

**From Tref to Tithe:  
Identifying Settlement Patterns in a North Pembrokeshire  
Parish**

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## Introduction

Any review of landscape studies rapidly reveals that the wealth of research into English parish development is counterbalanced by a paucity of investigation into Welsh parishes, especially where Marcher Lordship and Welsh law have resulted in a dearth of primary written sources for the medieval period. Some of the reasons for this are noted in a recent review of the history and archaeology of one such parish, Dinas Cross, in the historically Welsh area of north Pembrokeshire in the medieval Marcher Lordship of Cemais (Comeau 2008; Figure 1). Archaeological, topographic/map and place name evidence indicate a landscape of considerable time-depth, but the task of investigating the development of this landscape is challenged considerably by an almost total lack of primary medieval sources, incomplete sixteenth century surveys and – apart from one 1758 map of a small hill farm - no surviving maps that predate the 1814 Ordnance Survey sketch plan of the parish (BL OSD 184; BL OSD 185; NLW Llwyngwair Map 5).

The current project continues this investigation into the Dinas landscape and seeks to investigate whether, in the absence of pre-nineteenth century maps and boundary descriptions, an understanding of earlier settlement can be derived from applying the evidence of the Land Tax lists of 1786-1830 to the 1841 Tithe Schedule and Map. Late though these sources may be for exploring pre-Tudor development and settlement, they do provide a potentially better baseline for considering pre-nineteenth century parish development than the Ordnance Survey First Edition 6”/25” maps whose limitations for indicating earlier landscape change have been noted in a number of studies (Page & Jones 2007, 152). The Land Tax lists and the 1841 Tithe Schedule and Map are the earliest comprehensive sources for Dinas, and record a crucial fifty-five year period when a rapidly rising population expanded onto the margins of common land around the highway. It will be argued that these sources have the capacity not just to describe that process of change but also to reveal whether, and how, a medieval Welsh landscape of ‘trefi’ still patterned the landscape of the nineteenth century parish.

## Review of literature

The previous study of the parish outlines literature of general relevance (Comeau 2008, 4-6, 13), including the sixteenth century description of intermixed holdings in North Pembrokeshire open fields by George Owen (Owen 1994, 64-5), the works of G.J.R. Jones on medieval Welsh settlement (Jones 1996), and Brian Howells’ discussion of the Welsh nucleated settlements – the trefi - of Cemais in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries (Howells 1955, 324-6). The landscape impact of the Welsh landholding structure should be seen in the broader context of infield and outfield systems which predated the development of the English Midlands common field (Taylor 2000, 68, 74-5; Whittington 1973, 532-4), and of the use in woodland and moorland areas of Britain of the convertible husbandry methods described in Elizabethan Pembrokeshire (Owen 1994, 66-7; Rippon, Fyfe & Brown 2006, 55; Williamson 2002, 55, 107-8, 125; Williamson & Bellamy 1987, 86).

The national (Welsh) and regional context of the Land Tax lists of 1786-1830 is analysed by David Howell, whose perspective is that of economic rather than landscape history, and therefore provides a more abstract account of landscape change than for example, Winchester’s study of eighteenth century changes in Cumbria (Howell 1987A & 1987B;

**Figure 1: The parish of Dinas today**





Howell 2000; Winchester 2005). Changing patterns in British land tenure during this period are considered by Williamson (Williamson 2002).

Although a number of studies of the history of local parishes exist, there are very few parish-level landscape studies of culturally Welsh areas, and studies like Hall's recent analysis of a Montgomeryshire parish, which includes an investigation of the use of cytir (outfield) are rare (Hall 2005). In Pembrokeshire Austin has noted the persistence of late nineteenth and early twentieth century attitudes of cultural determinism in the commonly-drawn distinction between 'Englishries' (English-colonised parishes) with open fields and villages and 'Welshries' (Welsh parishes) with dispersed pastoral settlement and less communal cultivation, which he and Kissock have challenged in recent years with research into South Pembrokeshire parishes (Austin 2005; Kissock 1993 & 1997). Austin describes it as a distorting narrative, developing from the Anglo-Welsh's gentry accommodation to English rule (Austin 2005, 44, 60-1), and suggests that both North and South Pembrokeshire share an identical ancient 'cultural landscape' of dispersed farmsteads and tenements and high status hamlets, with land laid out at right angles to the contours of the landscape to give access to meadow, arable and mountain pasture. Villages were created as a 'piecemeal reaction to tenurial and other circumstances' (ibid, 49, 58-60). Unfortunately Austin considers trefi only in the context of high status settlement clusters, and does not consider the impact of systems of dispersed holdings on landscape development, which raises questions about the usefulness of his model; its relevance to Dinas will be considered.

## **Sources and methodology**

### *Sources*

The primary sources used were the 1841 Tithe Schedule and map; the Land Tax lists for 1786 to 1830; the 1814 Ordnance Survey map drawings; and deeds and manuscripts held at the National Library of Wales and the Pembrokeshire County Record Office, among them three maps of farms dating to 1758, 1839 and 1841 (BL OSD 184; BL OSD 185; NLW Cilciffeth (1) 194; NLW Llwyngwair Map 5; NLW Tithe Map; NLW Williams & Williams (1) Pembrokeshire 1484; PCRO PQ/RT/CE -1786-1830 Dinas; Appendix 1).

The main gap in documentary sources encountered was the lack of pre-nineteenth century maps and property descriptions. The two 1814 Ordnance Survey sketch plans of the parish held by the British Library provided useful information although the accuracy of their field boundaries was doubtful - the Brynhenllan area shows square fields on the 1814 map and strip fields on the 1841 Tithe and 1888 Ordnance Survey. No Enclosure Awards exist for the parish. Few of the documents checked (mainly leases, sales and marriage settlements) specified the extent or location of land, other than referring to it by the overall name of the farm. Significantly, apart from the 1758 map of Penmynydd farm (part of a Bowen Estate Survey, where the absence of maps for other Bowen holdings in the parish suggests missing documentation) property descriptions and maps only appear on documents where land units are being split up into smaller parcels for sale, suggesting that most boundaries were customarily defined and well known. This lack of boundary description was not wholly unexpected, and methodology allowed estate maps and property descriptions to enhance research rather than underpin it.

### *Method of research*

Research aimed to establish the geographical extent of the properties – farms – listed in the 1786 Land Tax list, which developed from a now-vanished late seventeenth list of the parish's principal landholdings (Mingay 1964, 382). Land Tax lists were tabulated and sorted using numerical property identifiers (Appendix 2 & 3) and used to target research at the National Library of Wales and the Pembrokeshire County Record Office, where documents for 1750-1850 were checked for property descriptions and maps. This proved an effective and systematic approach and revealed a number of variations in property name which could otherwise have proved confusing – e.g. Tiredygon/Llandre/Ty Mil yr Eglwys (all the same land unit) and Dyffryn/Trevawr/Cwmme/Kilvach y Kranck (again, all the same unit)(Appendix 3, numbers 3 & 5). Unfortunately land tenure on these documents was not systematically noted – its relevance was only realised at a later stage of research.

The relationship between newly appearing and older units in the Land Tax lists was then identified, taking advantage of a structural 'problem' of the Land Tax, the fixed overall parish valuation which did not allow for changes as nineteenth century development took hold (Mingay 1964, 386). An observable pattern of showing new listings in Dinas as an apportionment of earlier valuations meant that a 'family tree' relationship could be traced. After this, the 1830 Land Tax units were linked to the 1841 Tithe units; cases where attribution was uncertain were not sufficiently numerous to affect the overall picture which emerged (Appendix 4).

When the 1786 landholdings had been identified against the 1841 Tithe Map, the resultant pattern of landholdings was mapped against the settlement patterns of the 1841 and 1814 maps, and against areas of unenclosed land on the 1814 map and of common land and place names indicative of earlier land use on the Tithe Schedule (Figures 2 & 3). The road network shown in the 1814 map was mapped against the 1841 Tithe and 1888 Ordnance Survey First Edition 6-inch map to identify any changes, and applied to the map of landholdings and settlements. Areas of settlement change were identified and analysed using maps, documentary sources and place name analysis; ownership patterns were analysed (Figure 5, Appendix 5 & 6).

The limitations of Land Tax assessments as a research tool were avoided through the parish's low proportion of 'Redeemed' assessments – only 3 out of 78 landholdings in 1830 - and by concentrating on the links between older and newer entries rather than on their precise valuations and their relationship with acreage (Mingay 1964). Although use was made of Land Tax:Tithe acreage ratios to identify major discrepancies between original Land Tax assessments and the 1841 acreage, which might be indicative of substantial reorganisation or enclosure, this was done comparing farms in similar areas – ratios were noticeably different between hill and coastal areas (Appendix 4). Land Tax:Tithe acreage ratio irregularities indicated ongoing processes of aggregation, for example Ty Gwyn's acquisitions at Vron (NLW Williams & Williams Collection (1) Pembrokeshire 1484; PCRO D/WW/66/8). The most significant changes, all in the period 1820-1840, were confirmed through documentary research (NLW Cilciffeth (1) 194; NLW T.I. Ellis 1, Davies Family 156; NLW Williams & Williams Collection (1) Pembrokeshire 1484). Enclosure of common pasture and reorganisation of boundaries was also an issue; the common edge parcels shown on the 1814 map have been included in the 1786 mapped boundaries but future research may cast light on enclosure dates and allow refinement, although - given the multiplicity of land owners and the incomplete nature of the archives involved – a broadly indicative rather than exactly correct picture may be all that can be achieved. To put the problem in perspective, the Land



Figure 2: Early 19th century settlement and land use

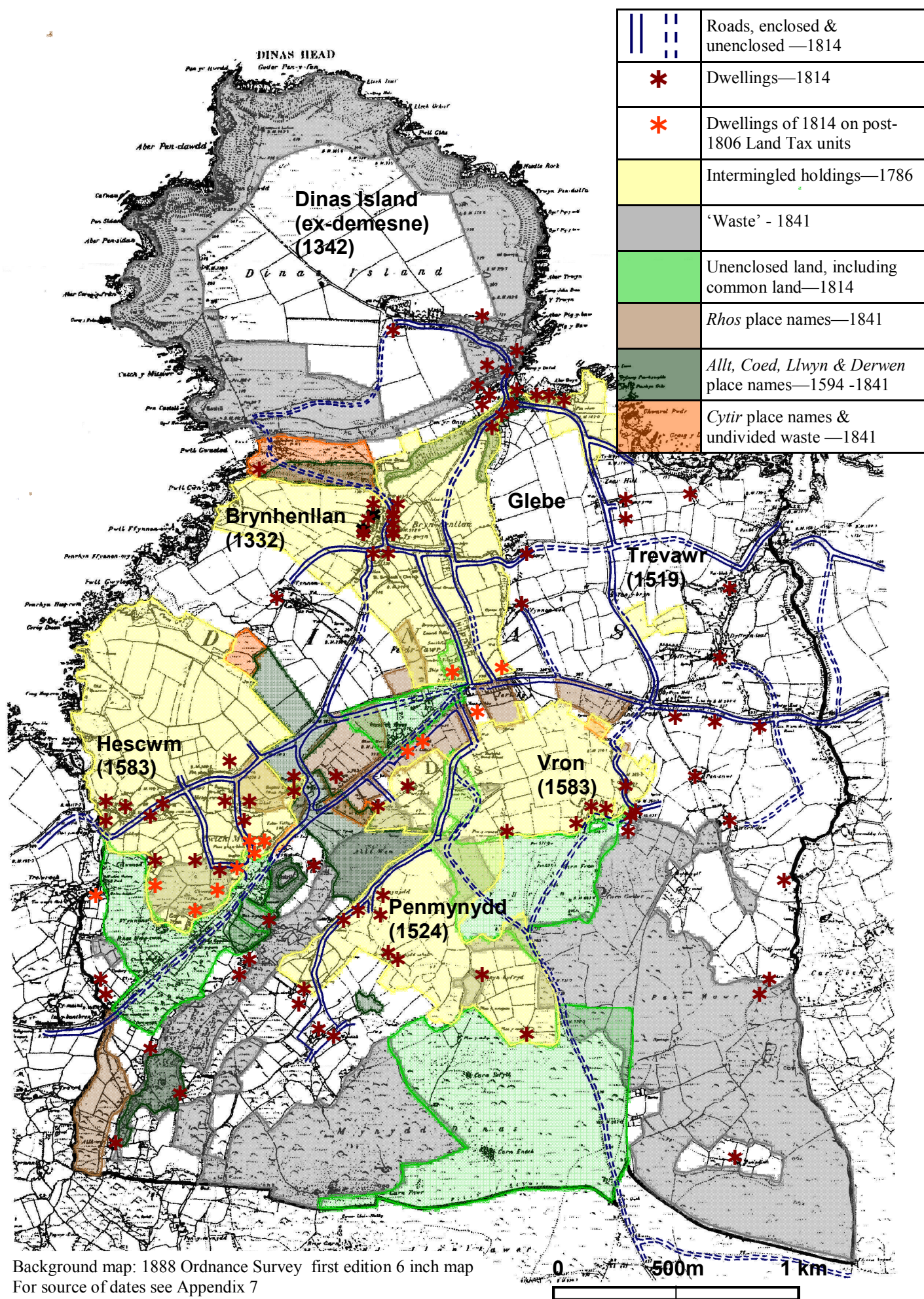
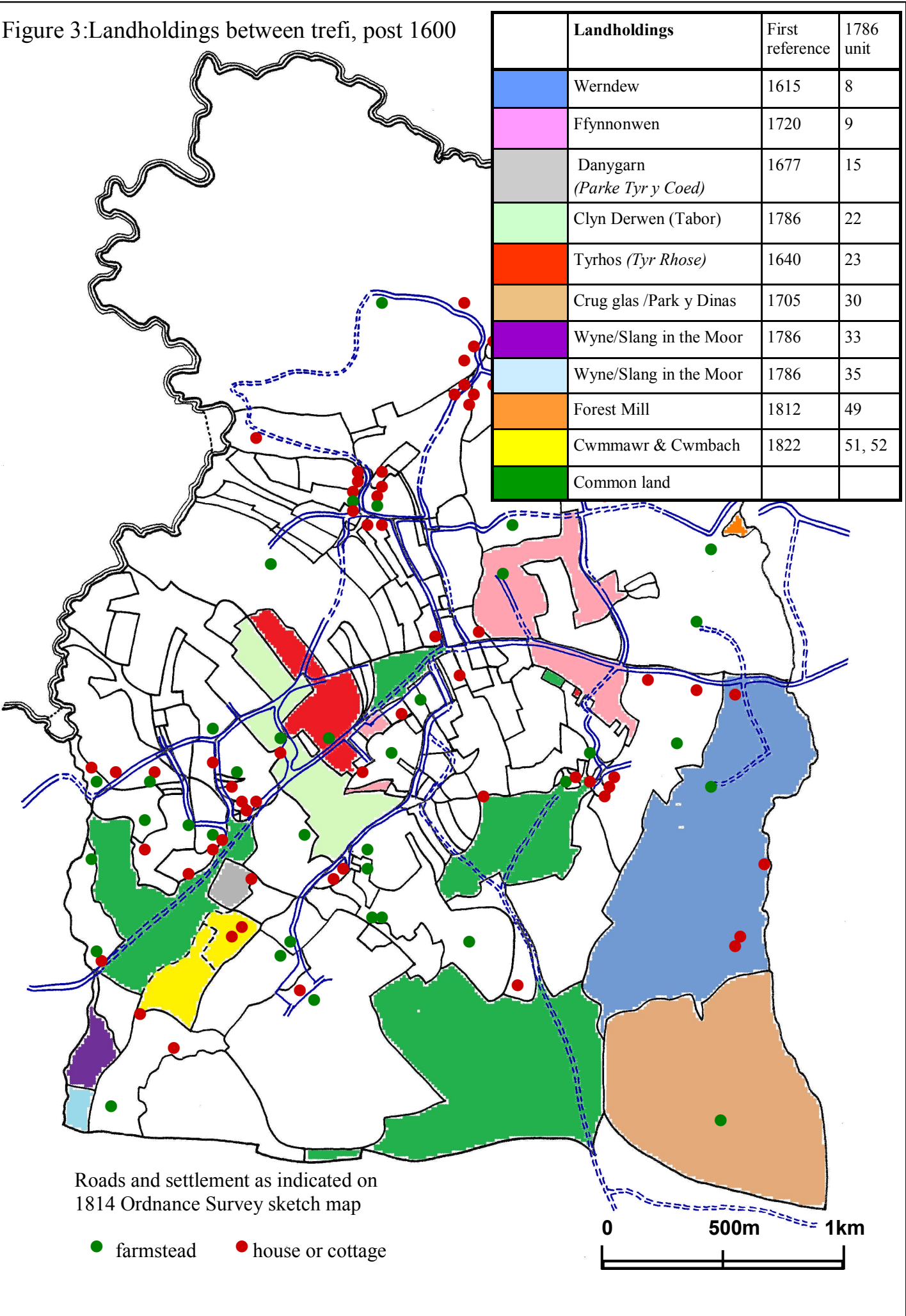




Figure 3: Landholdings between trefi, post 1600



Tax: Tithe acreage discrepancies only affect 4 out of 42 farms and do not significantly obscure the overall picture, and documentary research indicates that most landholdings are very stable in this period.



## Results & Discussion

### *Settlement types*

Settlement types in late eighteenth century Dinas show a close link with landholding patterns, which range from scattered intermingled strips to fully agglomerated holdings. Settlements consist of clustered groups of farmsteads and cottages in areas of intermixed holdings, and farmsteads in isolated positions in areas of consolidated ownership, two settlement and landholding types that are said to have characterised Pembrokeshire in the eighteenth century (Howell 1987B, 307). The parish also contained growing scatters of houses and cottages at the edges of common land in the area of the highway. Most of the mapped land holdings form distinct locational groups along spring lines at 75m and 165m OD on the coastal plateau and on Dinas mountain; some of these correspond with areas of settlement referred to as ploughlands (*tir arad*) in fifteenth and sixteenth century sources (Howells 1977, 30; NLW Bronwydd 2A, 1170; Figures 2, 3 & 4; Appendix 7). Most landholdings are restricted to the area of a single tref.

Strips and intermingled holdings are found in all areas of the parish apart from Dinas Island, which was held as demesne land by the Llwyngwair Estate ‘for all the time of man’s memory’ until 1823 (NLW T.I. Ellis (1) Davies Family, 156; Owen 1994, 117). Even in the engrossed holding of Trevawr an isolated two strips belonging to neighbouring farms remain. This suggests that, demesne land excepted, all trefi in the parish once consisted of the dispersed strips in the open fields described (despairingly) by George Owen in 1603 (Owen 1994, 64-5). By 1841 all trefi were at different stages of a transition represented by the dispersed strips at Brynhenllan, fully agglomerated farms in western Penmynydd, and replanned farms with square closes at Trevawr. The 1814 map suggests largely enclosed land: the progress of enclosure locally is indicated by an account of Dinas ‘all without a hedge’ which appears to date to the first half of the eighteenth century, and by references to the enclosure of fields at Trevawr later in that century; large areas of North Pembrokeshire were enclosed by consent at this time (Gwynrug 1909 Ch XI; Howells 1987, 312; PCRO D/RTP/JW James 2/17).

### *Enclosure*

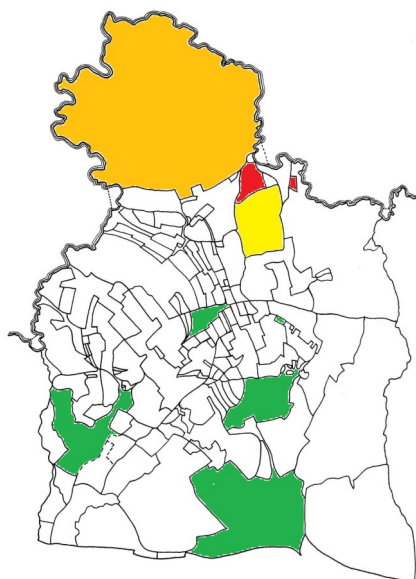
The Taibach deeds and the Brynhenllan selion strips indicate a process of piecemeal enclosure, with enclosure by private agreement between landowners in areas of shared pasture (Williamson 2002, 7, 12-13). There is no Enclosure Act/Award for the parish. The small strips held by Voel, Vron, and Ty Rhos farms in distant trefi (Tithe Field numbers 124, 246, 391) are reminders that though the end process of engrossment was often a unit within the area of one trefi, the original dispersed landholding could have been split between two or more trefi, as Howells has noted, and complete aggregation may have been impossible to achieve (Howells 1955, 324). The differential progress of enclosure and engrossment in different parts of the parish appears to result from variations in land markets caused by varying employment, agricultural and land ownership patterns, rather than simply from different terrains (Fox 1975, 194).

It is useful to consider the impact of these factors at Brynhenllan, Trevawr and Penmynydd. Both Brynhenllan and Trevawr occupy good land, yet by the end of the eighteenth century one consisted of intermingled strip holdings and the other was almost entirely engrossed. At Brynhenllan, the site of the pre-Norman church, and a long-standing focal point in the landscape (Comeau *op cit*), an active market for small land units may have been encouraged by proximity to safe harbours, the region’s long history of seafaring, and the substantial

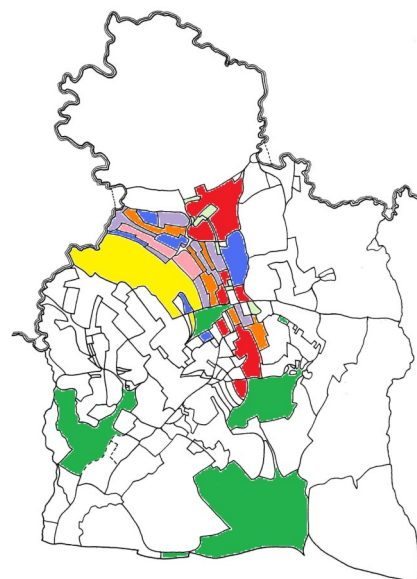
## Figure 4: Trefi, showing landholdings

*For keys and settlement patterns see Appendix 7.*

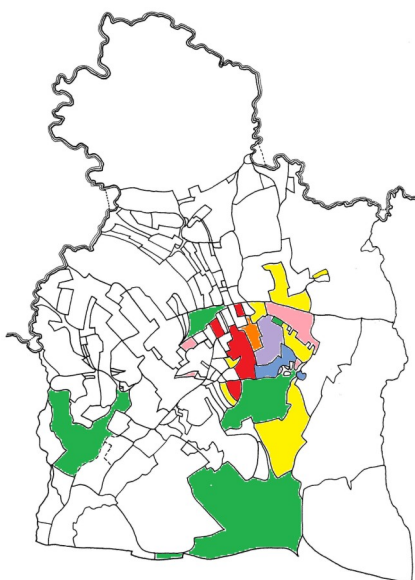
*Very few landholdings are split between different trefi: the use of the same colour in different maps indicates a limited palette rather than ownership patterns*



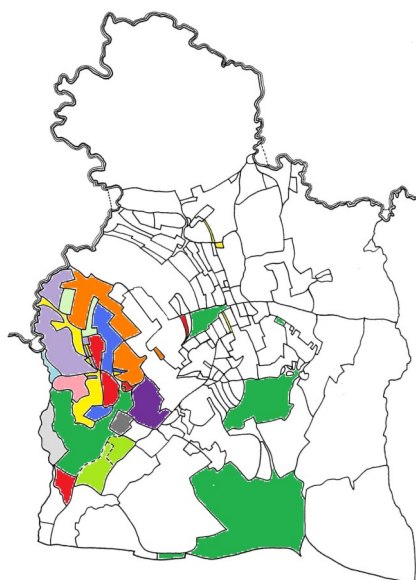
Dinas Island, Glebe and Llandre



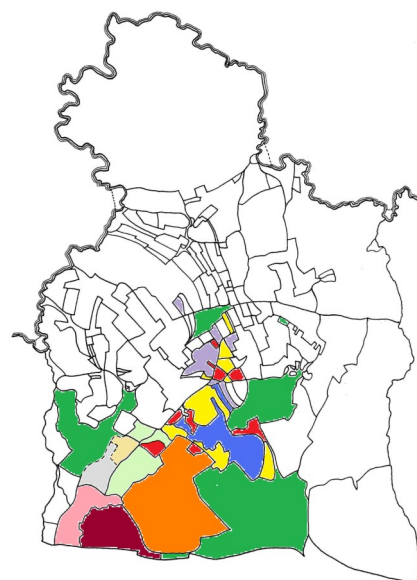
Brynhenllan



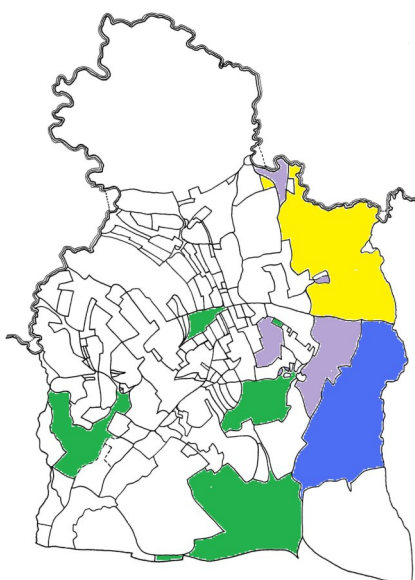
Vron



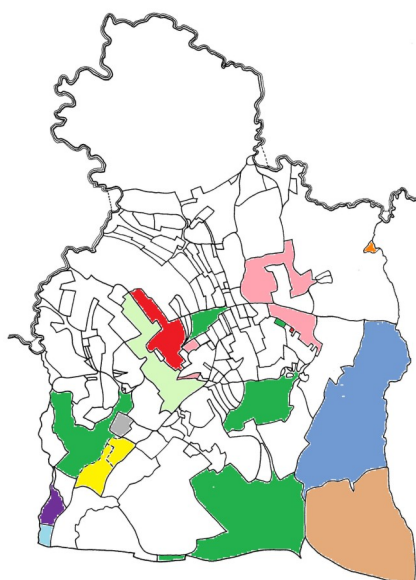
Hescwm and Bwlch Mawr



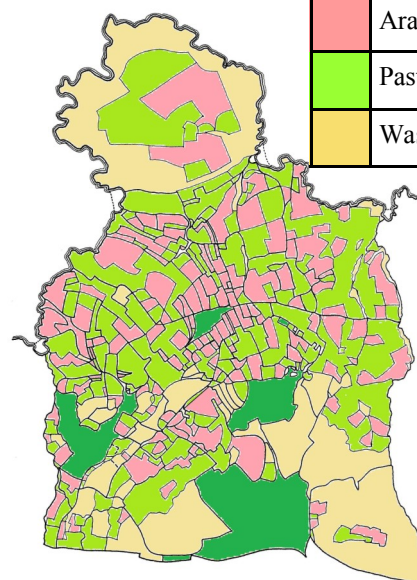
Penmynydd



Trevawr with Werndew



Landholdings between trefi



Land use 1841

	Arable
	Pasture
	Waste

pastoral element of the area's mixed farming economy; this may have limited opportunities for aggregation (Howells 1987B, 55; Williamson 2002, 24). One of Brynhenllan's early nineteenth century smallholders, David James, is probably typical: a master mariner, listed in the Land Tax lists for 1807-1830 for his three-life lease for a cottage and smallholding in Brynhenllan, with an employment record that suggests naval service rather than the 'fisherman' listing in the 1841 census, and part owner of the 'Shannon Packet' in which he was transporting pig iron when he was drowned (NLW Williams & Williams (1) Pembrokeshire, 1480; Appendix 7).

This lack of aggregation meant that by 1841 Brynhenllan still consisted of long strip fields with dwellings clustered where fields and roads met. On either side of it lay the agglomerated holdings of Ffynnonovy and Ty Gwyn, the latter enjoying minor squirearchical status with a homestead in the centre of the hamlet. Ffynnonovy, by contrast, had its homestead in the middle of its fields outside the area of the hamlet. Neither Ty Gwyn nor Ffynnonovy were represented in the intermingled holdings closest to Brynhenllan, the consequence probably of the exchange and consolidation which produced their agglomerated holdings.

Penmynydd, in contrast, was distant from the sea. This may have produced less demand for land and created opportunities for an 'improving' landowner to aggregate and reorganise land. There is evidence for this in western Penmynydd where the rectangular land parcels with centralised farmsteads suggest a deliberate process of consolidation and reordering of boundaries. All are owned by the Trewern estate, whilst in the eastern part of the tref four landowners hold intermingled holdings, their farmsteads clustered together near the road. One of these landowners was George Bowen, the parish's biggest landowner; his unaggregated holdings here and at Brynhenllan contrast with his holdings at Hescwm, Ty Rhos and Ffynnonovy, and may indicate different land market pressures (Appendix 6). The 1758 map of his Penmynydd farm confirms the Tithe Schedule's indication that this part of Penmynydd had significantly more arable than the Trewern area; perhaps here land quality was a significant differentiator. An alternative explanation might lie in as yet uninvestigated patterns of land ownership at the end of the medieval period, given that eastern Penmynydd has one of the parish's five owner-occupiers in 1786.

At Trevawr land quality was good, and aggregation may have started with its early seventeenth century owner, Thomas Lloyd of Cilciffeth, a known 'enclosing landlord' (Howells 1987C, 80-1; Mathias 1987, 165). Reorganisation is evident in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century when property deeds and Land Tax records chronicle the reorganisation of the already engrossed farms of Dyffryn and Cwmme into the holdings of Dyffryn, Tai Bach, Pen Craig and Soar Hill (NLW Cilciffeth (1) 174; PCRO D/RTP/JW James 2/17). Some of this reorganisation may have involved the adjacent, partially agglomerated holdings of Ffynnonwen and Vron (Land Tax listings 7 & 9), and probably included enclosure of cytir in the area between Trevawr and Vron trefi (Figures 2 & 3; Appendix 7). A tiny area of common land still survives in this area (Tithe field number 397).

### *Ownership*

The pattern of land tenure in Dinas in 1786 was broadly similar to Pembrokeshire as a whole: three-quarters of Dinas landholdings were tenanted, and average holding size was 57 acres (Howell 2000, 34; Appendix 5). There is some evidence that the main form of tenure in the parish, as in the rest of Pembrokeshire at this time, was the three-life lease, though this was not systematically examined (Howell 1987B, 308-9; NLW Cilciffeth (1) 194; NLW Williams & Williams (1) Pembrokeshire 1480). A change in ownership patterns accompanied Dinas'

population growth: the Land Tax lists show a decline in large landowners and increases in owner-occupiers, whose numbers rise from just 5 in 1786 to 40 in 1841, when they make up two-thirds of all owners and own one-third of the land – the latter figure being considerably more than the national average of 10-15% for this period (Beckett 1984, 5). The average size of owner-occupiers holdings falls from an average 49 acres in 1786 to 19 acres in 1841: this last figure conceals a dramatic increase in very small holdings of less than 3 acres which account for over half of all owner-occupier holdings. The 1841 reduction in the influence of large landlords is largely attributable to the sale of heavily-mortgaged Bowen land (Howell 1987B, 306): whereas in 1786, five landowners (all resident outside the parish) owned three-quarters of the parish's land (excluding common land), with one owner - George Bowen - owning one third of the parish's agricultural land, by 1841 the 'top-five' share had reduced by 50%, and one of these landowners (Harries of Werndew) was now resident (Appendix 6).

Much of the early growth in small owner-occupied units occurs before significant disposal of Bowen land, in areas around the edges of common land near the highway where 7 landholdings are subdivided into 32 units between 1806 and 1830 (Figure 5). Apart from these areas, and the Trevawr area, where two landholdings under one landowner in 1786 become 6 units with 4 owners by 1841, there is little evidence of change in landholding patterns elsewhere between 1786 and 1841.

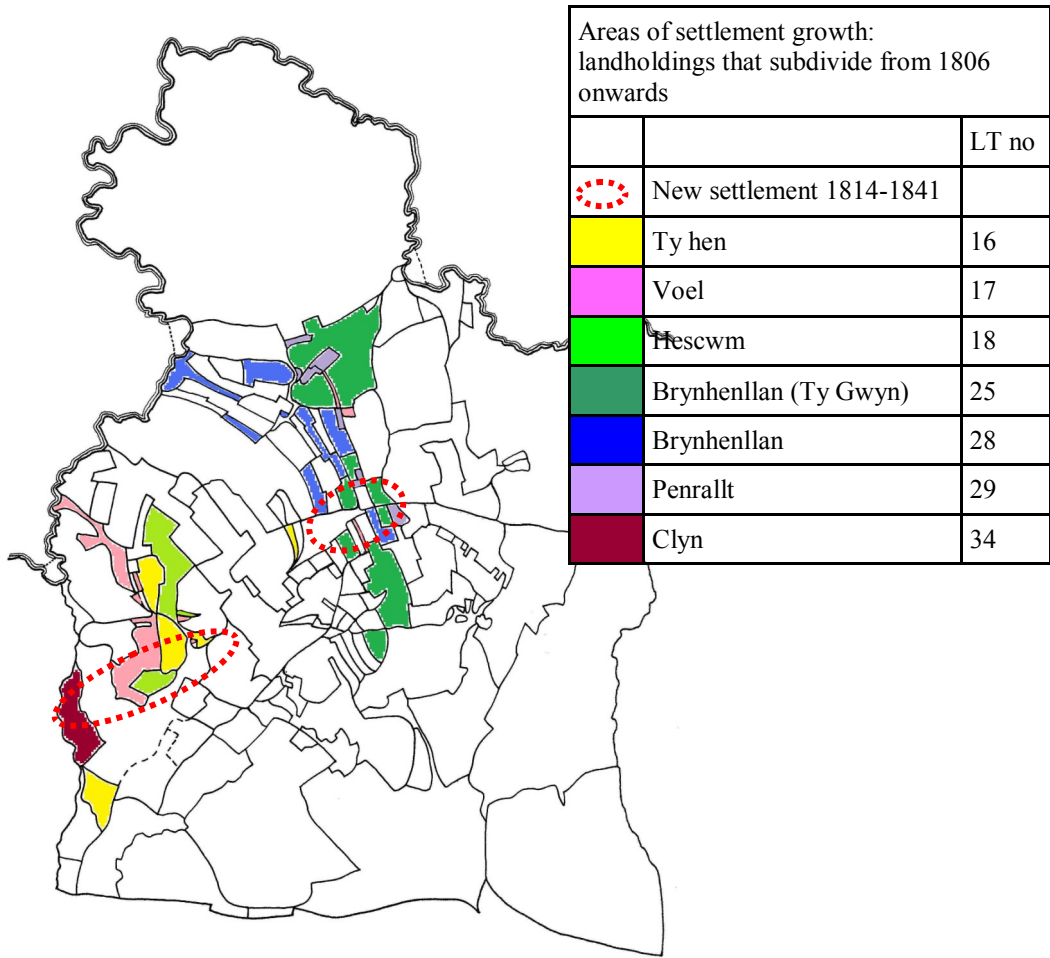
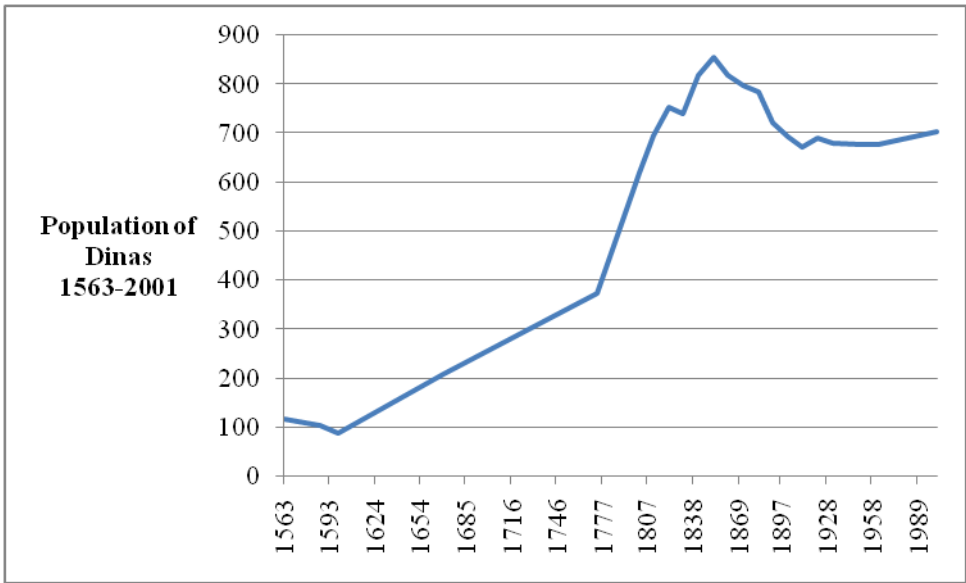
This growth in landholdings mirrors the parish's sharply increasing population, a product of inward migration by the large numbers of mariners listed by the Welsh Mariners Index (<http://www.welshmariners.org.uk/search.php>), against a background rise in local population perhaps attributable to potato cultivation (Howell 2000, 20). The proliferating houses of sea captains suggest an earlier, miniaturised version of later nineteenth century practices of dividing up land for first time middle-class buyers (Beckett 1984, 12-13). It is conceivable that the sudden increase in Land Tax listings in 1806 may reflect attempts by some landlords to influence electoral outcomes in the political upheaval following the death of Pitt the Younger, through the granting of enfranchising three-live leases to existing tenants (Thorne 1987, 346): census returns and map evidence show that increased occupation was a reality which landowners were perhaps turning to their political advantage.

#### *Enclosure of cytir and waste*

Most of the isolated holdings between, or peripheral to, holdings have names suggestive of rough, wooded or wet ground, and are first recorded in the seventeenth to nineteenth centuries (Figure 2 & 3; Appendix 7); they are all, in 1786, owned by the 'top five' landowners and probably represent enclosure of cytir (outfield). This contrasts with holdings at the heart of the trefi which often share the trefi names, first recorded between the fourteenth and late sixteenth century. 'Cytir' and 'rhos' (moor) field names are recorded in the area around the adjacent landholdings of Ty Rhos and Clynderwen, and may indicate the formation of these holdings through enclosure of cytir by agreement between two major landowners, the Bowen and Trewern estates. Documented post-medieval enclosure of cytir is noted by Hall (Hall 2005, 69, 80). Cytir appears to have been contiguous with common land (Williamson 1987, 84) and the tiny parcels of land with curving boundaries that fringe the common around the highway may be enclosures of cytir by the smaller landholders of the trefi rather than infringements on baronial common land.

On the mountain evidence of assarting of waste is visible in the characteristically curved boundaries of many of the Penmynydd farms. It is noticeable that there is little assarting in the area nearest Vron; the multiple landowners of the tref presumably resisted enclosure of

**Figure 5: Analysis of settlement growth**





common grazing (Williamson & Bellamy 1987, 78). Some of this area may have been treated as outfield and cultivated by beat burning: there are unenclosed strips in multiple ownership on mountain land between Vron and Penmynydd in 1841.

There is also evidence of the practice of using common land for housing the poor in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, with a ‘Poorhouse’ on common land at Vron and a house on the common near Ty Rhos (Tithe field numbers 356 & 425) perhaps representing settlement of the impoverished on common land as a way of reducing the cost to the parish of supporting the poor (Howell 1987A, 282).

#### *Settlement patterns and roads*

The maps of 1786 landholdings show boundaries terminating along a clear line between Hescwm and Brynhenllan, which corresponds to the road from Hescwm to Brynhenllan and the lane (now a muddy footpath) branching out from it at Llain Croes Wen behind Ty Rhos (Figures 2 & 4; Appendix 7). Place name evidence indicates that much of the land on the southern side of this alignment was ‘rhos’ or woodland. The alignment of boundaries indicates that the lane from Llain Cross Wen (Strip of the Holy Cross) was probably a significant medieval right of way along the edge of cultivated land, defined by hedges in the late sixteenth or early seventeenth century when Ty Rhos (first mentioned in 1640) was enclosed from cytir (Charles 1992, 41). The cross roads at the junction of this lane with the road to Hescwm and Brynhenllan was probably the site of an early medieval cross (Comeau, op.cit.) with a boundary role (Edwards 2007, 59-60; Turner 2006, 146-7), and its conjunction with landholding boundaries provides strong evidence for the termination of medieval township fields at this point.

These two (now minor) lanes may have been more significant to local hamlets and farmsteads than the highway to Fishguard and Newport in the post medieval period; the 1806 developments in the Bwlch Mawr area indicate when the highway starts to shape settlement patterns. Although much research suggests how important it is for medieval communities to have the highway pass through them (Slater 2004, 28) this was clearly not the case in Dinas where the highway from Fishguard and Newport went through common land without passing through the centres of any trefi. It is likely that until the notoriously bad local highways were improved after 1791 (Thorne & Howell 1987, 371), long distance travel was probably more reliant on the sea than on roads. Significantly, apart from the highway, few of Dinas’ roads and lanes cross the parish boundary. Whilst probably reflecting the centralising influence of the parish’s limited economic resources, it also suggests that social links were stronger within the parish than without, perhaps because of the structure of the trefi or of the location of the church which is known to have been as a locus of financial transactions as late as 1786, when rent for Dyffryn farm was payable ‘at or in the Church Yard of Dinas’ (NLW Cilciffeth (1) 174).

The 1814 map indicates the later minor realignment of a number of roads. At Brynhenllan the road from Hescwm enters the village west of its later course, in an area of fields where the relationship of boundaries is suggestive of an old lane (Figure 2 & 6; Appendix 1). The road from Brynhenllan to Ffynnonovy farm is shown in 1814 following a route somewhat north of its 1841 route, along a set of field boundaries which may – therefore – represent the edge of a former open field. This road is mentioned in the Revd. D.C. Jones’ 1908 parish history: ‘...The old road leading to Ffynnonofydd is closed as well as the old road through Allt Tygwyn ...’ (Gwynrug 17.12.1908). ‘Allt Tygwyn’ may be linked with Penrallt, which

disappears from the Land Tax lists as an integral holding after 1814, and the road referred to may be the surviving footpath in this area. Further fieldwork is needed to verify these points.

The 1814 map also indicates realignment of the unenclosed road from Brynhenllan to Cwm yr Eglwys, and of the lanes to Tai Bach, from Vron to Pencnwc, and from Penmynydd to Vagwr Meredith. Some of these realignments may be the consequence of small-scale enclosure by agreement (Williamson 2002, 43) which may also have affected the arrangements of other roads in the Dyffryn/Trevawr area.

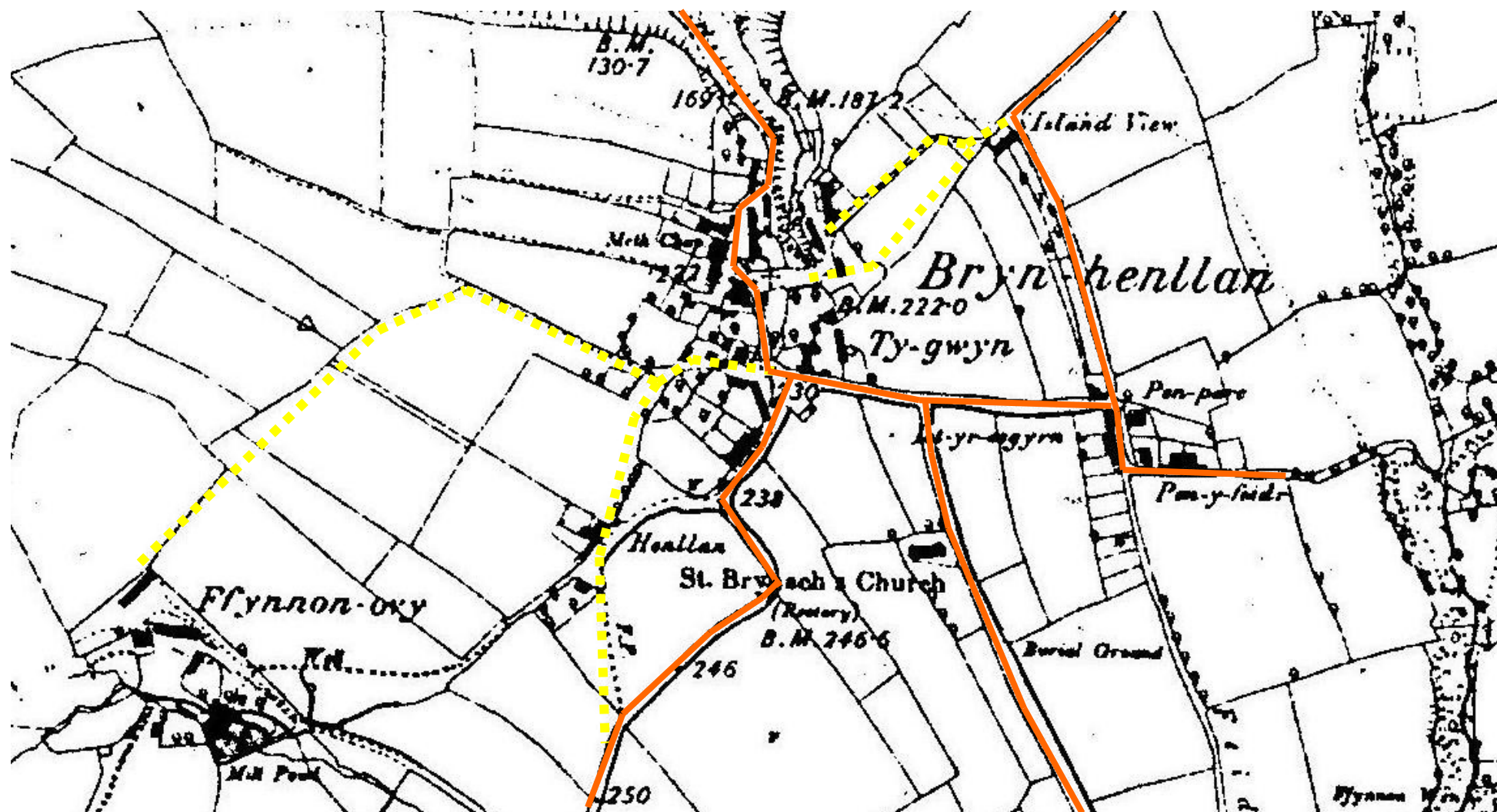


Figure 6: Brynhenllan: possible road relocation

*Taken from the 1888 Ordnance Survey First Edition 6 inch map*

0

Principal existing roads

Possible previous route of roads

500m



## Conclusions

Like Janus, the results of these investigations look both forwards and backwards in time. Looking forwards, they show substantial increases in small owner-occupiers in the early nineteenth century, mirroring population growth. This increase is the inverse of the situation reported nationally at this time and appears to be related to growing settlement by mariners (Beckett 1984, 3, 17; Mingay 1964, 388). It represents a significant change from an eighteenth century settlement pattern which is strongly affected by the capacity (or otherwise) of large landowners to enclose and reorganise land in a non-manorialised parish (Winchester 2005, 33; Williamson & Bellamy 1987, 162-3).

Looking backwards, they show that geographically discrete groupings of landholdings structured eighteenth century settlement. These suggest the persistence, through the medieval use of Welsh law and the particular local circumstances of the post-medieval land market, of a pre-Norman social and administrative pattern of trefi, with intermingled fields which were the remains of an infield-outfield system. The border between cytir and the open fields of the inland is preserved in the distinctive relationship between the boundaries of landholdings and the road system, and supports suggestions in previous research (Comeau op cit) that the location of early medieval cross sites in these areas marks boundary zones

The grouping of older landholdings and their farmsteads into trefi casts doubts on some details of Austin's suggestion of an ancient landscape of dispersed holdings and high status hamlets. Further research and map deconstruction is needed before Austin's suggestion of an underlying landscape structure of long linear boundaries can be assessed, although there are suggestions in less reorganised areas of the parish of landholdings located on a long linear axis across the landscape.

The limitations of nineteenth century maps for mapping earlier settlement patterns are demonstrated by the extent of early nineteenth century changes to settlement patterns; the capacity to elucidate earlier patterns by applying Land Tax data to the 1841 Tithe Map is also shown.

## Recommendations for further work

The investigation of the parish's 1786 settlement and landholding pattern suggests considerable potential for further research, as follows:

- Analysis of sixteenth to eighteenth century stability or change in landholding patterns through analysis of documentary evidence of tenure, place names, boundaries and enclosure.
- Field survey of Brynhenllan for evidence of replanning
- More precise mapping of the Tudor parish
- Map deconstruction to examine the links between the Tudor, medieval and prehistoric landscape (Oosthuizen 2006, 77-9)
- Consideration of how the landscape evidence relates to the Welsh law codes' accounts of early medieval multiple estates or maenorau/maenolau.

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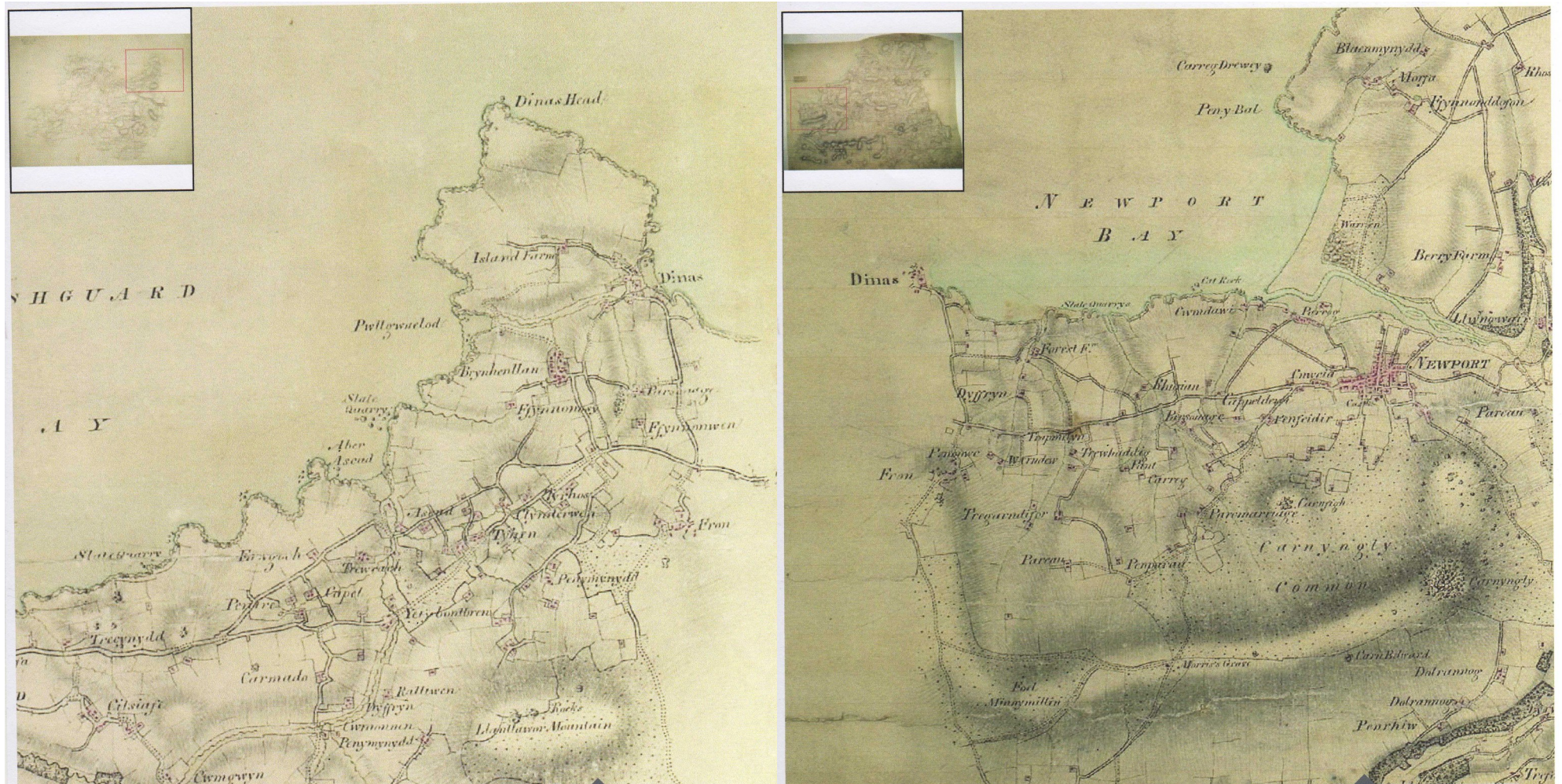
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**From Tref to Tithe:**  
**Identifying Settlement Patterns in a North Pembrokeshire**  
**Parish**

**Appendices**



## Appendix 1: 1814 Ordnance Survey drawings at the British Library





## Appendix 2

		1786 Land Tax						
Prop No	Year	Tenements	Proprietors	Occupiers	L	S	D	
0	1786		Revd Thos Bateman	Rector for ye Farme [Tithe]	1	7	5	-
1	1786	Cwm Glebe Lands	Mr Bateman	Himself	0	8	8	-
2	1786	Dynas Island	Geo Bowen Esq	David Harries	2	5	8	-
3	1786	Llandre	George Bowen Esq	Llewhelin Nicholas	0	1	7	2
4	1786	Cwm	Eliz'th Miller	David Griffith	0	5	6	0
5	1786	Dyffryn alias Trevawr	Eliz'th Miller	David Llewhelin	1	3	9	-
6	1786	Penknwk	Tho's Harries	Himself	0	10	4	2
7	1786	Vron	Doctor Phillips	Alban Loyd	0	7	1	-
8	1786	Werndew	Cicely Harries	David Evan	0	17	2	2
9	1786	Fynonwen	Miss Koymers	Evan Griffith	0	7	7	2
10	1786	Vron	John Williams	David Phillip	-	4	10	2
11	1786	Penmynidd	George Bowen Esq	John Harry	-	4	10	2
12	1786	Penmynidd	Tho's Williams Esq	James Morgan and Widdow Evan	0	4	4	2
13	1786	Penmynidd	John Williams Gent	David William	0	1	7	-
14	1786	Vagwr Mredydd	Miss Koymers	Tho's Jenkin	0	7	1	-
15	1786	Danygarn	Mrs Propert	John David	0	1	4	2
16	1786	Tyhen	Mrs Propert	Evan Harry	0	5	7	0
17	1786	Voel	Rev'd David Evans	David Llewhelin	0	4	2	2
18	1786	Hescwm	Rev'd David Evans	John Rowland	0	4	2	2
19	1786	Hescwm	Geo Bowen Esq	Tho's Laugharne	0	3	7	2
20	1786	Hescwm	George Bowen Esq	George Lewis	0	3	7	2
21	1786	Hescwm	George Bowen Esq	Benjamin Harry for Both Lands	0	7	1	-
22	1786	Clyn Derwen	Tho's Williams Esq	Henry Vincent	0	4	2	-
23	1786	Tyrhose	George Bowen	Mary John	0	5	5	-
24	1786	Fynonovy	George Bowen Esq	Griffith Griffith	0	9	11	2
25	1786	Bronhenllan	John Thomas Gent	Himself	0	11	11	2
26	1786	Bronhenllan	William Morris	Himself	0	5	8	-
27	1786	Bronhenllan	John Thomas Gent	William David	0	4	2	2
28	1786	Bronhenllan	George Bowen Esq	Evan Griffith	0	7	11	2
29	1786	Penrallt	Geo Bowen Esq	David Morris	0	1	1	2
30	1786	Cruglas	Cicely Harris	Hugh James	0	5	8	2
31	1786	Hescwm Mills	George Bowen Esq	Griffith Evan	0	2	10	0
32	1786	P't of Penmynydd	Lady Owens	David Howel	0	1	1	-
33	1786	Wyne	W'm Jones Esq	William Price	0	0	6	2
34	1786	Clyn	David Harries	Himself	0	1	4	-
35	1786	Wyne	John Tucker Esq	Phillip Owen	0	0	6	2
36	1786	Party bach	Tho's Williams Esq	David Rees	0	1	2	-
37	1786	Castle Park	Tho's Williams Esq	Llewhelin Griffith	0	1	1	2
38	1786	Allt wen	Tho's Williams Esq	John Stephen	0	0	11	-
39	1786	Penmynydd	Tho's Williams Esq	Mary Roch	0	0	11	-
					13	14	0	



## Appendix 3

No	Year	1830 Land Tax – in 1786 order			Land Tax unredeemed			
		Tenements	Proprietors	Occupiers	L	S	D	
0	1830	Tythes	Rev'd W. W. Thomas	Rev'd W. W. Thomas	1	8	5	
1	1830	Dinas Glebe	Rev'd W. W. Thomas	Rev'd W. W. Thomas	0	5	8	
2	1830	Dinas Island ( <i>includes later Cwm yr Eglwys and Cwm Dinas subdivisions i</i> )	Mr Davies Esqr	Benj'n Reymond	2	4	2	
2	1830	Cwm Dinas (= prev) Cwmreglws	Mr Davies	John Griffiths	0	0	9	0
2	1830	Cwm Dinas (= prev) Cwmreglws	Mr Davies	Elizabeth Davies	0	0	9	0
3	1830	Tymilyreglws ( <i>Llandre 1786; Tyredygon 1693ii, Tyr ddigen 1787iii; Cwm Dinas 1754/8iv; Tuy Mill yr Eglwys 1757v; Ty mil yr Eglwys 1803 onwardsvi</i> )	Mary William	Mary William	0	1	7	
4, 5	1830	Tay Bach <i>see</i> (5)	Thomas Williams	Thomas Williams	0	9	9	
4, 5	1830	Tyr Penygraig <i>see</i> (5)	David Harries & James Harries	David Harries & James Harries	0	4	7	½
4, 5	1830	Zoar	David Harris & James Harris	David Harries & James Harris	0	0	3	
5	1830	Dyffrin <i>alias Trevawr vii (Kilvach Cranck 1777-1784 viii consolidated with Cwm/Cwmme after 1797; consolidated unit includes later subdivisions of Taibach, Tyr Pengraig &amp; Zoar ix)</i>	Elizabeth Propert	Eliz Propert	0	14	7	½
6	1830	Pencnuck <i>includes 1801 Vron &amp; Pendringlas divisions</i>	Thomas James Esq	Cap John Meyler	0	6	10	½
40=6	1830	Vron	Thomas James Esqr	John Rees	0	1	9	
41=6	1830	Slang on Penringlas	Rev'd James James	George Davies	0	1	9	
7	1830	Vron ( <i>includes lands sold by Phillips (Cilciffeth Estate) in 1839</i> )	J. L. Phillips Esqr	David Evan	0	7	1	
8	1830	Werndew	William Harries Gent	William Harries Gent	0	17	2	½
9	1830	Finonwen	David Harries & James Harries	Anne Harries	0	7	7	½
10	1830	Vron	John William	John William	0	4	10	½
11	1830	Penyminidd	Miss Bowens	Benjamin Evan	0	4	10	½
12	1830	Penyminidd	Mrs Williams Executors	Stephen Hughes	0	2	2	½
12	1830	Penyminidd	Mrs Williams	David William		2	2	½

			Executors					
13	1830	Penyminidd ( <i>1756 Bowen Map shows owner as John Thomas Gent</i> )	William William	William Williams	0	1	7	
14	1830	Vagwrmredidd ( <i>1756 Bowen map shows owner as Trewern Estate</i> )	John Davies Esqr	Anne John	0	7	1	
15	1830	Danygarn ( <i>Pant Tyr y Coed 1745 x</i> )	Capt'n William Lewis	Capt'n William Lewis	0	1	4	
16	1830	Ty hen xi ( <i>includes later subdivisions of Gilwennen &amp; Bwlch Mawr</i> )	Capt'n John Lewis	Capt'n John Lewis	0	4	6	
16	1830	Gilwennen (= prev part of Tyhene)	Capt'n William Rees	Capt'n William Rees	0	0	7	½
16	1830	Part of Tyhene	James Harries	James Harries	0	0	3	
16	1830	Part of Tyhene	John Phillip	John Phillip	0	0	3	0
17	1830	Voelxii( <i>includes a Brynhenllan property (1794)xiii &amp; later subdivisions of Penllain &amp; Garnwen</i> )	David Lloyd Surgeon	James Harries & David Owen	0	4	4	½
17	1830	Penllain (= prev part of Voel)	Margaret James & Mary David	Margaret James & Mary David	0	0	2	
17	1830	Part of Voel	John Thomas	John Thomas	0	0	2	
17	1830	Garnwen (= prev part of Hescwm/Voel)	Cap William Evan	Cap William Evan	0	0	1	½
17	1830	Part of Voel	Ann William Widow	Ann William Widow	0	0	2	
18	1830	Hescombxiv	Rev'd D. Evans Execs	John Hughes	0	4	4	½
18	1830	Part of Hescomb	Rev'd D. Evans Exec's	Mary Harries	0	0	2	
18	1830	Part of Hescomb	Rev'd D. Evans Exec's	David Llewelin	0	0	2	
18	1830	Part of Hescomb	Mary Davies	Mary Davies	0	0	1	
19	1830	Hescomb ( <i>Hescwn Issa or Kilwennen or Farwr (?) Llwydon 1758xv; Heschoon Issa 1777xvi</i> )	Miss Bowens	Mary Laugharn	0	3	7	½
20	1830	Hescomb ( <i>Heschoon Issa 1783/4xvii</i> )	Miss Bowens	Moses Laugharn	0	3	1	½
21	1830	Hescomb	Miss Bowens	David Owen	0	7	7	½
22	1830	Clynderwen	Mrs Williams Execs	John Davies	0	4	2	0
23	1830	Tyrose ( <i>Tyrhose 1693xviii; Tyr Rhose 1767xix</i> )	Miss Bowens	David Davies	0	5	5	½
24	1830	Finonovy	Cap'n Levi Davies	Levi Davies	0	6	4	0
24	1830	Part of Finonovy	John Harry	John Harry	0	1	10	
24	1830	Part of Finonovy	John Davies	John Davies	0	1	9	½
25	1830	Brinhenllanxx (prev = Tegwynne) ( <i>includes later subdivisions of Tygwyn &amp; Llain tir du</i> )	Mary Williams	Mary Williams	0	10	1	0

25	1830	Part of Brinhenllan	Mary Williams	John Owens	0	0	1	½
25	1830	Part of Brinhenllan	Mary Williams	David James	0	0	1	½
25	1830	(Part of ) Brinhenllan	Mary Williams	David John	0	0	6	
25	1830	Part of Brinhenllan	Mary Williams	Mary Davies	0	0	1	½
25	1830	Part of Brinhenllan	Mary Williams	James Evan	0	0	6	
25	1830	Part of Brinhenllan	Mary Williams	John Thomas	0	0	1	½
26	1830	Brinhenllan	Stephen Morries	Stephen Morries	0	5	8	0
27	1830	Part of Brinhenllan	Mary Williams	Ann Davies	0	4	4	½
28	1830	Brinhenllan	Miss Bowens	John Harries	0	4	11	½
28	1830	Part of Brinhenllan	Miss Bowens	William Davies	0	1	0	
28	1830	Part of Brinhenllan	Miss Bowens	Benjamin Evan	0	0	2	½
28	1830	Part of Brinhenllan	Miss Bowens	Owen Davies	0	1	0	0
28	1830	Part of Brinhenllan	Miss Bowens	Stephen Howel	0	1	0	
29	1830	Llain Brinhenllan (=Part of Brinhenllan or Part of Penralltxxi)	Stephen Howel	Stephen Howel	0	0	3	0
29	1830	Part of Penralltxxii	John Williams	John Williams	0	0	2	¾
29	1830	Part of Penralltxxiii	Ann William Widow	Ann William Widow	0	0	2	
29	1830	Part of Penralltxxiv	Thomas Williams	Thomas Williams	0	0	3	
29	1830	Part of Penralltxxv	Henry Howel	Henry Howel	0	0	2	½
30	1830	Park y Dinas	William Harries Gent	William Jenkin	0	2	10	
30	1830	Crigglas	William Harries Gent	William Roderick	0	2	10	
31	1830	Hescomb Mill	Miss Bowen	William Roch	0	3	4	
32	1830	Slang at Penymynidd	Thomas Gwinne Esq Ex's	John Howel	0	0	3*	
33	1830	Slang in the Moor (= prev Dinas / Wyne)	Roach Esq	Thomas Price	0	0	6	½
34	1830	Clyn xxvi ( <i>Clyn Dau Ddwr 1793 xxvii, Aberbach 1812-18 xxviii</i> )	David Harries Gent	Cap W'm Evan	0	0	8	
34	1830	Part of Clyne xxix ( <i>Clyn Dau Ddwr 1793 xxx, Aberbach 1812-18 xxxi</i> )	David Harries Gent	Jemima Morgans	0	0	8	
35	1830	Slang in the Moor	Miss Tucker	Elinor Davies	0	0	6*	½ *
36	1830	Partibach ( <i>1756 Bowen map shows owner as Trewern Estate</i> )	Mrs Williams Executors	William Rees	0	1	0	0
37	1830	Castle	Mrs Williams Executors	James Price	0	1	0	
38	1830	Allt wen	Mrs Williams Exec's	James James	0	1	0	0
39	1830	Brinnule	Mrs Williams Exec's	James Watkin	0	1	0	0
49	1830	Forest Mill	George Bowen Esqr	David Llewelin	0	0	2*	
51	1830	Cwmmawr	Mrs Williams Executors	Ann Evans	0	0	3	½
52	1830	Cwmbach	Mrs Williams Executors	David Evans	0	0	3	½

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- i NLW Cwrtmawr 695
  - ii NLW Llwyngwair 1040
  - iii PCRO PQ/RT/CE Land Tax 1787
  - iv NLW Llwyngwair 846 & 1038; NLW Llwyngwair 830 & 2152
  - v NLW Cwrtmawr 1242
  - vi PCRO PQ/RT/CE Land Tax 1803 onwards
  - vii NLW Cilciffeth (1) 174
  - viii NLW Bronwydd 2B 6642/3/4/5/6/7
  - ix PCRO D/RTP/5/142/1; PCRO D/RTP/JW James 2/17
  - x PCRO D/TR/1125
  - xi PCRO D/TR/1309
  - xii PCRO HDX/44/2
  - xiii PCRO D/RTP/JW James 3/47
  - xiv PCRO HDX/44/2
  - xv NLW Llwyngwair 830 & 2152
  - xvi NLW Bronwydd 2B 6642
  - xvii NLW Bronwydd 2B 6646/7
  - xviii NLW Llwyngwair 1040
  - xix NLW Llwyngwair 1953 list 822
  - xx NLW Williams & Williams (1) 1480; PCRO D/WW/66/8
  - xxi includes later subdivisions of Llain Brynhenllan, Llain Rosse, Yet yr Eskirn, Pen yr Allt and Cwm Dewy
  - xxii (ditto)
  - xxiii (ditto)
  - xxiv (ditto)
  - xxv (ditto)
  - xxvi PCRO/JP/250
  - xxvii PCRO PQ/RT/CE Land Tax 1793 & 4
  - xxviii PCRO PQ/RT/CE Land Tax 1812-18
  - xxix PCRO/JP/250
  - xxx PCRO PQ/RT/CE Land Tax 1793 & 4
  - xxxi PCRO PQ/RT/CE Land Tax 1812-18

[illegible]

[illegible]



<b>7</b>	<b>1786</b>	<b>Vron (includes lands sold by Phillips (Cilciffeth Estate) in 1839)</b>	<b>Doctor Phillips</b>	<b>Alban Loyd</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>-</b>				(85d)
7	1830	Vron	J. L. Phillips Esqr	David Evan	0	7	1					
	1841	Vron - parcel 1 in Ffynonwen area							18	2	36	
	1841	Vron - parcel 2- scattered fields on hillside							10	1	25	
	1841	Vron - parcel 3- on mountain							54	-	27	
				Total acreage					83	1	8	1.02d/a
<b>8</b>	<b>1786</b>	<b>Werndew</b>	<b>Cicely Harries</b>	<b>David Evan</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>17</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>2</b>				(206.5d)
8	1830	Werndew	William Harries Gent	William Harries Gent	0	17	2	½				
	1841	Werndew							171	-	4	
	1841	Vron							1	-	21	
	1841	Ty Canol							3	-	25	
	1841	Bwlch y Gof							3	1	22	
				Total acreage					178	2	32	1.16d/a
<b>9</b>	<b>1786</b>	<b>Fynonwen</b>	<b>Miss Koymers</b>	<b>Evan Griffith</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>2</b>				(91.5d)
9	1830	Finonwen	David Harries & James Harries	Anne Harries	0	7	7	½				
	1841	Ffynnon Wen							43	2	16	
	1841	Vron							3	1	34	
	1841	Rhos							4	-	16	
	1841	Bwlch y Groes							5	1	21	
	1841	Cross Inn								2	18	
	1841	A Slang								1	4	
				Total acreage					57	1	29	1.60d/a
<b>10</b>	<b>1786</b>	<b>Vron</b>	<b>John Williams</b>	<b>David Phillip</b>	<b>-</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>2</b>				(58.5d)
10	1830	Vron	John William	John William	0	4	10	½				
	1841	Vron – 1- part of TyGwyn estate <sup>xi</sup>							5	-	28	
	1841	Vron - 2							4	1	36	
				Total Acreage					9	2	24	6.16d/a
<b>11</b>	<b>1786</b>	<b>Penmynidd</b>	<b>George Bowen Esq</b>	<b>John Harry</b>	<b>-</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>2</b>				(58.5d)
11	1830	Penymynidd	Miss Bowens	Benjamin Evan	0	4	10	½				
		Listed as 50 acres in 1640 settlement??										
	1841	Penmynydd							39	1	6	1.5d/a

[illegible]

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18	1786	Hescwm <sup>xvii</sup>	Rev'd David Evans	John Rowland	0	4	2	2	See comment for 17			(50.5d)
18	1830	Hescomb	Rev'd D. Evans Execs	John Hughes	0	4	4	½				
18	1830	Part of Hescomb	Rev'd D. Evans Exec's	Mary Harries	0	0	2					
18	1830	Part of Hescomb	Rev'd D. Evans Exec's	David Llewelin	0	0	2					
18	1830	Part of Hescomb	Mary Davies	Mary Davies	0	0	1					
	1841	Hescwm							16	2	11	
	1841	Hescwm House & Garden								2	12	
	1841	Hescwm Voel Bank							4	1	21	
	1841	Hescwm Voel Bank								1	21	
	1841	Hescwm Voel Bank								1	5	
	1841	Hescwm Voel Bank								1	20	
	1841	Hescwm Voel Bank								1	8	
				Total Acreage					22	3	18	2.22d/a
19	1786	Hescwm ( <i>Hescwn Issa or Kilwenen or Fawr/Farwr (?) Llwydon 1758 &amp; 1767<sup>xviii</sup>; Heschoon Issa 1777<sup>xix</sup></i> )	Geo Bowen Esq	Tho's Laugharne	0	3	7	2				(43.5d)
19	1830	Hescomb	Miss Bowens	Mary Laugharn	0	3	7	½				
	1841	Kilwennen							10	-	3	4.35d/a
20	1786	Hescwm ( <i>Heschoon Issa/ Hescwn Issa or Kilwenen or FawrLlwydon 1767 &amp; 1783/4<sup>xx</sup></i> )	George Bowen Esq	George Lewis	0	3	7	2				
20	1830	Hescomb	Miss Bowens	Moses Laugharn	0	3	1	½				(37.5d)
	1841	Hescwm Ishaf							45	3	12	0.82d/a
		<i>Combined LT/acre for 19 &amp; 20 gives each 1.45 d/a – a more reasonable figure – suggesting 1830s transfer of some 19 land to 20. See also LT valuations for 20 and 21 suggesting earlier transfers.</i>										
21	1786	Hescwm ( <i>Hescwn Ycha formerly Hescwn Issa/ Kilwenen /Fawr Llwydon 1767<sup>xxi</sup></i> )	George Bowen Esq	Benjamin Harry for Both Lands	0	7	1	-				
21	1830	Hescomb	Miss Bowens	David Owen	0	7	7	½				(91.5d)
	1841	Hescwm uchaf							27	1	34	
	1841	Cyttir bach							1	2	20	
	1841	Cottages and Gardens								2	34	
	1841	Hescwm							21	3	5	
				Total Acreage					51	2	13	1.78d/a

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<b>29</b>	<b>1786</b>	<b>Penrallt</b> ( <i>includes later subdivisions of Llain Brynhenllan; Llain Rosse; Yet yr Eskirn; Pen yr allt; Cwm Dewy</i> )	<b>Geo Bowen Esq</b>	<b>David Morris</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>				(13.5d)
29A	1830	Llain Brinhenllan (=Part of Brinhenllan or Part of Penrallt)	Stephen Howel	Stephen Howel	0	0	3	0				
29B	1830	Part of Penrallt = <i>Llain Rosse</i>	John Williams	John Williams	0	0	2	¾				
29C	1830	Part of Penrallt = <i>Yet yr Eskirn</i>	Ann William Widow	Ann William Widow	0	0	2					
29D	1830	Part of Penrallt = <i>Pen yr allt</i>	Thomas Williams	Thomas Williams	0	0	3					
29E	1830	Part of Penrallt = <i>Cwm Dewy</i>	Henry Howel	Henry Howel	0	0	2	½				
29A?	1841	<i>Park Modwy</i>							1	-	30	
29B?	1841	<i>Jericho – Pwll Clacca – 29?</i>								1	-	
29B?	1841	<i>Jericho – 29?</i>								2	-	
29B?	1841	<i>Jericho - 29?</i>								3	30	
29B?	1841	<i>Jericho – 29?</i>								2	8	
29C	1841	<i>Yet yr Eskirn</i>								2	21	
29D?	1841	<i>Park pen yr allt – Tithe 66? –listed with 25A</i>							1	3	36	
29D?	1841	<i>Site of cottages – 64 – listed with 25A</i>								1	9	
29E	1841	<i>House &amp; small field</i>								3	32	
				<i>Total Acreage</i>					7	1	6	1.86d/a
<b>30</b>	<b>1786</b>	<b>Cruglas</b>	<b>Cicely Harris</b>	<b>Hugh James</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>2</b>				(68.5d)
30	1830	Park y Dinas	William Harries Gent	William Jenkin	0	2	10					
5 = 30	1830	Crigglas	William Harries Gent	William Roderick	0	2	10					
	1841	<i>Park y Dinas</i>							103	-	36	
	1841	<i>Crug glas</i>							47	-	30	
				<i>Total Acreage</i>					150	1	26	0.45d/a
<b>31</b>	<b>1786</b>	<b>Hescwm Mills</b>	<b>George Bowen Esq</b>	<b>Griffith Evan</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>0</b>				
31	1830	Hescomb Mill	Miss Bowen	William Roch	0	3	4					(40d)
	1841	<i>Hescwm Mill</i>							3	-	27	13.33d/a (mill)
<b>32</b>	<b>1786</b>	<b>P't of Penmynydd</b>	<b>Lady Owens</b>	<b>David Howel</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>-</b>				N/A
32	1830	Slang at Penyminidd	Thomas Gwinne Esq Ex's	John Howel	0	0	3*					redeemed
	1841	<i>Penmynydd</i>							42	1	16	

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		<b>Uncertain:</b>										
?	1841	<i>Undivided piece on the Cliff/194/ Waste</i>	<i>Harries James, Harries David and Francis John</i>	<i>Themselves</i>					1	2	30	
?	1841	<b>Pwll Gwaelod</b> /Undivided land /70/ Pasture	<i>Jones Revd Edward, Morris Stephen and others</i>	<i>Raymond William, Morris Stephen and others</i>					20	-	20	
?	1841	<b>Waun Howell</b> /547/ Undivided/ Waste	<i>Lewis John, Richards Thomas and others</i>	<i>Davies David, Owen David and Davies John</i>					5	1	5	
?	1841	<i>Park y Gawse &amp; Waste /135/ Arable</i>	<i>Llewhelin John</i>	<i>Himself</i>					1	2	14	
?	1841	<b>Bwlch Mawr</b> House and field /561/ Pasture	<i>Laugharne Thomas</i>	<i>Himself</i>						1	28	
?	1841	<b>Bwlch Mawr</b> Garden/ 561a/	<i>Laugharne Thomas</i>								8	
				<i>Total</i>						1	36	
?	1841	<i>Cottages and Gardens at Cwm yr Eglwys /57</i>	<i>Morris Stephen &amp; Lewis Maria</i>	<i>David Benjamin &amp; Benjamin Elizabeth</i>						1	32	
?	1841	<i>Field next the Road /440/ Arable</i>	<i>Mayler John and Mendus William</i>	<i>Themselves</i>					1	-	27	
?	1841	<i>Lower Field /441/ Pasture</i>	<i>Mayler John and Mendus William</i>	<i>Themselves</i>					1	-	13	
				<i>Total</i>					2	1	-	

<sup>i</sup> NLW Cwrtmawr 695

<sup>ii</sup> NLW Llwyngwair 1040

<sup>iii</sup> PCRO PQ/RT/CE 1786-1830; Dinas Land Tax 1787

<sup>iv</sup> NLW Llwyngwair 846 & 1038, NLW Llwyngwair 830 & 2152

<sup>v</sup> NLW Cwrtmawr 1242

<sup>vi</sup> PCRO PQ/RT/CE Land Tax 1803

<sup>vii</sup> NLW Cilciffeth (1) 174

<sup>viii</sup> NLW Cilciffeth (1) 174

<sup>ix</sup> NLW Bronwydd 2B 6642

- 
- <sup>x</sup> PCRO D/RTP/5/142/1, PCRO D/RTP/JW James 2/17
- <sup>xi</sup> PCRO D/WW/66/8
- <sup>xii</sup> PCRO D/WW/66/8
- <sup>xiii</sup> PCRO D/TR/1125
- <sup>xiv</sup> PCRO D/TR/1309
- <sup>xv</sup> PCRO HDX/44/2 (1818)
- <sup>xvi</sup> PCRO D/RTP/JW James 3/47
- <sup>xvii</sup> PCRO HDX/44/2
- <sup>xviii</sup> NLW Llwyngwair 830 & 2152; NLW Llwyngwair 822
- <sup>xix</sup> NLW Bronwydd 2B 6642
- <sup>xx</sup> NLW Bronwydd 2B 6646/7; NLW Llwyngwair 822
- <sup>xxi</sup> NLW Llwyngwair 822
- <sup>xxii</sup> NLW Llwyngwair 1040
- <sup>xxiii</sup> NLW Llwyngwair 822
- <sup>xxiv</sup> NLW Williams & Williams (1) 1480, PCRO D/WW/66/8
- <sup>xxv</sup> PCRO D/WW/66/8
- <sup>xxvi</sup> PCRO/JP/250
- <sup>xxvii</sup> PCRO PQ/RT/CE Land Tax 1793 & 4
- <sup>xxviii</sup> PCRO PQ/RT/CE Land Tax 1812-18
- <sup>xxix</sup> PCRO PQ/RT/CE Land Tax 1817



## Appendix 5

### Land tenure changes 1786-1841

<i>Changes in land ownership &amp; tenurial structure</i>	<i>1841</i>	<i>1830</i>	<i>1786</i>	<i>Pembs 1786</i>
Owners	66	39	18	
Owner Occupiers included in 'Owners'	40 (=60.6%)	25	5 (=28%)	18%
Tenants	83	49	34	
Total number of occupiers (i.e. tenants + owner-occupiers)	123	74	39	
Proportion of land owned by 5 biggest landowners	49%		74%	
Proportion of land owned by owner-occupiers (1841 acreage)	34%		11.23%	

<i>Changes in holding size</i>	<i>1841</i>	<i>1830</i>	<i>1786</i>	<i>Pembs 1786</i>
Number of owner-occupiers with less than 3 acres	20		0	
Number of owner-occupiers with more than 50 acres	5		2	
Average holding acreage (using 1841 acreage)	17.87	29.71	56.38	50.00
Average landowner acreage (using 1841 acreage)	33.32	56.38	122.16	
Average owner-occupier acreage (using 1841 acreage)	18.83		49.40	
Average tenant acreage	17.42		57.40	
Proportion of landowners with less than 50 acres	80%			
Proportion of landowners with less than 1 acre	15%			

*Acreages before 1841 are calculated using 1841 figures. Some values for 1830 and 1786 have not been calculated where a number of variables are unknown.*

### Population

<i>Year</i>	<i>Households (before 1830)/ inhabited houses (after 1830)</i>	<i>Population<sup>i</sup></i>	<i>Source</i>
1563	27	117( <i>estimate</i> )	Bishop of St David's returns to the Privy Council <sup>ii</sup>
1587	24	104( <i>estimate</i> )	Taylor's Cussion
1599	20 <sup>iii</sup>	87( <i>estimate</i> )	Taylor's Cussion
1670	48 <sup>iv</sup>	208( <i>estimate</i> )	Hearth Tax
1773		373	Parish Register 'exact calculation'
1801	148 <sup>v</sup>	620	Census data
1811		695	Census data
1821		753	Census data
1831	125	741	Census data
1841	224	819	Census data
1851	222	856	Census data
1861	224	820	Census data
1871	225	797	Census data
1881	213	786	Census data
1891	211	721	Census data
1901	208	694	Census data
1911		673	Census data
1921	194	691	Census data
1931	198	680	Census data
1951	219	678	Census data
1961	212	678	Census data
2001		705	Pembrokeshire County Council

<sup>i</sup> Howells suggests using a multiplier of 4.333 to arrive at sixteenth and seventeenth century population. There may be an underdeclaration of up to 10% on the 1670 Hearth Tax but the 1563 figure is likely to be accurate for a small parish like Dinas (Howells 1987A, 2-3).

<sup>ii</sup> Howells 1987A, 11

<sup>iii</sup> Taylor's Cussion notes 50 'people of all sorts' – presumably adult males from the context, which is the Sheriff's lists (Owen 1906).

<sup>iv</sup> Howells, *ibid*

<sup>v</sup> *ibid*

## Appendix 6A

### Main Landowners

#### 1786:

There are five owner occupiers. They are:

Owner Occupier	Property	Acreage
David Harries	Clyn	14.5
William Morris	Bronhenllan (26)	32.75
Rev'd Bateman	Glebe	44.75
Thomas Harries	Penknwk	81.50
John Thomas	Bronhenllan (25 - Ty Gwyn)	73.50
	Average owner-occupier acreage	49.4

#### 1841:

The 5 owner-occupiers with more than 50 acres each were:

Owner Occupier	Property	Acreage
John Davies (bought from Bowens)	Ffynnon Ovy	67
John Frances (bought from Propert)	Penygraig & Taibach	61
James John (inherited)	Pencnwc	54
David Propert (acquired through marriage – previous owner non-resident)	Dyffryn	82
William Harries(inherited, but previous owner non-resident)	Werndew	171

#### 1841:

5 tenants had more than 50 acres. They were:

Tenant	Property	Acreage
David Evans	Vron	54
John Davies	Tabor (Clynderwen)	57
Martha Williams	Park y Dinas	103
William Williams	Vagwr Meredith	118
William Raymond	Dinas Island	414

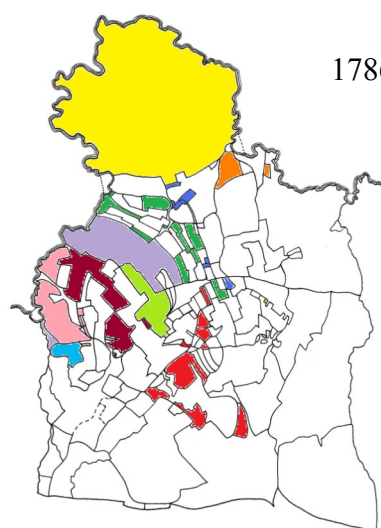
#### 1786: Biggest Proprietors

Proprietors	Land Tax Property No	Tax £	Acreage - where calculation is possible	%age of agricultural land in parish
Geo Bowen Esq	2, 19, 29, 23, 3, 11, 20, 21, 24, 28, 31	4.685	741.25	33.7%
Cicely Harries	8, 30	1.145	328.75	14.95%
Tho's Williams Esq	12, 22, 36, 37, 38, 39	0.64	213.75	9.72%
Miss Koymers,	9, 14	0.735	175.25	7.97%
Eliz'th Miller	4, 5	1.46	165.25	7.52%
John Thomas, Gent	25, 27	0.81	103.25	
Tho's Harries	6	0.52	81.5	
Rev'd David Evans	17, 18	0.42	53.75	
Mr Bateman	1	0.43	22.75	
W'm Jones Esq	33	0.025		
John Tucker Esq	35	0.025		
Lady Owens,	32	0.055		
David Harries	34	0.065		
John Williams Gent	13	0.075		
John Williams	10	0.24		
William Morris	26	0.28		
Mrs Propert	15, 16	0.345		
Doctor Phillips	7	0.355		

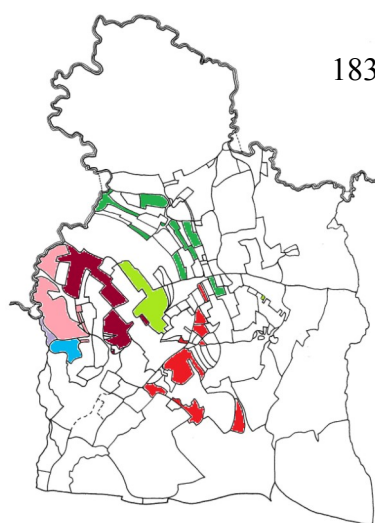
**1841: Biggest Proprietors/Owners**

<b>Landowner</b>	<b>Properties</b>	<b>Acreage</b>
Jones Revd Edward, Thomas Griffith and others	Dinas Island	414.25
Harries William	Crug glas, Ty Canol, Bwlch y Gof, Werndew	224.25
Harries John Harding & Davies Thomas Henry	Tabor, Party Bach, Penrhiw Elly, Penrhiw Elly Llain y Bryn, Penmynydd (3 properties), Undivided piece on the Mountain, Bryn Niwl, Pig Mary, Alltwen, Cwm Mawr, Cwm Bach, Castle	208.25
Davies John	Ffynnon Ovy	118.00
Hughes David	Park y Dinas	103.00
Proper David	Dyffryn	82.00
Bowen Easter & Bowen Elizabeth	Brynhenllan, Park y Rhos, Penmynydd	69.75
Williams John	Ty Gwyn Brynhenllan, Jericho Pwll Clacca Cottages, Jericho Cottages, Jericho Field and Houses, Vron	69.50
Davies John	Vagwr Meredith	67.75
Frances John	Taibach, Pencraig	60.75
Proper David, Harries James and others	Bwlch y Groes, Cross Inn, Ffynnon Wen, Vron, Rhos	56.75
James John	Pencnwc	54.00
Phillips George Lort	Vron	54.00
Lewis John	Park Newydd, Ty Hen	53.00

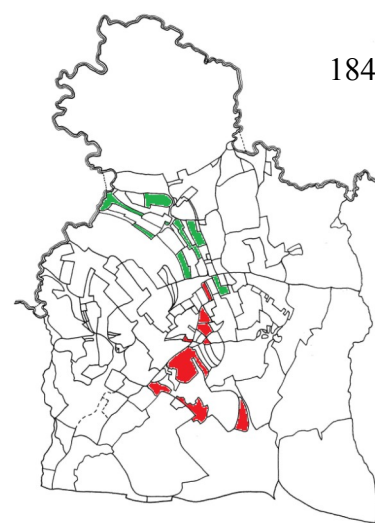
## Appendix 6: Major landlords



1786



1830

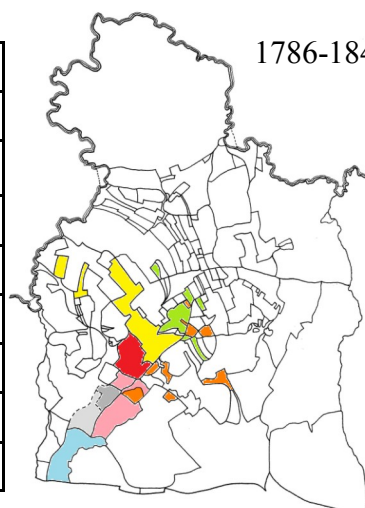


1841

	LT No.	Property
	2	Dynas Island
	3	Llandre
	11	Penmynidd
	19	Hescwm
	20	Hescwm
	21	Hescwm
	23	Tyrhose
	24	Fynonovy
	28	Bronhenllan
	29	Penrallt
	31	Hescwm Mills

**Bowen properties**

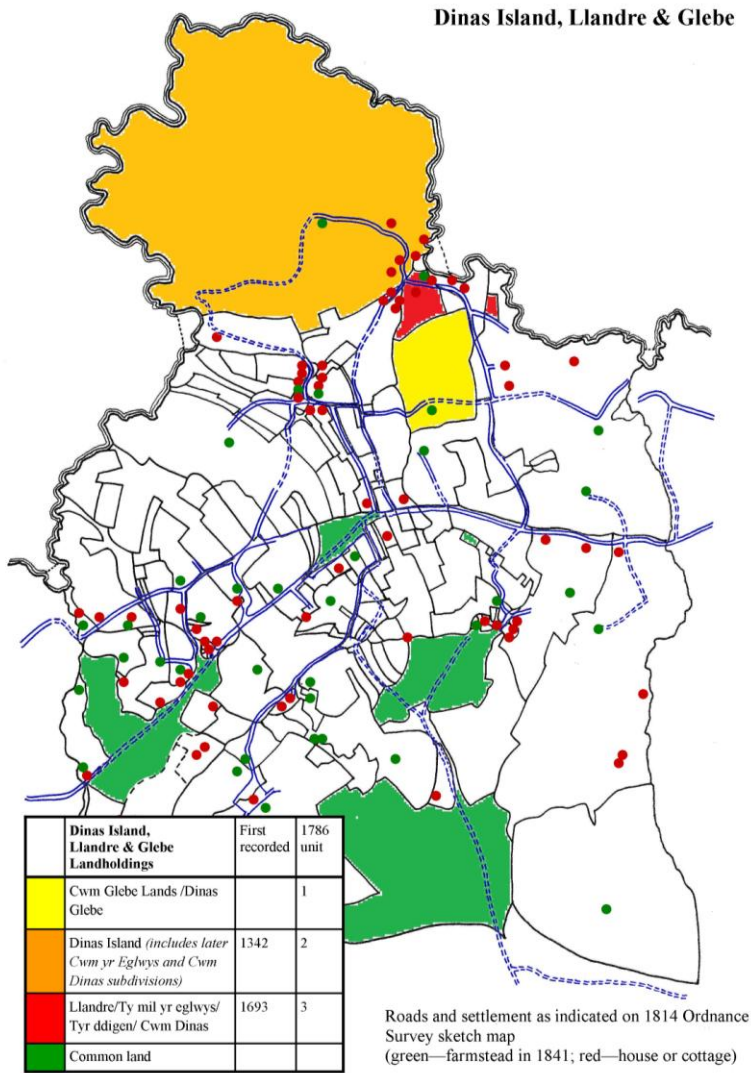
	LT no	Property
	12	Penyminidd
	22	Clynderwen (Tabor)
	36	Partibach
	37	Castle
	38	Allt wen
	39	Brinnule
	51	Cwmmawr
	52	Cwmbach



1786-1841

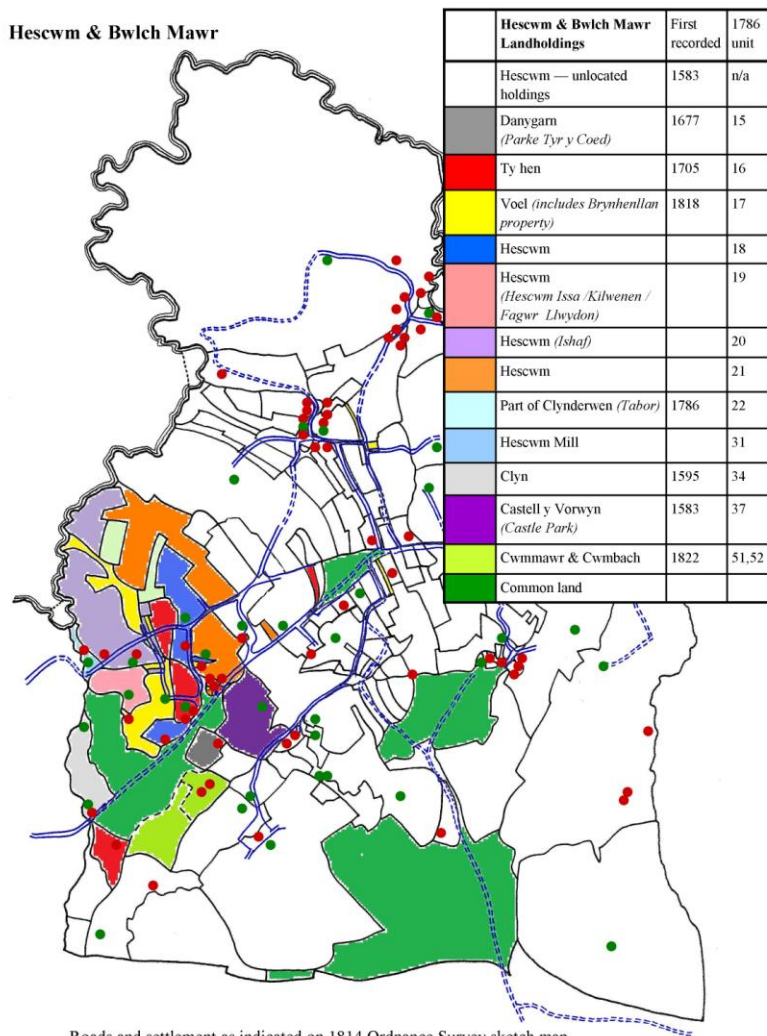
**Trewern properties**

Appendix 7: Trefi and land landholdings



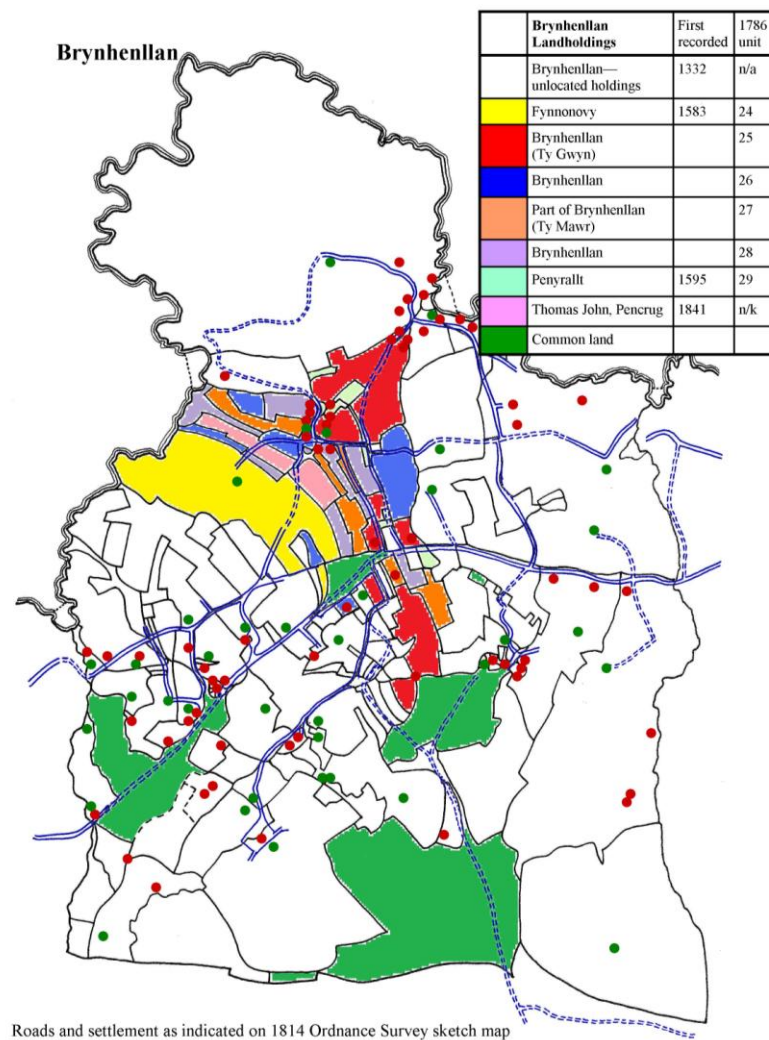
Dates are taken from Charles (1992)

## Hescwm & Bwlch Mawr



Roads and settlement as indicated on 1814 Ordnance Survey sketch map  
(green—farmstead in 1841; red—house or cottage)

## Brynhenllan

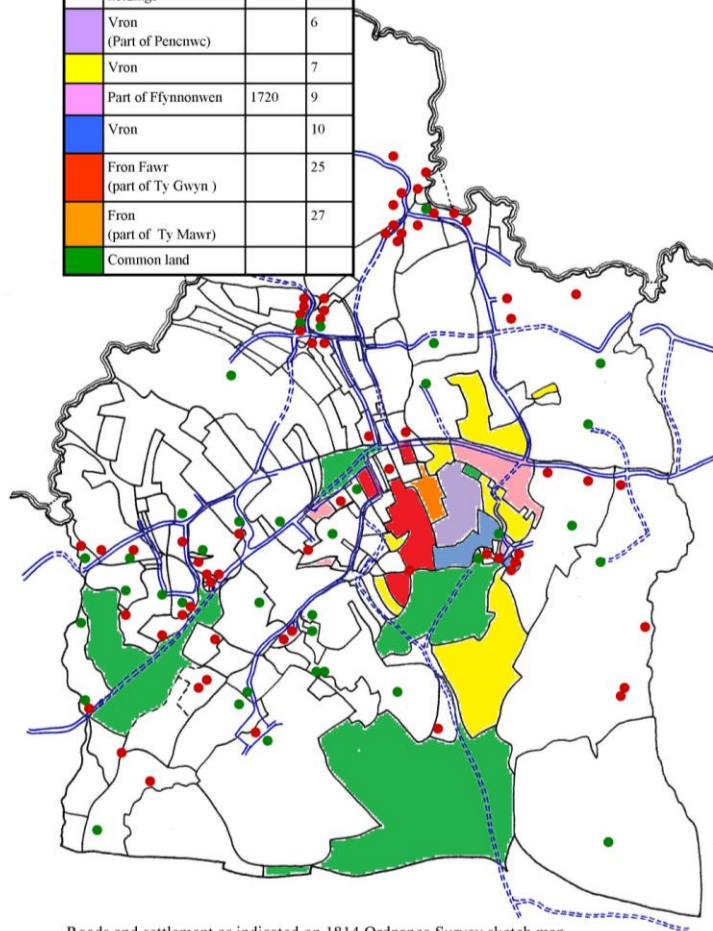


Roads and settlement as indicated on 1814 Ordnance Survey sketch map  
(green—farmstead in 1841; red—house or cottage)



	Vron Landholdings	First recorded	1786 unit
	Vron — unlocated holdings	1583	n/a
	Vron (Part of Pencnwc)		6
	Vron		7
	Part of Ffynnonwen	1720	9
	Vron		10
	Fron Fawr (part of Ty Gwyn )		25
	Fron (part of Ty Mawr)		27
	Common land		

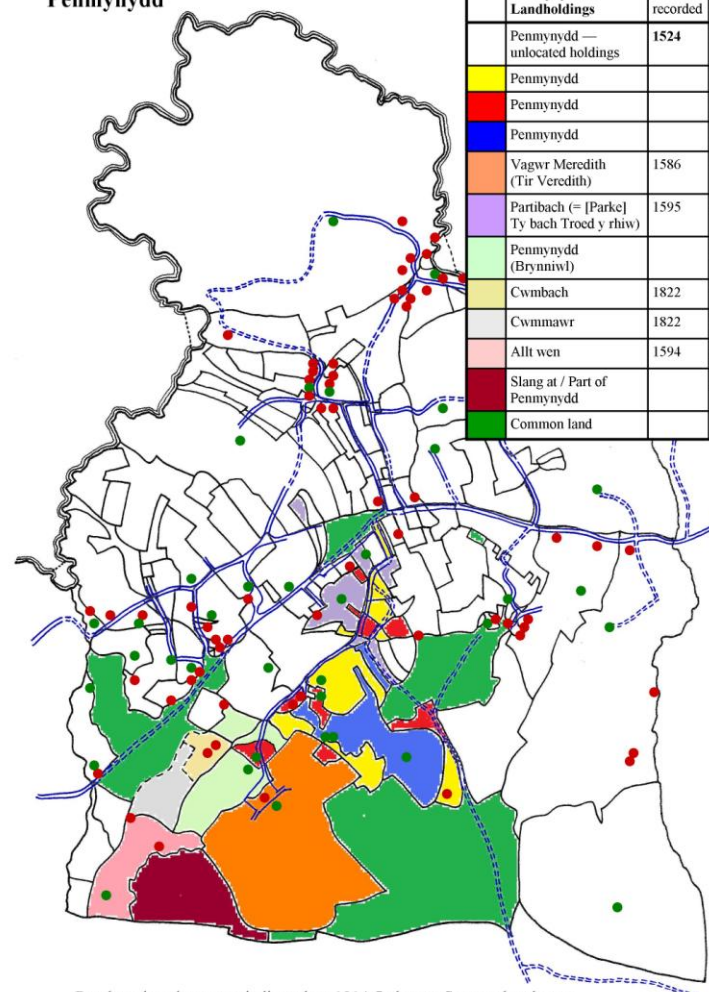
## Vron



Roads and settlement as indicated on 1814 Ordnance Survey sketch map  
(green—farmstead in 1841; red—house or cottage)

## Penmynydd

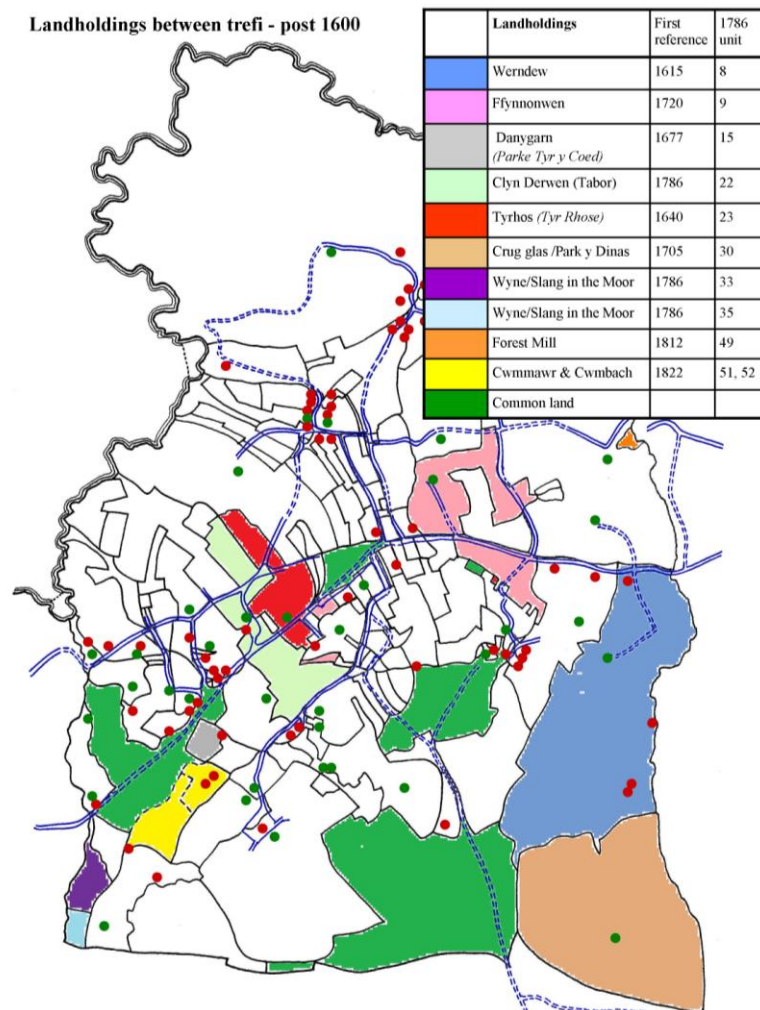
	Penmynydd Landholdings	First recorded	1786 unit
	Penmynydd — unlocated holdings	1524	n/a
	Penmynydd		11
	Penmynydd		12
	Penmynydd		13
	Vagwr Meredith (Tir Veredith)	1586	14
	Partibach (= [Parke] Ty bach Troed y rhiw)	1595	36
	Penmynydd (Brynniwl)		39
	Cwmbach	1822	52
	Cwmnawr	1822	51
	Allt wen	1594	38
	Slang at / Part of Penmynydd		32
	Common land		



Roads and settlement as indicated on 1814 Ordnance Survey sketch map  
(green—farmstead in 1841; red—house or cottage)

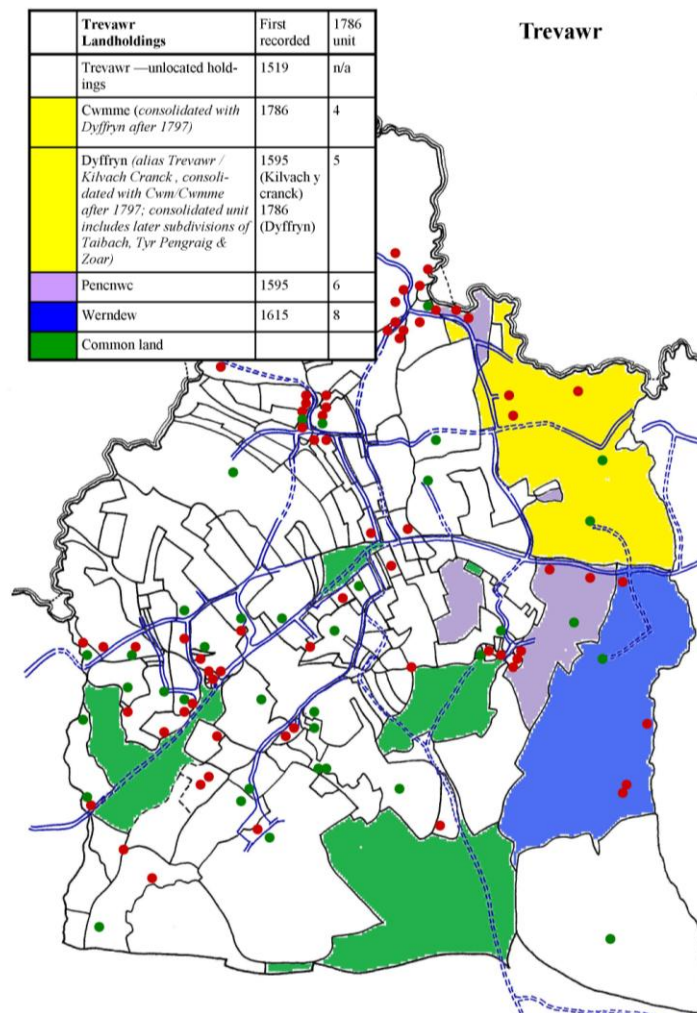


# Landholdings between trefi - post 1600



Roads and settlement as indicated on 1814 Ordnance Survey sketch map  
(green—farmstead in 1841; red—house or cottage)

# Trevawr



Roads and settlement as indicated on 1814 Ordnance Survey sketch map  
(green—farmstead in 1841; red—house or cottage)

Surname	Fore-name	Place of Birth	Year of Birth	CC or Cs No.	Died/Pens.	Reg.Ticket	Capacities	County of Birth	Kew Ref.
JAMES	David	[Dinas]	1781			148082		PEM	
		<p>[Trinity House Petition of Anne James aged 68, widow of David James of Brynhenllan, Dinas, PEM, 1847]. David James first went to sea at 16 in 1797 and had 42 yrs service: ap/Britannia/52t/1797; app; m/Britannia/52t/1801; m/Margaret/82t/1805; m/Mary/52t/1810; s/Sampson/152t/1825, For &amp; ct; s/Victory/125t/1829; m/Hope/155t/1830, For &amp; ct; m/William/35t/1837; m/Tom/30t/1839; s/Venus/105t/1839; m/Shannon Packet/37t/1840-7. David James was drowned in the Shannon Packet on 20 Oct 1847 on a voyage from Llanelli to Newport, MON. David's father, the owner and master, namely Thomas James, was also lost on the Shannon Packet. John &amp; Anne twins son &amp; daur of Evan and Elinor Griffiths were baptised on 26 Sep 1779 at Dinas. David James married Anne Griffith on 18 Jan 1803 at Dinas, ipo Llewelin Griffith &amp; Thomas James. Petition dated Nov 1847 &amp; 1849. Supported by David Williams, last master mariner of schooner Rival. [Mate on the Shannon Packet (of Cardigan, CBR:4/1841) in 1845 (BT98/603). Born 26 December 1780 from RT:148082. His brother was James James, master mariner of Fishguard. Mate from 1845-7?, [1851 census at Brynhenllan, Dinas: Anne James, aged 73, pauper, sailor's widow].</p>							

Above: entry from: Welsh Mariners: An on-line index of 23,500 Welsh merchant masters, mates and engineers active from 1800 to 1945, compiled by Dr. Reg Davies. (<http://www.welshmariners.org.uk/search.php>)

**PORTH CAWL.**—On Friday evening last, the Coast Guard observed something floating up with the flood tide, which they followed along shore till they reached Dunraven Bay, when they made it out to be part of the hull of a small vessel; it struck against the rocks, and floated off again—the dusk of the evening causing them to lose sight of it. On Saturday morning several pieces of wreck were washed on shore in Porth Cawl bay, and on one piece the name of “The Shannon Packet, of Fishguard,” was painted. This enabled parties to make enquiries, which resulted in the son of the master (whose name was Evan James) coming up from Carmarthen, who stated that she was a smack (in which were his father and brother), which sailed from Pembrey for Newport, laden with pig iron. It is supposed that she struck on the Sker Weathers on Friday, and that the crew were all lost.

Left:  
Newspaper report from  
Cambrian Times of 29th  
October 1847

Appendix 8:  
  
David James of Brynhenllan

The following is a statement of