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# **Llangollen: Development of an Embryonic Town c.1850-1914.**

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Dissertation for module A329 – ‘The Making of Welsh History’

This dissertation is in partial fulfilment of B.A. (Honours) History

Open University, May 30<sup>th</sup> 2019

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Anon. General View, Llangollen. (n.d) Available at  
<https://www.peoplescollection.wales/items/41764>

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And Josh, Ethan, Oscar and Isaac –  
Study whilst you are young!

## **Abbreviations**

UDC - Urban District Council

## Introduction

*'The attraction of North Wales, by its romantic scenery, the antiquity of its language, and the well authenticated records of its desperate struggle for independence, renders every part of the principality interesting, and perhaps none more so than the beautifully picturesque town and neighbourhood of Llangollen'<sup>1</sup>.*

The aim of this dissertation is to explore the urban development of Llangollen, Denbighshire between c.1850 and 1914 and to consider the levels of influence of the middle-class thereon. This will be achieved by considering the occupational morphology of the town, and identifying clusters of occupational groups. Additionally, it will analyse the growth in housing as well as the demands for different housing types. Finally, through the examination of the construction of civic buildings, nonconformity and the development of social groups and societies, this paper will consider the town's civic development.

Llangollen is a town in north Wales, close to the border with England. It derives its name from the local church of St. Collen, which was founded in the sixth or seventh century. However, there is little evidence of an established settlement until the thirteenth century when Madog ap Gruffudd Maelor, prince of Powys Fadog, built the Cistercian abbey of Valle Crucis and his son, Gruffudd ap Madog, built Dinas Brân in 1260. Later, in 1283, Edward I settled Roger Mortimer in the manor of Llangollen, which may have represented the beginnings of an English presence in the area.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> W.T. Simpson, *Some Account of Llangollen*, (London, 1827), p.1.

<sup>2</sup> Cadw, Llangollen: Understanding Urban Character, (Cardiff, 2016). [Online] Available at <https://cadw.gov.wales/docs/cadw/publications/historicenvironment/20163003LlangollenUnderstandingUrbanCharacter2016EN.pdf> (Accessed 3 April 2019).

In the 1770s Thomas Pennant described Llangollen as ‘a small and poor town’<sup>3</sup>, and by 1851 George Virtue remains ‘unimpressed with the town’;<sup>4</sup> noting that the town has little to offer, other than the surrounding romantic countryside.

At the beginning of the 1800s, Llangollen was one of only five market towns in Denbighshire;<sup>5</sup> and could even be described as an ‘*embryonic town*’<sup>6</sup> (that is to say, a moderately successful market town that never developed into an urban centre in the complete sense, with Llangollen’s small population, only reaching a peak of around 2000 in 1891<sup>7</sup>; as opposed to Cardiff<sup>8</sup> for instance). However, by the mid to late 1800s, Llangollen was home to a diversity of trades. This included flannel production; tanneries; breweries; lead and iron mines; and slate and lime quarries. The town was home to the great Llangollen Eisteddfod of 1858, ‘a highly significant event’<sup>9</sup> which drew vast numbers of people into the small town to enjoy a celebration of Welsh culture. This diversity could be considered to ‘endow it with a significance beyond that indicated by the size of its population’<sup>10</sup> and could suggest, as Geraint Jenkins argues, that ‘Welsh towns were of far greater significance to the economy than their modest size ... might suggest’.<sup>11</sup>

This growth and diversity could, in part, be ascribed to improved connections to the wider transport network, which began during the first quarter of the nineteenth

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<sup>3</sup> Thomas Pennant, *A Tour in Wales*, (London, 1778), p.278.

<sup>4</sup> George Virtue, *The Tourist in Wales: A Series of Views of Picturesque Scenery, Towns, Castles, Antiquities etc.* (London and New York, 1851)

<sup>5</sup> Wales Register and Guide, 1878, (London, 1878) p.31. [Online] Available at <http://specialcollections.le.ac.uk/digital/collection/p16445coll4/id/89256/rec/5> (Accessed 28 May 2019).

<sup>6</sup> Dr W.T.R Pryce and J.A.Edwards, *The social structure of the embryonic town in rural Wales: Llanfair Caereinion in the mid-nineteenth century*, (Montgomeryshire, 1979), p. 1.

<sup>7</sup> Census data taken from Appendix Fig. 1, 2 and 3.

<sup>8</sup> Neil Evans, ‘Urbanisation, Elite Attitudes and Philanthropy: Cardiff, 1850-1914’, *International Review of Social History*, vol. 27, no. 3, (Cardiff, 1982) pp. 291-292. Details the development of Cardiff from a population of 1871 in the 1801 census to 18,351 in 1851, which is a much greater increase than Llangollen, but offers some comparison in regards to the arrival of new transport links.

<sup>9</sup> The Great Llangollen Eisteddfod, 1858, National Museum Wales [Online] Available at <https://museum.wales/collections/eisteddfodau/national/llangollen-1858/> (Accessed 22 May 2019)

<sup>10</sup> Julie Light, ‘...Mere seekers of fame’?: Personalities, Power and Politics in the small town: Pontypool and Bridgend, c.1860-95’, in *Urban History*, Vol, 32, (2005) p. 89

<sup>11</sup> Geraint Jenkins, *The Foundations of Modern Wales 1642-1780* (Oxford, 1993) p.116.

century. The Ellesmere Canal (later the Shropshire Union Canal) opened in 1804, and linked the Mersey, Dee and Severn rivers. The London to Holyhead road opened in 1826. Then later in 1859, the Vale of Llangollen Railway connected the Dee Valley town to the wider rail network; worked by the Great Western Railway. In 1865 a spur was added connecting the town centre. These factors provided improved connections for the transportation of goods and people both within Wales and across the border into England. As well as altering the physical landscape of Llangollen and providing a platform for growth in the town, the new transport infrastructure created new employment opportunities, generating a demand for new housing and facilities.

Many *embryonic towns*, especially in north Wales have been neglected by historians; in fact, Welsh urban history has commonly been overlooked.<sup>12</sup> In 2005, Peter Borsay wrote that '[t]he neglect of the interesting and diverse towns of north-east Wales, which have not been studied in detail since the work of A.H. Dodd in the 1950s, is the most glaring omission'.<sup>13</sup> Despite being written almost fourteen years ago, the dearth of in-depth urban analysis, especially concerning the smaller towns in the north of Wales, still remains.

Julie Light considers how the existing historiography of social and urban history (or in fact Welsh history generally), has focused upon Welshness and national identity.<sup>14</sup> Furthermore, she notes that these studies often revolve around the working classes, even choosing to neglect evidence of 'middle-class radicals'.<sup>15</sup> Additionally, Neil Evans addressed the dearth of material on Welsh urbanisation and surmises that '[u]rbanisation needs to be viewed as one of the major themes in Welsh history and not as some kind of negation of Welshness' and additionally stresses the need to consider 'cross-border forces' with regards to administrative structure, 'especially in north-east Wales where there are complex patterns of migration in both directions'.<sup>16</sup>

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<sup>12</sup> Peter, Borsay, Louise Miskell and Owen Roberts, 'Introduction: Wales, a new agenda for urban history' in *Urban History*, 32. 1 (Cambridge, 2005), pp. 5-6; Julie Light, '...mere seekers of fame'? : personalities, power and politics in the small town: Pontypool and Bridgend, c. 1860-95', in *Urban History*, 32. 1(Cambridge, 2005) pp. 88.

<sup>13</sup> P. Borsay et. Al., 'Introduction: Wales, a new agenda for urban history', p. 14.

<sup>14</sup> Julie Light, 'The Middle Classes as Urban Elites', in *The Welsh History Review*, 24. 3, (Cardiff, 2009), p. 32

<sup>15</sup> Light, 'The Middle Classes as Urban Elites', p. 32

<sup>16</sup> Neil Evans, 'Rethinking Urban Wales', in *Urban History*, Vol 32. 1, (Cambridge,2005), p. 130.

There has however been a collection of urban studies produced by Cadw entitled *Understanding Urban Character* (published at various times from 2009 onwards). These studies provide an in-depth analysis of several towns across Wales, which include Llangollen, Cefn Mawr, Holyhead and Denbigh. These analyses examine the 'unique historic character' of individual towns and the physical development of urban spaces through history; this is achieved by examining 'patterns of space and connection [and] traditions of building', to promote future change that retains character.<sup>17</sup> The Cadw study of Llangollen provides a succinct history of growth and change in the town by examining the topography (including, but not limited to, transport infrastructure and religious, commercial and civic buildings) and the developments in building materials and architecture styles. The study draws on numerous sources of evidence, including maps; trades directories and materials from Denbigh archives. However, the study does not address an in-depth analysis of the social and economic impact of growth on the town, including: demands for housing, the development of a middle-class society and, occupational structure change, which remains an area in need of further research.

This dissertation intends to address the gaps outlined above by considering the main occupations of the inhabitants of the town; in-migration; growth of housing and civic growth, in connection with a burgeoning middle-class.<sup>18</sup> This will be assessed by examining the extent of English in-migration; growth in commercial and professional occupations; and occupational structure. Secondly, by considering new houses in the town and the demand for house-types and location. Additionally, it will consider the effects of the middle-class on the town. It will achieve this through examination of the commercial and civic development of the town; examination of new civic buildings (i.e. town hall, assembly rooms), alongside the growth of nonconformity, and the development of societies and boards.

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<sup>17</sup> Cadw, *Understanding Character*, (Cardiff, 2019). Available at <https://cadw.gov.wales/historicenvironment/regenerationandsustainability/understandingcharacter/?lang=en> (Accessed 22 May 2019)

<sup>18</sup> The ambiguities of the identity of who the middle-classes are will not be discussed but it will be assumed to be those connected to occupations such as professional, retailing and commercial sectors.



The evidence will be drawn from the census enumerators books from 1851, 1871 and 1891. The 1851 and 1871 censuses correlate to the areas of the townships of Llangollen, according to a Tithe map for 1838-1845, which consisted of six main areas.<sup>19</sup> However this dissertation will only evaluate data from the two main urban areas - Llangollen Abbot<sup>20</sup> and Llangollen Fawr - with the addition of those streets forming the main urban area, such as Mill Street and Abbey Road.<sup>21</sup> The boundaries of the 1891 census changed to Llangollen Traian, which was a much greater area. Therefore, to maintain consistency, notwithstanding these changes, the same areas as above have been analysed, with only the addition of new growth areas. A comparison of map data from the 1870s and 1890s<sup>22</sup> has been used to establish growth areas, new housing and facilities within the town. The occupational data has been gathered into groups, based upon Armstrong's 'An industrial classification, 1841-91'<sup>23</sup> to analyse changes in the occupation structure in the town.

Trade Directories have been used to provide an overview of the town, an occupation list, and the names of persons associated with local boards and councils. Light discusses the issues with using Trades Directories at length. Some of these issues include double counting; disparity in spatial coverage; and obtaining the function of commercial premises; all of which impact the usefulness of the source. Additionally, it is noted that not all residents were recorded. This can actually prove to be beneficial 'as the selection of those included is tilted towards the gentry, clergy, private residents and the commercial sector'.<sup>24</sup>

Finally, this dissertation will examine local newspaper articles; especially the Llangollen Advertiser, Denbighshire Merionethshire and North Wales Journal (Hereinafter Llangollen Advertiser) (1868-1919) which provides detailed accounts

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<sup>19</sup> Tithe Map of Llangollen, 1838-45, - shows a composite map of the townships of Llangollen Abbot, Llangollen Fawr, Llangollen Fechan, Bache Trevor Ucha and Pengwern, Denbigh Archives. Appendix Figure 4.

<sup>20</sup> Llangollen Abbott is sometimes spelt with only one 't' at the end and also has been labelled Affott in the 1871 census data on findmypast.com.

<sup>21</sup> The full list of street names are listed in the tables in the Appendix, Figure 1-3.

<sup>22</sup> See Appendix, Figure 5 and 6.

<sup>23</sup> W. A. Armstrong 'An Industrial classification, 1841-91' in E. A. Wrigley (eds.) *Nineteenth Century Society*, (Cambridge, 1972), pp. 226-310.

<sup>24</sup> Light, *The Middle Classes as Urban Elites*, pp.39-40.

from the meetings of the local councils, societies and groups. The newspaper was published in Llangollen by Hugh Jones, who operated in Castle Street, as a publisher, bookseller and stationer.<sup>25</sup> The newspaper, being produced in the town, can be considered to be biased in favour of providing a positive account of the activities therein, especially as many of the business owners in the town, would have been customers of the newspaper.

This study, if applied to other Welsh towns, could provide an insight into the diversity in the development of towns across north Wales. It would provide an opportunity to identify the diversity of community development; and whether Llangollen and other Welsh border towns, with close connections with England, urbanised differently from towns deeper into Wales. This could be compared against Llangollen's increasing in-migration from England; the increase in professional and commercial occupations; changing demands on domestic property types and location, and the development of the town into a civic centre, as opposed to just a highly populated urban area.

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<sup>25</sup> Hugh Jones, 'Hugh Jones Advert', *Llangollen Advertiser Llangollen Advertiser Denbighshire Merionethshire and North Wales Journal*, (Denbighshire, 29<sup>th</sup> September 1882), p. 1.

<https://newspapers.library.wales/view/3290023/3290024/1/> (Accessed 27<sup>th</sup> May 2019)

## Chapter I

In order to analyse the occupational structure of the town, data of the street, occupation and numbers of inhabitants, have been gathered from the 1851, 1871 and 1891 censuses.<sup>26</sup> The main urban area has been identified from the town maps of 1870s and 1890s.<sup>27</sup> There is no map available for the 1950s, so the data relies solely upon the census. There were several streets that appear to no longer exist after the 1851 census; these include Haigh Street and Smithy Lane. These are not visible on the later street maps either. The census data from the 1870s and 1890s provides greater detail of the street structure of the town, as not all streets and terraces were included on the maps. These include Abbey Road (Abbey Street until the 1890s); Green Lane; Greenfield Terrace; Hall Street, and Hill Street.<sup>28</sup> It is of note that in the 1871 census, it was not possible to locate Market street, although it was in both the 1851 and 1871 censuses. However, the sample of data collected, adequately allows for the identification of occupational structures within the town. The collective grouping of *Retiree / No Occupation / Children*, will, for this dissertation, be disregarded as irrelevant.

The smallest of all the occupational categories (in all three analysed years) was *Agricultural Workers*. There were six in 1851, seventeen in 1871 and fifteen in 1891.<sup>29</sup> The largest number of workers were those employed in *Manufacture, Domestic Service and Dealing* (a group mainly consisting of shopkeepers, drapers and grocers) (See Fig. 1.). This occupational structuring - with few agricultural workers and high numbers of manufacturing and trade workers - is characteristic of an urban centre (as opposed to a rural village), that maintained links with its rural surroundings, but focused mainly upon trade and industry.<sup>30</sup> The town sees a steady increase in the numbers of workers in each of these occupations, throughout the period, which supports a narrative of continued growth in the town.

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<sup>26</sup> See Appendix Tables 1-3. Census data, 1851, 1871 and 1891. Taken from findmypast.co.uk.

<sup>27</sup> Appendix Fig. 5 and 6.

<sup>28</sup> A full list of the streets/areas covered are listed in Appendix Fig. 1-3.

<sup>29</sup> Taken from Appendix Fig. 1-3.

<sup>30</sup> Price and Edwards, *The social structure of the embryonic town in rural Wales: Llanfair Caereinion in the mid-nineteenth century*, p. 75.

<u>Occupation/Year</u>	<u>1851</u>	<u>1871</u>	<u>1891</u>
Manufacture	170	179	259
Dealers	57	107	175
Domestic	106	126	230

Fig.1. Numbers of persons engaged in occupations. Sample taken from data in Appendix, Fig.1.

In addition to revealing the most prominent occupational categories in the town, the censuses further reveal distinct occupational structures in the town. The data from the oldest census (1851) shows that the highest number of workers, engaged in the manufacture were in Haigh Street and London Road. However, by 1871 and 1891, Church Street has emerged as the road with the highest numbers employed in manufacture. It is worth noting that, by 1871 (in both the Census and Map data) there was no evidence of the existence of either Haigh Street or London Road. It is possible that Haigh Street becomes Chapel Street in the intervening period. However, substantiating evidence to this effect is not available to the author. London Road, seems likely to have been divided into Regent Street and Berwyn Street, which form the main road to London. Dee Mill Place also contained a high number of occupants employed in manufacture, from 1871 onwards. This area was close to the river and many of the manufacturing centres based in the town, such as Dee Mill itself (a wool manufactory) and Old Mill (a flannel manufactory).

The main groups of occupants employed in dealing were in Church Street and Bridge Street, until the 1891 census when the nuclei shifted to Castle Street (Fig.2.). This shift can be attributed to the development of Castle Street, that took place from the 1860s onwards.<sup>31</sup> These areas would have constituted the commercial core of Llangollen.

The numbers of those employed in domestic service, (a profession evident throughout the town) were highest in the same areas as those with the greatest concentration of Dealers and Professional workers (Fig. 2.). Domestic service remains the second largest occupational group throughout the period, with steady

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<sup>31</sup> Cadw, Llangollen: Understanding Urban Character, p. 27.

growth in the numbers of persons employed. The increasing dependence upon domestic help within the homes of the middle-class (as evidenced through analysis of their occupations), indicates a distinct amelioration of social mobility within this group.<sup>32</sup>

This occupational segregation is a key differentiator between urban and rural society, (Llangollen most definitely leaning towards the 'urban' end of this spectrum) and it demonstrates that the town has 'its own internal structures'<sup>33</sup> imbuing it with a self-reliance, which might be thought to elevate the status of the town to that of a regional hub; supporting surrounding rural communities. Jane Morgan notes the juxtaposition of Llangollen as an urban area that was a 'community of tradespeople and craftsmen [...] serving as entrepôts for the basic requirements of agricultural life',<sup>34</sup> against its rural surroundings.

It is not until the 1891 census that there is any significant rise in the numbers of professional workers in the town (Fig2.). The number of people in professional occupations rises from nineteen in 1851; to thirty-nine in 1871; and rises again, to one hundred and twenty, in 1891. The census reveals that those with middle-class professional occupations are nonetheless residing amongst the working classes. For instance, in 1871 in Chapel Street, there were eleven persons returned in 'Manufacture'; seven 'Dealers' and one 'Pauper', all living alongside three individuals employed in professional posts. Light determines, in 2009, that small towns did not have the same residential segregation that was seen in larger towns and cities.<sup>35</sup> Professional workers often sought to operate from the centre of urban districts to offer their services to the people and businesses already situated within.<sup>36</sup> Light's argument

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<sup>32</sup> Light, *The Middle Classes as Urban Elites in Nineteenth-century South Wales*, p. 29-38. This uses Light's definition to determine that the occupants of Llangollen engaged in 'Dealing' and 'Professional' occupations meet the 'common-sense idea' of what constitutes 'middle-class' and that having domestic help is often associated with the middle classes.

<sup>33</sup> Pryce and Edwards, *The Social Structure of the Embryonic Town in Rural Wales: Llanfair Caereinion in the Mid-Nineteenth Century*, p. 74.

<sup>34</sup> Jane, Morgan, *Denbighshire's Annus Mirabilis: The Borough and County Elections of 1868*, *Welsh History Review*, (Wales, 1974), p. 67.

<sup>35</sup> Light, *The Middle-Classes as Urban Elites*, p.50.

<sup>36</sup> Harrold Carter, *Transformation in the Spatial Structure of Welsh Towns in the Nineteenth Century*, in *Transactions of the right Honourable Cymmrodorion Society* (London, 1980) p. 181.

is supported by analysis of the development of Llangollen, where the working and middle-classes often co-existed in urban areas.

The 1851 census' occupation returns all belong, distinctly, to the occupational groupings as set out by Armstrong in his 'Industrial Classification'.<sup>37</sup> However, by the 1871 and 1891 censuses there is a rise in occupations that step outside of traditional industrial groupings. These include 'Hairdresser' and 'Florist'. We also see an emergence in the use of professional occupational titles; for example, instead of a 'Druggist', the term 'Pharmaceutical Chemist' is used.<sup>38</sup>

Year	1851					
Group/Street	Haigh Street	Church Street	London Road	New Square	Bridge Street	Market Street
Manufacture	39	21	27	19	13	6
Dealers	8	15	6	1	7	6
Domestic	8	22	11	1	22	23
Professional	2	2	4	1	5	5

Year	1871					
Group/Street	Chapel Street	Church Street	Dee Mill	Brook Street	Bridge Street	Castle Street
Manufacture	11	55	24	13	8	11
Dealers	7	21	0	15	20	17
Domestic	14	18	5	7	25	19
Professional	3	4	3	0	7	0

Year	1891							
Group/Street	Regent Street	Church Street	Dee Mill	Berwyn Street	Bridge Street	Market Street	Castle Street	John Street
Manufacture	15	54	16	19	11	6	16	15
Dealers	10	24	2	8	18	3	34	2
Domestic	15	28	2	14	33	2	21	9
Professional	21	2	3	5	11	9	3	9

Fig.2. Occupational Clusters – Sample taken from data in Appendix Fig. 1-3.

<sup>37</sup> Armstrong, 'An Industrial classification, 1841-91', p. 226-310.

<sup>38</sup> Census Enumerators Books, Findmypast.co.uk, 1891 [Online] 2019. Available at <https://www.findmypast.co.uk/libezproxy.open.ac.uk/transcript?id=GBC/1891/0031383663> (Accessed 23 May 2019)

## Chapter II

Due to the increasing population in the town in the latter half of the 1800s, there was also a greater demand for new houses. The censuses show an increase from 879 in 1831 to 1316 in 1891<sup>39</sup>, which is a significant increase of fifty per cent. Whilst there is a small rise of Welsh occupants in the town, (with the exception of Llangollen Abbot) this rise can be chiefly attributed to in-migration (mainly from England) with an increase from fifty-five English born residents in 1851 to 165 in 1871;<sup>40</sup> a considerable rise of 200%, considering the relatively small overall population of the districts. The increase in building demand is further demonstrated by the expansion of workers involved in the building trade, with only sixteen in 1851 rising to thirty-nine in 1871 and peaking at sixty-two in 1891.<sup>41</sup>

<b>Place of Birth - Indication of in Migration Increase</b>						
					<b>Welsh</b>	<b>English</b>
	<b>Welsh</b>	<b>English</b>	<b>Welsh</b>	<b>English</b>	<b>% Change</b>	<b>% Change</b>
<b>Place/Year</b>	<b>1851</b>	<b>1851</b>	<b>1871</b>	<b>1871</b>		
<b>Llangollen Fawr</b>	433	14	473	46	9.23	228.57
<b>Llangollen Abbot</b>	198	12	188	42	-5.05	250
<b>Llangollen Fechan</b>	346	29	361	77	4.33	165.52
<b>Total</b>	977	55	1022	165	4.60%	200%

Fig.3. Numbers of Welsh born and English born inhabitants of Llangollen, in 1851 and 1871.

Many of the new builds in the town were detached and semi-detached villas. These larger houses were a departure from the rows of terraced houses that had commonly been built in urban areas (although new terraces continued to be built in

<sup>39</sup> Llangollen Housing Growth AP/CP Level GB Historical GIS / University of Portsmouth, Llangollen AP/CP through time | Housing Statistics | Total Houses, *A Vision of Britain through Time*. URL: <http://www.visionofbritain.org.uk/unit/10226417/cube/HOUSES> (Accessed 18 April 2019). See Appendix Fig. 4.

<sup>40</sup> Fig.3. Based on Census data from Llangollen Fawr, Abbot and Fechan in 1851 and 1871. Findmypast.co.uk

<sup>41</sup> Census Data, See Appendix Fig. 1-3.

Llangollen's main urban area throughout the 1800s). Lewis and Wheatley wrote, in 1999, that the growth of the villa on the edges of urban areas had emanated out from the larger cities such as Manchester, Birmingham and London from the beginning of the nineteenth century. This too speaks to the increase in the middle-class demographic, as this new style of larger home (complete with gardens) was intended for the burgeoning numbers of merchants, manufacturers and professionals<sup>42</sup> now residing in the area. Harold Carter suggests that the new domestic technologies that had developed out of the industrial revolution, such as internal plumbing, provided further attraction for the middle-classes to the new suburban areas. Carter further proposes that the desire for larger properties, set in their own grounds, was representative of the middle-classes emulating the local elites and gentry; only, on a smaller scale.<sup>43</sup> Whilst Villas built on the outskirts of urban developments had reached the larger English towns and cities in the early 1800s,<sup>44</sup> they had trickled into Llangollen several decades later.

Abbey Road (named Abbey Street until c.1870) and Mill Street, are each roads in Llangollen that had been developed into at least ten detached dwellings,<sup>45</sup> by 1890. Slaters Directory of 1880 refers to these as being the 'residence of many respectable families, and [that] several of the cottages and villas [were] highly ornamental'.<sup>46</sup> To evaluate the levels of demand for particular villa styles within diverse portions of the demographic of Llangollen, several properties have been selected from the Abbey Road area from the 1891 census.

It is apparent from the data (see fig.4.) that the majority of occupants of these properties were from the 'Professional' and 'Commercial' sectors that are connected with the middle-classes. One entry, that it could be argued does not meet the criteria

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<sup>42</sup> C. Roy Lewis and Sandra Wheatley, *The Beginnings of middle-class suburbanization in a small town: A case study of Aberystwyth, c1870-1930*, *National Library of Wales Journal*, Vol. 31. No. 1. (Aberystwyth, 1999), pp.45-48.

<sup>43</sup> Carter, 'Transformation in the Spatial Structure of Welsh Towns in the Nineteenth century', p. 182.

<sup>44</sup> Lewis and Wheatley, *The Beginnings of middle-class suburbanization in a small town: A case study of Aberystwyth, c1870-1930*, p. 45.

<sup>45</sup> See Map of Llangollen 1890s Appendix, Figure.6.

<sup>46</sup> I. Slater, *Slater's Royal National Commercial Directory of North and south Wales, 1880*, part 1, (Manchester, 1880), pp. 125. Available at <http://specialcollections.le.ac.uk/digital/collection/p16445coll4/id/89930> (Accessed 22 May 2019)



of professional worker is the Lodging House-Keeper of Dolhwiys, who was listed as a widower on the census returns. It is possible that to be able to afford to live in a respectable middle-class villa style property following the death of her husband, the occupier had chosen to let rooms, professional lodgers. This was not an uncommon method of finding employment for women and widows, during this period, in Britain.<sup>47</sup>

Additionally, the evidence raises an interesting question, namely: was the demand for these properties driven by in-migration or social mobility within the town? Of the sample collected, six were from England, six were from Wales and one was from Jamaica, which suggests an even combination of social mobility, within Llangollen and the surrounding Welsh counties, and in-migration from England. It is therefore not possible to substantiate one position over another on the data available. However, this does nothing to diminish the pertinence of the question, which remains unanswered.

<b>Villas in the area of Abbey Road</b>			
	<b>Occupation</b>	<b>Place of birth</b>	<b>Language</b>
Riverslea	Retired Engine Driver	Preston, Lancashire, England	English
Lenhurst	Prudential Assurance Agent	Wiltshire, England	English
Lenhurst	Living on own means	Kingston, Jamaica	English
Dolhwiys	Lodging House Keeper	Llangollen, Wales	Both
Dolhwiys	Brewer	Middlesex, England	English
Dolhwiys	Solicitor	Lancashire, England	English
Green Lodge	Assistant Overseer	Denbighshire, Wales	Both
Dee Bank	Living on own means	Llangollen, Wales	Both
Green Villa	Living on own means	Gloucestershire, England	English
Green Villa	Architect	Denbighshire, Wales	Both
Plas Teg	Timber Merchant	Denbighshire, Wales	Both
Plnsyn Dbob	Retired Confectioner	Shropshire, England	English
Fair View	Cab Proprietor	Montgomeryshire, Wales	English

Fig.4. Data taken from 1891 census enumerators books at [findmypast.co.uk](http://findmypast.co.uk)

<sup>47</sup> Cynthia Curran, 'Private Women, Public Needs: Middle-Class Widows in Victorian England' in *Albion: A Quarterly Journal Concerned with British Studies*, Vol. 25, No. 2, (North America, 1993), p. 233.

However, it becomes apparent that speaking English was prevalent amongst those in professional and commercial employment, as there were no were monoglot Welsh speakers (see Fig.4.). The 1891 census is the first to analyse the language spoken by residents. Over fifty per cent of Llangollen's residents were able to speak both English and Welsh, in contrast to thirty per cent speaking Welsh only, and seventeen per cent speaking English only (see Fig.5). This means that, whilst almost seventy per cent of the population could speak English, only forty-seven per cent could speak Welsh. Accounting for erroneous data (discovered with regard to the high numbers of Welsh speakers returned in the 1891 census<sup>48</sup>), the numbers of monoglot Welsh in Llangollen were lower. Jenkins attributes the rise of bilingual communities to 'the prevailing trend for monoglot Welsh-speakers to become bilingual and the monoglot English-speakers to resist acculturation'.<sup>49</sup> In this regard the town's Welsh identity had suffered the effects of close connections with England. The wide-ranging use of English in the town is further accentuated by the fact that the town's newspaper, The Llangollen Advertiser, was published in English<sup>50</sup> and further, that St. Collen's church had also adopted English as its main language.<sup>51</sup>

<b>1891 Language Data Urban Llangollen</b>			
<b><u>Language Spoken</u></b>	<b>Welsh</b>	<b>English</b>	<b>Both</b>
<b><u>Totals</u></b>	659	378	1134
<b><u>Percentage</u></b>	<b><u>30%</u></b>	<b><u>17%</u></b>	<b><u>52.23%</u></b>

Fig.5. Language data from 1891 Census.<sup>52</sup>

<sup>48</sup> Languages in Wales and Monmouthshire at A Vision of Britain Through Time [Online], Available at <http://www.visionofbritain.org.uk/census/EW1891GEN/11> (Accessed 10th May 2019).

<sup>49</sup> Geraint Jenkins, A Concise History of Wales (Cambridge, 2007), p. 184.

<sup>50</sup> Welsh Newspapers Online, Llangollen Advertiser, [Online, 2019] Available at <https://newspapers.library.wales/browse/3171066> (Accessed 22 May 2019)

<sup>51</sup> History Points.org, St. Collen's Church, Llangollen, [Online, 2019] Available at <http://historypoints.org/index.php?page=st-collens-church-llangollen> (Accessed 22 May 2019)

<sup>52</sup> This data has been collected from the streets listed in Appendix. Fig.3. Data taken from [findmypast.co.uk](http://findmypast.co.uk)

A number of terraces were also built in the town. In contrast to the 1871 census, the 1891 census and the 1899<sup>53</sup> map of the town, reveal a number of new streets and terraces. The new terraces include Greenfield Terrace; West Bourne Terrace; Cambrian Terrace, and Walton Terrace. These were home to an admixture of occupations, such as grocers, a police constable, rural postman, a brewer and an ostler.

Whilst a separation between home and work life had been established for many people belonging to the upper echelons of society, in many urban areas, large numbers of people engaged in dealing and professional occupations would still live and work either in or close to their work premises.<sup>54</sup> From the 1860s onwards, the town developed around the Castle Street area. Morris Roberts, a prolific builder who both lived and worked in Llangollen, was responsible for much of this building.<sup>55</sup> Roberts bought around forty plots of land in 1858, and built a commercial development of three-story buildings with shopfronts in Castle Street, amongst numerous other buildings. These buildings, consisted of shops (with shopfronts) on the ground floor and living accommodation on the two floors above. These would have been home to many of the dealers in Llangollen, who still lived and worked in the same premises.

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<sup>53</sup> See Appendix Fig.6.

<sup>54</sup>C. Roy Lewis and Sandra Wheatley, *The beginnings of middle-class suburbanization in a small town: A Case Study of Aberystwyth, c.1879-1930*, pp.62-63

<sup>55</sup> Cadw, *Llangollen: Understanding Urban Character*, p. 27

### Chapter III

To ascertain what established a town as a fully functioning urban space, Ieuan Gwynedd Jones' case study of Merthyr Tydfil identifies how the lack of concern for public health, and the broader issues that he terms a lack of 'social engineering', was due to the absence of a 'residential middle-class'.<sup>56</sup> Neil Evans simplifies Jones' analysis into towns developing simply as '*urban*' areas on the one hand, or being '*urban*' and '*civic*' in their development, on the other hand. Evans compares Jones' example of Merthyr Tydfil (with its lack of civic development) to Cardiff; a town that also developed at pace and was unquestionably a civic community, with a resident middle-class demonstrating 'civic responsibility'<sup>57</sup> in its establishment of effective 'social engineering'. From this it seems apparent that the notion of 'civic' activities (of any form) are defined by a sense of duty to each other and the betterment of the town as a community (and such a definition is adopted hereinafter). In assessing whether a cohesive group of middle-class inhabitants promoted improvements within Llangollen, it is necessary to examine the societies, groups and individuals, and the impact they had on the town.

In the 1895 Slaters Directory, it states that Llangollen had formed an Urban District Council (UDC) in 1894 - under the Local Government Act of the same year - with a Board of nine members.<sup>58</sup> The council consisted of a Chairman and Councillors, who were democratically elected for a three-year term. The appointed officers included a Clerk, Treasurer, Medical Officer of Health, Surveyor, Rating Officer and Sanitary Inspector. The UDC became responsible for local sanitation; housing;

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<sup>56</sup> Ieuan Gwynedd Jones, 'Merthyr Tydfil: The Politics of Survival', *Llafur*, 2, 1 (Aberystwyth, 1976), p. 26.

<sup>57</sup> Neil Evans, *The Welsh Victorian City: The Middle Class and Civic and National Consciousness in Cardiff, 1850-1914*, in *Welsh History Review*, (Cardiff, 1985), pp. 351-352.

<sup>58</sup> I. Slater, *Slater's Royal National Commercial Directory of North and Mid Wales, 1895*, (Manchester, 1895), pp. 289. Available at <http://specialcollections.le.ac.uk/digital/collection/p16445coll4/id/349697/rec/4> (Accessed 11th May 2019).

streets; cemeteries; libraries; parks, and building controls.<sup>59</sup> Councillors of the UDC were volunteering their services, in unpaid positions,<sup>60</sup> which speaks to their commitment to the town and the community. The UDC play a major role in ensuring that Llangollen continues to grow and improve in a 'civic' manner. For instance, in approximately 1898, the Council installed electric cabling and street lighting in the town (following the Electric Lighting Acts 1882 and 1888).<sup>61</sup> Subsequently, at the monthly council meeting in February 1910, 'Defective Street Lighting' is identified as an item on the agenda for discussion; evidence that the town continued to improve and service its utilities.<sup>62</sup> This is just one of the many improvements carried out, that were overseen by the UDC.

Llangollen was included in several Trades Directories,<sup>63</sup> which indicates 'not only a middle-class presence but urban development generally'.<sup>64</sup> The Slaters Trades Directory of 1895 details numerous commercial and trades people in Llangollen.<sup>65</sup> In 1906, some of these collaborated to form the Llangollen Traders' Association (later becoming the Llangollen and District Traders Association). Membership was limited to 'traders occupying business premises or carrying on business' in the town or its surrounding areas,<sup>66</sup> and the aim of the Committee was to protect the interests of the member-traders. This Committee might be thought of as a 'shopocracy'; intent upon

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<sup>59</sup> Denbigh Archives, Llangollen Urban District Council [Online] Available at <https://archiveshub.jisc.ac.uk/search/archives/893c1492-ef5a-38b4-9d9d-add83c70014d> (Accessed 11th May 2019).

<sup>60</sup> Hansard, 'Expenses of Members of Certain Local Authorities', (1936) Available at <https://api.parliament.uk/historic-hansard/commons/1936/dec/02/expenses-of-members-of-certain-local> (Accessed 29 May 2019). The payment of wages and expenses in regards to the Urban District Councils was being debated in the commons as late as 1936, so it can be assumed that in the late 1800s, that the elect committee were not in receipt of payment for their services.

<sup>61</sup> Anon, 'Electric Light for Llangollen', Llangollen Advertiser Denbighshire Merionethshire and North Wales Journal, (Denbighshire, 16<sup>th</sup> November 1900), p. 5. Available at <https://newspapers.library.wales/view/3175378/3175383/21/llangollen%20electric%20lighting> (Accessed 27 May 2019).

<sup>62</sup> Anon, 'Llangollen Urban District Council', Llangollen Advertiser Denbighshire Merionethshire and North Wales Journal, (Denbighshire, 4<sup>th</sup> February 1910), p. 4. Available at <https://newspapers.library.wales/view/4246769/4246773> (Accessed 27 May 2019).

<sup>63</sup> Including Slaters and Pigots and Co.'s.

<sup>64</sup> Light, 2009, p.40.

<sup>65</sup> Slater, Llangollen, Slater's Directory of North & Mid Wales, 1895, p. 292-293.

<sup>66</sup> Anon, 'District Traders Association' Llangollen Advertiser Denbighshire Merionethshire and North Wales Journal (18<sup>th</sup> May 1906, Llangollen), P. 5. Available at <https://newspapers.library.wales/view/3177457/3177459/2/> (Accessed 22 May 2019)

improving the trading conditions of shopkeepers and business owners, but also enjoying social status and influence, within the community.

The commercial and civic activities of the burgeoning middle-class manifest in the development of the town's urban character. Some of the earliest civic buildings were the County Hall (or Old Town Hall), and the Old Armoury. These were built in 1835, in Berwyn Street. The Old Armoury was initially used as a jail, and latterly as a Police Station.<sup>67</sup> The Town Hall hosted monthly petty sessions and a bi-monthly County Court.<sup>68</sup> As noted in the Cadw study, the location of this building is significant. Henceforth, the focus of town life moved towards this location; creating distance from the focus upon religious aspects hitherto provided by the church'.<sup>69</sup>

Morris Roberts, not only played a key role in the growth of domestic buildings, but in commercial and civic buildings too. Roberts was responsible for the building of the new Town Hall in 1867, and the National School in Regent Street. Roberts' Town Hall (known then as the Assembly Rooms and Market Hall), was originally a ground level market, with civic rooms above.<sup>70</sup> Roberts undoubtedly displays an ambition to create a civic community in Llangollen. By the turn of the century the Town Hall was the meeting place for several of Llangollen's groups and societies and was also used for several other purposes. It was the venue for the monthly meetings of both the UDC<sup>71</sup> and the Llangollen Traders Association.<sup>72</sup> It was also home to other cultural events such as the annual Eisteddfod at Llangollen.<sup>73</sup>

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<sup>67</sup> Llangollen, The Old Armoury, (2019) Available at <https://www.llangollen.org.uk/index.php/things-to-do/history/georgian-llangollen/item/44-the-old-armoury>

<sup>68</sup> Slater, Slater's Royal National Commercial Directory of North and Mid Wales, 1895, p. 280.

<sup>69</sup> Cadw, Llangollen: Understanding Urban Character, pp. 35-36.

<sup>70</sup> Llangollen, 'Town Hall', [Online] Available at <https://www.llangollen.org.uk/index.php/things-to-do/history/victorian-panorama/item/53-the-town-hall> (Accessed 11th May 2019)

<sup>71</sup> Anon. 'Llangollen Urban District Council', *Llangollen Advertiser Denbighshire Merionethshire and North Wales Journal*, (Denbighshire, 4<sup>th</sup> February 1910), p. 4. Available at <https://newspapers.library.wales/view/4246769/4246773>

<sup>72</sup> Anon. 'Llangollen Traders Association', *Llangollen Advertiser Denbighshire Merionethshire and North Wales Journal*, (Denbighshire, 11<sup>th</sup> February 1910), p. 4. Available at <https://newspapers.library.wales/view/4246778/4246783/17/llangollen%20traders%20association>

<sup>73</sup> Anon. 'Eisteddfod At Llangollen', *Llangollen Advertiser Denbighshire Merionethshire and North Wales Journal*, (Denbighshire, 19<sup>th</sup> March 1909), p. 8. Available at <https://newspapers.library.wales/view/4246349/4246357/39/eisteddfod%20town%20hall>

Cadw notes the appearance of several banks in Llangollen, with the Midland Bank opening in 1863 and the Old Bank in 1855.<sup>74</sup> Additionally, the Slaters Trade Directory of 1895 lists the town as having two banks; firstly, The North and South Wales Bank Ltd; and secondly, Messrs. Richard and Co.<sup>75</sup> Despite banking services being limited to the wealthy elite well into the mid-nineteenth century,<sup>76</sup> banks, also became a good indicator of a growing middle-class presence and growing commercial activity,<sup>77</sup> towards the end of the century.

The building of the Cottage Hospital was a further example of civic development in the town. It was built in 1876, on Abbey Road, by a Mr William Wagstaff (a Solicitor) and with donations from local people.<sup>78</sup> The hospital's continuing existence was reliant upon local fundraisers, organised by Societies, and through subscriptions (donations) from local people for many years.<sup>79</sup>

The middle-classes were also notable during this period for their interest in helping those less fortunate than themselves.<sup>80</sup> By the end of the nineteenth century there are several organisations and societies in Llangollen, that are centred around self-improvement and helping the disadvantaged. There are two mentions of these organisations in the Llangollen Advertiser from the beginning of 1895 alone: Firstly, in January 1895, the Penybryn Christian Mutual Improvement Society, Llangollen, (a group of 'ladies and gentlemen' from not just one chapel, but from all denominations) have been mentioned, as having effected a 'great deal of good' in the previous quarter.<sup>81</sup> Secondly, a letter to the Editor from a 'working man' with regard to the high

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<sup>74</sup> Cadw, 'Llangollen: Understanding Urban Character', p. 38.

<sup>75</sup> Slater, Slater's Royal National Commercial Directory of North and Mid Wales, 1895, p.289.

<sup>76</sup> Robert Pringle, A Guide to Banking in Britain (London, 1973), p. 22.

<sup>77</sup> Light, 2009, p.41.

<sup>78</sup> Anon, 'The Llangollen Cottage Hospital', *Llangollen Advertiser Denbighshire Merionethshire and North Wales Journal* (18 February 1876), p.2. Available at <https://newspapers.library.wales/view/3288338/3288340/9/llangollen%20cottage%20hospital> (Accessed 22 May 2019)

<sup>79</sup> Anon. 'The Llangollen Cottage Hospital', *Llangollen Advertiser Denbighshire Merionethshire and North Wales Journal* (9 March 1894), p. 3. Available at <https://newspapers.library.wales/view/3172873/3172876/6>

<sup>80</sup> Morgan, Denbighshire's Annus Mirabilis: The Borough and County Elections of 1868, p.72.

<sup>81</sup> Anon, 'Local and District', *Llangollen Advertiser Denbighshire Merionethshire and North Wales Journal*, (11<sup>th</sup> January 1895, Llangollen), p. 4. Available at <https://newspapers.library.wales/view/3173224/3173228> (Accessed 27th May 2019).

unemployment in the vicinity during this period and thanking the 'praiseworthy effort being made by the benevolent ladies and gentlemen ... [of the] soup kitchen and relief committee'.<sup>82</sup> The meetings of the Llangollen Relief Committee were regularly featured in the *Llangollen Advertiser*. In 1865, the Committee reported helping two hundred and fifty persons and families. A list of benefactors was also provided, including donations from local shopkeepers as well as fund raising from local persons. Morgan notes that the rise in Societies, such as these, is indicative of a rise in a 'cohesive group of middle-class' persons who would often have 'tried to inject standards of respectability into the class below them'.<sup>83</sup>

It was not only such Societies that provided aid and promoted change, but it was individuals too. Messrs Poole, the Pork Butchers in Berwyn Street, donated large quantities of pork goods to the poor and unemployed in 1865.<sup>84</sup> It was also a regular occurrence for bequests to be left in the Wills of local residents to institutions in need of funding. In 1881 the late Mrs. Evans of Frondeg, left one hundred pounds, and Miss Lloyd of The Abbey, left fifty pounds to the Cottage Hospital in their Wills.<sup>85</sup>

In addition to Societies and individuals, religious groups also shaped the growth of the town. In 1851, the Census of Religion found that, of a population of 1,068,500,<sup>86</sup> around 983,419 were attendees at churches in Wales<sup>87</sup> (comprising ninety-two per cent of the population). With the county of Denbighshire being deemed as religious to 'a notable extent',<sup>88</sup> it can be assumed that religion played a role in the lives of many Llangollen residents. St. Collen's Church, founded in the sixth or seventh century, had

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<sup>82</sup> Anon, 'Local and District', *Llangollen Advertiser Denbighshire Merionethshire and North Wales Journal* (22<sup>nd</sup> February 1895), P. 4. Available at <https://newspapers.library.wales/view/3173278/3173282/7/> (Accessed 22 May 2019)

<sup>83</sup> Morgan, *Denbighshire's Annus Mirabilis: The Borough and County Elections of 1868*, p. 67.

<sup>84</sup> Anon, 'Local and District', *Llangollen Advertiser Denbighshire Merionethshire and North Wales Journal* (22<sup>nd</sup> February 1895, Llangollen), P. 4. Available at <https://newspapers.library.wales/view/3173278/3173282/7/> (Accessed 22 May 2019)

<sup>85</sup> Anon, 'Legacies to the cottage hospital', *Llangollen Advertiser Denbighshire Merionethshire and North Wales Journal* (23<sup>rd</sup> December 1881, Llangollen), p. 2. Available at <https://newspapers.library.wales/view/3289823/3289825/2/> (Accessed 22 May 2019)

<sup>86</sup> Vision of Britain Through Time, [Online] 1851 Population Data, Available at [http://www.beta.visionofbritain.org.uk/unit/10001055/cube/TOT\\_POP](http://www.beta.visionofbritain.org.uk/unit/10001055/cube/TOT_POP) (Accessed 27 May 2019).

<sup>87</sup> Vision of Britain Through Time, [Online] 1851 Religious Census, Available at [http://www.beta.visionofbritain.org.uk/unit/10001055/cube/REL1851\\_ATTEND\\_TOT](http://www.beta.visionofbritain.org.uk/unit/10001055/cube/REL1851_ATTEND_TOT) (Accessed 27 May 2019).

<sup>88</sup> Morgan, *Denbighshire's Annus Mirabilis: The Borough and County Elections of 1868*, p. 72-73



formed the central religious centre in Llangollen. Then later, St. Johns Church, built in 1858. St. Johns had been built mainly as a burial facility, but by the late nineteenth century it had become a place of worship for those that wanted services in the Welsh language, as St. Collen's had adopted English as its main language.<sup>89</sup> This draws attention the importance of the Welsh language in the town, despite the increasing civic developments and the close connections with England.

However, during the 1800s, Nonconformist chapels became the place of worship most attended in much of Denbighshire; offering seats for fifty-six per cent of the population as opposed to the thirty-one per cent offered by the established church.<sup>90</sup> In common with much of Victorian Wales' middle-classes, Llangollen develops a Nonconformist congregation.<sup>91</sup> Pigot and Co.'s directory lists four Nonconformist chapels in addition to the Anglican Church, in 1835.<sup>92</sup> The building of new chapels begins in the late eighteenth century, with one of the first being the Seion Welsh Wesleyan Methodist Chapel, which was built c.1804,<sup>93</sup> and continues in the town throughout the nineteenth century and into the twentieth.

The increasing congregations attending the new chapels necessarily demanded an increase in the numbers of chapel officials. It is apparent in the census data from 1891 that there were three theological students resident in the town. Each were in living close to the Baptist college on Berwyn Street, where Gethin Davies was listed as the Principal and Theological Professor of Baptist College.<sup>94</sup> This college provided new, qualified Ministers for the town and further afield. Many of the chapel officials, such as Elders and Deacons were, identified by Cragoe as 'drawn from the

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<sup>89</sup> History Points.org, St. Johns Church, Llangollen, (2019) [Online]. Available at <http://historypoints.org/index.php?page=st-johns-church-llangollen> (Accessed 27 May 2019).

<sup>90</sup> Morgan, Denbighshire's Annus Mirabilis: The Borough and County Elections of 1868, pp. 72-73.

<sup>91</sup> Simon Stewart, Culture and the Middle Classes, (Surrey, 2013) p. 1; Matthew Cragoe, *Culture, Politics and National Identity in Wales 1832-1886*, (2004, Oxford), p. 47.

<sup>92</sup> J.Pigot, Pigot and Co.'s, National Commercial Directory, (1835, London), p. 704. Available at <http://specialcollections.le.ac.uk/digital/collection/p16445coll4/id/218103/rec/9>

<sup>93</sup> Coflein, (2019) Available at <https://www.coflein.gov.uk/en/site/7729/details/seion-welsh-wesleyan-methodist-chapelzion-berwyn-street-llangollen> (Accessed 7 May 2019).

<sup>94</sup> Taken from Census Enumerators Books 1891 available at Findmypast.co.uk Available at <https://www.findmypast-co-uk.libezproxy.open.ac.uk/transcript?id=GBC/1891/0031384364> (Accessed 27 May 2019).

ranks of the 'shopocracy and craftsmen', rather than the 'lower reaches of society'.<sup>95</sup> Jenkins claims that whilst the chapels appealed to the working classes, it was the middle-classes that formed a 'special affinity'<sup>96</sup> with them. This was also true with regard to societal improvement.

In Llangollen, the Nonconformist chapels were often responsible for organising many of the groups and societies. The Rehoboth Welsh Literary Society, is one example of this. The minutes of a meeting are detailed in the Llangollen Advertiser, which states how Mr Ellis Edwards delivered a talk on 'the importance and advantage of young people being total abstainers.'<sup>97</sup> This provides an insight into the role of nonconformity in influencing the social growth of the town.

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<sup>95</sup> Matthew Cragoe, Conscience or Coercion? Clerical Influence at the General Election of 1868 in Wales in *Past and Present*, Vol 149, Issue 1, (Oxford, 1995), p. 149.

<sup>96</sup> Jenkins, (Cambridge, 2007), p. 209.

<sup>97</sup> Anon, 'Local and District', Llangollen Advertiser Denbighshire Merionethshire and North Wales Journal, (11<sup>th</sup> January 1985), p. 4. Available at <https://newspapers.library.wales/view/3173224/3173228> (Accessed 27th May 2019).

## Conclusion

It has been shown in this dissertation that by the early 1900s Llangollen had developed into 'small but functional urban community'.<sup>98</sup> The census data has revealed an occupational structure, that is similar to other Welsh urban (as opposed to rural) areas, with considerable numbers of occupants engaged in manufacture, dealing and domestic service. The development of the town as a trade centre is also evident, with the town acting as a trading hub and providing for its rural surroundings. By the end of the nineteenth century, the town also witnessed a considerable rise in the numbers of professional workers; further marking a growth in commercial activity. The segregation seen in larger towns was not present. Consequently, an admixture of persons from differing occupations, coexisted in close proximity. The increase in occupants engaged in dealing and professional occupations also underpins a rise in domestic servants in the area. This is indicative of an increasing middle-class demographic, that was often reliant upon domestic help.

Naturally, the increase in occupants, led to an increase in housing. Although many new traditional urban terraces were built - to maximise the small amount of space within the core urban area - many new larger detached and semi-detached properties were also built (however, these were on the outskirts of the urban area). These new styles of building were indicative of the growth the middle-classes in the town. Much of this was due to in-migration from England. Properties with ground floor shopfronts were also developed and became home to numerous dealers. These areas became the commercial core.

The enlarged middle-class demographic leads to increased development of the town; in the form of both civic and commercial buildings. These buildings played host to societies and services, such as the UDC and the Llangollen Traders Association. Such groups consisted mainly of middle-class residents, who began to exercise

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<sup>98</sup> Pryce and Edwards, *The social Structure of the embryonic town in rural Wales: Llanfair Caereinion in the Mid-Nineteenth Century*, p. 45.

control over the development and maintenance of the town. Further groups and societies (including those of a religious nature) were established and also sought to nurture the wellbeing of the community.

Religion (mainly in the guise of Nonconformity) also developed throughout the town. This is evident by the numbers of chapels built, throughout the 1800s and the installation of the Baptist College. Nonconformity was considered synonymous with the middle-classes and Wales, and further indicated the growth in this area.

Collectively it is apparent that the development of Llangollen was largely driven by a cohesive core of middle-class inhabitants, whose increasing civic and commercial activities demanded change to the urban-fabric of the area. This resulted in a town that was awash with diversity, home to numerous trades; banks; a hospital; societies, and religions.

Word Count – 6092

## Appendix

<u>1851</u>	<u>Manufacture</u>	<u>Industrial</u>	<u>Building</u>	<u>labourer</u>	<u>agricultural</u>	<u>Dealers</u>	<u>Domestic</u>	<u>Transport</u>	<u>Prop owner/ Independent</u>	<u>Retiree/No Occupation/ Children</u>	<u>Professional</u>	<u>Paupers</u>	<u>Total</u>
<u>Benjamin Square</u>	6						1			3		2	12
<u>Birch Cottage</u>							1			2			3
<u>Birch Mount Cottage</u>			1							3			4
<u>Bridge Square</u>	3		1		1		3	1		9			18
<u>Bridge Street</u>	13		1		2	7	22	1	2	30	5		83
<u>Chapel Street</u>	12				1	6	10	0		25			54
<u>Church Street</u>	21		4	1	1	15	22		1	53	2		120
<u>Dee Villa</u>						1	1			4			6
<u>Dickens Square</u>	10			1		1	2			16			30
<u>Fedw Cottage</u>									1				1
<u>Haigh Street</u>	39			3		6	8		1	42	2	3	104
<u>London Road</u>	27		2	6	1	6	11	3	2	74	4		136
<u>Market Street</u>	6		6			6	23		2	23	5		71
<u>Mill Road</u>	2						2			5			9
<u>New Square</u>	19					1	1			31	1		53
<u>old sqaure</u>	1			2		1	1			12		1	18
<u>Oswestry Road</u>	2			2		3	3	1		14			25
<u>Smithy Lane</u>	3						1			4		1	9
<u>Square</u>	4						1					3	8
<u>Square</u>			1							4			5
<u>Uria</u>	1					1	1			3			6
<u>Wall Yard</u>	1					3		1		5			10
<u>Walton House</u>							2		1	4			7
<b>Totals</b>	<b>170</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>16</b>	<b>15</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>57</b>	<b>116</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>366</b>	<b>19</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>792</b>

Fig.1. Census Data for Llangollen Urban Area taken from census enumerators books, 1851. Available at [findmypast.co.uk](http://findmypast.co.uk)

<u>1871</u>	<u>Manufacture</u>	<u>Industrial</u>	<u>Building</u>	<u>labourer</u>	<u>agricultural</u>	<u>Dealers</u>	<u>Domestic</u>	<u>Transport</u>	<u>Prop owner/ Independent</u>	<u>Retiree/No Occupation/ Children</u>	<u>Professional</u>	<u>Paupers</u>	<u>Total</u>
<u>Abbey Street</u>	1		2	2		5	3	2	3	16			34
<u>Abbey Street Square</u>	4		1	1		1	1			4			12
<u>Berwyn Street</u>				1	1		3			10	3		18
<u>Birch Hill</u>	4			2	6					29	2		43
<u>Bridge Street</u>	8	1	3		1	20	25			68	7		133
<u>Brook Side</u>			1	1			1			12	1		16
<u>Brook Street</u>	13		3	11	5	15	7		1	56		3	114
<u>Brook Street Cottage</u>	3									3			6
<u>Brook Street Gate</u>	2				1		1			1			5
<u>Castle Street</u>	11					17	19			34			81
<u>Chapel Street</u>	11		1	1	1	7	14	1		45	3	1	85
<u>Church Street</u>	55	2	12	10	2	21	18		1	149	4		274
<u>Cross Lane</u>	2		4	1			1			13			21
<u>Dee Mill (Place, Lane and Villa)</u>	24		1	1			5			71	3		105
<u>Green Lane</u>	6			1	1	2	2	1		22	1*		35
<u>Market Street</u>													0
<u>Mill Street</u>	3			1		4	3			6	1		18
<u>Mill Street Square</u>	6			4		1	2		1	14	2	5	35
<u>Oak Street</u>	5		1			3	3			16	2		30
<u>Price Square</u>	9		8	1						32			50
<u>Queen Street</u>	1		2	7		4	7		3	85	4		113
<u>Regent Street</u>	3			2		5	6		1	32	4		53
<u>Rockside House</u>										3	3		6
<u>The Woodlands</u>							3		1	6			10
<u>Trevor square</u>	8			2		2	2			33			47
<u>Totals</u>	179	3	39	49	18	107	126	4	11	760	39	9	1344

Fig.2. Census Data for Llangollen Urban Area taken from census enumerators books, 1871. Available at [findmypast.co.uk](http://findmypast.co.uk)

1891	Manufacture	Industrial	Building	labourer	agricultural	Dealers	Domestic	Transport	Prop owner/ Independent	Retiree/No Occupation/ Children	Professional	Paupers	Total
Abbey Road	5					5	14		12	21	8		65
Berwyn Street	19		7	1	1	8	14		3	79	5		137
Birch Hill	1		2		2	5	11		5	41	7		74
Bridge Street	11			1		18	33			36	11		110
Brook Street Square	4			3	1	4	1	1	1	17		1	33
Brook Street	3		1			1	1	1		8			15
Brook Side	5			1		1				10			17
Castle street	16		1			34	21		1	51	3	1	128
Chapel Street Square	4			1			3	3	1	16	1		29
Chapel Street	9			1		7	4		1	30	2		54
Church Street*	54	3	11	18	2	24	28	3		144	2		289
Crescent Road/Cambrian terrace	3		1			3	2		5	8	5		27
Cross Lane	4	3	4	2			3	1		22			39
Dee Mill (Place and Lane and Villa)	16		2	1	3	2	2			41	3		70
East Street						1				1	2		4
George Street	4					1			1	8	3		17
Green Lane	1					2	9	2	2	10	2		28
Greenfield terrace	8	1				2	2			24	3		40
Hall Street	14		6	2		6	5		2	46			81
John Street	15		2	3	1	2	9	1	2	38	9		82
Market Street	6		4			3	2		3	31	9		58
Mill Street Square	6		2			1	3			24			36
Mill Street	5		2	1	1	7	16			33	4		69
Oak Street	1					5	1	1		14	2		24
Parade Street	3						1			3			7
Princes Street	4		3	1		2	5			26	2		43
Queen Street	13		2	2	2	7	5	2	1	42	4	1	81
Regent Street	15	1	5	2	1	10	15		6	80	21		156
The Woodlands							3			1	1		5
Trevor Square				4			4		1	14			23
Unicorn Place	1						1			7			9
Walton Terrace	3						2			6			11
West Bourne Terrace, Market Street	1		3			1	4		2	7	4		22
West Street	4		4			11	5		1	42	7		74
White Lion Inn/Square	1				1	2	1						5
Totals	259	8	62	44	15	175	230	15	50	981	120	3	1959

Fig.3.

Census Data for Llangollen Urban Area taken from census enumerators books, 1891. Available at [findmypast.co.uk](http://findmypast.co.uk)

\*Church Street (Inc Benjamin Square; Church Street Court; Price Square and Court.

**\*Image Removed for Copyright Reasons\***

Fig. 3. Tithe map of Llangollen 1838-1845, Denbighshire Archives, DRO/1705. (Cadw: Llangollen: Understanding Urban Character)



<b>Year</b>	<b>Total Houses</b>
1831	879
1841	1062
1851	1207
1881	1311
1891	1316

Fig.4. Llangollen housing growth AP/CP Level.

**\*Image Removed for Copyright Reasons\***

Figure. 5. Map of Llangollen Urban Area, 1875

**\*Image Removed for Copyright Reasons\***

Figure. 6. Llangollen Urban Area, 1899

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