

1: The Lordship of Gower, showing the mills referred to in the gazetteer

THE WATERMILLS OF THE LORDSHIP OF GOWER

Bryan S. Taylor

Introduction

The first part of this subject appeared in *Melin* 7 (1991) as a description of the mills of the peninsula of west Gower. The present paper continues the theme, describing the use of water power in the northern portion of the Lordship (figure 1). The region under consideration was defined by the Norman Marcher Lords in the twelfth century; its boundaries have endured to our time, at present they define the parliamentary division and have recently been adopted as those of the new Unitary Authority of Swansea.

The character of the landscape changes north of Swansea. The limestone peninsula gives way to the rolling hills of the Coal Measures where the ground is impervious and rivers and streams flow in abundance. Settlement patterns change, many influenced by the industrialisation of the nineteenth century. The pattern of agriculture also changes as one progresses north into the hills: arable decreases, oats being the dominant corn crop, parishes are larger, communities become scattered and more dependent on pastoral farming.

Water power was to play a vital role in the process of eighteenth and nineteenth century industrialisation, although the traditional corn mill quickly became an anachronism where populations expanded rapidly, turning villages into small towns.

An outline of the mills

Note: sites are described from south to north, up the Tawe valley, but from 'the headwater downstream' on all rivers after the Tawe.

1. BLACK PILL (SS 618 907)

Mentioned in the Alienations of De Breos, 1319, as the water mill at 'Blakepulle' and in an inquisition post mortem on the Earl of Warwick of 15th December 1369, as 'Blakepolle', a mill valued at 20 shillings, obviously a valuable property.²

Cromwell's survey of the Manor of Oystermouth of 1650 named David Rosser 'holding a water grist mill called Blacke Pill mill, lying near to the seaside, val. XII Li [£12] per annum'. Compared with others in this survey (e.g. Loughor, £4), this was a rich mill.

It remained a manorial mill and in 1803 appeared on the Duke of Beaufort's estate map, occupied by Robert Grove. The Morgan family held the mill from the mid-nineteenth century. The site is currently occupied by a restaurant, although parts of the leat can still be found.

2. CLYNE VALLEY and 3. VELIN NEWYDD (SS 609 923)

Rees records two mills in Clyne, pre-1400, one being a church mill.⁴ In 1332 St David's Hospital was given the profits of a watermill in Esketti (Sketty).⁵

A 'new' mill appears in Cromwell's 1650 survey: 'the heiress of Mr Doddington for New Mill, Swanzay parish - 8d'. 6

There are numerous references in 'The Cambrian' to New Mill: in 1833, death by drowning of Abraham Davies; in January 1853, a report of a fire at Sketty mill, occupied by James Davies, 'the whole mill together with much corn and flour was destroyed. The mill was not insured. The origin of the fire was . . . the overheating of the kiln'; in 1859, New Mill was for sale, 'the mill which has been recently built, all . . . machinery in excellent order, well supplied with water.' In 1863 the mill was again offered for sale.

4. UPPER MILL and 5. LOWER MILL, BRYNMILL (SS 633 925)

In the Ministers' Accounts for 1399; the mill was said to be worth £6 13s 4d per annum. In 1427 a fulling mill was built, on a 20 year lease, by Ieuan ap Dafydd and in 1445, a character called Jac Du was leased a plot on the sea shore for 20 years to build a fulling mill at his own expense, with timber supplied by the Lord. Both mills were apparently functioning in 1449.

Cromwell's survey of 1650 recorded 'three water grist mills adjoineing the town of Swansea, called Brynmills'; however, it is most likely that two were at Brynmill and Swansea's other mill was north of the town (see site no.9, Grenemill).

Eighteenth century maps showed the mills near the shore of the bay. They remained the Lord's mills, recorded in the estate papers of the Duke of Beaufort in 1803.

According to 'The Cambrian', by 1818 they were for sale but out of repair. By 1824 they were restored and offered to let by the new owner, John Vivian the copper magnate (in whose park the mills stood), but in 1839 the machinery was auctioned and Upper Mill housed park staff until it was demolished in the 1960s. A single 4ft diameter runner stone of sandstone remains on the upper site.

Swansea's mills

Early Ministers' Accounts mention various mills around the castle and town: three corn mills, a malt mill and four fulling mills. The mills were idle in 1400 for lack of a 'farmer', i.e. a qualified miller. In the following years all were destroyed in Owen Glyndwr's uprising. The fulling mills were rebuilt and four were paying rent of 3s 4d per annum in 1449.8

Steam mills

The mid-nineteenth century saw great changes in milling. Cheap imported corn and construction of steam mills at the ports, such as Swansea, combined to satisfy the needs of the rapidly expanding industrial towns and villages.

6. WALTERS' MILL (SS 657 929)

At 62 Wind Street, David Walters operated a steam flour mill from around 1816. When he died in 1865, the mill was put up for sale and described as having five floors, with a powerful engine driving six pairs of stones. The mill continued working until the end of the century.

7. OXFORD STREET MILL (SS 653 930)

This mill was operating well before 1852, when it was put up for sale. It had two pairs of French stones but had been completely refurbished 'with modern machinery'. In 1859 it was again for sale and later all the machinery was auctioned. The site is now occupied by Woolworth's store.

8. WEAVER'S FLOUR MILLS

Erected in 1898, this was a huge dockside complex which could produce 30 sacks of flour an hour. Its efficiency brought about the closure of the other small steam mills, and indeed it hastened the demise of water mills throughout the region. It was one of the first multi-storeyed ferro-concrete buildings in Britain and worked until 1963.

9. GRENEMILL or GREENHILL MILL (SS 659 939)

This mill was possibly one of three of the original Swansea town mills. In 1400 the Ministers' Accounts describes the cost of rebuilding two of them:

'the stipend of one carpenter for sixteen days making afresh two water wheels . . . by the day 4d - 5s 3d. And in 29 boards of oak brought for same work, 3s 2d . . . And in bordnaill bought for same work, 12d . . . And in repairing the broken spindle of the same mill with iron . . .12d.'9

The total cost amounted to 23s 6d.

The account may refer to this site, or to the next (site no.10), or to both. The 1449 Ministers' Accounts record that the most valuable items were the three corn mills, let for £9 6s 8d, one being 'Grenehill mill'. Later, the name 'Greenhill' appears in the Beaufort estate papers in a lease of 1736 and a map of 1803. It later became known as a flint mill, grinding silica for the famous Cambrian Pottery, adjacent on the riverbank. It was put up for sale in 1851 but the 1879 Ordnance Survey map shows an empty site.

10. POTTERY or HAFOD MILL (SS 659 938) (This also is a possible site for one of Swansea's early manorial mills.)

A map of the Tawe by B. Jones dated 1771, shows this mill on the north shore of the Bwrlais brook, next to the 'pothouse' (i.e. pottery). Later maps relating to the construction of the new dock (e.g. 1827 Thomas Telford) all show this mill and record it as 'Pottery Mill', located as it was next to the famous Cambrian Pottery. 11 Later estate documents of the Earl of Jersey refer to it as 'Hafod Mill'. It also featured in an eighteenth century engraving by Thomas Rothwell and in a splendid panoramic drawing by Paul Padley of 1795. The mill was advertised in 1814 as 'Havod Mill', and again in 1843: 'in excellent repair . . . working four pairs of stones'. 12 William Padley, the miller from 1838, was given a new lease in 1855 to build a steam flour-mill, which he worked successfully until he died in 1858. His son took over but the following year was killed when he fell into the machinery. Repeated attempts to sell the mill failed and the site was cleared, as the 1879 Ordnance Survey map shows.

11. CWMBWRLA (SS 650 947)

There is little evidence of this site which was referred to by Rogers as 'Penllwyn Roberts grist mill'. In the 1641 survey by Charles I, 14 it was stated that:

'Roger Seys about two years past had turned the water course between Gwayn Evan and Kae Meridith, being part and parcel of the said customary lands out of its ancient course to serve his grist mill in the parish of St Johns'.

This could well have been the site of Cwmbwrla mill.

12. BRYNHYFRYD (SS 656 959)

The site of this mill appears on a Beaufort estate map of 1761 as 'an old mill'. It was known as 'Kergynidd Mill' and shared the waters of the Nant Rhyd y Filais with the first copper works and Melin Fach (site no.13). In a survey of 1764, 15 the manor boundaries are described as passing 'near the water grist mill of William Hurst and Richard Calvert Jones . . . now fallen down and in ruins'. It was finally demolished in 1802. However, the water system between this site and the Tawe, less than a mile long, was to be the source of intense industrial activity (see site no.13a).

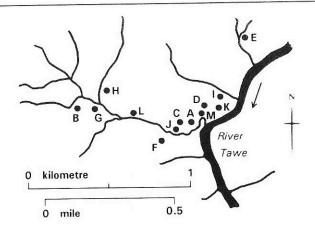
13. MELIN VACH, TREWYDDFA (SS 661 959)

The manorial mill of the Fee of Trewyddfa Manor of Pennarth, was located by Rees as being a pre-1415 mill. The survey of 1650 stated that 'Thomas Johnes, Gent houldth one myll called Mellin Vach and payeth yearly . . . iii Lvs'. The survey also warned that tenants and resiants should grind their corn in the Lord's mill and names three individuals who were heavily fined, 35s each, for not grinding corn at Melin Vach.

In 1803 the mill was recorded on a Beaufort estate map as 'Glanydwr Mill'; it was, however, burnt down in 1822. The site's water system continued to be used by industry in the nineteenth century by the Glamorganshire and Calland's potteries.

13a. Landore: water power

This small area is an example of nineteenth century industrialisation (figure 2). Water wheels powered forges, colliery winding engines and pumps, and various mills were grinding minerals.¹⁷



Key:

- A. Melin Vach cornmill, 1400 1822 (site no. 13 in main gazetteer).
- B. Kergynidd cornmill, 17th century 1802 (site no. 12 in main gazetteer).
- C. Llangyfelach Copper, Lead and Silver Works, 1717 1746. A water wheel drove the furnace bellows.
- D. Landore coal pit, 1754. A water wheel provided power for pumping and winding, the latter to 1803. After 1814 the wheel was used by Glamorgan Pottery flint mill.
- E. Plas y Marl coal pit, 1775. A water wheel for winding, fed by a long leat.
- F. Calland's coal pit, 1762. Water powered winder.
- G. Chaffmill, 1768.
- H. Cwm Pit. Water powered winder.
- I. Landore Copper Works, 1793 1876.
- J. Water wheels of the Nant Rhyd y Filais furnace and, later, Millbrook Ironworks had an 18ft diameter wheel, circa 1793, driving the tilt hammers from 1846 to 1897. The ironworks had a 10ft wheel from 1814 until 1896.
- K. Glamorgan Pottery, 1814 1841.
- L. Furze mill, circa 1813.
- M. Callans's Landore Pottery, 1848 1856. The pug mill was used by the Landore Arsenic Works, 1863 1896.
- 2: Water power in the Landore area. The map shows the variety of sites developed in the valley utilising the waters of the Nant Rhyd y Filais, particularly during the industrial revolution. The list of sites is largely derived from Stephen Hughes' work.

14. FELIN FRAN (SS 694 986)

Identified by Rees as a pre-fifteenth century mill site. Cromwell's survey of 1650 stated that 'Thomas Jones holds two water grist mills, the one called Braine's mill', (the other being Melin Vach) and names William Thomas at Brane's mill or Melin Vraen, valued at £6 per annum. By 1844 the mill had disappeared; the tithe apportionment records a farm, Velin Vran.

15. MELIN NEWYDD (SS 683 974)

Rees identifies this as a pre-fifteenth century mill. It was probably rebuilt by Bussy Mansel on the original site in 1680, according to the survey of 1686, which also complained that he 'turned out of their ancient course saving the water near the church of Llansamlet which has been diverted'. Leases for the eighteenth century make no mention of a mill and by the nineteenth century the area was industrialised.

16. UPPER FOREST or FOREST MILL (SS 676 984)

In 1792 Forest Mill, an established site, appeared on a plan relating to the new canal. No doubt it was a substantial mill because it was fed from a weir on the river Tawe, no mean undertaking. It was put up for sale in 1807 and 1824 as 'Upper Forest' and was assessed for a tithe of £4 in 1844. All its machinery was auctioned in 1845, revealing that it had three pairs of stones (one French). The leat was then extended to feed a large pond supplying the newly built Upper Forest tinplate works. The weir across the Tawe was removed in the 1970s.

17. YNYSTAWE MILL (SN 683 003)

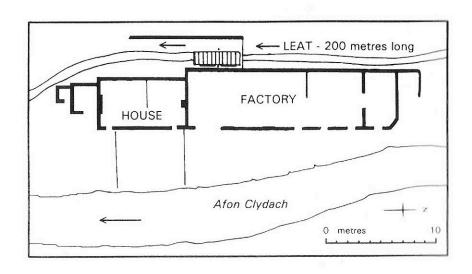
The mill was built about 1810 by Edward Martin between the canal and the river to meet the needs of the rapidly expanding villages. Water was taken from the canal for which the mill was charged £5 per annum. In 1823 it was sold for £2500, and worked until 1852 when it closed. It was recorded on the 1870 Ordnance Survey map as 'Flour Mill, disused'.

18. MELIN Y CWM (SN 683 062)

This mill was located high in the valley of the Upper Clydach river, on part of Lord Jersey's estate. A lease of 1809, recorded in the accounts, was given to Thomas Walters at a rent of £9 per annum, timber valued at £53 and three trees to be planted annually. The tithe apportionment of 1843 records the mill occupied by John Walters, with 46 acres. The 1879 Ordnance Survey map shows the mill intact but marked as disused.

19. WOOLLEN FACTORY, CWM CLYDACH (SN 685 058)

A commercial woollen mill built early in the nineteenth century, operated by Morgan Rees in 1843, it worked up to the first world war. The considerable remains of this mill, with integral mill-house and 43 acres, reveal much of small family enterprises that were precursors of the larger factories (figure 3). There are remains of the 12ft wheel, with an inner toothed ring which meshed with a pinion on a shaft for driving the looms and other machinery.



3: Cwm Clydach woollen factory (site no. 19)

20. Clydach mills 22

20a. FORGE UCHAF (SS 688 012)

In 1755, the Lord permitted Thomas Lewis to erect a weir one foot high to provide water power for a forge, one of the earliest iron works in the area. It operated until 1864.

20b. GELLYVELIN FACTORY (SN 688 015)

This was situated a mile downstream above Forge Fach. Built midnineteenth century, it was a large woollen factory, worked by the Bowen family and closing around 1914. The building remained into the 1930s.

20c. Rees places a manorial mill (i.e. fifteenth century) at Clydach. In a Ministers Account for 1401/2 the seneschal recorded that a millstone was bought for 'the mill of Cleudauch worth 30s'. Oliver Cromwell's survey of Gower in 1650 noted that David Evans held a water grist mill called Clydach, rent £4. FORGE FACH is a possible site of this mill (see site no.20g).

20d. CLYDACH STEAM FLOUR MILL was advertised in 'The Cambrian' in July 1860, with one pair of stones; it was operated by Walter Bowen.

20e. CLYDACH SAWMILL (SN 688 011)

Built in 1899 on the canal bank, it was fed by a leat from Forge Fach's weir.

20f. CLYDACH FOUNDRY, built by Strick, was said to have used water power.²³

20g. YNYS PENLLWCH, on the bank of the Tawe, was one of the earliest iron foundries. It was established in 1647, probably on the site of a corn mill, and fed by a weir on the Tawe. The mill was owned by John ap Griffiths ap Howell who paid a rent of 12d to the Lord in 1449. This may well have been the site of Clydach's

medieval mill which appears on Yates' map of 1799. The site continued as a tinplate mill until 1897.

21. RHYD Y FRO (SN 713 059)

A small rural mill on the Upper Clydach named on Yates' map of 1799 as 'Velyn ycha'. In 1838, the tithe apportionment stated that it was occupied by Richard Rees, with 23 acres. Later William Evans operated the mill, which had one pair of stones. In 1891 he moved to Melin Mynach and production probably ceased then. The mill has been rebuilt as a private dwelling.

22. MELIN GELLI-GRON (SN 714 053)

In 1844 this mill was occupied by Joseph Rees. A long leat fed a pond built into the hillside, about 16ft above the mill, feeding a 12ft diameter wheel, no doubt overshot. Present ruins of the deep wheelpit and low walls give the impression of a well-built mill. The trade directories of 1854 to 1869 name the miller as David Morgan. The building was still recorded on the 6in Ordnance Survey map of 1914.

23. PONTARDAWE MILL (SN 718 044)

There is no trace of the site, but in 1859, 1865, 1875 and 1889 Walter Bowen was the miller. *'The Cambrian'* of 22 September 1865 reported that while driving home on his cart he was assaulted by two men, who were subsequently fined 30s.

24. MELIN YNYS MYDW (SN 742 058)

Evidence of a lease dated March 1693, by Bussy Mansel, shows this to be an early mill. Known as 'Ynis Meidw', it was sold in 1828 to Edward Thomas and occupied by Rhys Davies. The tithe map records a mill in 1838, occupied by Griffith Griffiths, but the 1/2500 Ordnance Survey map of 1870 shows a mill on the opposite bank of the stream. It appears that the pottery, on the original mill site, probably operated a pug-mill (from 1844 to 1877) on the opposite bank, which used water supplied by the canal. The shows this to be an early mill site, probably operated a pug-mill (from 1844 to 1877) on the opposite bank, which used water supplied by the canal.

25. Y BRACTY, CYNGHORDY (SN 664 028)

This was a nineteenth century malt mill that supplied numerous breweries in Swansea with barley pulp or malting grist. There is evidence of a large drying kiln.

26. FELIN WEN (SN 664 010)

Recorded on Kitchen's map of 1750, this mill was leased to David Thomas in 1756 at a rent of £4 10s. In 1821 the mill was sold with 21 acres. It was said to be working for ten months of the year in 1860, with a miller named Bowen, who was still working in 1891 according to the census.

27. LLANGYFELACH MILL (?SS 642 993)

A medieval site, recorded by Rees as a pre-1400 church mill. In 1326, it was recorded by the Bishop's clerk: 'And the Lord has in this place a watermill, value pa. 4 marks payable yearly'. Nothing further is known of the site and it may possibly have been destroyed during the Glyndwr revolt of 1400 - 1407.

28. CUCKOO MILL, MELIN Y GELYNEN (SS 638 998)

Rees records this site as pre-1415, possibly a fulling mill. The Bishop's accounts for 1326 refer to a mill owned by Iorwerth ap Payne who paid 2d for a water supply.²⁹ It also appears on the 1799 map by Yates. The tithe survey of 1843 records that David Charles held the mill and farmed 51 acres.

29. MELIN LLAN (SS 625 995)

Rees refers to this as a fourteenth century mill, owned by the Bishop of St David's. In 1843 the tithe survey gives the occupier as William Davies of the tucking mill. In 1852 William Lewis was here as the dyer when he bought Melin Mynach.

30. CADLE MILL (SS 624 971)

Recorded on Yates' 1799 map, a well-established mill by the nineteenth century. Walter Bowen was miller in 1843, when a gleaner was caught in the gears and lost a leg. Two years later a boy

fell in the waterwheel and was killed. The Bowens continued as millers to the end of the century.

31. BRYNAU DUON PAPER MILL (SS 619 969)

Established as a paper mill in 1760 and recorded as such on Yates' map of 1799. The mill was bought in 1822, on the bankruptcy of Wm. Spencer, by J. Grove who sold it in 1823. J. West took over but went into debt by 1833. The site was recorded as a papermill in 1843 but the 1870 Ordnance Survey map makes no mention of a mill.

32. TRAFLE MILL, GOWERTON (SS 590 967)

A deed of 1686 relating to this site bears the name of Hopkin Rowland, followed by others of 1690, 1703, 1751, 30 and in 1778 the mill was sold to Gabriel Powell. 11 In 1806 it was put up for sale,

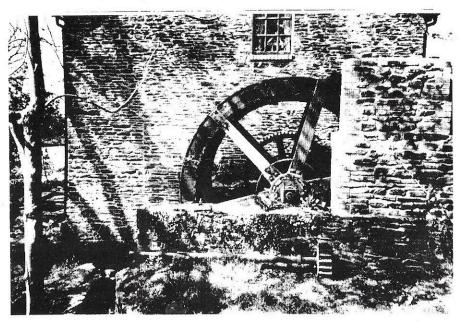


4: Felindre Mill (site no. 33) (Photo: B A Malaws, May 1996)

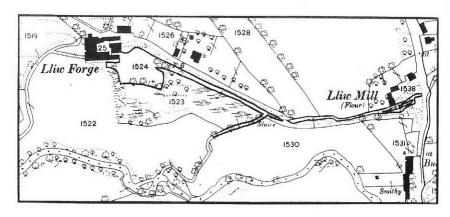
refurbished with new machinery and two pairs of stones. In 1827 the Thomas family were millers, remaining until 1851, when the Griffiths family took over until the mill closed in the 1880s. It was demolished in 1939.

33. FELINDRE (SN 637 027)

Probably an eighteenth century mill, it was advertised in 1826 as a mill with tenants who were 'bound by their lease' to grind at Velindre. In the 1843 tithe survey, David Thomas was miller, but in about 1854 Griffith Phillips took a lease and in 1866 gave evidence to a Board of Health inquiry relating to the water supply. His answers reveal much of the times. The rent was £40 per annum, but the property also included a pub, a cottage, the millhouse, a blacksmith's shop, brew house, stable, cow house and another for lumber. A lean grind would produce 3 bushels an hour. The mill worked commercially until the 1960s. It fell into disrepair but is currently being renovated (figure 4).



5: The wheel at Melin Pont Lliw (site no.34) (Photo: B A Malaws)



6: Lliw Mills (site nos. 34 & 35) as depicted on the 25in Ordnance Survey map of 1879. Plot 1523 was later part of the new pond.

34. MELIN PONT LLIW (SN 609 008)

Cromwell's survey of 1650 named 'Melin Llyw', held by William Penry, probably an early seventeenth century mill. It appeared on Kitchen's map of 1750 and Yates' map of 1799. Griffith Phillips held the mill at the tithe survey in 1840, but he later moved to Felindre and his son took over. In the 1860 Board of Health inquiry he described how he rebuilt Pont Lliw, around 1835, with a pinion drive from a 12ft diameter wheel, driving two pairs of stones. The wheel survives to this day (figure 5).

35. LLIW FORGE (SN 606 008)

This water-powered forge was built around 1740. Its water supply was taken from the Lliw mill tailrace (figure 6), and was well established by 1880 when the White family took over. They developed the trade, manufacturing tools and materials for the tinplate works in the area and also exported worldwide. An enlarged pond supplied two water-powered tilt-hammers and a water turbine drove the lathes and drilling machines. The forge ceased work in about 1918 but remained intact until 1941 when the last White died and it was sold off, much for scrap.

36. MELIN MYNACH (SS 593 987)

The mill was founded in 1150 by Cistercian monks from Neath Abbey; its leat is 1½ miles long and said to be the second longest in Wales. In 1578 the miller was fined for rioting and in 1722 the mill was converted to produce paper as well as grind corn. The owner tried to sell in 1843, 'the machinery are in quite good order and may be adapted for a rolling mill.³⁵ The mill lay idle for several years until Wm. Lewis bought it, moving in by 1866. In 1874 he constructed a large woollen mill adjacent to the old mill. All production had ceased by 1888 as Lewis was by then a tinplate manufacturer.

37. MELIN LLWCHWR (SS 591 980)

Cromwell's survey of 1650 named Maysod Price as the tenant, paying a rent of £4 per annum to the Earl of Worcester. In 1746, Gertrude Mackworth was taken to the Court Leet for not scouring the water course leading to Thomas Selman's mill. It was put up for sale in 1852 and the advertisement stated that £1000 had been spent on the mill. The Davies family held the mill until 1890, when Wm. Evans from Rhyd y Fro took over. He installed a generator in 1912 and could operate four pairs of stones. His grandson, Elvet Davies, was the last miller and worked the mill until it was burnt down in 1945. The mill house still stands and there are traces of the original leat. The mill house still stands and

38. UPPER MILL, PONTARDULAIS (SN 602 038)

The tithe survey of 1840 named Daniel Phillips as the miller, tithe 3s. In 1849 he held a sale and shortly afterwards Henry Edwards became miller, remaining so to the end of the century.

39. Pontardulais woollen mills:

39a. PANDY (SN 598 038), a small family tucking mill. In 1840 the tithe survey named Morgan Davies as the weaver.

39b. UPPER FACTORY (SN 596 039), a family factory worked by Evan Griffiths in 1840. It was not water powered.

39c. LOWER FACTORY (SN 588 039), water powered, owned by Catherine Morris in 1840.

39d. LLWYNGWRTAWEL MILL, a small mill operated by John Bowen in 1840.

40. VELIN ISHA, PONTARDULAIS (SN 588 039)

The lower mill of the village, in 1778 it was in the hands of Thomas John at a rent of £2 per annum. The estate tried to auction the property in 1818 when John was still the tenant. A later owner, J. James, made an agreement in 1834 with a Thomas Jones to rebuild the mill. By 1869 a chemical works was built on the site and this developed into the Felinisha Chemical Company.

41. FELIN GARNSWLLT (SN 627 099)

A rural flour mill on the bank of the Cathan, behind where the Post Office now stands. Little trace of the mill remains.

42. FELIN NOYADD (SN 693 133)

In a survey of 1610, a Court Baron was held at Noyadd Wen: 'the Lord hath there upon his demesne lands belonging to the said Noyadd Wen, one water corn or grist mill'.³⁹ This mill was built close to the hall, on the small Garnant stream and worked for many years; however, by the time of the tithe survey it was idle and probably in ruins. By 1870 a rebuilt flour mill stood on the old leat, supplying the new coalfield villages. In 1889 David Morgan was the miller.

Acknowledgements

My sincere thanks to the following: Mr Ioan Richard, Mr S. R. Hughes, Mr Michael Gibbs, Mrs Bernice Cardy, library staff at the West Glamorgan Records Office, city libraries and University College of Swansea.

References

- 1. Jones, W.H., History of Swansea and the Lordship of Gower Vol 1, (1920), p.326
- 2. Jones, W.H., History of Swansea and the Lordship of Gower Vol 2, (1922), p.25
- 3. Baker & Francis, Survey of Gower, (1870), p.59
- 4. Rees, W., South Wales and the March 1284-1415, Ordnance Survey map
- 5. Jones, as note 1, p.323
- 6. Baker & Francis, as note 3, p.9
- 7. Robinson, W.R.B., 'Analysis of Ministers' Accounts for 1449', Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies, XXII (1967), p.174
- 8. Robinson, as note 7, p.174
- 9. Jones, as note 2, p.30
- 10. Robinson, as note 7, p.174
- 11. Jones, W.H., History of the Port of Swansea, (1922), maps 7, 8 & 9
- 12. The Cambrian, 23 September 1843
- 13. Rogers, Pictorial History of Swansea, p.108
- 14. Baker & Francis, as note 3, pp.299-300
- 15. Gabriel Powell, Survey of Gower, (1764). University College of Swansea
- 16. Rees, as note 4
- 17. Hughes, S.R., 'Landore: a study of the use of water power during the industrial revolution', *Melin* 3, (1987)
- 18. Baker & Francis, as note 3, p.366
- 19. Jones, as note 11, map 3
- 20. Hughes, S.R., 'Swansea Canal: navigation and power supplier', *Industrial Archaeological Review IV*, (1979-80), p.51
- 21. Briton Ferry Papers, B.F.147. West Glamorgan Records Office (WGRO)
- 22. Davies, J.C., 'Clydach', Gower XXXIII, p.40
- 23. Jones, as note 11, map 3
- 24. Briton Ferry Papers, Jersey Estate, B.F.1396. WGRO
- 25. Jones, as note 11, map 3
- 26. Briton Ferry Papers, B.F.147. WGRO
- 27. The Cambrian, report on the Board of Health inquiry into the water supply to local mills prior to the construction of the Lliw Reservoir
- 28. Willis Bund, J.W. (ed), Black Book of St Davids, 1326, (1902), pp.284-5
- 29. Willis Bund, as note 28
- 30. Title deed, Rev. T. Powell, 1810. Powys County Archives
- 31. Penllergaer Papers. National Library of Wales
- 32. The Cambrian, 11 May 1860
- 33. Baker & Francis, as note 3, p.11
- 34. The Cambrian, as note 27
- 35. The Cambrian, 4 February 1843
- 36. The Cambrian, 4 February 1843
- 37. Interview with Elvet Davies by Michael Gibbs
- 38. Life Book, Jersey Estate Papers, B.F.146
- 39. Baker & Francis, as note 3, p.183