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by David Lewis Jones.

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ABERAERON : THE COMMUNITY AND SEAFARING, 1800—1900*

THE Reverend Alban Thomas Jones Gwynne's successful attempt to obtain a Harbour Act for Aberaeron in 1807 was less a gesture of inspired investment than a calculated move based on the development of coastal trade during the eighteenth century. The only evidence we have beyond the eighteenth century strongly suggests that this trade was almost non-existent before 1660. On the fifteenth of December 1565 a government commission was appointed to investigate the state of the Cardiganshire coast. The commissioners reported on the second of January that there were no ships belonging to the Cardiganshire ports other than small fishing boats of about four or five tons which were mainly used for the herring fishing in the autumn. Six or seven fishermen were employed with each boat during the herring season. As regards Aberaeron, they stated that there was 'a small creek or landing-place at Aberayron within the Lordship of Aberayron'.¹ This somnolence continued for the next century, but towards the last quarter of the seventeenth century there was a perceptible increase in trade. The growth of trade between Great Britain and Ireland and also America benefited both Liverpool and Bristol, and from these two ports an awareness of trade spread outwards and along the coast. The first ships from Aberaeron involved in the coastal trade were the *Lyon* and the *Hopewell*. The *Lyon*, master Richard David, brought 250 st. of corn from Aberdovey to the port of Cardigan on the thirteenth of August 1698. Robert Ellis, master of the *Hopewell*, made four voyages in 1698 and 1700 from Chester to the port of Cardigan with cargoes of salt and coal. In August 1698, he brought 160 bushels of salt and 9 cwt. of coal for Lewis Gwynn of Mynachdy. Ellis was also involved in the Irish sea trade ; on the nineteenth of January 1702, he took 146 barrels of white herrings and 6,000 hilling stones to Wexford.² The cargo for Lewis Gwynn must have come to Aberaeron, but the Port Books do not specify to which haven within the Cardigan jurisdiction these goods were carried. The chief imports in the eighteenth century were coal, salt, lime-stone, and slate. The vestry book of Llanddewi Aberarth records that in 1776 the vestrymen imported

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2,000 slates through Aberaeron. The items exported through Aberaeron were grain, lead, and herrings. Lead from the Llanfair Clydogau and Llanddewi Brefi mines, north of Lampeter, was sent through Aberaeron, e.g., 14 tons were carried out by the *Prince George* of Aberaeron for Swansea on the twenty-second of August 1750.³ We have no figures for grain or herring exports. Edward Hughes remarked in a letter of 28 September 1756 on the quantity and quality of barley in the Aberaeron area,⁴ while, in the 1740's, Lewis Morris calculated that Aberystwyth had 59 herring boats, and Aberdovey, Borth, New Quay, and Aberaeron together had another 38.⁵ The salt imported by Lewis Gwynn in 1698 must have been used for the preservation of herrings in barrels for export. Salt was the chief import in the ports of Cardigan during the late seventeenth century. At first most of the salt came from Ireland or the continent ; the growth of the salt-industry in the north of England gave a fillip to the herring trade as this salt was free of duty.

This growth of shipping is reflected in the Llysven Court Leet Book.⁶ The state of the harbour came within the court's purview ; this is well illustrated in the entry for the ninth of October 1788,

all persons who shall at any time throughing Limestone Ballast or any other matter whatever that may obstruct the free Passage of all vessels in and out of the river Ayron from a certain place called Pwllcam til over the bar or mouth of the said river, if the same remain unmoved above two tides, the defaulter shall for every such offence pay unto the Lord of the Manor one pound one shilling on demand.

The following year, the court threatened to fine the masters who ' dig holes, pits or bedding for their vessels to rest and lie in ; without filling and levelling the same immediately after notice given or any other nuisance that may be hurtful of the navigation of the creek of Aberayron '. This was an annual preoccupation for the court during the last decade of the eighteenth century.

John James, an Aberystwyth shopkeeper and heir-at-law to the Tyglyn Ucha estate, and Francis Chalmer, a Liverpool businessman, attempted to take advantage of the new prosperity at Aberaeron. They obtained a lease from Lewis Gwynn II on a piece of land for forty years from the first of May 1770. On the land, near the creek of Aberaeron, a stone building had already been erected, attached to a warehouse owned by Lewis Gwynn. Ten shillings rent was to be paid every twelfth of May. Chalmer eventually lost interest in the project and sold his share to James for £115 in 1779. James came to Tyglyn Ucha in 1786 and took an active interest in the concern. He traded in leather, beef, corn, and bark. Between 1786 and 1791, he managed to

sink into debt to the amount of £798. The warehouse lease was sold in May 1791 to Lewis Gwynn for £48 6s. od.⁷

The emergence of Aberaeron as a trading centre can be placed, from the evidence already given, within the last thirty years of the eighteenth century. We can further prove this from the cartography of the coast. The survey of the Welsh coast from Conway to Tenby compiled by Lewis Morris and published in 1748 did not include Aberaeron among the twenty-four plans of harbour. His son, William Morris, published a revised version in 1801 and he provided a map of 'Aberaeron and New Key, Bay, Bar and Harbour'.⁸ This plan covers the coast from the mouth of the Arth to Pen Drainog, south of 'New Key' Head. *The Port* is marked in boldly at the mouth of the Aeron, as are the two *Lime-kilns* on the shore a little to the south. An indication of the increased use of the port is given in the careful delineation of *The Bar* and the *Two Lights*. The bar at the mouth of the harbour was a great hazard to navigation and Morris took care to show exactly where it was. The spring tide cleared away the debris which had accumulated on the bar, but by May the mouth of the harbour was again difficult to navigate. The local fishermen had attempted to solve the problem themselves by forming a club which met at the Sailors' Arms and paid the innkeeper to clear away the debris from the channel. This arrangement broke down one spring when the man from the Sailors' Arms had started to clear the channel but a storm arose and washed away the bar. The fishermen attempted to evade paying the fee, but were compelled to keep the agreement after the innkeeper took the matter to the courts.⁹ It is possible that the mariners of the port placed pressure on the Lord of the Manor to improve the situation. Nothing was done during the lifetime of Lewis Gwynn II but his heir, Alban Thomas Jones Gwynne, obtained a parliamentary Act to repair and extend the harbour.

On 28 July 1807, the committee of the House of Lords that dealt with private bills met, under the chairmanship of Lord Walshingham, and, sometime during the day, considered *A Bill to enable the Reverend Alban Thomas Jones Gwynne, his Heirs and Assigns, to repair and enlarge or rebuild the Quay or Pier within the Harbour or Port of Aberayron, in the County of Cardigan ; and to improve the said Harbour, and to regulate the Moorings of Ships and Vessels therein*. The preamble was read and Mr. David Allen summoned to prove that Alban Thomas Jones Gwynne was Lord of the Manor of Aberaeron. The main witness for the petitioners, Mr. John Wedge, the engineer, was then called. He deposed 'that the pier within the Harbour is become ruinous and insufficient for the accomodation of vessels resorting to the Harbour, which amount to about a hundred annually of from 25 to 30 tons each,

but that in consequence of the defect of the Port, there are very few of the latter burden'. The committee inquired as to the cost of rebuilding, the annual revenue expected from the harbour, and the annual upkeep. Wedge replied that a contract had been entered into to repair the harbour for about £4,000, while the annual revenue was estimated at £173 and the upkeep at £50. He further assured the committee that the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury and of the Admiralty had no objection to the Bill. The Committee approved the preamble and each enacting clause was then read and passed. Finally, the assembled peers ordered 'that the Bill be reported without amendment'.¹⁰

The preamble, which the committee saw as the most important part of the bill, contains the motives of Alban Thomas Jones Gwynne for improving the harbour,

Whereas the Quay or Pier within the Harbour or Port of Aberayron, in the Parish of Henfeniew, and in the Manor of Llyswen otherwise Aberayron, in the County of Cardigan, is become ruinous and insufficient for the Accomodation and Protection of the Ships and Vessels resorting to the said Harbour ;

And whereas Alban Thomas Jones Gwynne, Clerk, Lord of the said Manor of Llyswen otherwise Aberayron, is willing and desirous, at his own Expence, to rebuild, enlarge, improve and maintain the said Quay or Pier, and also to improve the said Harbour ;

And whereas the Rates or customary Dues payable by the Owners and Masters of Ships and other Vessels making use of the said Harbour, have been found inadequate to support and maintain the same, and are not properly ascertained, and there are not sufficient powers to enforce the Payment thereof, and it is necessary, in order to the putting of the said Quay or Pier in proper Repair, and to the keeping of the same and the said Harbour in good order and Condition, and for the building and making all requisite Warehouses and other Conveniences for the trade and Commerce thereof, that the Rates or Dues payable as aforesaid should be abolished, and that some further additional Rates or Dues should be granted and made payable.

The first article of the Act empowered A. T. J. Gwynne to put the Act into operation and 'to repair or rebuild the Pier, improve the Harbour, and make Wharfs, and appoint officers'. The limits of the Port were from Craigddu, in the parish of Llanddewi Aberarth, to Carreg Ina, in the parish of Llanina. Evan Phillips of Llanddewi complained in the Court of Great Sessions that Llanddewi Aberarth had ancient rights and should be exempted from the Act. He proved his case and the harbour dues were levied from Craig Ddu to Carreg Ina, with the exception of Llanddewi Aberarth creek.¹¹ The problems which the manorial court had attempted to solve are dealt with in the Act. The Lord of the Manor was given the power of regulating the

moorings of vessels in the harbour ; this was to prevent any injury to the fabric of the harbour or to any other vessels lying in the harbour. He was also given the power of fining any person throwing ballast, rubbish, or any other material into the harbour ; this gave statutory confirmation to the powers of the manorial court. The old quay dues were abolished and a schedule of new rates instituted to defray the expense of rebuilding the pier and the cost of running the harbour. Further penalties were laid down for obstructing the measurement of ships and vessels (for the purpose of levying dues), for obstructing officers, and for allowing combustible matter to remain on the quay. All goods landed on the quay were to be removed within a certain number of days or the offending owner would be penalised. Any person who attempted to evade payment of the rates or duties would have to pay to the Lord of the Manor ' a sum equal to the Amount of such Rates or Duties, and shall also stand charged with and be liable to the Payment of the said Rates or Duties '. The Lord could either go on board and seize a ship, in case of non-payment, or ' proceed for the Recovery of the same or so much thereof as shall not be recovered, by Action of Debt or Trespass on the case in any of Her Majesty's Courts of Record at Westminster '. Gwynne was not permitted to levy any of the duties until he had laid out one-third of the estimate of the expense for the pier. This had to be presented at the Quarter Sessions before it was allowed. The Lord had the power to vary the amount of the dues but not beyond the maximum laid down in the Act. These were the main articles of the Act ; there were other minor details, e.g., ships of the Royal Navy were exempt from the dues.

The building of the harbour began towards the end of 1807. Rumours about the venture spread in the locality and excitement was great, especially among the children. The pupils in the school near Henfynyw Church persuaded the schoolmaster to grant them a holiday in the afternoon. Their haste was such that they removed their wooden clogs and ran in their bare feet to Aberaeron. Great was the disappointment when they saw, not a new and large stone pier, but only a few men raking the seaweed and preparing stone and lime.¹² The work was entrusted to men from outside the locality and the two chief masons were William Green and Edward Ellis. William Green, who was born on the twenty-ninth of March 1782 in Aberystwyth, lost his father at an early age and disagreements arose between William and his step-father. The youth disappeared one morning and went to the home of a relative in Liverpool, but he soon returned to learn the trade of stonemason with his father's brother in Aberystwyth, where at a fairly young age he was employing his own workmen and building houses. Edward Ellis came from Chancery, a village near Aber-

ystwyth.¹³ It is not known to whom Gwynne awarded the contract ; it may well have been granted to them jointly.¹⁴ Lewis Davies and William Evans were also involved in the project. The work which these men undertook was to build a south-west pier 100 yards in length and another pier 90 yards long.¹⁵ We have only three pieces of evidence as to the progress of the work. On the fourth of October 1809, the Quarter Sessions at Lampeter received ' the affidavit of Edward Ellis of Aberaeron relative to the expenditure of money in making a Pier or Quay at Aberaeron, aforesaid pursuant to an Act of Parliament obtained for the purpose and the same is hereby accordingly filed '. This refers to the article of the Act which forbade Gwynne from raising dues until one-third of the estimate of the expense had been invested. A week later, on the eleventh of October, the Court Leet ordered that the trench opened from Pwllcam to the sea, to divert the river, be closed and made level by William Green and Edward Ellis within a month. Failure to do so would result in a fine of five pounds. The completion of the south-west pier was marked by an inscription on a stone in the pier,

As a memorial of good will to his fellow-creatures, as an encouragement to the trade of the Harbour, as the means of preserving many lives and much property, the S.W. Pier was erected at the expense of Alban Thomas Jones Gwynne, Lord of the Manor of Aberaeron. It was begun in 1807 and finished in 1809. Lewis Davies, William Green, Edward Ellis and William Lewis Masons under the direction of Mr. John Wood Mariner.¹⁶

The other pier was finished by 1811 and the completion of the whole reported in the *Carmarthen Journal* of 17 August 1811 under the heading *Improvement of Aberayron Harbour in Cardiganshire* :

This Harbour is situate at the mouth of the river Aeron in Cardigan Bay about 60 miles S. by E. from Bardsey Island ; 16 miles from Aberystwyth for 4 E. by N. from New Key Head. In its original state, it was with every ground sea so choaked up with shingle as to render it inaccessible. Vessels within it therefore have frequently been detained upwards of 6 months before a Land Flood set them at liberty. The entrance is now defended by 2 strong piers, so contrived as to keep the mouth of the Harbour always open to deepen the Channel considerably, and to give the most proper direction to the river for the purpose of rendering access easy. It is intended to excavate a dock and to make some other improvements on the West side of the Harbour, capable of containing a considerable number of Vessels in perfect safety, in addition to what can at present be accomodated there.

The coast abounds with fish (particularly Herrings) in great abundance, and few situations afford greater facilities for carrying on a Fishery on a respectable scale than this. Being less than one day with a fair wind from Dublin, Waterford and Wexford, and less than two from Bristol, Liverpool and Cork, it is therefore advantageously circumstanced for any other trade for which the neighbouring

very improveable district can find resources. It is also finely calculated to become a Bathing place, the situation being very healthy, the water very salt and clear, and the surrounding Prospects delightfully romantic.

Within the Western Pier Head there is about 8 feet on Neap, and about 12 on High Water, on common spring Tides—High Water on full, and change about 7 o'clock.

Seamen unacquainted with the coast, and driven upon it by the strong N.W. Winds, are requested to steer for a small buoy, about a cable's length N.W. of the Western Pier Head, to pass close to it, bearing on the starboard hand, and then to steer for and pass the above Pier Head in the same manner, when they will find themselves in safety.

These improvements were done at the expense of the Rev. Alban Thomas Jones Gwynne, Lord of the Manor, and principal proprietor of the adjoining land, who spared no expense towards rendering the work as complete as possible, and who will also give liberal encouragement to such persons as may be disposed to take building leases near the Harbour.

John Wedge.

This was a statement on behalf of Gwynne and shows how great was the hope for the future. But, alas, within two years, the spring equinoctial tides did considerable damage to the improvements at Aberaeron.¹⁷ Various sources state that the Reverend Alban Thomas Jones Gwynne spent £6,000 on the improvements, some £2,000 more than he first anticipated. It should be emphasised that only the two quays were built at the time ; the rest of the harbour, consisting of the river estuary with mud banks, was not covered with stone until the last quarter of the century.

The dispersal of the Mynachdy archives makes it impossible to estimate the profit the harbour brought to the Gwynne family. It was discovered that the original construction gave insufficient protection from the north-westerly winds and, in the eighteen-forties, Colonel Alban Thomas Jones Gwynne had to extend the western pier head in a northerly direction.¹⁸ There were many complaints in the early part of 1887 about the state of the harbour and the moorings. The Harbour Act was studied and a document was drawn up by two Justices of the Peace to compel the owners to improve the harbour. Three local captains gave evidence before the justices.¹⁸ Throughout the century the manorial court had to enforce the regulations in the Act ; on the nineteenth of October 1816, the court demanded that neither dead fish nor any other carrion be thrown out of any sloop or fishing vessel alongside the harbour otherwise a fine of one shilling would be levied. Manorial rights occasionally brought profit, as on the twenty-first of March 1865, when the steward reported that B. S.

Chandler, the chief custom officer at Aberystwyth, had paid £68 6s. 8d. for wrecks on the coast of Llyswen Manor since the last court leet. The greatest trouble over the harbour occurred at the beginning of the present century. A squabble arose over the method of levying the tolls. The steamship *Doleraine* brought 223 tons and 5 cwt. of coal into Aberaeron in January 1901. Alban Gwynne claimed that a rate of 3d. *per* quarter of a chaldron of 720 lbs. should be levied. The defendant counter-claimed that the proper mode, which had been customary for 60 years, was a shilling on the registered tonnage of a ship. The defendant thus said he owed 2 guineas, at a shilling *per* 42 register tons on coal-carrying vessels, while Gwynne demanded £8 13s. 7d. At the first hearing the judgement was in favour of Gwynne, but the defendant went to the Court of Appeal and won his case.¹⁹ This dispute suggests that the profits from the harbour were not inconsiderable even at the end of the century, but the evidence as a whole is too tenuous for any firm statement.

The Reverend Alban Thomas Jones Gwynne included among his reasons for enlarging the harbour at Aberaeron 'an encouragement to trade'. The evidence for trade is disappointingly scanty and this is thus a qualitative rather than a quantitative account. The best evidence is the Agreements and Crew Lists of ships registered at the ports of Cardigan and Aberystwyth.²⁰ From this source we are able to obtain the following schedule of voyages made by the *Buss* of Cardigan during the period April 12—July 22, 1836.

Port of Departure			Port of Arrival			Cargo
April	12	Aberaeron	April	19	Milford	Ballast
"	20	Milford	"	28	Aberaeron	Limestone
"	29	Aberaeron	May	6	Caernarfon	Ballast
May	7	Caernarfon	"	13	Aberaeron	Slates
"	14	Aberaeron	"	23	Milford	Ballast
"	24	Milford	"	27	Anglesey	Culm
"	28	Anglesey	"	31	Aberaeron	Limestone
June	1	Aberaeron	June	5	Neath	Ballast
"	6	Neath	"	15	Aberaeron	Coals
"	16	Aberaeron	"	30	Chester	Ballast
July	1	Chester	July	11	Aberaeron	Earthenware
"	12	Aberaeron	"	22	Neath	Ballast

A similar pattern of voyages was made by the *Betsy*, *Ann*, *Mary*, *Hopewell*, *Hannah*, *Fancy*, *Friendship*, and *Victoria*. The *Good Hope* travelled from Bristol to Aberaeron with general cargo. These were all small ships; the *Aeron*²¹ had only a crew of two and the master, John Pugh, was also part-owner. The *Rhydiol* of Aberystwyth was the only fair-sized ship at the port in that period; it left Aberaeron for Quebec on the fifth of August 1836.

The main cargoes were slate, limestone, and coal, especially in the form of culm. Slate was needed for the building taking place at Aberaeron, and it was also sent to the surrounding area. The account book of Benjamin Evans shows that he sent 6,525 slates in 1849 to James Thomas of Llandeilo.²² Culm (coal-dust) was mixed with clay to make balls for fuel. Limestone was required for the considerably lime-deficient soil of Cardiganshire and had been an important import for a long time. The lime was dumped into the harbour ; on the first of October 1814 the Court Leet noted that 'several loads of limestone are dropped into the harbour of Aberayron to the great damage of the fishing vessels which must be carried off by the harbour master in nine days from the day or by default to run a fine of thirty-five shillings'. The lime was then taken to a lime-kiln for burning before it was carried inland. Some of the farmers owned a lime-kiln on the shore. Richard Lloyd of Penwern, Cilcennin, in his testament of 1806, left Penwern to his eldest son, David, together with 'that slang . . . with the lime-kilns situate near the shore in the parish of Llanddewi Aberarth'. Earthenware, bricks, and paving-stones were also imported but less frequently than the three staples of coal, slate, and lime-stone. General goods were brought from Bristol, this category including all manufactured goods. A regular service was maintained between Aberaeron and Bristol by the tradesmen of Aberaeron.

There was a considerable balance in favour of imports, and the schedule of the voyages made by the *Buss* shows that she never once in 1836 took a cargo from Aberaeron. Study of the Register of Ships' Departures of the port of Aberystwyth shows a very similar situation. Rees, in his *Description of Cardiganshire*, 1810, describes Aberaeron as being much frequented by small ships which carried the corn and other produce of the locality to English ports.²³ Throughout the century, the bulk of exports was agricultural produce. The *Briton* of Cardigan left Aberaeron for Glasgow on the first of July 1836 with a cargo of timber. But, within 15 years timber was being imported into Aberaeron ; on the fifth of October 1854 the *Dundonald* came into the harbour with a cargo of timber from Quebec.²⁴ The *Berlin* also went to Canada for timber, and on one occasion in the sixties she set out for Quebec but had to turn back to Queenstown for repairs ; as it was then late in the year to go to Quebec, she went to the Baltic. The cargo was then loaded at Danzig ; while on the return voyage the ship was nearly frozen in the Baltic and lost her jib boom.²⁵ An allied export was oak bark used for tanning ; the *Resolution* took a cargo to Londonderry on the twenty-fifth of March 1837 and the *Victoria* carried a cargo to Greenock on the twenty-first of October 1842.²⁶ Grain was also shipped out from Aberaeron. Occasionally grain was taken to Aber-

ystwyth, probably for re-shipment ; the *Aeron* and the *Hopewell* took a cargo each on the twenty-first of June and the twenty-seventh of July 1842 respectively. The *Margaret* took 125 quarters of oats on the twenty-seventh of July 1853. These were fairly small ships, the *Aeron* a 25 ton sloop and the *Hopewell* a 20 ton sloop, so the amount of grain they could carry was small.²⁷ Towards 1880, a trade in pigs started ; J. T. Evans initiated this and in the twelve months from August 1881 to August 1882, 25,000 pigs of the value of £6,000 were shipped by the Aberaeron Steam Packet Company to Bristol. The company profited to the tune of £300 in freight rates. A typical shipment was the 150 pigs which went on the *Ianthe* on the twenty-first of March 1882.²⁸

The dependence of the town on trade is shown in the diary of William Griffiths for late 1854. He recorded that wild gales caused the *Beryl* to be overdue and after the *Andes* discharged on the second of November all the traders were wind-bound. By the thirtieth of December there was not an ounce of sugar in the town.²⁹ Passengers were not very important along the coastal route, and are very rarely mentioned. One of the few examples occurs in an advertisement of 1858—'The Plynymon steam ship, Capt. Wm. Wright Master. Steam communication between Liverpool, Aberystwyth and Bristol. Taking in goods or Passengers for Holyhead, Portmadoc, Aberystwyth, Aberdovey, Cardigan, New Quay. Cabin 12/-, Storage 7/-'.³⁰

The development of Aberaeron was based to a large extent on its function as a central supply town for a large hinterland. The merchants, who came to Aberaeron in search of prosperity, sought to encourage trade. William Griffiths recorded in his diary for 1850 or early 1851 that local tradesmen had formed the *Aberaeron and Bristol Navigation Company* to provide a regular sea service with Bristol. The company owned two traders, the *Andes* and the *Beryl*. One source also states that William Green spent his last years as the agent for a company which shipped goods from Bristol to Aberaeron.³¹ These are the only references we have at present to this company.

There was considerable discussion in the late eighteen-fifties about extending the railway to the Cardigan coast. Aberystwyth was linked with Shrewsbury in 1864 and with Lampeter, Carmarthen, and Llanelli in 1867. The latter line cut straight through the trading hinterland established by the Aberaeron tradesmen. These railway schemes must have been a considerable influence on the formation of the *Aberayron Steam Navigation Company* in the summer of 1863. The leaders in this venture were the chief traders in the town,—John Nathaniel Evans, merchant and farmer ; William Griffiths, chemist ; Benjamin Evans, postmaster ; W. J. Rees, draper ; John Phillips, merchant ; Henry Loyn, ironmonger ; David Jones, spirit merchant.

John Hugh Jones I, draper, was elected managing director. The company commissioned a steamer from a Glasgow firm. This was the *Prince Cadwgan*, built of plates of the same thickness as those of a very large steamer being constructed at the time especially for the Australian trade. This was thought necessary because of the exposed condition of Aberaeron harbour. The steamer cost £4,000 and entered Aberaeron to a tumultuous welcome in 1864. Men saw it at the time as a new era in the history of the town.³² The capital of the company was £4,000, divided into 400 shares. The register of shareholders on the third of November 1864 shows that there were 105 shareholders ; 53 of these did not reside in Aberaeron and they owned 195 shares. Most of the town's shopkeepers and merchants were involved but few had large holdings, between one and four being the average. The company prospered and in 1875 the *Prince Cadwgan* went to a Caernarfon shipyard, where she was fitted with a new boiler and an improved engine. The company announced in January 1876 that the *Prince Cadwgan* would be taking up goods for Aberaeron about the twenty-eighth of January. The *Cambrian News* noted that the steamer had been in the trade for twelve years and should have earned enough to pay for herself, but the shareholders had not yet recouped their investment. Repairs had consumed a large proportion of the profits. A dividend of 5% would be announced, then a note would follow stating that owing to some anticipated repairs the dividend was withheld.³³ After heavy expenditure on repairs and enlargement, there were great hopes of the prosperity the *Prince Cadwgan* would bring to Aberaeron. She returned to the trade and at two o'clock in the afternoon of the twenty-ninth of September 1876 arrived at Solva harbour where she discharged 20 tons of cargo (general goods). At two in the morning of the following day, Thomas Evans, the master, got up steam and proceeded. Twenty minutes later, when the mate was at the helm, two men on the fore-castle and the master on the bridge, the mate called out 'Breakers ahead'. The master ordered the helm to be put hard to starboard and at 2.25 a.m. he instructed the engineer to drive faster ahead. The engineer reported that the blades of the propeller were broken by rocks. The engine was stopped. Because she had halted and the wind was on the port bow, the *Prince Cadwgan* fell with her broadside right on the west side of Crow Rock, a quarter of a mile from the mainland, near the entrance of Ramsey Sound, and knocked a hole in her bottom. She soon sank in about two fathoms. The cargo consisted of two tons of iron and four and a half tons of petroleum.³⁴ A year after the disaster, Henry Loyn was appointed sole liquidator for the purpose of voluntarily winding up the affairs of the *Aberayron Steam Navigation Company*. How much the shareholders obtained at the end is not stated ; very

few shares had changed hands since the inception of the company and the original shareholders had borne the entire burden.³⁵

The good shopkeepers of Aberaeron were not daunted, because soon after the sinking of the *Prince Cadwgan* another ship was purchased. This was the *Ianthe* (sometimes *Xanthe*), a screw steamship built in 1873 by Henry Murray & Co. of Port Glasgow. Her register tonnage was 84 tons and gross tonnage was 137 tons. The date of transfer to Aberaeron was the third of March 1877.³⁶ The prime mover of the new association was Thomas Davies, captain of the *Prince Llewelyn*, who owned a quarter of the *Ianthe* and was the managing director of the *Aberayron Steam Packet Company*, as the new venture was called. Thomas Davies & Co., as they were referred to in *Lloyd's Register of British and Foreign Shipping*, also owned the *Juanpore* of London (460 tons) and the *Mysterious Star* of Aberaeron (397 tons). Success attended the new company, the *Cambrian News* for the eleventh of March 1880 reporting that 'the half-yearly meeting of owners was held at the Aberaeron steamship company offices, on Wednesday, the second of March, when the account for the half year ending December 31st 1879 was read and passed. This showed a dividend at the rate of 16% per annum'. After the death of Captain Thomas Davies in 1885, the most prominent person in the company was Dr. Edward Williams. It was to Williams that the two auditors complained in 1885, when they felt slighted by the appointment of another two auditors.³⁷ One reason for the company's success was the high level of rates they charged. The half-yearly meeting held on Monday, the twentieth of March 1882, announced a dividend of 20% *per annum*. The freight of galvanized buckets and handled brooms was reduced from 1½d. to 1d. Four years later, the non-owning tradesmen petitioned the company to deliver goods free of charge at the door, instead of dumping them on the quay.³⁸ The year 1889 produced a dividend of 25% and each shareholder was requested not to reveal the amount lest other enterprising persons should send ships to Aberaeron.³⁹ The company bought another ship, the *Norseman*, a steamer of 210 tons, in 1894.

The tradesmen of Aberaeron were annoyed at the high charges levied by the company. J. M. Howell, an ironmonger, attacked, in his weekly column in the *Cambrian News* on the first of December 1882, the excessive charges of the Steam Company which, he claimed, hindered shopkeepers; 'petroleum should be brought to Aberaeron from Bristol at something less than it is brought from New York to Bristol. Even if no greater percentage than £15 p.a. be declared as a dividend'. Eight years later, a group of tradesmen issued a circular complaining that only four tradesmen had shares in the company, and as the company was the largest supplier in the port, the full dividends should belong to

the tradesmen of Aberaeron. They demanded that a new company should be formed with a more equal distribution of shares.⁴⁰ The company seems to have capitulated to these demands, for in 1894 the association was transformed into a limited liability company. The Companies Act of 1862 had prohibited all associations of more than twenty people from carrying on business without registering under the Act. The shares of the Steam Packet Company had become divided among twenty-seven persons. What happened on paper was that an agreement was made between Edward Williams for the old and Samuel Evans for the new company. The latter purchased *Ianthe*, *Norseman*, and other property. The nominal capital of the registered company on the thirtieth of July 1894 was 576 shares of £10 each. The twenty-seven shareholders received shares in the new company according to the number they owned previously, e.g., the six shareholders who had four of the sixty-four shares received thirty-six new shares each. Only nine of the twenty-seven lived outside Aberaeron and they owned a quarter of the company. There were six subscribers to the new company, only three of whom were described as tradesmen ; one was a surgeon and another a master mariner. The sixth was an *esquire*, who described himself thus for political reasons. The company was incorporated on the eighth of August 1894. The number of directors was set at a maximum of seven and a minimum of three. They were required to be fairly constant in attendance, for on the twenty-first of January 1901 J. H. Jones II was disqualified for being absent from meetings for a period of three months without consent. The directorate worked smoothly on the whole. There was one incident in 1906 when a section led by Lima Jones tried to limit the number of directors to five and concentrate power in their own hands.⁴¹

During the incorporated company's first year of operation, the *Ianthe* was employed in the Bristol—Aberaeron trade and the *Norseman* from Jersey to Bristol. But on the thirteenth of December 1895 the *Ianthe* was sold to Mr. Thomas Steele of Ayr.⁴² The company had purchased a warehouse in Fishguard and Solva harbour from the Government authority which had built a lighthouse there. The *Norseman* made fortnightly journeys from Bristol to Fishguard, Solva, Aberaeron, and New Quay.⁴³ The company also employed another steamer, *Telephone*, which traded between Liverpool and Aberaeron, but we have hardly any information on this ship. The company continued to trade successfully after the loss of the coal trade to the railway between Lampeter and Aberaeron in 1911. The *Norseman* spent three months in 1912 under repair for a new boiler which cost about £1,000 ; this meant lost trade but in 1914 she made 22 trips and earned £2,800.⁴⁴ The Company's assets were surveyed on the third of

July 1911 ; the *Norseman* was valued at £3,425, the Reserve Fund at £425, the freehold of Solva Quay at £510, the leasehold warehouse at Fishguard at £279, the loose plant at £70, and the goodwill at £1,250. The last-named had been estimated at the time of incorporation. The war affected the operations of the company and the smallest shareholders agitated for the sale of the *Norseman*, but the company only received an offer of £3,000. The disaffected shareholders were bought out by Bristol wholesale houses. But before long the company decided to sell, mainly because of the challenge from the railway and the difficulty of obtaining the old class of coasters (sailors) at the same rate. A meeting was held on the twenty-third of December 1916 in the Town Hall and it was decided that the company be wound up voluntarily and D. C. Evans appointed liquidator. On the whole, the investors profited in a moderate way. Dr. Edward Williams received £350 15s.6d for his 36 shares ; each share was valued at £10 on the thirtieth of July 1894. The company was defunct by August 1918.⁴⁵ (See Appendix I for more detailed accounts of the two companies.)

There was now a lull of four years in trading activities at Aberaeron harbour. In 1921, Spillers Limited began to send flour by sea from Cardiff to Aberaeron. The *Crescent* and the *Rosetta*, owned locally, also made a number of voyages in the early twenties. The two staples of trade for the next fifteen years were chippings and flour. The *Drumlough* was the last ship which traded into Aberaeron ; she left the port for the last time in mid-August 1934.⁴⁶

This account of trade has naturally emphasised the ships which brought cargoes into Aberaeron. We should remember that ships owned at Aberaeron played an important part in trade between other ports on the Welsh coasts. In 1845 the following Aberaeron ships came into Aberystwyth :

April 1	Faithful Sisters	Culm from Neath
April 9	Nautilus	Oatmeal from Newry
April 11	Aeron	Potatoes from Douglas, I. of M.
June 17	Turtle Dove	Limestone from Red Wharf
June 22	Faithful Sisters	" " Milford
June 24	Nautilus	" " "
July 9	Hannah	" " "
August 3	Lively	" " Red Wharf
August 6	Hannah	" " Milford
August 26	Bee	" " "
October 23	Nautilus	Herrings from Isle of Man
" "	Lively	Limestone from Red Wharf ⁴⁸

But when steamships were introduced into the coastal route these small ships lost most of their trade.

The relative glamour of trading has diverted attention from fishing, which was a steady preoccupation throughout the century. J. Geraint Jenkins states that by 1750 'seafaring had become an established occupation, quite distinct and separate from agriculture'.⁴⁷ But fishing was never an entirely separate occupation. The seven fishermen who were drowned on Aberaeron bar on Wednesday, the fifteenth of November 1814, were fishermen-peasants, three coming from inland parishes. The main type of fishing throughout the century was herring-fishing and, as the season began early in September and ended towards December, this meant that many turned to fishing in the slack months after the harvest. The fishermen-peasants are to be found mainly in the early part of the century; the second half saw townsmen combining fishing with another activity. We have found only one man described simply as a fisherman and that was in the 1841 census.

The first details we have of Aberaeron fishing refer to October 1806 when the nightly catch of each boat at Aberaeron was between four and five thousand herrings, 'from which the poor derive great benefit'. Two years later, the New Quay and Aberaeron fishermen caught nine million herrings in one night.⁴⁸ David James recalled in 1889 a time when there were about forty small herring boats at Aberaeron,—this was around 1830. Carriers came from every part of England and so busy was the trade that on one occasion Shon Trwmpike (toll-gate keeper) collected £5 before breakfast time as tolls.⁴⁹ This period of prosperity was followed by a time of depression, when the herring shoals disappeared from Cardigan Bay. An attempt to reinvigorate fishing was made in 1864. On the fifth of March a meeting was held at the Feathers Hotel where J. N. Evans, W. P. Hughes, David Jones (shipbuilder), Benjamin Evans, David Jones (wine merchant), John Jones (smith), Captain Thomas Thomas (Panteg), Captain Thomas Pugh, jun., and William Thomas (sailmaker) resolved to form the *Aberayron Deep Sea Fishing Company* with a capital of £320 to be issued in £10 shares. The contract of David Jones, shipbuilder, was accepted for a ship and a committee formed to oversee the building of the vessel. A meeting held at the Sailors' Arms on the fourth of May issued further contracts including an order to a Liverpool firm for two trawl nets to suit a beam of 36 feet. The ship was named the *Albatross* at the June meeting, and Mr. Thomas Morgan was appointed captain. A committee of three was also chosen to sail the vessel.⁵⁰ David James recalled in 1889 that the cost of the smack was about £500. The cabin was fitted like a gentleman's yacht and when fully equipped with nets and other equipment the cost rose to £900. The aim of the company was to trawl in the bay and make a great profit. But the management

became lax and the boat was sold to New Quay, where she brought considerable success to her new owners.⁵¹

Captain Gwynne sought to encourage the fishing industry in 1879 with the purchase of the *Sarah* (25 tons register). This ship had been built for the Bristol pilotage and as she drew nine feet of water she could not get in and out of Aberaeron harbour during neap tides. Gwynne paid £100 for this trawler but the cost rose to £200 before she went to sea. Her first arrival at Aberaeron on the twenty-fourth of May 1879 was full of good auguries ; she sailed in with a good haul of soles, trills, turbot, gurnets, and an enormous angel fish. James Pugh of Aberystwyth worked her for a time ; he was paid £2 a month and trawled the grounds from Llangranog to Llanon. At times the venture was a success, and on one trip, under three Aberaeron men, she caught £15 worth of fish, of which three hundredweight was sent to Aberystwyth for transport to Liverpool. But, in December 1887, the *Cambrian News* reported that the old fishing boat lying in Pwllcam had been sold at the direction of Captain Gwynne. The £7 paid by Evan Morgan for the hulk was given to J. H. Jones II and Evan Jones, Feathers, who were collecting for the construction of a groyne on the west foreshore for sand-beds.⁵² The Mynachdy estate made one more attempt to boost the industry when R. S. Lloyd, the agent, purchased a nine-ton fishing smack from New Quay for trawling in the bay. She was worked by a Hoylake man formerly with the *Albatross* but nothing is known of this enterprise, which suggests that it failed fairly quickly.⁵³

The fluctuating supply of fish in the bay was the main reason for the failure of these ventures. The 1874 season was bad, the average catch per boat being 50 herrings, and a maize of herrings was a considerable surprise. Old fishermen predicted, on hearing that fish was plentiful on the Caernarvonshire coast, no luck in this part of the Bay. Seven years later, there were seven boats engaged in the herring fishery. Each took excellent hauls ; the *Dart* brought in 12 maize on the last Tuesday in October. In a good season a fair profit could be made. Captain Evans of the *Briton* brought in 1,600 herrings in the first week of October 1882 ; they were sold for a penny each and the Captain made £6 13s. od.⁵⁴ A certain amount of damage was done to the fishing industry by the fish-traps (*goredi*) on the shore at Llanddewi Aberarth. One of the *goredi* was literally crammed with herrings one morning in October 1888 and three donkey carts full were removed.⁵⁵ Bad management was responsible for the failure of the large ventures described above and the easier life as a sailor on a trading vessel (especially a foreign trader) crippled the development of the fisheries all along the Cardiganshire coast.



Pl. VI.9 Aberaeron Harbour in 1832



Pl. VI.10 Aberaeron Harbour in the 1890's

The community's involvement in seafaring brought an important industry to Aberaeron,—shipbuilding. Small craft had probably been built at the mouth of the Aeron for centuries but larger ships were not built until the nineteenth century. Margaret Hughes has calculated, in her thesis on the seafaring industry of Cardigan Bay, the number of ships built at Aberaeron :

	Number	Total Tonnage
1780—90	2	52
1790—1800	1	30
1800—10	6	151
1810—20	8	146
1820—30	8	289
1830—40	9	416
1840—50	19	1362
1850—60	22	2181
1860—70	15	1600 ⁶⁶

This list includes all the ships constructed at Aberaeron which Margaret Hughes has been able to trace. Though an underestimate, it is probably a fair estimate of the scope of shipbuilding, especially after 1840. The trend is noticeably towards larger ships. The first ship of which the author has record is the *Active*, a sloop of 30 tons, built in 1793. The next is the *Resolution*, a sloop of 41 tons, launched in 1805. These are typical of the ships built before 1830. They were built by the men who required them ; a professional class of shipbuilders did not emerge until the eighteen-forties. The *Mary* of 38 tons was built on Cilfforch land, a smithy was erected there, and timber obtained from the farm-land. The *Albion*, a sloop of 46 tons, was built on Pengarreg farmyard in 1827 by John Atwood, who farmed the land and was related to the Gwynnes.⁶⁷

The decade between 1841 and 1851 saw the erection of shipbuilding yards and an expansion of the industry. Only ten men followed occupations which involved shipbuilding in 1841. Ten years later, the figure had grown to twenty-three, which included five persons described as shipbuilders,—Henry Harries, Evan Jones, John Harries, and his two sons, John and David. The oldest of these was John Harries, who in 1841 was one of the two shipwrights in the town. He built the *Fair Hope*, a sloop of 37 tons, and the *Orion*, a smack of 30 tons. His son, John Harries jun., was helping him in 1851. By the early sixties the son had taken over and was employing three men permanently. The other shipbuilder of importance was Evan Jones from Llanddewi Aberarth. The great rainstorm of 1846 had wrecked his yard at Llanddewi and the *Adroit*, which was on the stocks at the time, was swept out to sea and later taken to Aberaeron. Evan Jones

transferred his business to Aberaeron. An apprentice in Jones's yard at Llanddewi was his nephew, David Jones. He also came to Aberaeron some years later and set up on his own, helping both his uncle and the Harrieses.⁵⁸ The shipyards were clustered on the south beach. The Tithe Commission map of Henfynyw, drawn c. 1845, shows a shipwright yard on the tongue of land where Vulcan Place now stands. Shipbuilders later started erecting on the land between the harbour and the south beach.

These men were ill-educated like most of the shipbuilders along the western coast of Britain during the nineteenth century. It is very rare to find a yard where drawings were used. The builder was approached by the owners, or more usually the representative of the owners, who explained what type of craft was required. The only example available to us is the *Albatross*. David Jones was one of the shareholders in the *Aberayron Deep Sea Fishing Company* and he naturally obtained the contract for the ship. The vessel was to be of cutter rig with sliding bowsprit and top mast. Daniel Jones was instructed to make the cabin of the vessel when decked. Owen James was granted the contract for the blocks. All the wires, ropes, chains, and anchors were supplied by Thomas Jones, Aberystwyth. William Thomas was to provide the sails—a mainsail, a foresail, a first gib, a second gib, a storm gib, a gulf topsail, and a square sail.⁵⁹ The role of the shipbuilder was to construct the body or frame of the ship, while others added the sails, rigging, and superstructure. We cannot tell how far this method was practised at Aberaeron. One can only assume that all the shipbuilders followed a common tradition. After the owner had laid down the specification of the vessel, the shipbuilder produced a half-model. This model was usually built from layers of planking $\frac{1}{2}$ " in thickness. These layers were fastened together with wooden nails so that the block could be worked as if it were a single block of wood. The nails were removed from the finished model and each plank represented a waterline of the ship and from these planks all the measurements could be obtained for the construction of the ship. The model could be carved out of a single block and the ship built straight from the model ; this was only possible in an area with several decades of shipbuilding tradition. These were the methods used in the yards of Western Britain at that time.⁶⁰ David Jones certainly built from models ; he built the *Cadwgan* from a half-model, 2 ft. 10 ins. long and constructed from five layers of planking. These layers are unequal in width, so it is probable that David Jones built the *Cadwgan* straight from the half-model.⁶⁰ As he was apprenticed to his uncle, Evan Jones, and also worked with the Harrieses, we can assume that this method was common to all the Aberaeron shipbuilders. We should emphasise that the half-model was

of the frame only, it did not include the superstructure or the masts. The timber from which these vessels were built was obtained in the early years from the locality. As this became exhausted, timber was brought from greater distances and farmers of the parish earned some money by carrying oak trees from Breconshire and Radnorshire.⁶¹ We have already seen that timber was imported from Canada and the Baltic. It is interesting to note that the last ship built at Aberaeron was constructed of local timber, for Captain Evans and David Jones purchased a stand of timber from the land of Caegwyn, Felinfach.⁶²

The shipbuilders concentrated on the following types of vessel,—sloops, schooners, smacks, brigantines, and barquentines. A sloop was a small, one-masted, fore-and-aft rigged vessel. Rigged in the same manner was a smack but its burden was lighter. The schooner was a larger vessel, fore-and-aft rigged, originally with only two masts, but later often with three or four, and carrying one or more topsails. The brigantine was two-masted, with a brig's foremast, square-rigged, and a schooner's mainmast, fore-and-aft rigged. A brig can be a brigantine or it can be a vessel with two masts square-rigged, but carrying also on her main-mast a lower fore-and-aft sail with a gaff and boom. A barquentine is a vessel with the fore-mast square-rigged, and the main- and mizen-masts fore-and-aft rigged. We have descriptions of 67 ships built at Aberaeron,—9 sloops, 12 smacks, 35 schooners, 5 brigantines, 5 brigs, and 1 barquentine. The evidence seems to suggest that the shipbuilders used sloop and smack as interchangeable terms, smack being a more common description after 1840. The burden does not seem to have differed as significantly as the strict definition demands. During the first 40 years of the century, this was almost the only type of ship built at Aberaeron and used exclusively in coasting and fishing. The next twenty years saw the building of larger ships, especially schooners. Indeed, these years have been described as the age of the schooner revolution. The expansion of trade demanded larger ships, and most owners required schooners rather than brigs, for the latter were far more wasteful of men and tackle. We should note that some writers regard the difference between brigantines (not brigs) and schooners as irrelevant. Thirty-five schooners are known to have been built at Aberaeron ; we also know that the Harrieses built 8, Evan Jones 11, and David Jones 5. The schooners were noted for their speed, e.g., the *Pleiades*, built by David Jones, was on a voyage to Spain when she was passed by a returning four-masted barque ; the *Pleiades* discharged her cargo, took on another, and returned home before the barque.⁶³ (A list of ships built at Aberaeron is given in Appendix II.)

Many of the ships were built for local customers, mainly merchants and men with spare cash to invest. The *Favorite*, a 40 ton sloop built

in 1825, was owned by Lewis Davies, William Green (merchants), Eleanor Evans (farmer's widow), Rees Jones Drefach (mariner), Rachel Winwood, John Atwood the younger (local gentry), Thomas Thomas Glamorgan, and John Atwood Clifton. A frequent investor in Aberaeron shipping was Thomas Jones, the wealthy merchant of the Ropewalk, Aberystwyth. He was born at Caehaidd, a farm near Aberaeron, and this may have prompted his investment but he may have been using his investment to further his business in naval stores. He had shares in the *Economy* (1825) and the *Albion* (1827). His son, Thomas Jones the younger, followed his father's example ; he had four of the sixty-four shares in the *President* (1835). Indeed it is rare to find a ship before 1850 in which Thomas Jones, father and son, did not have an interest. Another considerable investor was J. N. Evans, who farmed Pengarreg and had mercantile interests ; he had shares in most of the ships built in the forties and the fifties. In a second rank of investors were merchants and craftsmen, such as Benjamin Evans and his son-in-law William Griffiths, druggist. The significance of these investments can be seen in the wills of Benjamin Evans and his father, David Evans, Morfa Mawr. The latter, David Evans of Morfa Uchaf, Llansantffread, farmer and minister of the Gospel, left ' my share of the sloop *Rachel* and *Sally* of Cardigan to my son Benjamin and my share of the sloop *Sisters* I will and bestow to my son Daniel and I will and bestow my share of the sloop *Fancy* to my son David '. This will was proved on the second of February 1826. Benjamin Evans, the son named above, left to his daughter ' Mary Griffiths all my shares in the Brig *Xanthippe* and unto my daughter Anne Howells all my shares in the schooner *Pleiades*. And unto my daughter Margaret Davies all my shares in the steamer *Prince Cadwgan* and the *All Right*. And unto my daughter Jane Davies all my shares in the schooner *Camden Avon Queen* and *Jane* all of Aberayron '. This was written on the second of February 1872. The investment of the minor shareholders was fairly considerable. The *Gowerian* of 109 tons cost £2,600 ; William Griffiths owned four of the sixty-four shares, which represented an investment of £162 10s. od., and this was only one of the many ships in which he had an interest. The shipbuilder sometimes had a share in one of the ships he was constructing ; Henry Harries owned two shares in the *Henry and Dora*, a ship he built with John Harries in 1849.⁶⁴ The main reason for this financial interest in shipping was the lack of any other source for investment. Indeed, there was no place in Aberaeron where one might keep money until the first bank opened its doors in the early eighteen-sixties. It was not very secure to send money to other places for banking. William Griffiths did this by cutting a note in half and sending each part separately to his father in

Gower, a highly inconvenient method. Investment in shipping helped increase the trade of the area and thus many of the shareholders profited in two ways.

The railway was a far more efficient carrier of goods than the coasters and when it arrived in Aberystwyth there was a very noticeable decline in the register of arrivals and departures at Aberystwyth harbour. The shipbuilding industry also suffered a comparable decline. The busiest period at Aberaeron was from 1845 to 1865, and by 1870 the industry had practically ceased to exist. The only ship built at Aberaeron in the seventies was the *Eliza*, a smack of 15 tons built in 1871. The shipbuilders were forced to concentrate their attention on repairs. There was one exception ; the *Cambrian News* announced on the twenty-sixth of March 1882 that ' Messrs. Davies and Evans, merchants are going to build a vessel '. This was the *Cadwgan*, built by David Jones under the personal supervision of Captain John Evans, one of the owners. The ship, a ketch of 120 tons, was launched in the second week of March 1883.⁶⁵ She was used for the grain and timber trade of the owners. The ship remained in the same hands until she was sold to two men from Helston on the second of May 1906. On the seventeenth of July 1917 she was wrecked.⁶⁶

We should add a word about the launching of the ships built at Aberaeron. The smaller vessels were launched into the harbour, the larger vessels went into the sea over the beach. After the vessel had been fully fitted out, a service was held on board. The best description of this is given in the diary of William Griffiths, druggist. He records that on the seventh of March 1856 ' I got up early to see the *Gowerian* and *Vescata*, two new schooners launched. I was on board the former. (He had a share in this vessel and probably suggested the name, as he came from Gower.) Both went off the stocks very nicely '. Some weeks later, on Sunday, the twenty-sixth of April, ' Mr. Morgan, Clergyman, preached on board the *Gowerian*. A lovely day, quite mild and a vast concourse of people assembled. The vessel deck was crowded and the banks of the shore lined with people, at least 600. Mr. Morgan preached in his best style from Heb. 6. 19. The Church choir was present and sang several pieces in good key '.

The merchants of Aberaeron also owned vessels constructed outside Aberaeron. These are very difficult to trace. The *Berlin* was a timber barque which came into Aberaeron in December 1856 and was purchased by local interests. William Griffiths described her as a ' fine vessel ' ; he owned one-sixteenth of the ship.⁶⁷ Wrecks were also purchased and repaired. The *Prarie Flower* was discovered one morning near Castell Cadwgan with only a cat on board. The cargo of linseed was bought by the poor who fed it to their pigs and by farmers who

mixed it with dung and threw it on the land. The wreck was purchased by Thomas Jones, who ordered a trench to be dug around the vessel and her bottom covered. She floated on the spring tide and was taken to the harbour for repairs. Within a few months she was ready to sail and made a number of voyages to Canada for timber.⁶⁸

Little can be related of the men who worked in the yards. Most of the material has been gathered together by R. G. Owen, who states that David Jones was paid 26s. a day on one occasion by John Harries for a period of 49 days. David Jones is credited with the introduction of working to scheduled hours as opposed to a morning-night shift and the idea of a series of allowances at the end of each stage of construction.⁶⁹ The yards were very small, the largest being that of John Harries, who is described in the census of 1861 as employing ten men. We can use the decennial census to establish how many men were employed in the industry :

	1841	1851	1861
Shipwrights	2	7	7
Shipbuilders	—	5	4
Sawyers	2	5	5
Blacksmiths	4	6	6
Sailmakers	—	—	1

These men were resident in the town or in small settlements very near the town. It is difficult to believe that there was a large number of shipbuilders resident outside the immediate area or absent from the town at the time of each census. We should further note that the blacksmiths and sawyers had alternative sources of work.

The census returns also enable us to calculate the number of mariners and men connected with the sea in other ways :

	1841	1851	1861
Seamen	24	56	61
Master Mariners	—	18	21
Ship Carpenters	7	3	17
Fishermen	1	—	—
Pilots	—	—	3
Tidewaiters	—	—	1
Total (includes shipbuilding)	40	100	126 ⁷⁰

These figures are all underestimates, for the 1851 and 1861 returns do not mention unmarried sailors ; the 1841 census also omits this and does not specify the wives of mariners. It is difficult to believe that there were no master-mariners in Aberaeron in 1841 ; either the census does not emphasise the difference or they were absent from the town on the day of enumeration.

It is usual to concentrate on the ships rather than on the men who sailed them. However, it is possible to construct the life of a typical sailor from official documents.⁷¹ John Evans was born at Abermarles, a farm near Aberaeron, on the twenty-fifth of February 1844. A month before his fourteenth birthday he went to sea as a *boy* on the *Mountain Lass*, a brigantine of 112 tons built at Aberaeron in 1849. He was promoted to the rank of seaman when he joined the *Perservance* of Cardigan in April 1860. Between this date and September 1864 he served either as an ordinary seaman or as an able-bodied seaman on eight different ships, the *Perservance*, the *Susan Jane* of Aberystwyth, the *Louisa Jane* of Aberystwyth, the *Rosetta* of Cardigan, the *Ann and Mary* of Swansea, the *Magnet* of Liverpool, the *Aurora* and the *Henry and Dora*, both of Aberystwyth. On the twenty-ninth of September 1864, he obtained a certificate of competency as only mate on foreign-going ships; he sat the examination at Hull on the twenty-seventh of September. Evans joined the *Truant* of Aberystwyth as mate on the third of April in the next year and served on this ship for two voyages. The *Hannah* of Swansea was his next ship, followed by the *Edith May* from the same port; he did one voyage on the former and two on the latter. Captain John Evans received his Master's certificate at Bristol in October 1867 and in the following May passed his Master Extra examination. But from August to December 1868 he was serving as mate on the *Majestic* of Aberystwyth. Evans's first command was probably the brig *Ann* of Caernarvon, which sailed from Greenock on the twenty-third of March 1869 for South America with a crew of eight. He was now 25 and earned £8 a month. The following year the *Ann* went to West Africa; on the eighth of March 1870 she was on her way from Benin to Warree. Llewelyn Lloyd, a nineteen-year-old seaman from Pwllheli, was taken ill at Warree and John Evans concluded that it was the African Fever. He dosed Lloyd with 2 gr. of quinine a day and a little soup. On the seventeenth of March Lloyd was worse and Evans employed a canoe to take him to Benin, 150 miles away, where there was a surgeon. When the *Ann* returned to Benin, it was discovered that Lloyd had died on the twenty-second of March. The captain had to make a list of Lloyd's possessions and this is interesting as it shows what a young sailor kept in his seaman's chest:

5 moleskin Trousers, 2 cloth Trousers, 4½ pair of stockings, 2 Drawers, 3 Wastecoats, 4 Flannel shirt, 1 oilskin coat, 1 muffler, 3 caps, 1 blanket, 13 books, 2 maps, 1 rug, 1 pocket-book with sundry, 2 jumpers, 1 slate, 1 Guanseey frock, 3 tin boxes, 1 small box with a pair of earrings—1 pair sea-boots, Wellington boots, slippers. Chest to keep whole.

These, together with his wages for the voyage at 35s. a month, were returned to his family. In 1871, Evans became captain of the *Mosquito* which he took to Sierra Leone at a salary of £9 a month. This was in the early part of the year ; in the second half he captained the *Ann* again. 1872 saw him in charge of the *Adela* of London, 227 tons. He left in August for Valparaiso and the Falklands, returning in September 1873. He remained with this ship until 1875. Evans's last command was the *Catharina Maria* of London, 635 tons, with a crew of fifteen, which he took to South America. He retired from the sea in the late seventies and founded the merchant firm of Davies and Evans. John Evans died in 1919.

Many followed the same course as John Evans, and the table of seafaring occupations shows how numerous were the master mariners in proportion to the sailors. One reason for this was that alternative employment was scarce and most had to go to sea and not merely those without the talents or ability for other occupations. Seamen had of necessity a limited education ; nearly all went to sea between the ages of twelve and fifteen. David Griffiths wrote of Caernarfon that many captains knew nothing of theoretical navigation. They were mostly the sons of small farmers and labourers who could not grant them any support after they reached ten or twelve years. The local tradition of seamanship was more important than any education they received. Griffiths has drawn an unduly bleak picture ; the social origins of sailors in Aberaeron were less limited than he suggests for Caernarfon. There should not be any appreciable difference between places on the west and north-west coasts of Wales. The seasonal nature of seafaring meant that these youths had an opportunity of receiving some kind of education. J. M. Howell recalled his schooldays at Glan Menai's school, when boys home from the sea during the winter months had a few months' schooling in navigation. This was the Aberaeron Commercial and Navigation School run by Griffith Jones, C.M.⁷² An exercise book kept by a sailor from Gilfach-yr-Halen near Aberaeron contains problems such as the following :

What must I allow my correspondent for disbursing on my account £529.18.5 at 2½%? If 40 lbs. at London make 36 lbs. at Amsterdam and 90 lbs. at Amsterdam make 116 lbs. at Dantzic, how many lbs. at London are equal to 130 lbs. at Dantzic ?⁷³

Another school was run by 'Lloyd y School mistir' in Water Street. Lloyd had been forced to retire from the sea because of ill-health. He was well educated in navigation and taught the subject at his school.⁷⁴ These schools flourished in the period 1860—1880. Sailors had to teach themselves in the early part of the century. Daniel Jones of

Aberystwyth bought a text-book in 1819 (the title-page is missing) which gives detailed instruction on the science of navigation with the mathematical methods worked out. This type of book was published throughout the century. Similar is *The Mate and His Duties*, a pamphlet published at Liverpool in 1854, price two shillings. This discusses discipline, duties towards the master, duties of watch, rigging, repairing sails, words of command in Italian, Spanish, French, Bengalee, etc. John Evans had to treat a sick sailor,—manuals were available for this. An example is *The Seaman's Medical Guide*, sixth edition, London, 1856. Daniel Jones, captain of the *Majestic* of Aberystwyth, purchased a copy in 1859. The index runs from 'Abscesses (Boils)' to 'Yellow Fever, danger of Bleeding in'. The longest section of the book is devoted to venereal diseases with detailed instructions on treatment. The evidence given here tends to be mostly about those who became captains. The best description of ordinary sailors' education is in the evidence given by Timothy Thomas of Penybanc, a farm near Henfynyw Church, to the Royal Commission on Land in 1894, 'I could plough before I went to sea and through that I could steer a good deal better than many that went to sea'.⁷⁶

The sailors from Aberaeron were noted more for their piety than their licence. Indeed, David Griffiths suggests, in his essay on Welsh sailors, that this was the main difference between Welsh mariners and their English counterparts.⁷⁶ The Methodist ideal of a sailor is presented in Benjamin Evans's life of Thomas Phillips of the *Adelphoi*, New Quay. Evans was an elder of the Tabernacle Calvinistic Methodist church at Aberaeron. Thomas Phillips died in 1836 at the age of 26. 'While captain, he forbade any on his ship who was used to swear, he never left harbour on Sunday, and he gave a verse to his crew to learn by the Sabbath, on which he inquired as in Sunday School.'⁷⁷ This is not an extraordinary example, for some years earlier there had been a correspondence in the Calvinistic Methodist journal, *Y Drysorfa*, when a number of mariners complained about the lack of a Welsh chapel in Dublin. One captain asked, 'Is there in Dublin one preacher to advise a sailor [in Welsh] not to become a slave to his lusts?'⁷⁸ When David Griffiths discussed the Welsh chapel in Runcorn, he remarked that 'the elders of the sea, as they are described by now, come to the *set fawr* (big seat : elders' part of the chapel) here, as they do in their homes in Nefyn, Caernarfon, Aberaeron, etc., and they take part in leading the meetings frequently'.⁷⁹ When the Calvinistic Methodists of Aberaeron wanted to enlarge their chapel in 1853, they decided to build a gallery. Certain sailors heard of this and they sent home from Liverpool the promise to collect £60 towards the gallery, which they

fulfilled. The gallery was known from then as *Gallery y Morwyr* (the Sailors' Gallery).⁸⁰

It would be simple to scoff at the evidence of the sailors' religion. But their calling was so perilous and hardy that some spiritual support was necessary. Life on the big ships was sufficiently hazardous but the small ships underwent greater stress, especially those which ventured into foreign waters. 'Once I saw one of these ocean-going schooners showing what she could do in a howling north-Atlantic gale, with the sea running mountains high', wrote Captain R. A. Fletcher in his *In the Days of Tall Ships*. 'The sailing ship I was in was under very reduced canvas. As the schooner crossed our bows less than half a mile distant we could see her leaning over until her gunwale was under water. Her three little scraps of sails, not much bigger than handkerchiefs, tore her along at a great pace amid a smother of foam and clouds of heavy spray and sometimes green water swept her from end to end. We could see two oilskin-clad figures at the wheel; they must have been lashed there or they would have been washed away.' Many sailors did lose their lives and many ships were wrecked from Aberaeron alone. The following story shows how the perils of seafaring influenced at least one captain. The *Jane*, *Urgent*, *Thomas*, and *Farmers' Lass* were all in Angle Bay and the four captains came together on the *Jane* for a Sunday service. The captains of the *Urgent*, *Thomas*, and *Farmers' Lass* took part in prayers. Then the captain of the *Thomas* related the following story. He was on a voyage from France to England. The schooner met with a crosswind and drifted towards rocks. Hope was abandoned, the crew went below deck and to prayer, on the captain's command. One of the hands slipped up to the deck and discovered that the wind had changed and that the ship was sailing away from danger. Ever since this incident, the captain of the *Thomas* had believed in the efficacy of prayer.⁸¹

Many did not survive such danger and almost every year at least one of Aberaeron's sailors was lost at sea. A few died in shipboard accidents. Captain Jones of the *Albion* of Aberaeron was on a voyage from London to Newry in 1842, and he came into the bay to see his family. He had not seen the youngest child, who was now six years old. At eleven o'clock at night he was four miles from home and could see the lights on shore. It was calm and so Jones ordered the anchor to be dropped, but he fell overboard and was drowned while assisting a sailor to throw the anchor over the side.⁸² On the thirteenth of August 1882, the barque *Yucca* was on a voyage from Australia to Callao. John, the eldest son of Captain John Jones, fell from the mast against the bulwarks of the vessel and into the sea. His father rushed up from his cabin to the deck and caught a last glimpse of his son before he

drowned.⁸³ It was not uncommon for a ship to disappear with the entire crew. In the late sixties, the *Prarie Flower* was preparing to go to Canada in the late summer. The eldest son of the Llewelyns of Goitre had some spare time before he went to winter school, so he joined the crew. Shortly before sailing, there was an important wedding in town and the taverns were free for the day. The drunken crew of the *Prarie Flower* clashed with the police and six of them had to disappear for a few days. The ship waited and finally left port on a Sunday, an unusual practice, but the tide would be too low on the following day. Other sailors helped the crew to get the ship over the bar and the rest of the crew were picked up some miles down the coast. The ship came back into Aberaeron to drop the sailor help and several boatloads of relations went out to say goodbye to the crew. Quebec was reached safely and the cargo loaded, but the *Prarie Flower* was never heard of again. A rumour reached Aberaeron that a ship of her type was seen floating bottom upwards in Galway Bay. It was supposed that the deckload was too great. Five men from Aberaeron and another five from the district were lost. William Llewelyn recalled some fifty years later his mother's bitter regret because she had been too angry to say goodbye to her eldest son.⁸⁴ The last great tragedy at Aberaeron was the loss of the *Madras* in 1891. This ship of 668 register tons but which carried 1,000 tons left Penarth Roads on the eighth of March 1891 for Amboyna with a cargo of coal. The owners were David Jones, ship-builder, and his eldest son, Evan, the captain. There were fifteen men on board ; thirteen from Aberaeron, one from Aberarth, and a Russian Finlander. Two of these were under eighteen. No news of the ship reached Aberaeron and, after a year, she was given up as lost. Memorial services were held in the chapels of Aberaeron, Ffosyffin, and Aberarth. Six hundred gathered together in Tabernacle on the ninth of March 1892, and a week later the Reverend William Evans, the eighty-four-year-old pastor, looking like an Old Testament prophet, preached the greatest sermon ever heard at Peniel. The only protest came from T. Z. Jones, who wrote an indignant letter to a newspaper, complaining of the continued inadequacy of education for the merchant marine.⁸⁵

A national society had been formed in 1829 to support shipwrecked mariners and their families ; this was incorporated by an Act of Parliament in 1850. One cannot tell how many sailors from Aberaeron were members ; some widows still had need of local aid after the society had been in existence for twenty years. The following shows how this was done :

TO THE HUMANE AND CHARITABLE

On the morning of the 12th instant, the schooner "CLIFTON" of Gloucester, from Cardiff to Oporto, John Thomas (of Aberaeron) Master struck on the South tail of Bideford bar, wind S.W. blowing strong, with thick weather, and became a total wreck. The Life-boat, after three unsuccessful attempts, and nine hours loss of time, chiefly through the praiseworthy exertions of Mr. Nicol, Surveyor of Her Majesty's Customs at Appledore, reached the wreck, and saved the lives of two of the crew ; but melancholy to relate, poor Thomas and three of the hands had been previously washed overboard and drowned.

Whereas Captain Thomas's afflicted widow, a daughter of the late Mr. W. Green, with her dear little children of the respective ages of ten, seven and four years, and the youngest only one year, are left wholly unprovided for, her friends have adopted this plan, of humbly and earnestly appealing to the Charity and Generosity of the Public, on their behalf.

Every Contribution, however small, will be thankfully received, and carefully applied to the support of the bereaved Family, by us,

THOMAS THOMAS, Pant-teg.
JOHN HUGH JONES, Draper.
WILLIAM JAMES REES, Draper.

Aberaeron,

March 28th 1859.

This is printed on one side of a postcard, and on the other side are columns for the subscribers' names ; the only surviving copy has :

Benjamin Davies "Bessie"	10 — 0
Cole & Jones	7 — 6
Mr. Jno. Roberts	5 — 0

This widow was fortunate, as those who sponsored the appeal and signed the above were her father-in-law and the husbands of two first cousins. (Mary Thomas was the writer's great-great-grandmother.)

Shareholders in ships were prompt to safeguard their interests. The *Aberayron Mutual Ship Insurance Society, Limited* was registered on the thirteenth of December 1864. The object of this society was the insurance of ships belonging to members of the company. The subscribers were John N. Evans Pengarreg, Benjamin Evans Portland House, Thomas Jones Castle Green, Lewis Price Griffiths Market Street (all merchants), John Jones Vulcan Place (smith), Thomas Thomas Panteg (shipowner), and W. J. Rees Bridgend House (draper). These were among the 27 directors of the company, all of whom had to have an interest in vessels of the ports of Aberystwyth and Cardigan of at least £100. A quorum of seven had to represent £1,000 insured. The scheme originated among the Aberaeron men listed above, but

by May 1870 two-thirds of the directors were from the area around Aberaeron. The register of the company shows that 37 ships were insured on the first day of operation, the thirty-first of December 1864, and another 39 insured during 1865. This represented a total of £58,971 6s. od. insured. The first ship on the register is the *Catherine Anne*, full value £2,788, insured for £1,500 at a premium deposit of £22 10s. od. The *Eliza and Hannah* was insured for £35 at a premium of 10/6 ; the full value was £1,027. Eighty-five ships were insured in 1866 and the figure rose slowly to 109 ships in 1881. The amount of insurance earned in 1869 was £68,493. The company continued to function until 1882 when 66 ships were insured, but on the third of April 1884 an extraordinary meeting agreed to dissolve the company because of its liabilities.⁸⁶

Before concluding this account of seafaring, we should examine its effect on the cultural patterns of the community. The disasters which befell the ships and seamen were occasionally recorded in ballad broadsides. Hundreds of ballads were produced in nineteenth century Wales for sale at fairs, performing a function equivalent to that of contemporary newspapers in purveying sensational events. The verse was doggerel, without any pretensions to literary quality. The seven fishermen who were drowned on Aberaeron bar in 1814 received an obituary notice in verse, written by Daniel Jones, Blaenhaul,—*Marwnad er coffadwriaeth am saith o Bysgodwyr a gollodd eu bywyd o'r un llestr, y 15fed o Fis Tachwedd yn y flwyddyn 1814 : Ar ôl pa rai y mae 6 o wragedd gweddwon a 6 ar hugain o blant amddifaid. Gan Daniel Jones.* (Elegy in memory of seven Fishermen who lost their lives from the same vessel, on the 15th of November in the year 1814 : After whom there are 6 widowed wives and 26 orphaned children. By Daniel Jones.) The first verse sets the scene :

Ar foreu oer y'nghanol Tachwedd,
Newydd pruddaidd daeth i'm bron,
Cyn im godi oddi ar fy ngwely,
Ne's im synu'r einioes hon,
Gwelais lestr ebe'r Lladmer,
'N suddo i'r dyfnder, egr hynt,
'Rwan'n union wrth Aberayron
Dan hwyliau brithion yn y gwynt.

(On a cold morning in mid-November, / Grave news came to my bosom, / Before I got up from my bed / Till I was shocked to my very being / I saw a vessel said the Messenger / Sinking to the depths, a bleak journey, / Now directly by Aberayron / Under torn sails in the wind.)

This is followed by a number of verses describing the men who lost their lives, e.g.,

A Thomas Jones o Letty Crochan
 Er maint ei ffwdan, rodd ffarwel
 I'w dy a'i dylwyth, plant yn gryglwyth
 Mae saith neu wyth o lwyth ar Nel.

(And Thomas Jones from Lletty Crochan, / Despite his great care, gave farewell /
 To his house and family, children a burden / There are seven or eight a load on
 Nel.)

The remainder of the poem consists of moralising and appeals to local gentry to support the bereaved,

Af at wychder Gwynne, Mynachdy
 'Ngryf i grefu ar un cais ;
 Oddi yno'n daclus lawr i Dyglyn,
 Gwn y gwrendu Gwynne fy llais.
 'N ceisio cymmorth i'r amddifaid,
 Wyth yn weiniaid sydd ar ol,
 Oh deiliaid druan o Letty Crochan,
 Sydd dan raian na ddaw 'nol.

(I will go to splendid Gwynne, Mynachdy / Strong to implore on one request ; /
 From there tidily down to Tyglyn, / I know Gwynne will listen to my voice /
 Seeking help for the orphans, / Eight weak ones are left / Oh poor tenants of Lletty
 Crochan / Who are under gravel won't come back.)

The ballad runs to 37 verses, all of 8 lines each, and is well padded with devotion. Three ballads were written to describe the disaster at the launching of the *Glyn Aeron* in 1852.⁸⁷ This ship left port for the first time on the eighteenth of September 1852 with a large number of townspeople on board. One of the small boats in which they were returning to the shore capsized and only one of the nine in the boat survived, David Evans, some twelve years old. The following verse from the ballad by Daniel James describes the boy's plight :

Roedd ef wedi tynu ei siaced
 Gan feddwl cael ymwarded pur,
 Ac wedi dechreu tynu ei drowser
 Er mwyn nofio'n safe i dir ;
 Bu yno am awr o amser cyfan,
 Yn y ffwdan yn ymroi,
 Weithiau i lawr ac weithiau i fynu,
 Yn methu deall beth a wnaï.

(He had removed his jacket / Thinking to have complete deliverance, / And
 had started pulling off his trousers / In order to swim safe to land ; / He was there
 for a full hour ; / In the bother struggling / Sometimes down and sometimes up /
 Not knowing what to do.)

There is on the whole very little verse on the sea. The nearest one comes to a shanty is the following :

Liza Fach a'i hwyle gwynion
'N hwyllo mas o Aber Aeron
Twmi [neu Moci] Cati wrth y rati
Lewis Pugh odd wrth y llyw.

(*Little Liza* with her white sails / Sailing out of Aber Aeron / Twmi [or Moci] Cati at the rati / Lewis Pugh was at the helm.)⁸⁸

The most polished production is an *englyn* written for Aberaeron Eisteddfod, 1873, by *Cerngoch* (John Jenkins), which is probably the best piece of literature written for a competition in Aberaeron :

Y Morwr Colledig

Iach hwylodd i ddychwelyd,—ond ofer
Fu dyfais celfyddyd ;
Y môr wnaeth ei gymeryd,—
Ei enw gawn,—dyna'i gyd.

(The Lost Sailor / Safely he sailed to return,—but futile / was the device of craft ; / The sea took him,— / His name we have,—that is all.)⁸⁹

This verse was later used as an epitaph for Thomas Davies, drowned at the age of thirty when the brig *Pilgrim* sank in the Bay of Biscay in 1874. It is difficult to give evidence that the language of the people turned naturally to seafaring imagery. The following example from a gravestone in Henfynyw is not one from which conclusions can be drawn :

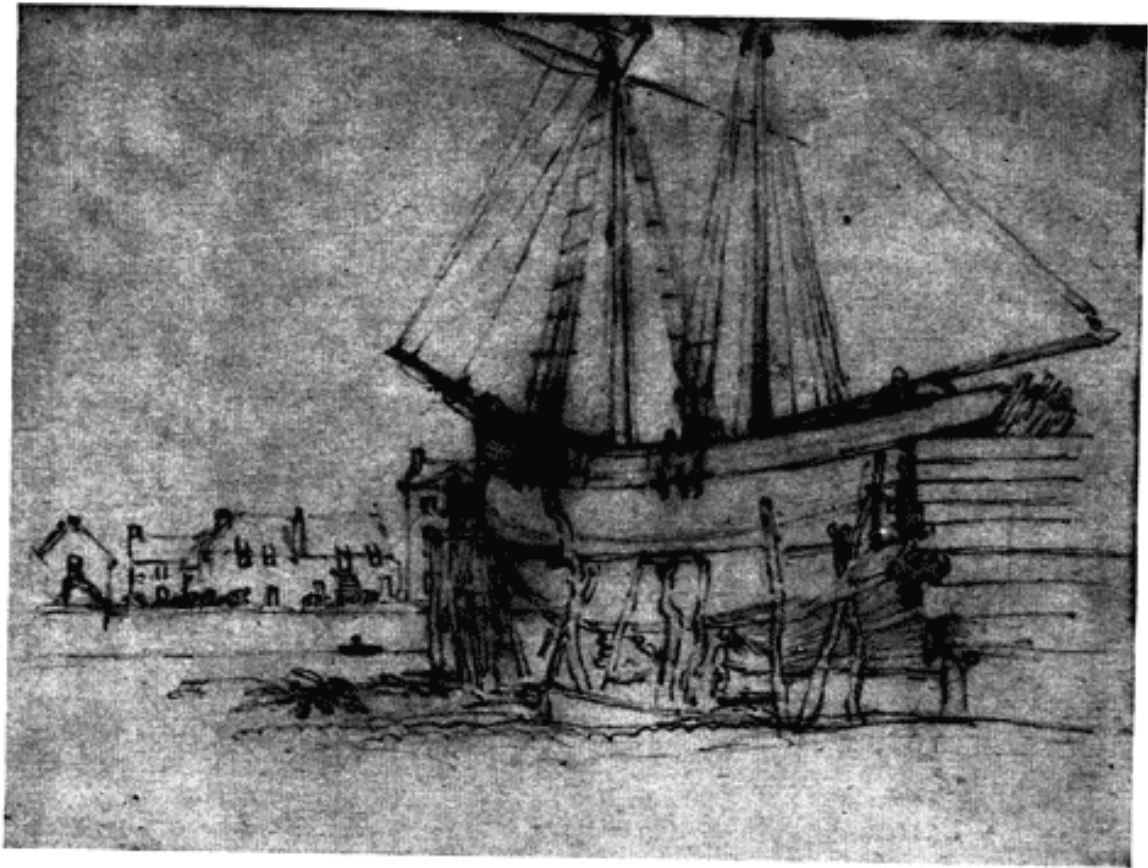
Sacred to the memory of Mary, the infant daughter of David and Hannah Evans Tanner of the town of Aberayron. This little Bark after a nineteen month voyage over the tempestuous ocean of life, entered safely though difficultly, the haven of eternal rest on Friday, the first day of October, 1852.

Mariners were able to alleviate the tedium of life in Aberaeron by bringing home luxuries. A young sailor sent some tea to his mother, who lived in a cottage near Llyswen Mill. This was the first time she had seen tea and so the neighbours were invited to share the new dish. The tea was boiled in a stew-pot and the sailor's mother then carefully threw away the water and brought the tea to the table, saying, 'I have no idea what taste you will have on this ; some very nasty looking water was on it'.⁹⁰ Captain David Jones, the writer's great-grandfather, brought back gifts from most of his voyages ; they include an ornate English Bible from New York and lengths of lace from Malta.

Not all the sailors brought back such good things from their voyages. Dr. Edward Williams reported in December 1886 that a seaman had arrived home from Hamburg bringing smallpox to the town. The doctor had vaccinated people in the same house, while the guardians had set up a public vaccination centre at the doctor's residence.⁹¹ There is no evidence that sailors brought back venereal diseases and the records of the Poor Law Commissioners and the Local Government Board only show one case of syphilis and that in an inland parish. One sailor came home insane. In 1862, the Inspector for the Commissioners in Lunacy visited Evan Jones, 32 years old, who lived near the shore at Aberaeron. When Wilkes, the Inspector, visited him he was sitting in his bedroom, a comfortable and decently furnished room. His person was clean and properly clothed. Jones spoke English and answered questions rationally. The Inspector was informed by the public constable that Evan Jones had been in a state of dementia since 1860, when he returned from China in an insane state.⁹²

We can find little evidence of the violence usually attached to port areas. There were instances of drunkenness. James Robertson, mariner of the *Regent*, was charged by Sergeant Phillips with being drunk and disorderly at 9.40 p.m. on the twentieth of February 1885 in Alban Square. The accused was described as being disorderly, cursing, swearing, and howling like a hound. The Court of Petty Sessions fined him ten shillings with costs, which was about a fortnight's wages.⁹³ The *Cambrian* of 22 March 1878 printed a letter from 'Unprotected Female, Aberaeron', who claimed that she was afraid to venture out after dark; 'heaps of young sailors keep possession of the corners of the streets and their language is so horrible, cursing, swearing and using such shocking words that no female can pass near them'. This seems greatly exaggerated.

Tourism has replaced trade as the chief occupation of the harbour; a few fishermen maintain the seafaring tradition. We should mourn not only the disappearance of the activity of the trade but also the loss of craft—the craft of the mariner and the shipbuilder.



Pl. VI.11 Ship-building at Aberaeron in the 1850's

Pl. VI.12 Pwllcam towards the end of the Century



APPENDIX I

THE SHIPPING COMPANIES

The Aberaeron Steam Navigation Co. Ltd. (founded in September 1863).

Summary Statement Specifying the following particulars as required by Act.

The office of the company is at No. 3, Quay Parade

Managing Director J. H. Jones, 3 Bridge St.

Amount of Capital £4,000

No. of shares 400

Amount of Calls received £3988.0.0

Amount unpaid £12.0.0

Name, Address and Occupations of Members of Company specifying the number of shares held by each . . . made up to the 22nd Oct. 1864.

*These are the Subscribers of the company.

A. H. Stiles	1 Picton Terr., Carmarthen	Commercial Traveller	5
Anne Davies	Penygareg		2
Agnes Rees	Bridge End		1
Amelia Evans	4 Bridge Street		1
Bridget Jones	3 " "		1
Bridget Rees	Bridge End House		1
*Benjamin Evans	Portland House		5
Charles Morgan	Llanddewi Brefi	Draper	10
Cole & Jones	Liverpool	Brokers	9
*David Jones	Wine Vaults		5
David James Rees	Bridge End House		1
David Evans	Elim, nr. Aberaeron	Grocer	1
David Jones		Shipwright	1
David Jones	Alban Square	Merchant	2
D. J. Evans	Bridge End	Grocer	2
David James	New Quay	Merchant	2
Capt. David Evans	"Confidence" New Quay		1
David Samuel	Alban Square		3
David Jones	Derw Cottage, New Quay		1
Daurinda Kelly	Pengareg		1
David Evans	Llandysul	Grocer	5
Edward & Letitia Pearce	Portland Place		16
Master Edward Lee Rees	Bridge End House		1
Evan Evans	Waterloo Street		3
Evan Richards	Cross Inn, Llanon	Grocer	1
Evan Evans	Lloyd Jack Arms		5
Evan Alban		Mason	1
Elias George Hall	Clifton, Bristol		4
Evan Timothy	New Quay	Draper	1
Edward Roberts	Liverpool		8
E. A. Paisey (Miss)	North Road		2
Elizabeth Edmunds	Lampeter	Grocer	4
Edward Evans		Ironmonger	3
Gilbert C. Harris	10 Guinea St., Bristol		10
George Thomas	Tymawr, Cilcennin		5

Griffith Evans	Newcastle Emlyn		1
*Henry Loyn		Ironmonger	10
James Ronald	Liverpool		4
James James		Surgeon	1
Jane Lloyd	Alban Square		1
Jane Rees	Oxford Street		3
Jane Humphreys	Bwlchbychan, Lampeter		1
*J. N. Evans	Penygareg		10
John Davies	Bethania		4
*John Phillips	Llanddewi Aberarth	Merchant	5
J. P. Jones	Aberayron	Chymist	5
J. H. Jones	3 Bridge Street		4
John Daniel	Blaenpennal		2
John Griffiths	Portland Street		5
John Evans	Belle Vue Terrace		1
John Jones	New Quay	Sailmaker	4
John Rees		Merchant	2
John Patrick	" " " " Black Lion, New Quay		1
John Pugh Pryse	Bwlchbychan, Lampeter		10
John Davies	8 Quay Street, Carmarthen		5
J. P. Howell	Cardigan	Solicitor	2
John Evans	Llanon	Grocer	2
John Jones	Water Street	Grocer	2
John Evans	34 Alban Square		2
John Roberts	5 Bold Street, Liverpool		4
John Jenkins	19 Market Street		4
John Wansborough Jones	Richmond Villa, Bristol		5
Jenkin Evans	Tynant, nr. Aberayron	Farmer	3
John H. Jones jun.	3 Bridge Street		1
Judith Rees	Bridge End House		1
Joseph Gailey	10 North John St., Liverpool		2
Lewis Evans	4 Bridge Street		1
Miss Mary Jones	3 Bridge Street		1
Miss Mary Evans	Newcastle Emlyn		1
Miss Mary Thomas	3 Pier Street		4
Mrs. Margaret Jones	Tanner's Hall, Llandovery		10
Miss M. A. W. Jones	Belle Vue Terrace		2
Morgan Morgan	Albion House, Tregaron		2
Mary Lewis	Bow Street		1
Morgan Evans	Oakford		3
Morgan David James	London House, Llanrhystid		2
O. D. Roberts	Tai-Hen, Cemaes, Anglesea		5
Rachel Evans	Newcastle Emlyn		1
Richard Selby	Feathers		5
R. R. Storey	N.P. Bank		1
Messrs. R. Adams	Bristol	Merchants	5
Mr. Samuel Davies	Lampeter	Draper	2
Mrs. Rachel			
Pzezeponowski	Penybont, Llaethliw		2
Mr. Stephen Pinckney	1 Cheltenham Buildings, Bristol		10
Mr. Samuel Lloyd Davies	Drefach, Llandysul		5

Thomas Jones	Castle Green, Aberaeron	Merchant	5
Thomas Lang	Bristol	Corn Merchant	8
Thomas Davies		Draper	5
Thomas Jones	Rope Walk, Aberystwyth		5
Thomas Jones	Bute Docks, Cardiff		2
Thomas Davies	Pantteg	Tailor	3
Capt. Thomas Davies	18 Alban Square		5
Thomas C. Jones	3 Bridge Street		1
Mr. Thomas Evans	Newcastle Emlyn		1
W. P. Hughes	N.P. Bank	Manager	3
*William Griffiths		Chymist	15
William Thomas Green			1
W. D. G. Warren	Carmarthen		1
Messrs. W. Baker & Sons	Radcliff Bank, Bristol		5
Rev. William Green	Plymouth Corn Works, Merthyr		10
William Thomas		Sailmaker	1
William Jones	New Quay	Draper	3
Messrs. Ward & Sons	Bristol	Seed Merchants	15
William Saunders	2 Stokes Croft, Bristol		5
William Thomas	Welsh Back, Bristol		5
Total 400 shares.			

Registered 3 Nov. 1864

24th September 1877. A meeting at Reg. office of Company, No. 8 Market St., decided to appoint Henry Loyn as sole liquidator for the purpose of voluntarily winding up the affairs.

Final Meeting held on 7th December 1877

Source : P.R.O. / B.T.31 / 825 / 660c.

The Aberayron Steam Packet Company (registered in 1894)

The Vendors shall sell and the Company purchase (1) Steamship *Ianthe* 63952 of Aberystwyth at £2196 (2) Steamship *Norseman* 87735 of Aberystwyth at £3,500 and (3) All other property in connexion with the business at £64.

*Subscribers of the company

*Edward Williams	1 North Road	Surgeon	36
*Morgan Evans	Oakford		36
John Timothy Evans	Bristol House	Grocer	36
John Hugh Jones	Castle House	Draper	36
*Joseph Rees	Market Street	Master Mariner	36
Thomas Evans	Ianthe House		36
John James	Alban Square	Agent	18
John Davies	London House	Draper	18
*John Morgan Howell	Market Street	Ironmonger	18

David Jones	Cambrian House	Grocer	18
John Williams	3 Alban Square	"	18
Henry Loyn	Market Street	Merchant	18
Francis Evans	Glanmor House	"	18
James Williams	Dihewid	"	18
*Evan Lima Jones	Bridge Street	Chemist	18
David Lewis	Park View	Retd. Draper	18
Daniel Evans	Porth Hotel, Llandysul	Hotel Prop.	18
John Griffiths	Nantgwynfynydd, Oakford	Farmer	18
Thomas Davies	Llwynrheol, Oakford	"	18
Daniel Davies	North Road	Shipowner	18
John Posthumous Howell	Cardigan	Bailiff of County Court	18
*James Caradog Jones	Llanarth	Draper	18
David Davies	152 Breck Road, Liverpool	Bank Manager	18
Arthur Baker	Redcliff Back, Bristol	Merchant	18
Margaret Thomas	Brynarvor Villa, New Quay	Wife of Wm. Thomas	18
Elizabeth Davies	Isabel House, New Quay	Widow	9
John Edmund Roberts	8 Arlington Villas, Clifton	Wine-merchant	9

Sealed 18 August 1894

Source : P.R.O. / B.T.31 / 15409 / 41741

LIQUIDATOR'S ACCOUNT

Realisations

1917	Jan. 25	Sale of Norseman and deposit at N.P. Bank	5300	0	0
		Bank interest on above to 19th January	20	0	9
		Money deposits at N.P. Bank	57	6	7
		Bank interest on same to 19th January	2	11	9
		" " " both to this date (6 days)	2	12	6
		Freights collected since winding-up began	404	6	7
	May 7	Proceeds of sale of Box office at Bristol	6	2	6
	Aug. 23	" " " fixtures at Aberaeron warehouse	84	15	3
	Sept. 29	From Solva Farmers Co-op Society—Proceeds of sale of Trinity Wharf Solva	640	0	0
		Rent of Lifeboat House Solva from Jan. 1st to this date	3	15	0
		Rent of Warehouse Solva from 25 Mar. 1917 to this date	1	0	0
	Dec. 4	Interest on 5% War Stock	10	3	9
1918	Jan. 12	" " " " " "	1	5	0
	" 23	5% War Stock sold	46	10	2
	Feb. 1	" " " " " "	196	10	11
		Proceeds of sale of fixture at Fishguard warehouse	19	10	0
		Bank interest	1	7	0
		Proceeds of sale of Fishguard warehouse	100	12	8
		Bank interest	0	9	6
			£6898 19 11		

Disbursements

1917	Jan. 26	Return of capital to Contributories	5184	0	0
	Feb. 14	Claims v. loss of goods earned	34	2	7
		Morgan Evans for Cartage	2	15	6
	Feb. 16	Rates	2	15	0
		Solicitors	2	8	8
		Jno. Rees & Son for smiths-work		8	6
		Evan Davies Cartage	1	2	6
	Feb. 20	Fox & Co.—Ship's stores	25	5	2
		"	5	16	10
		"	36	14	3
	Feb. 22	J. D. Lloyd : income tax	7	18	0
	Feb. 23	Coal from Princess Royal Colliery & Co.	160	4	6
	Mar. 2	Printing	1	18	9
	Mar. 3	Joiner work done		10	0
		Jno. Jenkins : income tax	6	5	0
		D. R. Jones : rates	3	0	0
	Mar. 24	Jeffries & Sons Ltd., ship-repairers	487	8	9
	April 2	Monachty Estate : rent	13	10	0
		Insurance	52	2	11
	April 17	Printing		10	6
	April 18	Monachty Estate : harbour dues	13	3	10
	April 23	Solva Rates	3	6	8
	May 1st	Solicitor—charges		10	6
		Fire Insurance		15	0
		Commission on sale of Box Office, Bristol	1	10	9
	June 23	J. J. Davies, painter—work done		3	0
	June 27	T. H. Evans Agents' expense, Fishguard	41	7	7
	June 30	Valuation in Pembrokeshire	10	0	0
	Aug. 4	Solva Rates	5	0	0
	Aug. 18	Monachty Estate Rents	6	16	0
	Aug. 23	W. J. Phillips auctioneer, fixture at Aberaeron warehouse	11	11	5
	Sept. 28	Cartage	3	0	0
	Oct. 15	Carpenter work done	1	17	4
	Oct. 26	Six months rent of Fishguard warehouse	2	0	0
		Commission on sale of Pembrokeshire properties	37	19	5
	Oct. 27	J. M. Howell, service rendered	7	0	0
	Nov. 10	Carpenter work done	1	14	2
	Dec. 3	Labourer—work done	1	10	8
	Dec. 12	Monachty estate : rents	13	10	0
		D. C. Evans, Company's secretary : salary	36	0	0
		Liquidators expense re. sale of Pembrokeshire properties	13	10	8
		Clerking at Sales		10	0
		Advertising wind-up	13	4	9
		Registration agents	5	5	4
		Paid to Solva Farmers Co-op : Income tax allowed on sale of Trinity Wharf Solva	3	2	6
			£6263	7	6

Balance of this statement comes to £635/12/5

A second statement was prepared later, the major realisation is £666/19/0 for freight collected after Liquidators' previous statement. The total now came to £7835/6/0. Disbursements include £236/18/0 to the master and crew of S.S. *Norseman* and a return of capital at 14/10½ per share. Each shareholder finally received £9 - 14 - 10½ for each share.

The Final Winding up meeting was held on the 23rd March 1918.

Source : P.R.O. / B.T.34 / 2685 / 41741.

APPENDIX II

SHIPS BUILT AT ABERAERON

This list is based mainly on the Shipping Registers, 1824—1900, at H.M. Customs and Excise Office, Aberystwyth, and also on Lloyd's Register of British and Foreign Shipping, 1882. A small number were obtained from other sources. The fifth column gives the name of the builder.

1793	ACTIVE	sloop	30 tons	
1805	RESOLUTION	"	41 tons	
1808	DILIGENCE	"	30 tons	
1825	ECONOMY	schooner	64 tons	
	FAVORITE	sloop	40 tons	
1827	ALBION	"	46 tons	
1829	HANNAH	"	16 tons	
1830	ADVENTURE	"	28 tons	
	VICTORIA	—	—	
1831	OSPRAY	sloop	49 tons	
1834	PRUDENCE	schooner	86 tons	
1835	PRESIDENT	"	75 tons	
1838	FRIENDS	smack	39 tons	
	FAIR HOPE	sloop	37 tons	John Harries
1840	ORION	smack	30 tons	" "
1841	ONTARIO	schooner	104 tons	
	CATHERINE AND JANE	"	71 tons	
1842	DEMETIAN LASS	—	—	
1843	ANDES	smack	35 tons	John Harries
1844	JOHN AND HENRY	schooner	—	" "
1845	ELEANOR	—	—	—
1846	ADROIT	schooner	74 tons	Evan Jones
	BROTHERS	smack	31 tons	Harries
	GANGES	schooner	67 tons	—
1847	CAMDEN	"	69 tons	J. and Henry Harries
	LIMA	"	84 tons	E. Jones
1848	AERON VALE	—	129 tons	J. and H. Harries
	MANTURA	schooner	79 tons	E. Jones
	PANDORA	"	79 tons	J. and H. Harries
1849	MOUNTAIN LASS	brigantine	112 tons	" "
	AERON MAID	schooner	76 tons	E. Jones

	HENRY AND DORA	brigantine	119 tons	J. and H. Harries
	LIVELY LASS	schooner	78 tons	E. Jones
	LETITIA	"	61 tons	J. and H. Harries
	PUELLA	"	99 tons	" "
1850	FERONIA	—	141 tons	E. Jones
1851	AERONIAN	schooner	43 tons	—
	AERON QUEEN	"	96 tons	E. Jones
1852	ELLEN	smack	25 tons	Owen Jones
	GWALLA	schooner	118 tons	E. Jones
	GLYN AERON	"	65 tons	J. Harries II
	BERYL	—	—	—
1855	GAMBIA	schooner	97 tons	E. Jones
	WILLIAMA MARY	brig	239 tons	J. Harries
1856	VISCATA	schooner	77 tons	—
	PYRENEE	"	38 tons	—
	GOWERIAN	"	99 tons	E. Jones
	AERON BELLE	"	47 tons	D. Jones
1857	URANIA	"	107 tons	E. Jones
	EDWARD JOHN	"	137 tons	J. Harries
	MAGDALEN ESTHER	"	104 tons	D. Jones
1858	ARICA	"	111 tons	J. Harries
	CONDOR	"	114 tons	D. Jones
	XANTHIPPE	brig	225 tons	E. Jones
	ALL RIGHT	smack	39 tons	J. Harries
1859	MARIA ANNA	brigantine	143 tons	"
	FARMERS LASS	smack	28 tons	D. Jones
	EDWARD JOHN	schooner	137 tons	—
	LEANDER	schooner	72 tons	J. Harries
1860	JOHN PIERCE	"	97 tons	E. Jones
1861	KILLIA LASS	brig	116 tons	D. Jones
	JANE	smack	30 tons	"
	LIMA	brig	215 tons	J. Harries
1862	DEWI LASS	schooner	93 tons	E. Jones
	ALICIA	"	96 tons	D. Jones
	CATHERINE ANNA	barquentine	149 tons	—
	MARTHA JANE	smack	29 tons	J. Harries
1864	ALBATROSS	"	18 tons	D. Jones
	ORONSA	brigantine	158 tons	J. Harries
	MADONA	"	163 tons	D. Jones
1866	STAR OF WALES	brig	184 tons	" "
	PLEIADES	schooner	149 tons	" "
1868	JANE	smack	29 tons	" "
1871	ELIZA	"	15 tons	—
1883	CADWGAN	ketch	120 tons	D. Jones

The following were possibly built at Aberaeron :

1845	AERON LASS	schooner	80 tons	(built in Wales)
1863	GWLDYD	brigantine	157 tons	(Wales : Harries)

N.B. This is a preliminary list ; a great deal of patient research is necessary before we can obtain a definitive list of Aberaeron-built ships.

NOTES

C.N. = *Cambrian News*.

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2. E. A. Lewis, 'The Port Book of the Port of Cardigan in Elizabethan and Stuart times', *Trans. Cards. Antiq. Soc.*, VII, IX, XI.
3. Margaret Hughes, 'Historical Geography of the Sea-Faring Industry of the coast of Cardigan Bay during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries', Wales M.A. Thesis, 1962, pp. 82, 91.
4. Hugh Owen, 'Additional Letters of the Morris of Anglesey (1735-1786)', *Y Cymmrodor*, XLIX, pt. ii, 1949. (Letter no. 414.)
5. G. Milwyn Griffiths, 'Glimpses of Cardiganshire in the Sessions Records', *Ceredigion*, V, p. 272.
6. NLW Deposited MS. 1013 B.
7. T. I. Davies, 'The James family of Tyglyn', *Ceredigion*, IV, p. 196.
8. Lewis Morris, *Plans of Harbours, Bars, Bays and Roads in St. George's Channel*, 1748. William Morris, *Plans of the Principal Harbours, Bays and Roads in St. George's and the Bristol Channel* (Shrewsbury, 1801).
9. Gwilym Jones, 'Aberaeron Landmarks', *Ceredigion*, I, p. 58.
10. House of Lords Record Office, Proceedings at Committee re Private Bills and other Matters, House of Lords Journal, 28 July 1807.
11. Gwilym Jones, op. cit.
12. NLW MS. 15796E. *Hanes Aberaeron gan Gruffudd ap Morgan Meredudd* (Benjamin Williams, 'Gwynionydd').
13. Biographical Notes by a Victorian antiquary.
14. It is part of the tradition about the town's origin that Green built the harbour.
15. 'Aberayron' in Samuel Lewis, *A Topographical Dictionary of Wales*, 3rd ed., 1844.
16. NLW MS. 4706D. Tyglyn Aeron family records.
17. Walter Davies, *A general view of the agriculture and domestic economy of South Wales* (London, 1814), Vol. ii, p. 376.
18. C.N., 4 March 1887.
19. Newspaper cutting dated 11 January 1903 among J. M. Howell papers.
20. The examples are those for 1836, included in the period 1835-42, i.e., P.R.O. / B.T. 98 / 149 & 150 (Aberystwyth) and P.R.O. / B.T. 98 / 191, 192, & 193 (Cardigan).
21. All ships named so far are Cardigan registered ships.
22. J. M. Howell, 'The Birth and Growth of Aberaeron', *Trans. Cards. Antiq. Soc.*, IV, 1926, p. 9.
23. George Eyre Evans, *Cardiganshire . . .* (Aberystwyth, 1903), p. 21.
24. A. Gower Jones, 'Ebb and Flow', *Cylchgrawn Cymdeithas Ceredigion Llundain*, XIV, 1958-9, p. 14.
25. NLW MS. 18866D. J. Seymour Rees Collection. Letter to Rees from W. Llewelyn, 1934.
26. P.R.O. / B.T. 98 / 193.
27. NLW, Aberystwyth Borough Records. Harbours, sailings, arrivals register, 1842-54.
28. C.N., 26 March and 29 Sept. 1882.
29. A. Gower Jones, op. cit., p. 15.
30. *Aberystwyth Observer*, 25 Dec. 1858.

31. A. Gower Jones, op. cit., p. 15 ; the reference to W. Green comes from a short notice of Green in the Membership Register of Tabernacle.
32. Details of *Prince Cadwgan* from *Aberystwyth Observer*, 18 June 1864, and *Cambrian*, 6 Oct. 1876.
33. *C.N.* 28 Jan. 1876.
34. *C.N.*, 13 Oct. 1876.
35. Details of foundation, shareholders, and liquidation of Aberayron Steam Navigation Company from P.R.O. / B.T. 31 / 825 / 66oc.
36. Register of shipping at H.M. Customs and Excise Office, Aberystwyth.
37. NLW MS. 14282B. Edward Williams to Morgan Evans, 21 Aug. 1885.
38. *C.N.*, 24 March 1882 and 12 March 1886.
39. *C.N.*, 22 March 1889.
40. NLW. J. M. Howell Collection, no. 8.
41. NLW MS. 14284B. J. M. Howell to D. D. Evans, Oakford, 13 April 1907.
42. NLW MS. 18856B. J. Seymour Rees Collection.
43. NLW MS. 18879B. J. Seymour Rees Collection.
44. Lewis Cozens, *Aberayron Transport* (London, 1951).
45. Shareholders & assets in P.R.O. / B.T. 31 / 15409 / 41741 ; liquidation in P.R.O. / B.T. 34 / 2685 / 41741.
46. NLW, Aberystwyth Borough Records. Harbour, sailings, arrivals register, 1842-54.
47. J. Geraint Jenkins, 'Llangranog', *Ceredigion*, III, p. 234.
48. W. J. Lewis, 'The condition of labour in mid-Cardiganshire in the early nineteenth century', *Ceredigion*, IV, p. 324.
49. *C.N.*, 12 July 1889.
50. NLW, J. M. Howell Collection : no. 3, minutes of the Aberayron Deep Sea Fishing Company.
51. *C.N.*, 12 July 1889 and 6 Oct. 1905.
52. *C.N.*, 30 May 1879, 13 May 1881, 12 July 1887, 23 Dec. 1887.
53. *C.N.*, 21 June 1889.
54. *C.N.*, 30 Oct. 1874, 4 Nov. 1881, 6 Oct. 1882.
55. *C.N.*, 26 Oct. 1882.
56. Margaret Hughes, op. cit.
57. Notes on shipping by a nineteenth-century antiquary.
58. Enumerators' Notebooks for censuses of 1841, 1851, & 1861 (P.R.O.); Register of shipping at H.M. Customs and Excise Office, Aberystwyth ; R. G. Owen, 'The Master Shipbuilder', *Country Quest*, Vol. VI, No. 2, Autumn 1965, p. 20.
59. Description of construction method from Basil Greenhill, *The Merchant Schooners* (Newton Abbot, 1968), Vol. I, pp. 80-86.
60. The half-model is in the possession of Dr. Albert Evans, Lampeter and Aberaeron, who kindly provided the description.
61. D. J. Davies, *Hanes, hynafiaethau ac achyddiaeth Llanarth, Henfynyw, Llanllwchaiarn a Llandysilio-Gogo* (Ail arg., Carmarthen, 1930), t. 78 ; Daniel Silvan Evans and John Jones, *Ysten Sioned* (Aberystwyth, 1882), t. 33.
62. *C.N.*, 12 Dec. 1919.
63. R. G. Owen, op. cit., p. 21.
64. Details of shareholders from the Register of Shipping at H.M. Customs & Excise Office, Aberystwyth. Price of *Gowerian* from A. Gower Jones, op. cit. The will of David Evans is printed in *Cylchgrawn Cymdeithas Hanes Methodistiaid Calfinaidd Cymru*, XIV, 1934, t. 127. Mrs. Nesta Poulgrain kindly gave me access to the will of Benjamin Evans.
65. *C.N.*, 16 March 1883.

66. Photostat documents in the possession of Dr. Albert Evans, Lampeter.
67. A. Gower Jones, *op. cit.*, p. 15.
68. NLW MS. 18866D. J. Seymour Rees Collection. W. Llewelyn to Rees.
69. R. G. Owen, *op. cit.*
70. Enumerators' notebooks for censuses of 1841—1861 (P.R.O.).
71. Details of the career of John Evans taken from photostat copies of Board of Trade documents in the possession of his son, Dr. Albert Evans, Lampeter.
72. *C.N.*, 12 Dec. 1919, and advertisement in *Aeron Visitor*, I, 10 August 1866.
73. NLW MS. 18941C.
74. Notes by a Victorian antiquary.
75. *Minutes of Evidence Taken before the Royal Commission on Land in Wales and Monmouthshire*, Vol. III (London, 1895), p. 621.
76. David Griffiths, *Morwyr Cymru* (Caernarfon, [1866?]).
77. Benjamin Evans, 'Cofiant Thomas Phillips, Meistr y Llong Adelphoi o'r Cei Newydd', *Y Drysorfa*, 1837, tt. 171-4.
78. *Y Drysorfa*, Awst 1832, t. 250.
79. David Griffiths, *op. cit.*, t. 78.
80. John Evans, *Hanes Methodistiaeth Rhan Ddeheuol sir Aberteifi, 1735—1900* (Dolgellau, 1904), t. 161.
81. NLW MS. 18866D. J. Seymour Rees Collection. W. Llewelyn to J. S. Rees.
82. *Welshman*, 11 Nov. 1842.
83. *C.N.*, 13 Oct. 1882.
84. NLW MS. 18866D. J. Seymour Rees Collection. W. Llewelyn to J. S. Rees.
85. *C.N.*, 18 March 1892; *Carmarthen Journal*, 25 March 1892; information from Miss A. Gower Jones.
86. P.R.O. / B.T. 31 / 1036 / 1754C. Mr. W. Fowler kindly loaned me a transcript of the register of the company. The Memorandum and Articles of Association were published at Aberystwyth in 1866.
87. Evan Griffiths ('Ieuan Cadfan'), CAN ALARUS, / ER COFFADWRIAETH / AM WYTH O DDYNION / A FODDWYD, / Gerllaw Aberaeron, yn Swydd Aberteifi, / Boreu Dydd Sadwrn, Medi 18ed, 1852.
Ywain Meirion, GALARNAD / ER COF / AM Y DDAMWAIN ALARUS / A GYMERODD LE / Y 18fed o fis Medi 1852, / Pryd y boddodd Wyth o Ddynion ar eu dychweliad / o'r Llong "Glyn Aeron", allan o Aberaeron, / yn nghyda'r Waredigaeth a gafodd / David Evans, ag oedd yn yr un / Cwch a'r rhai a gollasant.
88. NLW MS. 18634C. J. Seymour Rees Collection.
89. Dan Jenkins & 'Ap Ceredigion', *gol.*, *Cerddi Cerngoch* (Lampeter, 1904), t. 98.
90. E. Ceredig Jones, 'Henfynyw', *Cymru*, 47, 1914, t. 187.
91. P.R.O. / M.H. 12 / 15793, 1886: 339. B. C. Jones to Local Govt. Board, 30 Dec. 1886.
92. P.R.O. / M.H. 12 / 15787, 1862: 175. Commissioners in Lunacy to Poor Law Commissioners, 27 June 1862.
93. *C.N.*, 27 March 1885.