of both north and south Wales experienced parallel experiences of urbanisation and new industrial housing.

Directory.

MERTHYR TYDVIL, &c.

South Wales.

ter of the martyr, Brychan Brycheiniog, a Prince, or Regilla, of a district then called Garth Mathrin, who, according to the Welch chronology, was sacrificed by the Pagan Saxons, in the sixth century. The town is situated in the midst of bleak and barren hills, on the river Taff, which falls into the sea about a mile below Cardiff - the port for the manufactures of this place, the river not being navigable higher than Cardiff bridge: but the transmission of the produce of this district is facilitated by the Glamorgan canal, extending from this place to the port, upon which barges of from 20 to 25 tons are freighted; and a railway is about to be constructed from Merthyr to Cardiff, under the superintendence of that celebrated engineer Mr. Brunell, who has been employed to take a survey of the proposed line. From an inconsiderable village, this place has risen to one of great commercial importance, owing to the prolific mines of ironstone (which occurs in regular strata) and coal, with which the neighbourhood abounds. The iron-works are on the most extensive scale, and estimated, when in activity, to give employment to fifteen thousand persons. The Cyfarthfa, and Dowlais works are of great magnitude, as are the Plymouth, Pen-y-darrian, and Trefgarra works. The blast furnaces of these establishments, it is said, exceed any in the kingdom in the quantity of iron made from them weekly. The whole of the metal from the works here, and from furnaces a few miles distant, is converted into bar, and other malleable iron, by machinery of the most superior construction, chiefly worked by water. Besides the iron trade, there are local branches of some consequence - several persons are employed in the manufacture of woollen cloth, and others in brewing, malting, and the currying and tanning of leather; there are two most respectable banking establishments, and several good inns. The principal civil authorities are, the chief constable of the hundred, parish constables, and a police magistrate; the latter appointed under a recent act of parliament, and who sits three days a week. There is a court of request held at the Castle Inn, on the second Monday in every month, wherein debts not exceeding £5. 18s. 6d. are tried.

POST OFFICE. High-street, MERTHYR TYDVIL, Rhys Davis, *Post Master*. - Letters from London, Bath, Bristol, and Cardiff arrive every evening at half-past six, and are despatched every morning at a quarter before eight. - Letters from NEATH arrive every morning at half-past ten, and are despatched every afternoon at one. - Letters from ABERDARE arrive every morning at a quarter before seven, and are despatched on the arrival of the London Mail.

CLERGY & CLERGY.

Bruce J. B. esq. Dyffryn
Crawshaw Wm. esq. Cyfarthfa castle
Davies Rev. Daniel, Coed y commar
Davis Mrs. —, High st
Edwards William, esq. Vedwhur
Evans Rev. T. B. Mill st
Guest Joshua John, esq. M.F. Dowlais house
Harman Edmund, esq. Giller st
Harris Rev. Thomas, High st
Harry Mr. William, Coed y commar
James Rev. Wm. Jackson's bridge
Jenkins Rev. Evan, Dowlais
Jones Henry, esq. High st
Jones Rev. John, Jackson's bridge
Jones Rev. M. Quarry row
Jones Rev. Wm. Coed y commar
Oskey Joseph, esq. George town
Rees Mr. Thomas, Coed y commar
Saunders Rev. David, Twyn y rodny
Thomas Rev. E. P. Aberdare
Thomas William, esq. Court house
Thompson Alderman William, M.P. Pen y darrian house
Williams Mrs. Jane, High st
ACADEMIES & SCHOOLS.
Free School, Glebe land - James Williams, master
Hughes David, Glebe land
Jones Margaret, High st
Morris William, Coed y commar
National School, Dwyer st - Benjamin Griffiths, master
Shaw William, Glebe land
Thomas John, Bridge st
Vaughan Thomas, Bridge st

Williams Sophia & Mary, Broad st
Williams Taliesin (*Ab Iolo*), Glebe land

AGENTS.

(See also Fire, &c. Office Agents, and also the following list.)
Forrest George (to the Canal Company), Merthyr
Hopkins Rowland (commissioner), Tydvil well
Rouch Edward (to E. & J. Allfrey and Co. brewers, Neepore, Monmouthshire), George town

AGENTS-MINERAL.

WITH THE NAMES OF THE IRON WORKS TO WHICH THEY BELONG.
Adams John, Sirhowy & Ebbw vale
Cooman James, Pontypridd
Cudman Thomas, Aberystwyth
Dekin Thomas, Blaenau
Habbacuk George, Beaufort and Neath
Jones Thronhills, Tredegar
Kirkhouse George & Jolt. Dowlais
Llewellyn David, Kwaia
Martin Benjamin, Pen y darrian
Morris William, Rummy
Nicholson Christ. Coalbrook vale
Rees Jenkin, Aberdare
Richards James, Coalbrook vale
Smith Robert, Aberystwyth
Steel Lancelot, Plymouth
ATTORNEYS.
Meyrick & Davies, Bridge st
Morgan Walter, George town
Perkins & Hayce, High st

AUCTIONEERS.

Darles Thomas, High st
Jones John, Glebe land
BAKERS & FLOUR DEALERS.
Davies David, Broad st
Handley John, High st
James Christopher, High st

BANKERS.

Guest, Lewis & Co. Dowlais - (draw on Sir R. C. Glyn & Co. London)
Wilkins & Co. High st - (draw on Barretto, Moore & Co. London)

BLACKSMITHS.

Martin Timothy, Tram road
Miles Edward, Cadrow
Smith David, Coed y commar
Snelling George, High st
Thomas William, Iron bridge
Williams John, Aberdare
Williams William, Coed y commar
BOOKSELLERS & STATIONERS.
Churchill William, High st
Price Thomas, High st
White Henry W. (and circulating library and London newspaper office), High st

BOOT AND SHOE MAKERS.

Arrest Francis, High st
Atkins Josiah, High st
Bailles Benjamin, Bridge st
Davies Benjamin, Coed y commar
Davies David, Iron bridge
Davies David, Jackson's bridge
Davies John, Coed y commar
Davies John, Tydvil well
Edwards Edward, Coed y commar
Harries Edward, Coed y commar

1

"Fifty years ago Merthyr was an inconsiderable place. By the older inhabitants it is still called "the village" and its petty affairs were managed or mismanaged, it matters little which, by the neighbouring Welsh justice and a parish vestry. When the village rose into a town, and this system became inefficient, it became absolutely injurious, standing in the way of better things . . .

The interior of the houses is, on the whole, clean. Food, clothing, furniture - those wants the supply of which depends upon the exertions of each individual, are tolerably well supplied. It is those comforts which only a governing body can bestow that are totally absent. The footways are seldom flagged; the streets are ill-paved, and with bad materials, and are not lighted. The drainage is very imperfect, there are few underground sewers, no house drains, and the open gutters are not regularly cleaned out. Dustbins and similar receptacles for filth are unknown; the refuse is thrown into the streets. Bombay itself, reputed to be the filthiest town under British sway, is scarcely worse! The houses are badly built, and planned without any regard to the comfort of the tenants, whole families being frequently lodged - sometimes sixteen in number - in one chamber, sleeping there indiscriminately. The sill of the door is often laid level with the road, subjecting the floor to the incursions of the mountain streams that scour the streets. The supply of water is deficient, and the evils of drought are occasionally felt. The colliers are much disposed to be clean, and are careful to wash themselves in the river, but there are no baths, or wash-houses, or even waterpipes. In some of the suburbs the people draw all their supply from the waste water of the works, and in Merthyr the water is brought by hand from the springs on the hillsides, or lifted from the river, sometimes nearly dry, sometimes a raging torrent, and always charged with the filth of the upper houses and works."

Westminster Review, 1848;

3

The population of Merthyr and Dowlais (which is constituted a district) together is rated in the last census at 34,977. It is now probably nearer 40,000. It is employed almost entirely in four iron-works, viz.: the Cyfartha Works, belonging to William Crawshaw, Esq.; the Plymouth Works, to Anthony Hill, Esq.; the Penn-y-darrran Works, to Alderman Thompson; and the Dowlais Works, to Sir John Guest, Bart. These works are all upon a gigantic scale. The town and neighbourhood of Merthyr are less dirty than similar localities in the midland mining counties of England, owing to there being little or no smoke from the coal used. The houses are generally of a substantial description, and in good repair. They mostly face to a street, and there are not many courts.

During the time that I was in Merthyr I saw nothing in the shape of public brawling or disturbance, either by night or by day. The streets are thronged, and the public-houses more than usually full through the greater part of Saturday and Monday nights. On other nights the town appeared to be quite as quiet as any other place of equal size. On Sundays public worship is most frequented in the evening, from six to eight o'clock. From eight o'clock to ten the streets are as much thronged as on Saturday nights; those hours being devoted to a sort of public promenade by the working classes. At this time their houses are for the most part quite deserted. On the Sunday that I was in Merthyr, they were walking about in a manner sufficiently quiet and decorous. I went on the Sunday evening with the Superintendent of Police into every part of Merthyr, including the district called China—a sort of Welsh Alsatia. I did not encounter a single disturbance, nor a single drunken man. So far as the external aspect of the population goes, I saw nothing to correspond with the injurious accounts which in all parts of Wales I had heard concerning it. Winter, however, is a more favourable time to see it than in summer. At the latter season, gangs of young men and women are in the habit of carrying drink into the fields, and of keeping up the most riotous orgies all night long. Even in winter, the peace of the streets is better preserved on moonlight nights than at other times; for although there are gas-works in the town, it is not publicly lighted.

The workmen, who are perpetually immigrating, live together very much in clans, *e. g.*, the Pembrokeshire men in one quarter, the Carmarthenshire men in another, and so on. This kind of clanship makes them oppose every obstacle to the detection of offenders, who flock to Merthyr from all parts of Wales. Scarce a day passes without constables from the country coming in search of criminals. The district called China is a mere sink of thieves and prostitutes, such as unhappily constitutes an appendage to every large town, and is not peculiar to Merthyr. Few, if any, of the workmen live in it, unless, perhaps, a stray lodger here and there.

The prevailing domestic economy is not such as to make the men comfortable at home. They come from work somewhere about six in the evening; but it is a general practice with the women to have tea as early as four or five. For this meal they resort very much to one another's houses, and it is the occasion of all sorts of gossip and tattling. When the husband comes home, he does not find a meal ready for him, with his family to share it; he is, therefore, the more ready to resort to the public-house. It is a general complaint that the workmen's wives know nothing of housekeeping. "If ever I do marry," said a collier, "I will marry a cook; for she will have something ready for me when I do come from work;" implying that such a person was not to be found among the females of his own class.

The observations hereafter made respecting diet, furniture, and the crowded state of the houses at Maesteg, apply to Merthyr. As a general rule, there is not much thrift among the people, though some men save, and become possessed of houses. There was formerly a savings-bank; but the manager ran away, and carried 2000*l.* in deposits off with him. The effect of this loss has operated very unfavourably upon the people. There is little or no distress, except perhaps where an improvident man with a large family is suddenly disabled or killed. During illness they can get 5*s.* per week, and medical attendance, from the sick fund; besides which, at Dowlais there is a benefit society with an income of 100*l.* per annum. Dowlais is divided into districts, and visitors for each appointed by this society.

There is no truck system at Merthyr, thanks to the absence of which there has grown up, to a considerable extent, a permanent middle-class of tradesmen and shopkeepers between the masters and the men. The only approach to truck is, that a considerable part of the employment is managed by subcontractors, or butties, who often keep public-houses, where, in defiance of the law, they pay the men's wages, and at the same time calculate, if not insist, upon their drinking.

A great external improvement has taken place since the introduction of a police force, though there are only 12 policemen for Merthyr and Dowlais together. Drunken rows are frequent; and in these much cowardly ferocity, but nothing like fair fighting is shown. Resistance, however, is seldom made to the police, and there is in the popular character little of that dogged, desperate, wrong-headed courage which distinguishes the English miners. Petty thieving and filching are not uncommon; and debt is both recklessly contracted and unscrupulously disregarded. Political agitation seldom originates at Merthyr; it is excited by delegates from the English mining districts. Captain Napier, the County Superintendent of Police, told me that he considered the miners in Glamorganshire to be on the whole a well-conducted set of men; and certainly not worse than the agricultural labourers in the county.

Such female labour as is employed in the works is not of a heavy description, and is performed by unmarried women, never by the workmen's wives.

Drunkenness is very prevalent, and beer-houses abound to an extent wholly unnecessary for any good purpose. There are said to be more than 200 such houses in Dowlais alone. The publicans are active in getting up clubs of all kinds, for which the Welsh have a great passion: the business of these clubs is transacted at beer-houses.

In a sanitary point of view, the state of Merthyr is disgraceful to those who are responsible for it. The vast majority of houses have no privies; where there is such a thing, it is a mere hole in the ground, with no drainage. Indeed the town is in a very small degree drained at all. This is the case nearly all over Wales; but, in a dense population, the consequences of such neglect are more loathsomely and degradingly apparent. I saw myself—it is a worse

violation of delicacy that such things should exist than to speak plainly of them when existing—on Sunday the 28th of March, a man, dressed as a better sort of workman, let his trousers down and quietly begin relieving himself, in full view, and within thirty yards, of the road which passes by Bethesda Chapel, along which at the time scores of people were moving. I was assured also by people whose houses look into fields or open spaces at the back of rows and streets, that persons of every age and sex are constantly to be seen exposed in them. It is difficult to estimate how brutalizing an effect such circumstances produce. There is also a most insufficient supply of water, especially at Dowlais, where it is procured from spouts, round which from ten to sixty or seventy women are constantly to be seen, from six in the morning till twelve at night, and which are here, as in classic towns, the great centre of idle gossip and scandal.

To provide for the education of the young, there are no schools of public institution except Sir John Guest's at Dowlais and the National Schools at Merthyr. For the children of the men employed at the Cyfartha, Plymouth, and Penn-y-darrran Works, no provision has hitherto been made, further than some trifling subscriptions by the proprietors to the National Schools. An effort is now making. New National Schools, in addition to the old ones, and also a British School, are on the point of being erected in the town of Merthyr. Mr. Robert Crawshaw informed me that it was contemplated to erect a school-house, and establish a school, by the usual plan of stoppages for its support, in connexion with the Cyfartha Works, in the course of this year. I was not able to learn that any similar measure was likely to be adopted at the Penn-y-darrran, or, within an early period, at the Plymouth Works. The tradesmen and shopkeepers of Merthyr naturally feel that they ought not to be called upon to contribute *pari passu* with the three great masters of the place to educate a population in the profits of whose labour the latter get the lion's share. Of the 37 private schools which existed in Merthyr and Dowlais at the time of my visit for the labouring classes, 21 were dame-schools. The generality of children in them were very young; the school-room was usually the kitchen of the house; and instruction was given upon no plan or system whatever. Of the entire number, not more than 3 can be pronounced even moderately good; 26 indifferent; and 8 very bad.

As regards Dowlais, a good part of the land is not held by the Company, but by Mr. Overton, an attorney at Merthyr. Over this they have no control; added to which, their lease is on the point of expiring. The renewal of it was not settled at the time of my visit. They were, therefore, naturally unwilling to make any outlays which could be avoided. Should the lease be renewed to them, I understood from the incumbent of Dowlais that it was their intention immediately to build additional schools and a church. Up to the present time there have been only two churches for the whole of Merthyr parish, including Dowlais. A third will shortly be consecrated at Merthyr. Under these circumstances, without dissent, there could have been no public profession of Christianity for the mass of the population. There is no workhouse for the Merthyr Union. The fear of popular resistance appears to have deterred the guardians from erecting one. I annex a statement by the rector respecting the education of pauper children. I found one boy, in a very low quarter of the town, boarded in a common lodging-house, to the owner of which a domiciliary visit from the Superintendent appeared to cause no surprise. "As regards the pauper children, it would appear that they are let out to whoever offers to take them, and, for the most part, no further care is taken of them until they are old enough to earn (or at least to assist in earning) their own bread. Their education does not seem to be thought of; and their being sent to school or not depends on the person with whom they are boarded. It is no wonder, under these circumstances, that there is a difficulty in procuring situations for the girls when they are old enough to accept them."

Dowlais Schools—for Boys, Girls, and Infants.—I visited these schools on the 29th of March. The funds by which they are supported are derived out of a monthly stoppage of 4*d.* in the 1*l.* upon the workpeople's wages. But the sum thus raised is also applied to provide medical assistance, medicines, and relief during sickness.

The girls' and infant schools are held in an upper and lower room of the same building. The boys' school-room is quite separate, in another place. The latter is divided into an upper and lower school. Besides the stoppage upon wages, the children pay, in the infant, girls', and lower boys' schools, 1*d.*, and in the upper boys' school 2*d.* per week.

The girls' school-room is well lighted and ventilated. It has the advantage of three adult teachers, two of whom have been trained. The present mistress has not been in charge of the school more than 12 months. Under her predecessor it had considerably declined. Each afternoon the girls sew from half-past three to a quarter past four. On Fridays, they bring work from their own homes. There were maps of the World and Palestine on the walls. Arithmetic is taught both from the board and slates. The children were neat and clean, and the school quiet and orderly.

I heard the 1st class (17 girls) read from iv. St. Luke. Only eight of them read with any approach to ease and correctness. One read, *Thou shalt not live by bread alone as Thou shalt not evil by bread alone*; another, *a moment of time as a mountain of time*; another, *he taught in their synagogues as he thought into their synagogues*. Christ had been baptized in the river Jordan—could not tell what doctrine John had preached, nor any story about the Jordan in connexion with Joshua—knew that Elisha divided its waters with Elijah's mantle—could give no description of a wilderness—the Israelites were wandering there after they came out of Egypt—Christ was called a Nazarene—repeated the verse in which Nathaniel asked if any good could come from Nazareth—could not give the Christian doctrine of the 6th commandment—Christ prayed for his enemies—could not give the instance of his healing the man whose ear Peter smote off in the garden—our neighbour means all the world—could not narrate, nor tell anything whatever, after repeated questions, of the parable of the Good Samaritan.

They answered fairly in arithmetic. The copybooks were well written. I heard the 2nd class (28 girls) read. Only 12 read with ease. I asked them a few questions on the natural history of animals, such as the lion, camel, &c. They appeared silly

Newid ym mhoblogaeth Cymru

Population change in Wales

Yn 1550 amcangyfrifwyd poblogaeth Cymru i fod tua chwarter miliwn (1), ond o ran olaf y ddeunawfed ganrif ymlaen cafwyd 'ffrwydrad poblogaeth'. Yn 1750 yr oedd tua hanner miliwn o bobl yng Nghymru, ond erbyn 1921, o fewn ychydig o genedlaethau lluosogasai'r boblogaeth bum gwaith. Yn ogystal â hyn, er nas dangosir mewn ystadegau amrwd o enedigaeithau a marwolaethau cafwyd gwelliant yn hyd einioes y boblogaeth. Gweler ffigurau ar gyfer 1831 (2).

Yn y de-ddwyrain (3) a'r gogledd-ddwyrain y bu'r twf mwyaf yn y boblogaeth: yn ardaloedd y diwydiannau trwm. Ar raddfa lai ceid cynnydd yn ardaloedd y chwareli yn y gogledd-orllewin (4). Hyd at 1850 ceid cynnydd yn y rhan fwyaf o'r ardaloedd, hyd yn oed yn y plwyfi gwledig. Ar ôl 1850 dechreuodd diboblogi gwledig ac, er i'r ardaloedd diwydiannol barhau i dyfu, dirywiodd Cymru wledig. Bu mudo i'r trefi ar raddfa fawr a'r ardaloedd diwydiannol eraill. Erbyn y 1870au yr oedd Cymru yn gymdeithas ddiwydiannol (5) a symudiadau ei phoblogaeth yn ddrych nid i dymhorau'r flwyddyn amaethyddol, ond i rythmau llewyrch neu ddirwasgiad diwydiannol. Hyd at yr 1860au collodd Cymru boblogaeth trwy fudo tramor, ond tua diwedd y bedwaredd ganrif ar bymtheg gwelodd Cymru gryn fewnfudo o'r tu allan fel yr heidiai pobl i gymoedd glo y de. Cyn y bedwaredd ganrif ar bymtheg yr oedd y rhan fwyaf o'r boblogaeth weithio yn Gymry, ac fe dderbyniwyd pobl ddwad yn rhwydd a hwythau'n dysgu Cymraeg. Ond, ar ôl 1900, cynyddodd nifer y mewnfudwyr i'r fath raddau fel na ellid eu derbyn i mewn i'r diwylliant Cymraeg mwyach oherwydd eu niferoedd.

In 1550 the estimated population of Wales was about a quarter of a million (1). From the late eighteenth century onwards Wales experienced a population explosion. In 1750 the population of Wales numbered a mere half million but by 1921 in the space of only a few generations, it had quintupled. At the same time, though not shown by crude birth and death statistics, the life expectancy of the population improved. Population summaries for the year 1831 are illustrated (2).

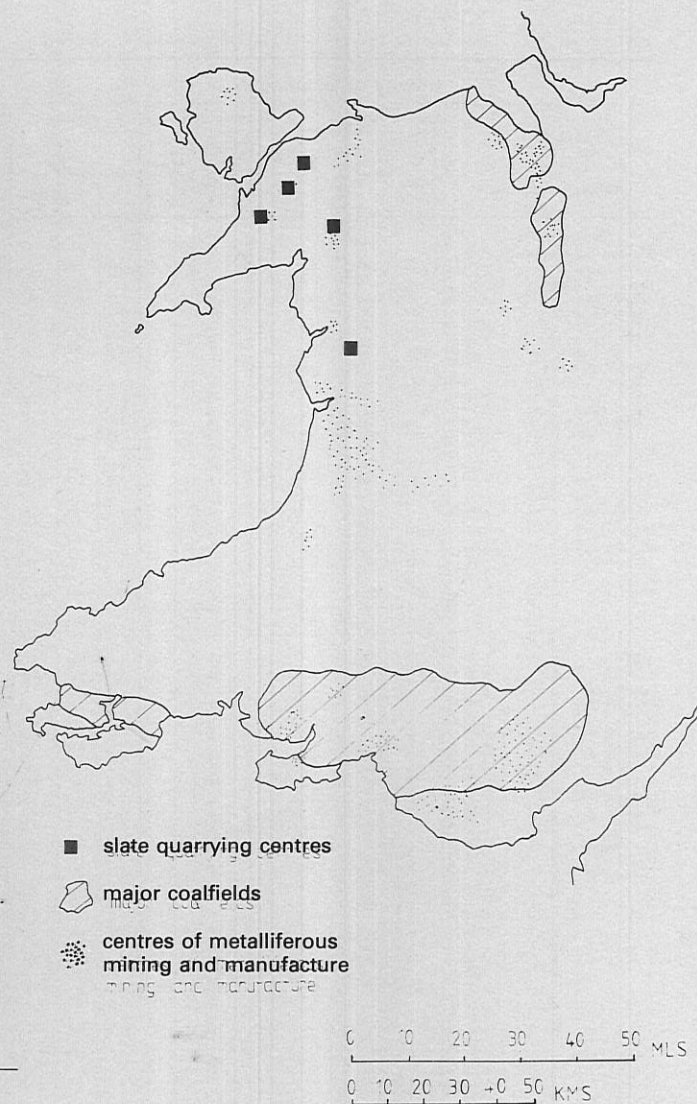
The areas of biggest population growth were south east (3) and north east Wales with their concentrations of heavy industry. On a smaller scale the north western slate quarrying districts showed increases (4). Up to 1850 most areas, even the rural parishes, saw some general increase. After 1850 rural depopulation set in and though the industrialised areas continued to show a population increase, rural Wales declined. There was a massive drift to the towns and other industrial districts. By the 1870s Wales had become an industrial society (5) and its population movements mirrored not the harvest and seasonal cycle but the rhythms of industrial prosperity or depression. Up to the 1860s Wales lost population through emigration but towards the end of the nineteenth century Wales became a country experiencing considerable immigration from outside as people flooded into the coal valleys of the south.

Before the late nineteenth century the majority of the working population were Welsh and immigrants were absorbed at such a rate that they assimilated and learned Welsh. Only after 1900 did immigration reach such a peak that the newcomers could no longer be assimilated into the Welsh culture.

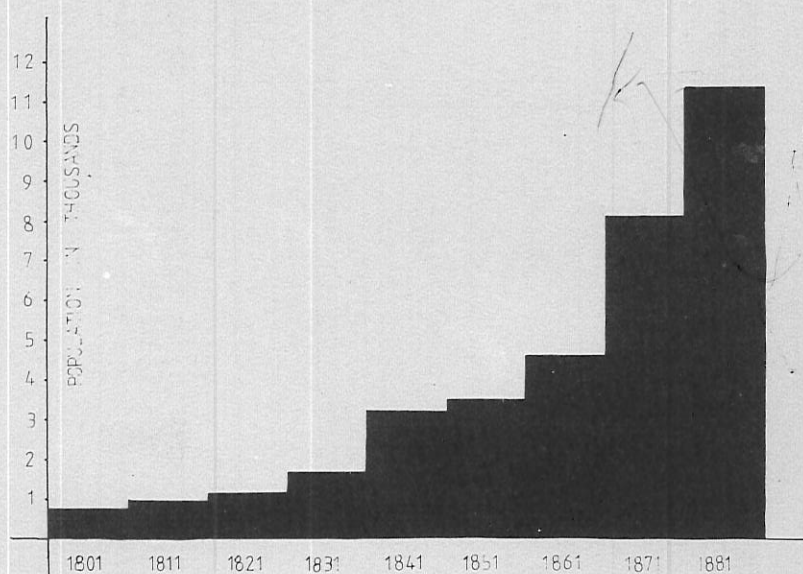
Hundreds and towns	Households	Population
Anglesey	1954	9770
Brecon	4238	21,190
Cardigan	3464	17,320
Carmarthen	6875	34,375
Caernarvon	2984	14,920
Denbigh	4733	22,482
Flint	2405	12,570
Glamorgan	5530	29,493
Merioneth	2094	10,470
Montgomery	3450	18,972
Pembroke	4225	20,079
Radnor	2837	14,185
Totals	44,789	225,826

1

THE MAIN INDUSTRIAL CENTRES IN NINETEENTH CENTURY WALES



POPULATION GROWTH IN FFESTINIOG PARISH 1801 - 1881



4

5

Summary of Wales.

COUNTIES.	HOUSES.				OCCUPATIONS.				PERSONS.		
	Inhabited.	Families.	Building.	Uninhabited.	Families chiefly employed in Agriculture.	Families chiefly employed in Trade, Manufacture, and Handicraft.	All other Families not comprised in the two preceding Classes.		Males.	Females.	Total.
ANGLESEY	9,683	10,128	53	276	5,314	2,141	2,673		23,475	24,850	48,325
BRECON	9,373	9,848	84	540	3,659	2,954	2,935		23,896	23,867	47,763
CARDIGAN	13,045	13,652	115	324	7,246	3,243	3,163		30,808	33,912	64,720
CARMARTHEN	18,920	26,719	186	504	9,687	5,299	5,433		48,683	52,457	101,140
CARNARVON	13,221	14,553	119	434	5,778	2,997	5,778		35,168	34,280	69,448
DENBIGH	16,368	17,150	106	832	8,135	4,478	4,537		41,618	42,011	83,629
FLINT	11,716	12,138	64	541	4,660	3,101	4,377		29,924	30,488	60,412
GLAMORGAN	23,843	26,111	273	1,298	6,814	8,929	10,368		63,284	63,328	126,612
MERIONETH	6,968	7,358	53	238	3,383	1,815	1,960		17,194	18,121	35,315
MONTGOMERY	12,169	13,407	62	402	6,610	4,198	2,599		33,048	33,434	66,482
PEMBROKE	15,779	16,595	164	474	7,974	4,510	4,102		37,052	43,473	80,525
RADNOR	4,437	4,879	18	167	3,335	1,028	716		12,453	12,198	24,651
TOTALS	155,522	166,538	1,297	6,030	73,195	44,792	48,641		394,263	411,619	805,882

Summary of Wales.

Males.	AGRICULTURE.				Employed in Manufacture, or in making Machinery.	Employed in Retail Trade, or in Handicraft as Masters or Workmen.	Capitalists, Bankers, Professionals and other Educated Men.	Labourers employed in Labour not Agricultural.	Other Males of Age 20 Years and over (except Servants).	Male Servants.		Female.	COUNTIES.
	Years of Age.	Occupiers of Land.	Occupiers of Land not employing Labourers.	Labourers employed in Agriculture.						20 Years of Age.	Under 20 Years.			Ser. vants.
13,413	1,215	1,536	3,870	140	2,190	252	1,632	471	127	71	2,654	ANGLESEY	
12,520	1,249	1,156	2,822	551	2,818	351	2,547	522	204	73	2,221	BRECON	
14,398	2,002	1,931	4,753	248	3,353	414	950	864	83	18	3,892	CARDIGAN	
23,361	2,735	3,074	6,940	298	5,586	614	2,713	1,233	174	97	5,648	CARMARTHEN	
16,799	1,506	2,237	4,360	143	3,235	333	3,529	1,266	109	95	3,566	CARNARVON	
20,120	2,264	1,624	6,465	235	4,604	533	2,995	1,148	252	180	4,489	DENBIGH	
14,234	1,010	846	4,192	630	2,774	410	3,597	562	213	88	2,613	FLINT	
21,824	1,823	1,931	5,192	1,093	7,571	1,008	10,072	1,897	337	112	4,096	GLAMORGAN	
8,879	1,112	1,246	2,601	194	1,761	145	708	998	84	47	2,222	MERIONETH	
16,723	1,018	1,610	5,747	1,639	3,370	418	976	854	171	140	3,605	MONTGOMERY	
18,336	1,842	1,864	6,075	131	4,785	605	1,599	1,124	331	219	4,929	PEMBROKE	
6,669	1,032	911	2,451	42	1,179	121	238	241	60	39	1,409	RADNOR	
15,266	19,728	19,066	55,468	6,218	40,226	5,204	31,571	11,180	2,145	1,179	42,274	- TOTALS	

Summary of England

COUNTIES.	HOUSES.				OCCUPATIONS.				PERSONS.		
	Inhabited.	Families.	Building.	Uninhabited.	Families chiefly employed in Agriculture.	Families chiefly employed in Trade, Manufacture, and Handicraft.	All other Families not comprised in the two preceding Classes.		Males.	Females.	Total.
ENGLAND	2,326,022	2,745,336	23,469	113,885	761,348	1,182,912	801,076		6,376,627	6,714,378	13,091,005
WALES	155,522	166,538	1,297	6,030	73,195	44,792	48,641		394,263	411,619	805,882
TOTALS	2,481,544	2,911,874	24,766	119,915	834,543	1,227,704	849,717		6,770,890	7,125,997	13,896,887

and Wales.

Males Twenty Years of Age.	AGRICULTURE.			Employed in Manu- facture, or in making Machinery.	Employed in Retail Trade, or in Handicraft as Masters or Workmen.	Capitalists, Bankers, Profession- als and Educated Men.	Labourers employed in Labour not Agri- cultural.	Other Males 20 Years of Age (except Servants).	Male Servants.			Female Ser- vants.	—
	Occupiers employing Labourers	Occupiers not employing Labourers	Labourers not employing Agriculture turn-						20 Years of Age.	Under 20 Years.	Under 10 Years.		
3,199,984	141,460	94,883	744,407	314,106	964,177	170,983	900,050	189,389	70,629	30,777	518,705	{ ENGLAND. WALES.	
194,706	19,728	19,066	55,468	6,218	42,226	5,204	31,571	11,180	2,145	1,179	42,274		
3,394,690	161,188	114,949	799,875	320,324	1,007,403	185,187	931,621	200,569	72,774	31,956	560,979		

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ABSTRACT OF ANSWERS AND RETURNS UNDER

[Enumeration,

County of Glamorgan

PARISH, TOWNSHIP, or EXTRA-PAROCIAL PLACE.	HOUSES.				OCCUPATIONS.				PERSONS.		
	Inhabited.	Families.	Building.	Uninhabited.	Families chiefly employed in Agriculture.	Families chiefly employed in Trade, Manufacture, and Handicraft.	All other Families not comprised in the two preceding Classes.		Males.	Females.	Total.
CAERPHILLY Hundred.											
Bedwas (part of) Parish: (C)	10	10	-	-	10	-	-		34	25	59
Van - - - - -	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		-	-	-
Eglwysilan Parish: (C)											
Llan-glynn - - - - -	192	196	-	6	21	108	67		446	438	884
Glyn-taf - - - - -	120	121	1	7	17	78	28		340	289	629
Hendredenny - - - - -	84	85	-	2	26	13	46		191	184	375
Park - - - - -	22	22	-	3	18	2	9		64	59	123
Rhyd-y-bothan - - - - -	120	128	-	14	54	21	55		413	392	805
Gelligaer Parish: (C)											
Brillid - - - - -	150	153	-	93	17	20	116		434	358	792
Cefn - - - - -	97	109	3	23	18	59	279		270	245	515
Garth-gynydd - - - - -	24	24	-	3	13	3	63		63	66	129
Hengoed - - - - -	54	54	-	9	17	14	23		136	137	273
Ysgwyddgwn - - - - -	20	20	-	-	11	3	6		48	57	105
Llan-vabon Parish: (C)											
Garth - - - - -	116	118	-	20	27	71	312		465	577	1,042
Glyn-rumney - - - - -	47	50	-	20	27	71	312		465	577	1,042
Machen (part of) Parish: (C)											
Rhyd-gwyn - - - - -	47	47	-	1	6	14	27		102	82	184
Merthyr-Tidvil - - - - -	4,265	4,485	39	233	137	1,044	2,404		11,449	10,443	22,083
Michaelston-Felwy (part of) Parish: (C)											
Llanvelow - - - - -	47	52	-	33	8	11	159		143	293	436
Rudry - - - - -	42	42	-	31	6	15	143		133	276	409
Whitchurch - - - - -	260	261	-	4	61	146	54		578	646	1,224
TOTALS	5,816	5,978	44	305	533	2,431	3,614		16,729	15,807	32,536
COWBRIDGE Hundred: (C)											
Atham, St. - - - - -	68	68	-	4	50	16	2		163	149	312
Cowbridge - - - - -	265	210	2	7	20	135	55		627	470	1,097
Eglwys-brewis - - - - -	3	3	-	3	-	-	-		11	8	19
Flemingstone - - - - -	12	12	-	2	10	2	-		42	31	73
Gilestone - - - - -	9	10	-	4	3	3	28		34	64	98
Hilary, St. - - - - -	30	30	-	1	14	8	84		84	108	192
Llan-bethlan - - - - -	146	147	1	3	63	22	62		338	332	670
Llan-bethlan - - - - -	24	24	-	13	3	8	60		58	118	176
Llan-bethlan - - - - -	58	59	-	1	35	12	127		156	343	500
Llan-bethlan - - - - -	35	35	-	1	34	16	5		169	208	377
Llan-bethlan - - - - -	25	25	-	14	4	12	61		58	119	177
Llan-bethlan - - - - -	40	40	-	1	44	4	117		117	234	351
Llan-bethlan - - - - -	9	12	-	9	1	2	24		29	53	82
Llan-bethlan - - - - -	34	41	1	3	35	9	81		193	184	377
Llan-bethlan - - - - -	29	29	-	8	29	54	512		1,076	1,076	2,152
Llan-bethlan - - - - -	34	38	-	1	21	14	3		93	189	282
Llan-bethlan - - - - -	24	24	-	1	19	2	77		73	139	212
Llan-bethlan - - - - -	1	1	-	-	-	-	1		3	6	9
Llan-bethlan - - - - -	60	74	-	61	8	5	179		181	351	532
Llan-bethlan - - - - -	55	57	-	4	51	4	135		149	304	453
Llan-bethlan - - - - -	44	47	-	36	8	3	119		114	233	347
TOTALS	1,160	1,430	7	39	677	329	244		3,029	2,913	5,942

(1) The Parish of Bedwas is mostly in Lower Wye Valley Hundred (Monmouthshire), the entire Parish contains 2,410 inhabitants. The Parish of Eglwysilan is mostly in Upper Wye Valley Hundred (Monmouthshire), the entire Parish contains 884 inhabitants. The Parish of Gelligaer is mostly in Upper Wye Valley Hundred (Monmouthshire), the entire Parish contains 792 inhabitants. The Parish of Hendredenny is mostly in Upper Wye Valley Hundred (Monmouthshire), the entire Parish contains 375 inhabitants. The Parish of Park is mostly in Upper Wye Valley Hundred (Monmouthshire), the entire Parish contains 123 inhabitants. The Parish of Rhyd-y-bothan is mostly in Upper Wye Valley Hundred (Monmouthshire), the entire Parish contains 805 inhabitants. The Parish of Llan-glynn is mostly in Upper Wye Valley Hundred (Monmouthshire), the entire Parish contains 884 inhabitants. The Parish of Llan-bethlan is mostly in Upper Wye Valley Hundred (Monmouthshire), the entire Parish contains 670 inhabitants. The Parish of Llan-bethlan is mostly in Upper Wye Valley Hundred (Monmouthshire), the entire Parish contains 176 inhabitants. The Parish of Llan-bethlan is mostly in Upper Wye Valley Hundred (Monmouthshire), the entire Parish contains 500 inhabitants. The Parish of Llan-bethlan is mostly in Upper Wye Valley Hundred (Monmouthshire), the entire Parish contains 377 inhabitants. The Parish of Llan-bethlan is mostly in Upper Wye Valley Hundred (Monmouthshire), the entire Parish contains 177 inhabitants. The Parish of Llan-bethlan is mostly in Upper Wye Valley Hundred (Monmouthshire), the entire Parish contains 351 inhabitants. The Parish of Llan-bethlan is mostly in Upper Wye Valley Hundred (Monmouthshire), the entire Parish contains 82 inhabitants. The Parish of Llan-bethlan is mostly in Upper Wye Valley Hundred (Monmouthshire), the entire Parish contains 212 inhabitants. The Parish of Llan-bethlan is mostly in Upper Wye Valley Hundred (Monmouthshire), the entire Parish contains 9 inhabitants. The Parish of Llan-bethlan is mostly in Upper Wye Valley Hundred (Monmouthshire), the entire Parish contains 532 inhabitants. The Parish of Llan-bethlan is mostly in Upper Wye Valley Hundred (Monmouthshire), the entire Parish contains 453 inhabitants. The Parish of Llan-bethlan is mostly in Upper Wye Valley Hundred (Monmouthshire), the entire Parish contains 347 inhabitants.

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THE POPULATION ACT, 11 GEO. IV. C. 30.

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County of Glamorgan.

Twenty Years of Age.	AGRICULTURE.				Employed in Manu- facture, or in making Machinery.	Employed in Retail Trade, or in Handicraft as Masters or Workmen.	Capitalists, Bankers, Profes- sional and other Educated Men.	Labourers employed in Labour not Agri- cultural.	Other Males 20 Years of Age (except Servants.)	Male Servants.			Female Ser- vants.	PARISHES or TOWNSHIPS.
	Occupiers employing Labourers.	Occupiers not employing Labourers.	Labourers employed in Agriculture.	20 Years of Age (except Servants.)						Under 20 Years.	Under 10 Years.			
22	1	4	15	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	CAERPHILLY.	
215	8	3	10	25	107	6	24	29	3	-	-	45	Bedwas - Van -	
189	5	8	10	15	58	3	78	5	-	-	-	16	Eglwysilan - Eneer-Glyn	
83	8	11	13	-	14	-	21	16	-	-	-	8	Hendredenny - Hendredenny	
37	10	6	17	-	2	2	-	-	-	-	-	18	Park -	
309	6	18	45	-	44	3	67	25	1	-	-	98	Rhydydd - Rhydydd	
245	3	13	5	-	28	8	178	10	-	-	-	21	Gelligaer - Britford	
159	10	13	10	5	21	4	78	7	2	-	-	34	Cefn -	
33	1	12	1	-	3	-	16	-	-	-	-	10	Garth-gymyd - Garth-gymyd	
74	10	7	11	-	10	-	28	3	2	-	-	34	Hengwlad - Hengwlad	
38	4	7	4	-	4	1	6	2	-	-	-	16	Ysgwydd - Ysgwydd	
188	10	8	13	-	33	6	118	-	-	-	-	14	Llan-van - Garth -	
84	6	11	8	-	33	-	26	25	-	-	-	21	Glyn-rumney - Glyn-rumney	
60	1	-	6	7	14	-	32	-	-	-	-	5	Machen - Rhydygwyn	
6,838	31	28	158	1,342	1,270	143	3,418	190	48	9	261	261	Merthyr-Tydfil - Merthyr-Tydfil	
87	7	5	28	-	8	-	-	35	4	-	-	27	Michaelston - Llanvawr	
56	10	13	48	-	8	-	14	3	-	-	-	54	Rudry -	
318	11	2	79	99	52	16	46	11	3	-	-	54	Whitchurch - Whitchurch	
8,639	159	169	481	1,484	1,695	192	4,144	261	63	9	594	594	COWBRIDGE.	
87	9	-	60	-	16	1	-	-	-	-	-	15	Atham, St. - Atham, St.	
839	1	-	16	-	175	13	-	71	4	4	-	88	Cowbridge - Cowbridge	
4	-	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	Eglwys-brewi - Eglwys-brewi	
18	3	3	10	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	11	Flemington - Flemington
17	1	1	6	-	6	-	3	-	-	-	-	5	Gilstone - Gilstone	
36	4	5	13	-	10	2	-	2	-	-	-	16	Hilary, St. - Hilary, St.	
169	23	18	28	6	29	4	13	15	4	1	26	26	Llan-blethian - Llan-blethian	
36	2	1	11	-	6	3	7	2	-	-	10	10	Llan-bharan - Llan-bharan	
67	11	5	36	1	13	1	-	-	-	-	-	13	Llan-bhar - Llan-bhar	
55	-	12	-	-	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	6	Llan-bleth - Llan-bleth	
36	8	6	32	-	6	1	-	2	-	-	17	17	Llan-mars - Llan-mars	
15	5	-	6	-	2	1	-	1	-	-	-	16	Llan-mhaug - Llan-mhaug	
47	13	7	17	-	8	1	-	-	3	-	-	16	Llan-sann - Llan-sann	
231	21	26	82	1	69	17	-	31	4	3	66	66	Llantr-i-Major - Llantr-i-Major	
56	10	6	96	-	14	-	-	-	-	-	21	21	Llanvann - Llanvann	
39	5	5	16	-	5	-	-	-	1	-	8	8	Mary Church, St. - Mary Church, St.	
1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	23	Pen-dryon - Pen-dryon
91	14	3	45	-	12	1	-	5	-	-	22	22	Welsh, St. & - Welsh, St. &	
57	12	7	29	-	7	-	-	5	1	1	10	10	Ystrad-gwyn - Ystrad-gwyn	
1,473	169	141	533	8	491	46	23	156	16	10	379	379		