

TABLE V. Estates of over 500 Acres in the Vale, c.1780.

Robert Jones of Fonmon (d.1793)	8,900
Sir Thomas Aubrey, Bt. (d.1786)	6,050
Charles Edwin of Llanmihangel (d.1801)	4,500
Peter Birt of Wenvoe (d.1791)	4,100
Earl Talbot (d.1782)	3,950
Earl of Plymouth (d.1799)	3,900
Lord Cardiff (Lord Bute) (d.1814)	2,750
Thomas Drake Tyrwhitt (d.1810)	2,200
William Hurst & Calvert Richard Jones	2,200
10. Thomas Pryce of Dyffryn (d.1789)	2,050
John Francis Gwyn (d.1789)	2,050
Lord Vernon (d.1813)	2,050
Rev. Samuel Gwinnett of Cottrell (d.1792)	2,000
Mrs Turbervill of Ewenny (d.1797)	1,550
Thomas Mansel Talbot of Margam (d.1813)	1,550
Sir Charles Kemeys-Tynte, Bt. (d.1785)	1,400
Rev. John Carne of Nash (d.1798)	1,200
late John Edmondess of Cowbridge (d.1778)	1,150
John Llewelin of Coedrhiglan (d.1786)	1,150
20. Charles Bowen of Merthyr Mawr (d.1787)	950
William Dawkins of Kilvrough	800
David Thomas of Pwll-y-wrach (d.1830)	800
Edward Matthews of Aberaman	750
William Gibbon of Trecastell (d.1810)	700
Whitlock Nicholl of Ham (d.1788)	650
Morgan Williams of Pendoylan (d.1785)	600
John Curre of Clemenston (d.1798)	600
Thomas Edwards of Llandaff (d.1794)	550
29. Reynold Thomas Deere of Penlline Court (d.1815)	500
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	61,600

TABLE VI. Estates of over 500 Acres in the Vale, c.1800.

Robert Jones of Fonmon (d.1834)	8,100
Sir John Aubrey, Bt. (d.1826)	6,050
Robert Jenner of Wenvoe (d.1810)	4,900
Charles Edwin of Llanmihangel (d.1801)	4,600
Earl of Plymouth (d.1833)	3,900
Marquess of Bute (d.1814)	3,850
Miss Emelia Gwinnett of Penlline (d.1807)	3,600
Miss Frances Anne Pryce of Dyffryn (d.1837)	3,150
Thomas Tyrwhitt Drake (d.1810)	2,200
10. John Francis Gwyn (d.1846)	2,050
Richard Turbervill Turbervill (d.1817)	1,750
Thomas Mansel Talbot of Margam (d.1813)	1,550
John Kemeys-Tynte of Cefn Mabli (d.1807)	1,550
Earl Talbot (d.1849)	1,250
Thomas Markham of Nash (d.1824)	1,200
Mrs Mary Llewelin of Coedrhiglan (d.1812)	1,150
Samuel Richardson of Hensol	1,150
David Thomas of Pwll-y-wrach (d.1830)	1,150
William Curre (d.1855)	1,100
20. Stephen Jones of Merthyr Mawr	950
Robert Rous of Cwrtyrala (d.1806)	800
Daniel Jones of Beaupre (d.1841)	800
William Gibbon of Trecastell (d.1810)	700
William Hurst of Dinas Powys (d.1803)	650
Lord Dynevor (d.1852)	550
Reynold Thomas Deere of Penlline Court (d.1815)	500
27. Llewellyn Traherne of St Hilary (d.1842)	500
	<u>59,700</u>

TABLE VII. Estates of over 500 Acres in the Vale, c.1820.

	Sir John Aubrey, Bt. (d.1826)	5,900
	Robert Jenner of Wenvoe (d.1824)	5,100
	Windham Henry Wyndham-Quin (Lord Dunraven) (d.1850)	4,400
	Earl of Plymouth (d.1833)	3,900
	Marquess of Bute (d.1848)	3,850
	Earl of Clarendon (d.1824)	3,600
	Hon. William Booth Grey of Dyffryn	3,400
	Robert Jones of Fonmon (d.1834)	2,900
	John Francis Gwyn (d.1846)	1,950
10.	late Sir Samuel Romilly (d.1818)	1,950
	Richard Turbervill Turbervill (d.1848)	1,750
	Llewellyn Traherne of Coedrhyglan (d.1842)	1,700
	Christopher Rice Mansel Talbot of Margam (d.1890)	1,550
	Charles Kemeys-Tynte of Cefn Mabli (d.1860)	1,500
	Thomas Markham of Nash (d.1824)	1,300
	David Thomas of Pwll-y-wrach (d.1830)	1,150
	Evan Thomas of Sully (d.1832)	1,150
	Thomas Tyrwhitt Drake (d.1852)	1,100
	Earl Talbot (d.1849)	1,050
20.	Sir John Nicholl of Merthyr Mawr (d.1838)	1,000
	Executors of Benjamin Hall of Hensol (d.1817)	950
	William Rayer (d.1829)	950
	Robert Savours of Trecastell (d.1848)	800
	Thomas Bates Rous of Cwrtyrala (d.1850)	800
	Daniel Jones of Beaupre (d.1841)	800
	John Bassett of Bonvilston (d.1827)	700
	Edward Rose Tunno of Boverton	650
	Herbert Hurst of Dinas Powys (d.1822)	650
	Rev. William Berkin Meakham Lisle of St Fagans (d.1857)	600
30.	Rev. John James Jones of Caercady (d.1827)	600
	Evan Symmons of Llancarfan (d.1833)	550
	Iltyd Nicholl (d.1871)	500
	William Salmon of Penlline Court (d.1896)	500
	Lord Dynevor (d.1852)	500
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		59,750

TABLE VIII. Estates of over 500 Acres in the Vale, c.1840.

	Sir Thomas Digby Aubrey, Bt. (d.1856)	5,900
	Robert Francis Jenner of Wenvoe (d.1860)	5,100
	Earl of Dunraven (d.1850)	4,550
	Hon. Robert Henry Clive (d.1854)	3,900
	John Bruce Pryce of Dyffryn (d.1872)	3,400
	Marquess of Bute (d.1848)	2,850
	Sir Josiah John Guest, Bt. (d.1852)	2,400
	Romilly Estate (Porthkerry)	1,950
	Joseph Bailey (d.1858)	1,950
10.	Robert Oliver Jones of Fonmon (d.1886)	1,900
	Llewellyn Traherne of Coedrhiglan (d.1842)	1,750
	Richard Turbervill of Ewenny (d.1848)	1,750
	Sir George Tyler of Cottrell (d.1862)	1,600
	William Chute Hayton Gwinnett of Penlline Castle	1,600
	Christopher Rice Mansel Talbot of Margam (d.1890)	1,550
	Charles Kemeys-Tynte of Cefn Mabli (d.1860)	1,500
	Rt.Hon. John Nicholl of Merthyr Mawr (d.1853)	1,450
	Rev. William Rayer (d.1866)	1,300
	Eleanor Markham of Nash (d.1842)	1,200
20.	David Thomas of Pwll-y-wrach (d.1853)	1,150
	Thomas Morgan Bassett of Bonvilston (d.1840)	1,150
	Thomas Tyrwhitt Drake (d.1852)	1,100
	Rowland Fothergill of Hensol (d.1871)	950
	Iltyd Nicholl of Ham (d.1871)	950
	Robert Savours of Trecastell (d.1848)	900
	Rev. William Berkin Meakham Lisle of St Fagans (d.1857)	850
	Earl Talbot (d.1849)	800
	Thomas Bates Rous of Cwrtyrala (d.1850)	800
	Edward Herbert Lee of Dinas Powys (d.1862)	750
30.	Daniel Jones of Beaupre (d.1841)	750
	Thomas William Edwards of Llandaff (d.1840)	700
	John Thomas of Caercady (d.1842)	600
	Richard Franklen of Clemenston (d.1883)	500
	William Salmon of Penlline Court (d.1896)	500
	Lord Dynevor (d.1852)	500
		<hr/> 60,550

scheme, and taking into consideration size of estate and income (where known), public offices held, lineage and family connections, and in one or two cases intuition, Table III was drawn up.

TABLE III. Classification of Landowners in the Vale of Glamorgan, 1782/4.

	No.	Aggregate acreage	
Greater landlords	14	40,000	
Squires	14	15,050	
Lesser squires	19	10,550	
	<u>          </u>	<u>          </u>	%
LANDED GENTRY	47	65,600	78.7
Lesser landowners	194	13,200	15.8
Minor owners(8)	400	450	0.6
Corporate owners	60	4,100	4.9
	<u>          </u>	<u>          </u>	
	701	83,350	

It is important to note that this attempt to classify landowners takes into account property owned outside the Vale as well as within it. The rough definitions of acreage and rental generally applied are as follows:

Greater landlords: rentals exceeding £3,000, estates generally over 5,000 acres.<sup>(9)</sup>

Squires: rentals over £1,000; generally over 1,500 acres.

Lesser squires: rentals over £300; estates over 500 acres.

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8. The number of these properties is a very rough estimate.

9. Rack rents in the Vale in the 1780s and 1790s were 12-15s an acre; see Table XIII, p.126, but the average per acre of an estate was usually a good deal less, mainly because of the existence of old leases; see App.D., p. 215.

inheritance by distant-kin was thus commonplace, and purely genealogical factors are important to an explanation of ~~the history of~~ the history of landed families.<sup>(17)</sup> Much of the absenteeism of landlords arose in this way, that estates in the Vale had been inherited by persons whose main interests lay elsewhere, as for example the Tyrwhitts and Drakes who received a share of the Stradling estates in 1754.<sup>(18)</sup>

There were not many instances of properties within the Vale coming permanently together by inheritance (that is, before 1780). Robert Jones III of Fonmon (c.1737-1793) married first in 1762 the heiress of the Seys family of Boverton (about 2,000 acres in the Vale), and secondly in 1770 the heiress of Edmund Lloyd of Cardiff, who had about 200 acres in the Vale and 1,300 acres in other parts of the county; but most of these accessions to the Fonmon estate were sold by Robert Jones IV (1773-1834). Further, Bussy Mansel (1701-1750), youngest son of the 1st Lord Mansel of Margam, inherited the Briton Ferry estate as a boy; after 1738 he had a life interest in the lands of the extinct house of Stradling of St Donats, almost certainly at that time the largest estate in the Vale of Glamorgan; and in 1744 Bussy succeeded to his family's titles and the great estates of Margam and Penrice. For the few years from 1744 to 1750 the 4th Lord Mansel thus

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17. On the general question of inheritance of estates, see Christopher Clay, "Marriage, inheritance, and rise of large estates in England, 1660-1815", Econ.H.R., 2 Series, XXI (1968), 503-518.

18. G.Eland, Shardloes papers of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries (Oxford, 1947), 29, 81.

held what was probably the largest accumulation of property ever seen in Glamorgan, perhaps not far short of 50,000 acres, of which about 8,000 would have been within the Vale. But after his death the properties were again separated, and the Stradling estate was partitioned by Act of Parliament in 1754. (19)

The one permanent union of estates happened in 1776, when Lady Charlotte Edwin of Llanmihangel was succeeded by Charles Wyndham of Dunraven. Both families had established themselves in Glamorgan in the 17th century, and their combined possessions made their 19th century representatives, the Earls of Dunraven, the second largest landowners in the county. (20)

During the period 1673 to 1780 eight important estates in the Vale were entirely sold:

	vendors	purchasers
1684	Thomas of Llanmihangel	Sir Humphrey Edwin, London merchant
1703	Turbervill of Penlline	Richard Seys > Sir Edw. Stradling
1709	Bassett of Beaupre	rapid succession of owners, 1723 Hon. Henry Berkeley 1755 Thomas Edmondes of Cowbridge
after		
1711	Van of Marcross	partitioned 1711 among three co-heirs; shares sold to various purchasers
c.1750	Button of Dyffryn	Thomas Pryce
1766	Earl of Warwick	(Candleston) John Franklen (St Andrews, etc) Sir Edmund Thomas of Wenvoe
1775	Thomas of Wenvoe	Peter Birt of Armin, Yorkshire
c.1775	Popham of Littlecote	(Cadoxton) Peter Birt, & others.

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19. A.L.Evans, Margam Abbey (Port Talbot, 1958), 134-5.

20. Earl of Dunraven, Dunraven Castle (London, 1926), 38-45, 57-61.

It is not easy to account for these sales, or to point to any common factor. The Earl of Warwick and Edward Popham were getting rid of small, outlying portions of their estates, which had perhaps been as much a liability as an asset.<sup>(21)</sup> The Thomases of Wenvoe exhausted their rather meagre resources by electioneering and improving their mansion.<sup>(22)</sup> The Turbervills of Penlline and Sker owed their gradual decline over several centuries to their recusancy.<sup>(23)</sup> The Buttons of Dyffryn became extinct in the male line about 1750, when the estate passed to a cousin, Robert Jones of Fonmon.<sup>(24)</sup> It was sold soon afterwards. This may have been an instance of a heavily mortgaged inheritance being a liability.

There remains a small group of families whose decline and extinction may possibly have some connection with the Civil War and Commonwealth: Thomas of Llanmihangel, Bassett of Beaupre and Van of Marcross.<sup>(25)</sup> Further research among the rather slight archive collections extant will be necessary to substantiate this. Recent writers minimise the importance of the fines and sequestrations of this period, which seem to have caused serious harm only to those families which were already in financial trouble.<sup>(26)</sup>

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21. cf. G.E.Mingay, English landed society in the eighteenth century (London, 1963), 28.
  22. Roy Denning, "The Thomas family of Wenvoe, 1560-1800" in Stewart Williams (ed.), The Garden of Wales (Cowbridge, 1961), 106-115. In 1769 the rental of the Wenvoe estate was only £1,243. G.R.O. D/D Xqg.
  23. A.L.Evans, The story of Sker House (Neath, 1956), 13-27.
  24. J.S.Corbett, Glamorgan (Cardiff, 1925), 226; C.F.Shepherd, St Nicholas (Cardiff, 1934), 47.
  25. Clark (LP 352, 465) says that Richard Bassett and William Van were surety for Sir Edward Stradling, and that they were forced to pay. The date must be late 17th century, but Clark gives no evidence.
  26. H.J.Habakkuk, "Landowners and the Civil War", Econ.H.R., 2 Series, XVIII (1965), 130-151.



The estates of some other families declined in size, or were divided among co-heirs. There is scattered evidence of sale of parts of the Cardiff Castle estate, which had descended from the 7th Earl of Pembroke (d.1683) to his son-in-law, Thomas Viscount Windsor (d.1738).<sup>(27)</sup> The partition of the Stradling estate in 1754 has already been mentioned as a major event in the history of landownership in the Vale, and one should add that the St Athan part of the estate was sold, to pay the legal expenses, to Charles Edwin of Llanmihangel. The far less important estate of the Vans of Marcross and Llantwit Major was partitioned by Chancery decree of 1711, and the three shares were subsequently sold to various purchasers.<sup>(28)</sup>

Which were the new families buying estates in the Vale, or gradually raising themselves from the yeomanry? The most important purchasers were Sir Humphrey Edwin,<sup>(29)</sup> a London merchant and alderman, who bought out Sir Robert Thomas of Llanmihangel and Betws in 1684, and Peter Birt, apparently a Yorkshire industrialist,<sup>(30)</sup> who bought Sir Edmund Thomas of Wenvoe's estate in 1775 for £41,000. Then there were Abraham Barbour of London who bought the nucleus of what later became the Coedrhiglan estate in 1715-25 and bequeathed it to the

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27. G.R.O. D/D MBN and C collections.

28. G.R.O. D/D E 632.

29. DWB.

30. Little is known of Birt; he refers in his will to his estate in Yorkshire and to his shares in the Aire and Calder Navigation. G.R.O. D/D We. A copy of the conveyance of the estate to Birt is in N.L.W. Bute, Box 63.B7.

Llewellyn family; <sup>(31)</sup> the Hon. Henry Berkeley, who acquired St Hilary in 1723, and whose heirs sold the manor in 1755 to Thomas Edmondson of Cowbridge; a lawyer and steward of the Aubrey estate; <sup>(32)</sup> and the remaining newcomer, Thomas Pryce, a member of a family well-established in Gower, who bought the Button property of Dyffryn (St Nicholas).

Two or three families were successfully raising themselves from the yeomanry into the lower ranks of the gentry: Thomas of Pwll-y-wrach (Colwinston), Nicholl of Ham (Llantwit Major) and Williams of Pendoylan. The best documented are the Nicholls, who can be traced back at Llantwit to the 15th century. By the 17th century, probably as a result of a series of provident marriages, they were very substantial yeomen; Iltyd Nicholl (d.1671) left personal estate valued at £380, and his son, Iltyd Nicholl, gent., (d.1700), left £582. The latter refers in his will to his purchases of land from four persons, probably small freeholders or copyholders at Llantwit. His son, the Rev. Iltyd Nicholl (d.1733), was rector of Llanmaes, and he added further to the family's property. The next head of the family was Whitlock Nicholl, who served as sheriff in 1746 and thereafter was known as an esquire. His will also refers to a number of purchases of land, from his brother and from several freeholders of Llantwit Major. He owned about 650 acres by the time of his death in 1788 but, contrary to normal practice among the gentry he left substantial amounts of land

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31. G.R.O. D/D MBN Collection. See prefatory notes to the schedule.

32. G.R.O. D/D MBN 456-461; D/D Au 73. B.H.Malkin, The scenery, antiquities, and biography of South Wales (2nd ed., London, 1807), vol.I, 184-5.

to each of his younger sons. (33)

Some of the families already established in 1673 continued to extend their landed estates. The period saw the continued progress of the Joneses of Fonmon, who had risen rapidly from obscurity during the Commonwealth and had conformed readily enough to the new dispensation of 1660/2. By purchase and marriage they had become the greatest landowners of the Vale of Glamorgan by the 1780s, but they were ruined by the extravagance and mismanagement of Robert Jones III (d.1793) and his son, Robert Jones IV (d.1834). (34)

Although it is thus possible to reconstruct an outline of the history of the main landowning families in the century before 1780, it is not possible to give any reasonable account of the small landowners. There is no doubt that a considerable number of small properties were absorbed permanently into the large estates, but there was at least a little of the reverse process. On balance it does seem, however, that this reverse process was less vigorous before 1780 than after 1800. More extensive research among the pre-1780 muniments may quite easily indicate the error of this conclusion, at least it may show that it does not apply to all parts of the Vale equally. Nevertheless the probability is that the amount of land

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33. Information on the Nicholl family is taken from documents in the Carne Collection at G.R.O., especially D/D C F/47 and D/D C 1069. See also BLG and LP. The G.R.O. also has a schedule of the muniments of the Pwll-y-wrach estate, but the rise of this family is not entirely clear. The point at which David Thomas became an esquire was when he purchased the manor and advowson of Colwinston from Lord Mansel in 1749/50.

34. On the Jones family, see the manuscript history written in the late 19th century by R.O.Jones. G.R.O. D/D F, vol.3. See also p.42.

Since the gentry already owned three-quarters of the land, and another 5% was in the hands of the Church and other institutions, the only really feasible way that an outsider could break into the circle of county families was to buy a substantial slice of land from one of the existing squires. The following table gives a list of those who purchased more than 500 acres during the period under review, with a brief account of their antecedents, and the main sources of their purchases.

TABLE IX. Purchasers of over 500 Acres in the Vale, 1780-1840. (41)

Date	Purchasers and antecedents	From whom purch'd.
1788	Robert Rous; East India Company; family from Glos., but with interests in Glam. since early 18th century.	Robert Jones
1789	Samuel Richardson; Father a wealthy surgeon-apothecary of Newent, Glos. (42)	Earl Talbot
1797	Daniel Jones; lawyer; his family were substantial yeomen at Llantwit Major	heirs of John Edmondson
1804	Elias van der Horst; Bristol merchant.	Robert Jones
1804	Sir John Nicholl; ecclesiastical lawyer & judge; nephew of Whitlock Nicholl of Ham.	Stephen Jones
1806	Isaac Harris Wrentmore; gentleman farmer of Stugumber, Somerset.	Elias van der Horst
1812	Sir Samuel Romilly; lawyer & politician.	Robert Jones
1812	William Rayer; London merchant, native of Gloucester.	Robert Jones
1812	Evan Thomas; landowner in Breconshire.	T.T. Drake
1815	Benjamin Hall; ironmaster, M.P. for Glam. son-in-law of Richard Crawshay. (43)	Sam. Richardson
1815-20	W.B.M. Lisle; Rector of St Fagans.	Sam. Richardson Robert Jones

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41. The information in Table IX derives from printed and record sources listed in the Bibliography, except as stated in notes 42-44.
42. I owe information on the Richardsons of Newent to the Gloucestershire County Archivist.
43. For biographical data on Benjamin Hall, see Maxwell Fraser, "The Halls of Pembrokeshire", NLWJ, XII (1961-2), 1-17; esp. p.13 n.4.

1817	John Tunno; London merchant, reputedly worth £750,000. (44)	heirs of I.H. Wrentmore
1826	William Crawshay; ironmaster.	exors. of B.Hall
c.1835	Joseph Bailey; ironmaster.	J.F.Gwyn
1838	Sir J.J.Guest; ironmaster.	E.R.Tunno; heirs of Evan Thomas; Earl of Clarendon
1839	Rowland Fothergill; ironmaster.	William Crawshay

In addition, there were a few families who, by purchase and inheritance, raised themselves from the category of lesser landowners during the period; the forbears of each of them were landowners within the Vale in 1780. (Daniel Jones and Sir John Nicholl could be placed here, but the magnitude of their purchases in relation to their inheritances puts them more appropriately in Table IX.)

TABLE X. Old Vale Families which became owners of 500 Acres, between 1780 and 1840.

John Bassett of Bonvilston; the Bassetts had been minor gentry at Bonvilston since 1540.

Evan Symmons, gentleman farmer. See pp.59-61.

Rev. John James Jones of Caercady; married heiress of Lewis Jenkins of Caercady, member of a family of minor gentry. Jones was rector of Gelligaer, Glam.

Richard Franklen of Clemenston; grandson of John Franklen of Llanmihangel and of Richard Crawshay of Cyfarthfa, the ironmaster. JF acquired some Vale land by marriage, and bought Candleston in 1766, and Wilton (Llantwit Major) in 1790. RF married a daughter of T.M.Talbot of Margam; he sold Candleston and bought Clemenston in 1830/1.

The motives of purchasers were probably a mixture of the desire for a country house in which to live, the desire for an investment for their money, and the desire for the social and political prestige

(Llanblethian),<sup>(57)</sup> gathered by Daniel Rowland and others about 1740, had registered itself under the Toleration Act in 1758 and had ordained a minister, but the majority of Methodists had remained communicants of the Church of England, and from 1767 to 1810 the leading opponent of the secession of the Calvinistic Methodists from the Church, David Jones, held the living of Llangan, in the Vale of Glamorgan. The tensions built up within the connexion, reaching their most extreme form in the "Independent Methodist" church at Aberthin, which split basically on this issue in 1797, seem to have stunted the growth and progress of the movement in the later decades of the 18th century. The period 1780-1810 was one in which Dissent made some advance into the Vale from its old-established bases in the hills and around Bridgend; Baptist chapels were built at Croes-y-parc (St Nicholas) and Wick, and there was a small Independent congregation meeting at Taihirion (Llaniltern) under the patronage of the local squireen, Samuel Price of Parc;<sup>(58)</sup> but the main feature of the decades was theological dispute rather than evangelical expansion. Several new congregations were formed by schism - notably Bethesda'r Fro (Llantwit Major) - while some of the older ones moved in the direction of Sabellianism, Arianism or Socinianism. 16 registrations under the Toleration Act are known from these thirty years, most of them in the

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57. On the history of Aberthin, see G.M.Roberts, Emynwyr Bethesda'r Fro (Llandysul, 1967), 20-29.

58. Samuel Price (d.1777) was a son of Rees Price of Ty'n ton (Llangeinor), and brother of Dr Richard Price, the philosopher. He was high sheriff of Glamorgan in 1761.

~~At the~~ somewhat subjective and very subtly graded. If one must divide the population of the Vale of Glamorgan in 1851 into social groups, then the following scheme <sup>(65)</sup> may roughly represent the social pyramid:

- I. Gentry; substantial clergy; gentlemen farmers.
- II. Larger farmers; lesser landowners; solicitors; revenue officers; other professional men.
- III. Smaller farmers; prosperous tradesmen and craftsmen; nonconformist ministers.
- IV. Master craftsmen and tradesmen; shopkeepers; publicans; schoolmasters; minor officials; proprietors of houses; small occupiers of land.
- V. Journeymen and farm labourers; male servants.
- VI. Paupers; female servants; women in rough work.
- VII. Vagrants.

The main breaks in the continuum are between I and II - IV and V - VII.

Class I could be considerably elaborated, but the numbers in the class were so few that this is not really practicable. In general the main social groups can be characterised as follows:

- I. Owners of land, with large capital, large establishments, education, social and political power, and large numbers of employees and dependents. Many persons in this class were not actually resident in the Vale.
- II-IV. The entrepreneur and professional class, small owners of capital, the farmers mostly tenants of Class I; employers of labour, leading members of local communities, parish officials, etc.

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65. For other such schemes, see D.R.Mills, "English villages in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries: a sociological approach", Amateur Historian, 6 (1963-5), 271-8; W.M.Williams, The sociology of an English village: Gosforth (London, 1956), chapter V; A West Country village: Ashworthy (London, 1963), 195-6; James Littlejohn, Westrigg: the sociology of a Cheviot parish (London, 1963), 56.

V-VII. The employed (and unemployed) class, having no (or very little) independent access to land or any other form of wealth; liable to fall upon the poor law in old age or illness.

An attempt can now be made to apply this scheme of social structure to the data of the 1851 enumerators' books. It is important to remember that the census required information upon "rank, profession or occupation" of each person, and this information is not always easily interpreted in strictly social terms. A pilot analysis was attempted for the single parish of Llantwit Major, filling out the data from other sources, such as the register of electors, parish register, tithe map, etc. The result seems fairly convincing, but the decision about which category a particular household belonged in was often subjective, and sometimes arbitrary. No clear definitions were employed (for example, where can one draw the line between "larger" and "smaller" farmers), but such factors as the number of employees and domestic servants, or the presence of a scholar over the age of 12, would usually raise that family by one degree. Unfortunately, the enumerators did not always distinguish carefully between master craftsmen and journeymen (writing simply the word "carpenter", for instance).<sup>(66)</sup>

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66. cf. W.A.Armstrong, "Social structure from the early census returns", in E.A.Wrigley (ed.), *op.cit.*, 209-237; also Appendix D, "The classification of occupations", *ibid.*, 272-3. For actual examples of the use of the enumerators' books in a Welsh context, see Spencer Thomas, "The enumerators' returns as a source for a period picture of the parish of Llansantffraid, 1841-1851", *Ceredigion*, IV (4), 1963, 408-421; and, G.J.Lewis, "The demographic structure of a Welsh rural village during the mid-nineteenth century", *Ceredigion*, V (3), 1966, 290-304.



TABLE X. Social Structure of the Population of Llantwit Major, 1851.  
1. Households.

Social Category	No. of Households	No. of persons in households	Average size of households	% of Households in each category
I.	7	63	9.0	2.8
II.	18	135	7.5	7.2
III.	17	90	5.3	6.8
IV.	60	252	4.2	23.9
V.	114	460	4.0	45.4
VI.	35	72	2.0	13.9
VII.	-	5	-	-
	<u>251</u>	<u>1,077</u>	<u>4.2</u>	

The number of persons given in the second column include all the residents of the households - including the servants, lodgers, visitors and apprentices.<sup>(67)</sup> The large size of the seven households in the first category is accounted for in this way; the number of persons constituting the actual families (i.e. those related to the heads of households) was 34. The fact that the average size of household decreases with each social category is probably some support for the validity of the present exercise. If the structure were worked out in terms of individuals rather than households, one would get a result roughly as that set out in Table XI.

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67. Members of households unrelated to the heads of families constituted as many as 12.5% of the population of the parish. There were 100 servants (43 male, 57 female), 21 lodgers, 11 visitors, 2 "children to nurse", and one apprentice. The practice of unmarried farm labourers living in their employers' houses was still an important feature of the social scene, but there is no indication of whether there had been any significant decline of the custom since 1780, as seems to have occurred in other regions; e.g. E.J.Hobsbawm & G.Rudé, Captain Swing (London, 1969), 38-46.

How then, in the light of this body of theory and evidence, may the history of Nonconformity in the Vale of Glamorgan between 1780 and 1850 be interpreted in social terms?

Unfortunately Nonconformist records relating to the Vale are very defective, and it is only with difficulty that one extracts information of a sociological nature.<sup>(72)</sup> It is clear that the older Dissent made little impact in the Vale until late in the 18th century by which time it had become deeply imbued with the enthusiasm of the Methodists. For there is no doubt that it was the Methodists (particularly the Calvinistic Methodists) who made the running here. The emotionalism and urgency of their preaching attracted large crowds from about 1740 onwards, but their converts were in comparison few. They had influential supporters among the local ruling group - Lady Charlotte Edwin of Llanmihangel (d.1777) and Robert Jones II of Fonmon (d.1742) and his wife (d.1788) - and a number of the clergy were sympathetic,<sup>(73)</sup> but it is difficult to get information about the social composition of the societies. There is a little information available for the Independent Methodists of Aberthin in the 1790s, when two factions within the society went to law over possession of the meeting house. The orthodox faction (Anglicans-Methodists-Trinitarians) described their opponents (Independents-Sabellians) as "for the most part... very poor and obscure

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72. The present investigation has however been far from exhaustive.

73. Lady Charlotte, a friend of the Countess of Huntingdon, presented David Jones to the rectory of Llangan, and two other "Methodist" clergy to the adjoining parishes of Coychurch and Coity. There were several other clergy in the Vale who associated with the Methodists throughout the period, e.g. John Hodges of Wenvoe, Hezekiah Jones of Cadoxton and Richard Bassett of Colwinston. Robert and Mary Jones of Fonmon were friends of the Wesleys, who were occasional visitors at their house. DWB.

people". The orthodox party comprised several fairly well-to-do men, such as James Prichard of Tal-y-garn, gentleman, Christopher Bassett of Aberthaw, gentleman, Thomas John of St Donats, tenant farmer and owner of property in Llantwit Major and Llanmaes.<sup>(74)</sup> We have a list of 55 members of the Sabellian party, and 41 of them were unable to write their names. The few who can be identified were mostly master craftsmen, with one or two tenant farmers; the fact that so few can be identified tends to support the charge that they were "poor and obscure", and <sup>many</sup> may well have been labourers.<sup>(75)</sup> The clergy of Llanblethian had certainly played down the importance of the membership at Aberthin: "Methodists of all Trades and Denominations - Tinkers, Thatchers, Weavers, and other Vermin" (1763); "... none of Rank" (1774).<sup>(76)</sup> But the impression one gets from the documents is that before 1797 there was a fairly wide range of social ranks, below that of esquire; the leaders in the chapel were certainly fairly substantial men of middle rank.

The social position of Nonconformists clarifies in the 19th century; it appears that Nonconformity took strongest root among the middling and small tenant farmers (quasi-peasant, working farmers) together with the master craftsmen, who seem everywhere to have been alert to current movements in social, religious and political ideas. These were the

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74. James Prichard was a member of the Prichard family of Collenna (Llantrisant), minor gentry; his sister was the wife of David Williams of Llysworney, minister of Aberthin (d.1792). Christopher Bassett was steward of the Fonmon estate; his son of the same name, a Methodist clergyman, is noticed in DWB. Thomas John is further mentioned on p.78.
75. Several legal documents relating to this suit are extant. N.L.W. Great Sessions Records, formerly P.R.O. Wales 11/89. There are copies of further documents in C.P.L. MS 3.157.
76. N.L.W. LL/QA/1, 6.

In general the great estates were let in farms that were economic units, except where small, scattered or outlying pieces of land did not allow this. Smallholdings and accomodation land tended to belong to lesser landowners, and were thus particularly concentrated in a few parishes, such as Llanblethian and Llantwit Major. It is impossible to disentangle the chain of causation, but the broad correlation is observable: lesser landowners = small units of occupation = large proportion of tradesmen and craftsmen in the population = high density of population. This will be the subject of further comment in the final chapter and in Appendix E. Here we are interested only in the smallholders. The parish of Llanblethian had 106 occupiers of more than one acre, of whom only 26 had more than 25 acres. A number of these small occupiers can be identified as tradespeople in Cowbridge. The property of some lesser landowners in this parish and even of some great landlords was minutely divided among occupiers, for example Lord Dynevor had four tenants on his 12 acres, and John Bevan had eight on his 62 acres. This was partly imposed by the scattered and morcellated nature of property in Llanblethian, but it was also a response to the requirements of the tradesmen of Cowbridge, and, further, it was a way of maximising rents, since rent per acre for smallholdings and accomodation land was much higher than that for farms. (90)

From the land tax assessments it appears that there was a more rapid changeover of tenants of these small pieces of land than of farms.

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90. Land in Llanblethian belonging to the Dunraven estate was rented as highly as 40-50s an acre in 1812, while 20-30s was the usual range of rack rent on the estate. N.L.W. Dunraven 157.