The Development
of the
Welsh Country House:

'*dy lŷs enaid y wlad*/your court, the soul of the land*'

Aberbechan, near Newtown, Powys by John Ingleby, 1796. A house celebrated in bardic poetry for architectural achievements. NLW/PD9162

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Summary

This thesis focuses on two main themes in the architectural history of the country house in Wales, investigating firstly its development, and secondly some of the distinctively Welsh features of these houses. It argues that both themes have been marginal in recent historiography of Welsh architecture, culture and society. In this work, houses owned by families of Welsh descent are discussed to ascertain whether ethnicity and nationhood are actually identifiable in the architecture. Critical analysis of built fabric is supplemented and supported by primary sources such as the poetry of the bards, building accounts and records, architectural drawings, travel journals, photographs, works of art and a variety of secondary sources.

In this thesis, it becomes apparent that one of the most distinctive features of country houses in Wales is the unit-system. This form of dual planning is a peculiarly Welsh feature, enabling two 'households' to co-exist simultaneously, adjacent to each other but not necessarily physically connected. Such forms of building are absent from most regions of England, and its presence here is due to differences in the development of the Welsh family. The existence of a different legal system and associated customs in Wales, such as the prominence of *gavelkind* and female inheritance, are thus expressed in physical form. This practice has set a precedent for design and planning which has influenced a distinctly Welsh country house plan, based not only upon the need to accommodate several family members but also on a desire to preserve the domestic property of their ancestors as a physical manifestation of precedency, pedigree and memory. This elevation of genealogy is a defining feature among Welsh gentry families, who distinguished themselves not by wealth but by blood, which in England became reversed. The development of the Welsh country house offered an alternative form of nationalism, which was multifaceted in nature, and formed an essential element of architectural history in Wales.

DECLARATION

This work has not been submitted in substance for any other degree or award at this or any other university or place of learning, nor is being submitted concurrently in candidature for any degree or other award.

Signed ………………………………………… (candidate)   Date …………………………

STATEMENT 1

This thesis is being submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of PhD.

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This thesis is the result of my own independent work/investigation, except where otherwise stated. Other sources are acknowledged by explicit references. The views expressed are my own.

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List of Abbreviations

AH	*Architectural History*
AJ	*The Archaeological Journal*
BL	British Library
DRO	Denbighshire Record Office
FRO	Flintshire Record Office
GA	Gwynedd Archives
JPLHS	*The Pembrokeshire Historian: Journal of the Pembrokeshire Local History Society*
JSB	*Journal of British Studies*
NLW	National Library of Wales
NLWJ	National Library of Wales Journal
OJA	*Oxford Journal of Archaeology*
PRO	Powys Record Office
RCAHMW	Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Wales
RIBA	Royal Institute of British Architects
SCOLAR	Special Collections and Archives, Cardiff University
SWMRS	*South Wales and Monmouth Record Society*
TAMS	*Transactions of the Ancient Monuments Society*
THSC	*Transactions of the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion*
TRHS	*Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*
VA	*Vernacular Architecture*

The Development of the Welsh Country House:
dy lŷs enaid y wlad/your court, the soul of the land[1]

Chapter 1: Introduction

The Aim and Scope of the Thesis

This thesis focuses on the domestic architecture of *yr uchelwyr* or the Welsh gentry. *Yr uchelwyr* were the families of 'gentle birth' in the medieval and early modern periods, who became the landowners of succeeding centuries. It is difficult to define the term 'gentry' accurately for, in Wales, greater emphasis was placed upon pedigree and genealogy as opposed to material wealth. This is apparent when comparing Wales with England, where material wealth was often taken to be the usual yardstick of a family's status. Therefore, 'it is totally misleading to define gentility merely in economic terms.'[2] The predilection for *yr uchelwyr* to take on governmental and court positions further bolstered the rise of a native gentry class from within the indigenous population.[3] This thesis aims to examine the development of the country house in Wales between 1600 and 1900, and to identify the cultural role that it played within Wales. It aims to analyse whether the country house is distinct from its counterparts elsewhere in Great Britain, and if so how. The thesis will assess the transition of architectural practice from a craft vocation to a nascent profession, and question whether the form and layout of the Welsh gentry houses of the early modern period influenced the architecture of the post-1750 country house. It will explore whether Iorwerth Peate's usage of the term 'anglicisation' is appropriate for explaining the changes affecting the practices of the Welsh gentry or *uchelwriaeth* in Wales across the period.[4] The thesis will

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[1] This phrase is used twice by Huw Pennant (c.1565-1619), firstly in 'Owdl Foliant i Robert Wynn ap Elizau Brynkir o Frynkyr Esq.', *The Cefn Coch MSS.*, J. Fisher (ed.), p. 302 and secondly, 'Cowydd i ofyn tarw i Sᵣ Tomas Mostyn', *The Cefn Coch MSS.*, J. Fisher (ed.), p. 205.

[2] J.G. Jones, *Class, Community, and Culture in Tudor Wales* (Cardiff, 1989), p. 128.

[3] M.J. Braddick, *State Formation in Early Modern England, c.1550-1700* (Cambridge, 2000), pp. 248-9.

[4] Ibid., p.3.; A.O.H. Jarman, 'Wales a part of England, 1485-1800', in *The Historical Basis of Welsh Nationalism* (Cardiff, 1950), pp. 79-98; D. Williams, *A History of Modern Wales* (London, 1977), p. 87; H.

address such questions as why Welsh mansions have received very little recognition when compared to their English and Scottish counterparts. As Vaughan and Rogers have expressed in 1926 and 1988 respectively, 'historians have drawn cruel little red lines under the [Welsh] squires,'[5] adding that *yr uchelwyr* (translated as 'nobility' or 'gentry') was 'a class that has been both maligned and neglected' by historians in the past.[6] This thesis will also explore how country house studies have been approached in Wales, and will assess whether the statements of Rogers and Vaughan are valid.[7]

This thesis asks why, despite possessing examples of Britain's finest buildings, Wales has not been widely recognised for its historic domestic architecture? Wales's country houses have been derided for appearing to be 'English'. Does this impression result simply from a lack of critical analysis of country houses?[8] A prevailing assumption set out in 1975 by Michael Hechter states: 'by 1640, the Anglicisation of the Welsh gentry and their possessions had reached its final stages.'[9] In fact, little research has objectively analysed the architectural corpus and the families who created it.[10] The majority of interpretations that do exist have been heavily influenced by the nationalistic writings of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, which claim that Wales had no 'real architecture' except for its cottages and farmhouses.[11] It was such a viewpoint, combined with the national introduction of inheritance tax that contributed to over four hundred historically significant houses being demolished

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Kearney, *The British Isles: A History of Four Nations* (Cambridge, 1989), p. 119; C.H. Williams, 'The Anglicisation of Wales', in N. Coupland (ed.), *English in Wales* (Clevedon, 1990), pp. 19-47; G.H. Jenkins (ed.), *The Welsh Language Before the Industrial Revolution* (Cardiff, 1997), pp. 3-12.

[5] B. Rogers, in H. M. Vaughan, *South Wales Squires: A Welsh Picture of Social Life* (London, 1926; reprinted Carmarthen, 1988), p. xiii.

[6] Ibid., p. 7.

[7] M. Wynn Cato, 'Nannau and Early Portraiture in North Wales', *Journal of the Merioneth Historical and Record Society*, 11 (1990-93), p. 182.

[8] For previous criticisms of 'anglicisation' theory see G. Williams, Renewal and Reformation: Wales c.1415-1642 (Oxford, 1993), p. 227; J.G. Jones, *The Welsh Gentry, 1536-1640: Images of Status, Honour and Authority*, (Cardiff, 1998), pp. 52-54; P. Jenkins, 'Seventeenth-Century Wales: Definition and Identity', in B. Bradshaw and P. Roberts (ed.), *British Consciousness and Identity: The Making of Britain, 1533-1707* (Cambridge, 1998), pp. 213-35.

[9] M. Hechter, *Internal Colonialism: The Celtic Fringe in British National Development* (London, 1975), p. 111.

[10] 'The Gentry House in the Age of Transition', in D. Gaimster and P. Stamper (eds.), *The Age of Transition: The Archaeology of English Culture 1400-1600* (Exeter, 1997), pp. 115-26.

[11] I. Peate, *The Welsh House* (London, 1940), p. 3.

across Wales between 1900 and the late-1980s.[12] A parallel can be made with Ireland, where many families were driven out of the country and their homes destroyed during the early twentieth century.[13] In England and Scotland, there appears to have been more interest in historic domestic architecture, and continuing academic research; the rate of survival of houses and estates was greater there than in Wales.[14]

Amos Rapoport's approach as an architectural anthropologist has been critical of complacent analyses of the kind that deny the existence of an autonomous Welsh country house tradition. His analysis of domestic buildings suggests links between differing concepts of culture, presenting socio-cultural stimuli as prerequisites to house form. Indeed, he suggests that it is the sheer number of contributing factors and choices available to the owner/commissioner that affect form and layout. And, with a topic so vast as Welsh domestic architecture, Rapoport's theoretical framework synthesises well with the approach of this thesis.[15] Buildings are documents and can be read as such. Throughout this thesis, the forms of documentary evidence from writings and those from buildings are therefore used interchangeably.

'Pride of ancestry' was a phrase often quoted to describe the customs and practices of *yr uchelwyr*.[16] 'So deeply was this principle rooted that even the lowest class of people carefully remembered the direct and collateral descents of their families, and were in general able - from memory - not only to recite the name of their proximate proprietors, but also to

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[12] T. Lloyd, *The Lost Houses of Wales: A Survey of Country Houses in Wales Demolished Since c.1900* (London, 1986).

[13] For an overview of Irish country houses see T. Dooley, *The Decline of the Big House in Ireland: A Study of Irish Landed Families, 1860-1960* (Dublin, 2001); T. Dooley, A Future for Irish Historic Houses? A Study of Fifty Houses sponsored by the Irish Georgian Society and the Department of Environment, Heritage, and Local Government (2003).

[14] M. Girouard, *Life in the English Country House: A Social and Architectural History* (New Haven, 1978), pp. 1-60.

[15] See A. Rapoport, *House form and culture* (Upper Saddle River, 1969).

[16] R. Suggett, 'The Interpretation of Late Medieval Houses in Wales', in R.R. Davies and G.H. Jenkins (eds.), *From Medieval to Modern Wales* (Cardiff, 2004), p. 82.

trace their various relations back through numerous generations.'[17] Various theories as to why this state of affairs arose were proposed by nineteenth-century historians and genealogists; one was the relative seclusion of Wales, due to its mountainous topography, another that families would usually stay on their inherited lands for centuries. This rooting to a certain piece of land has parallels in other cultures too, where the symbolic nature of landownership worked in tandem with genealogical privilege. Another, more logical, theory proposed by this thesis was that Welsh laws of landownership, such as *gavelkind*, amplified the need - for a community and its mechanisms - to maintain strong blood-ties. Property became dispersed and it became necessary to 'correctly ascertain the consanguinity of affinity through the male and female lines, to the utmost latitude.'[18]

This thesis proposes that the actual process of building a country house was an expensive one, requiring a client to commit funds for several years' worth of expenditure. The owner's choice of designer, from among artisan craftsmen, provincial or 'national' architects, was a deliberate action based on many factors, such as cost and prestige. Future patronage for local artisan craftsmen and provincial architects could be propelled by the patronage of a rich client and their recommendation to friends, as shown by John Nash's commissions in Wales during the late-eighteenth century. Stable economic conditions were essential for the patronage network to fund construction: in the case of *yr uchelwyr*, a sustainable income was earned from estates and small-scale industries pre-1750. Increasing industrialisation, and the influx of industrial families, was a powerful and distinctive force in providing the wealth for commissioning expensive building projects. The demand for Wales's products, such as wool, copper and coal, provided income for a proportion of its gentry families to embrace new tastes, leisure activities and luxury items. This consumerism

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[17] Ibid. The most recent instance of research into Scottish country house architecture took place between 22-25 April 2015 at the University of Edinburgh, entitled 'The Architecture of Scotland and its European Setting: 1660-1750'. URL: https://sites.eca.ed.ac.uk/architecture-of-scotland/ [accessed 24.4.15].
[18] Ibid.

grew increasingly important from the mid-eighteenth century onwards, and set precedents for other members of society to follow. The architecture of the mansion house was reflective of the surrounding landscape design, and supported the family's collections, which in some cases stretched back over a thousand years.[19] Since the nineteenth century, the recording of country houses in England and Scotland has been a subject of respectable academic enquiry, with antiquarians and historians frequently producing monographs on specific properties. In Wales, this was not the case. Until the 1920s, Wales was peppered with estates ranging in size from just a couple of hundred acres to several thousand. In the south-east of Wales, for instance, there were around 200 estates, varying in size, some of which have been well studied.[20] Wales is recognised for its surviving medieval military architecture, rural farmhouses, vernacular cottages and nineteenth-century chapels; yet at the beginning of the twentieth century, it was the Welsh country house that was celebrated.[21]

Objectives and Approach of the Study

The primary sources for this thesis are the corpus of buildings belonging to *yr uchelwyr*, specifically those of genealogical descent from the Royal and Noble Tribes of Wales, and the historiography that surrounds them. Since no comprehensive survey has to date been carried out, no modern-day source contains a comprehensive list of the country houses of Wales. General information is contained within the online database of historic structures - *Coflein* - compiled by the Royal Commission for Historic and Ancient Monuments in Wales

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[19] See J. Steegman, *A Survey of Portraits in Welsh Houses: Vol. I North Wales* (Cardiff, 1958) and J. Steegman, *A Survey of Portraits in Welsh Houses: Vol. 2 South Wales* (Cardiff, 1962); R. Bebb, *Welsh Furniture 1250-1950: A Cultural History of Craftsmanship and Design* (Kidwelly, 2007); P. Lord, *The Visual Culture of Wales: Medieval Vision* (Cardiff, 2003); P. Lord, *The Visual Culture of Wales: Imaging the Nation* (Cardiff, 2000) and P. Lord, *The Visual Culture of Wales: Industrial Society* (Cardiff, 1998).
[20] For an overview of early-modern gentry families in south-east Wales see P. Jenkins, *The Making of a Ruling Class: The Glamorgan Gentry 1640-1790* (Cambridge, 1983).
[21] Anon., 'Welsh Country Homes', *South Wales Daily News* (published 1909-1913), see Appendix B.

(RCHAMW).[22] *Coflein* reveals that there are some 1,400 country houses still in existence. But, due to varying search-term vagaries, such as some former country houses being listed as farms, many sites are omitted. This, together with the *Return of Owners of Land*, listed building descriptions by Cadw[23], Cadw/ICOMOS Parks and Gardens Registers[24] and the 'Pevsner' *Buildings of Wales* series, form the core of data sampled for this study. Thomas Lloyd's *The Lost Houses of Wales* surveys the demolished or derelict mansions constructed prior to *c*.1900, although not without omissions, discusses a variety of domestic architecture (albeit briefly).[25] This thesis cannot be considered as a fully collective and formal analysis of Welsh country houses, since the scale of such an undertaking would exceed the time and word limits that constrain a single thesis; selections have had to be made. Sampling presents a problem, since, without an overview of all of the houses, it is uncertain how representative any given house is of the whole corpus or genre of such buildings. One objective of this thesis has therefore become to produce data sets and to analyse primary sources, and then objectively examine that against all the available analysis. The sample of houses that has been chosen in this study has been selected according to architectural, historical and archaeological value. Typological classification based on chronology is problematic because of frequently complex building histories and the lack of surviving documentation regarding building or design processes. To create a complete inventory of Welsh country houses and their histories would be an enormous undertaking, far beyond the scope of a thesis. This study will therefore take the form neither of typological classification nor of quantitative statistical analysis. Sadly, estate records can be a poor source of information for country

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[22] URL: http://www.coflein.gov.uk/ [accessed 4.11.14]. Coflein is the online database for the National Monuments Record of Wales (NMRW), the national collection of information about the historic environment of Wales. The name is derived from the Welsh *cof* (memory) and *lein* (line).

[23] URL: http://www.britishlistedbuildings.co.uk/ [accessed 2.12.14]. Now digitised as British Listed Buildings, an online database of buildings and structures that are listed as being of special architectural and historic interest. Previously, listing descriptions were only available directly from Cadw.

[24] All digitised on URL: http://www.coflein.gov.uk/ [accessed 4.11.14]. Previously, only available in hard copy.

[25] T. Lloyd, *The Lost Houses of Wales: A Survey of Country Houses in Wales Demolished Since c.1900* (London, 1986).

houses in Wales, owing to the absence of sketches, plans or contracts detailing work. This thesis is therefore presented as a preliminary enquiry into Welsh country house architecture.

Architectural Writing in Wales

The most influential texts informing the methodology of this thesis have come from academics spanning a variety of disciplines. Writers have contributed their own ideas and interpretations. And, because sometimes subjective or opinionated, these writers have had a profound effect on approaches to architecture in Wales. Therefore, the sources selected here - both primary and secondary - vary in their authority, but they are often the only information available. As part of this thesis, they are each critiqued according to the value they can contribute. This interest in Welsh architecture has often originated among academics from disciplines other than archaeology or architectural history. Vernacular studies have been taken further in Wales than in England, resulting in far greater emphasis being placed on non-elite buildings.[26] Therefore, in order to establish an inclusive historiography of Welsh country houses, it is necessary that the scope of the literature review of this thesis is extensive, encompassing a broad range of disciplines as well as critiquing the varying quality of historical critical analysis.

In 1975, John Hilling, architect and then Inspector of Historic Buildings for Cadw, published a catalogue of Welsh architectural drawings, *Plans and Prospects: Architecture in Wales 1780-1914*. He aptly set the scene with this opening sentence: 'Architecture in Wales has, on the whole, had a bad press.'[27] A considerable amount of academic literature focusing on the study of vernacular buildings, principally cottages and smaller domestic buildings, has been published in Wales. Works such as Peter Smith's *Houses of the Welsh Countryside: A*

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[26] See C. Fox & Raglan, *Monmouthshire Houses: A Study of Building Techniques and Smaller House-plans in the Fifteenth to Seventeenth Centuries* (Cardiff, 1951, 1953 and 1954); P. Smith, *Houses of the Welsh Countryside: A Study in Historical Geography* (London, 1988).
[27] J. B. Hilling, *Plans and Prospects: Architecture in Wales 1780-1914* (Cardiff, 1975), p. 4.

Study in Historical Geography (1975) and Eurwyn Wiliam's *The Welsh Cottage: Building Traditions of the Rural Poor, 1750-1900* (2010) are examples of this approach.[28] Smith and Wiliam were professional historians employed by their respective institutions, and therefore fulfilling commissions linked to policies or strategies, as these specific genres of building seemed especially threatened. *The Welsh Cottage* was published soon after Wiliam's retirement as Deputy Director General of the National Museum of Wales. He having joined St Fagans National History Museum in 1971, this focus led to a general failure by the National Museum of Wales, Cadw and, albeit to a lesser extent, the RCAHMW, to assimilate post-Renaissance country houses into the corpus of Welsh buildings. For example, regional gentry houses of the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries in Wales have been well discussed in such works as Richard Suggett's *Houses and History in the March of Wales* (2005), whereas buildings of national importance, such as Hafod, Aberystwyth, Ceredigion have not been evaluated in the context of Welsh architectural history (see figure 1). Accordingly, this introduction aims to place post-Renaissance Welsh country houses in the context of published works, and to suggest areas of further research.

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[28] P. Smith, *Houses of the Welsh Countryside: A Study in Historical Geography* (London, 1988) and E. Wiliam, *The Welsh Cottage. Building traditions of the rural poor, 1750-1900,* ed. by David Browne, Richard Suggett and Peter Wakelin (Aberystwyth, 2010).

Figure 1: *Hafod, Aberystwyth, Ceredigion, signed S. Walker, circa 1784-5. Watercolour on card. 142mm by 95mm. This small watercolour is the earliest known image of Hafod.* SCOLAR: Salisbury Cardiganshire Volume.

Studies of country houses in Wales written before the twentieth century concentrated principally on genealogy and pedigree, emphasising houses as evidence of gentry life but making little reference to their physical structure and form. Thomas Pennant's *Tours in Wales* presents the seminal collection of late eighteenth-century commentary on, and images of, Welsh houses (see figure 2),[29] while a century later, Thomas Nicholas's *Annals and Antiquities of the Counties and County Families of Wales* documented the families of Wales in a similar way to *Burke's Peerage*.[30] However, it is the Local Government Board's *Return of Owners of Land* of 1873 that provides the fullest overview of country house and estate ownership in Wales.[31] The criterion for an estate's inclusion was that it had to be over 3,000 acres in size and/or have rentals exceeding £3,000 a year.[32] This return was commonly called the 'New Domesday Book' because of its scope and inclusivity, and created a benchmark for

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[29] T. Pennant, *A Tour in Wales* (London, 1778). A second expanded edition was published in 1783, together with various extra illustrated volumes.
[30] T. Nicholas, *Annals and Antiquities of the Counties and County Families of Wales* (London, 1872).
[31] E.J.T. Collins & J. Thirsk, *The Agrarian History of England and Wale: Volume VII, 1850-1914, Part 1* (Cambridge, 2000), p. 701.
[32] Local Government Board, *Return of Owners of Land: 1873* (London, 1875).

quantitative information regarding country houses and their estates.[33] But, while the *Return of Owners of Land* provides the earliest definitive list of pan-Welsh country houses, it does not comment directly on the buildings themselves.[34]

Figure 2: *An example of an illustration by Moses Griffith for Thomas Pennant's 'A Tour in Wales', c.1780, showing Hartsheath, near Mold, Flintshire*. NLW: PD9867.

Philip Jenkins, in *A Modern History of Wales*, states that the nation's history has been subjected to an undesirable politicisation, which has, in turn, led to the marginalisation and deterioration of sectors of society, culture and a traditional lifestyle.[35] An example of a staunch political stance is that of Saunders Lewis, who stated that 'the gentry betrayed their birthright, behaved like rich bourgeois and denied […] the civilisation they boasted they were cherishing.'[36] Lewis (1893-1985) was one of the most influential Nationalistic academics and writers during the twentieth century. Of Welsh descent but born and educated in Wallasey, Cheshire, his choice to study and live in Wales shortly after the First World War proved pivotal. He, like Iorwerth Peate, studied at Aberystwyth, and it was here that his fervour for

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[33] B. Ll. James, 'The Great Landowners in Wales in 1873', *The National Library of Wales Journal*, 14 (1966), pp. 301-329.

[34] See Appendix A, Welsh country house owners based upon income, taken from *Return of Owners of Land: 1873*.

[35] See P. Jenkins, *A History of Modern Wales, 1536-1990* (London, 1992).

[36] S. J. Lewis, 'Trasiedi', *Canlyn Arthur*, 1938, pp. 33-34 (translation).

Wales developed, notably in his becoming a founding member of Plaid Cymru. A prolific non-academic writer, his career in academia did not develop until 1951, when he was appointed a lecturer in Welsh at what is now Cardiff University.[37] Since Lewis and his generation of writers, historians of the gentry-class have called for a re-evaluation, with the art historian Miles Wynn Cato complaining that 'nowhere in Britain is such scholarship less developed than in Wales where the study of the visual arts has been almost entirely neglected'.[38] Focus was almost entirely given to vernacular buildings, due to the assumption that:

> […] the rich in Wales were also universally anglicised and the prosperous towns were those of the industrial areas which were then breaking away from the traditional Welsh culture to become anglicised by deracine [sic] areas. There was no incentive or need for a school of professional architects in the Welsh rural community. Consequently the mansions of the country squires and the buildings of the anglicised towns are almost without exception English in inspiration […] In this respect, it is true to say that there is no Welsh architecture. Such buildings are the work of Welsh - or English-born architects working in a supra-national tradition which has not found a peculiar Welsh expression. Is there such an expression in any Welsh building? The answer is to be found in the dwelling-houses of the Welsh people. [39]

The 'Old Establishment': Contemporary Sources and Commentary

In 1908, *South Wales: Historical, Biographical and Pictorial* (S.W.H.B.P.) was published anonymously by Allan North of London.[40] This book, printed for subscribers only, consisted of a hundred brief illustrated biographies of aristocrats and landed gentry with Welsh origins or connections.[41] References to, and some illustrations of houses, formed an integral element in the text, and it is proposed that the author of the book was the same as that of the subsequent 'Welsh Country Homes' newspaper article series. Only six of the entries in

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[37] H. Pritchard-Jones, 'Lewis, (John) Saunders (1893–1985)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Oct 2008. URL:http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/55454, [accessed 17.2.2014].
[38] M. Wynn Cato, 'Nannau and Early Portraiture in North Wales', *JMHRS*, 11 (1990-93), p. 182.
[39] I. Peate, *The Welsh House: A Study in Folk Culture* (London, 1940), pp. 3-4.
[40] Anon., *South Wales: Historical, Biographical and Pictorial* (London, [n.d.]).
[41] See Appendix C, contents of *South Wales: Historical, Biographical and Pictorial* (London: Allan North, [n.d.]).

S.W.H.B.P. focused solely on women, but many of the biographies include comprehensive information about wives and female relatives, especially in those cases where a woman inherited Welsh property, such as occurred at Kilvrough, near Swansea, which was the hereditary estate of Louisa Jane Penrice, wife of Admiral Sir Algernon Lyons.[42] S.W.H.B.P. collected, in a single work, an overview of the principal families of south Wales and the Marches before the First World War. It may have prompted the publication of the weekly architectural discourses of 'Welsh Country Homes', which brought interest in estate living to a wider readership than the privately subscribed work of *South Wales: Historical, Biographical and Pictorial*.

Country Life, founded in 1897, has featured articles on Welsh mansions, gardens and their occupants with relative frequency, acknowledging the wealth of high-status architecture surviving in Wales. Basing itself on the *Country Life* model, *South Wales Daily News* likewise published a series of full-page, illustrated, in-depth articles each week between 1909 and 1913, listing the great houses of south Wales and the Marches.[43] This covered 125 individual properties, and its longevity proved that it was a successful and popular section of the newspaper. The articles are anonymous and the author(s) were evidently granted unprecedented access to the mansions and gardens, gaining interviews with the owners. They provide detailed descriptions of the architectural development of the buildings. The 'Welsh Country Homes' series was mainly restricted to south Wales, although it did occasionally include examples from north Wales, for instance with an article on Plas Machynlleth in northwest Montgomeryshire (now Powys).[44] The motivation behind these articles is succinctly appraised in an introductory piece from 1909, which opens: 'the ancestral seats of many of the county families of South Wales and Monmouthshire are not less noble than "the

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[42] Anon., *South Wales: Historical, Biographical and Pictorial* (London, [n.d.]), not paginated.
[43] See Appendix B.
[44] Anon., 'Plas Machynlleth', *South Wales Daily News*, 15.7.1911, p. 9.

stately homes of England.'"[45] Welsh houses are described as being 'rich in historical interest and personal association, of considerable architectural worth and, in the majority of cases, beautiful in situation; they present a very notable and striking feature of the heritage which past generations have bequeathed to the present.' [46] The aim of each article was to describe the main features of the house's history and architecture, indicating a selection of their art treasures, and to outline family achievements. They do not critically assess the buildings, or the families involved; nor do they attempt to place either in a national context. The series' value however is manifold, on the one hand providing an insight into popular opinion and, on the other, recording the county families and their seats before the Great War. It is unfortunate that such a series was not conducted in the west and north of Wales, as that would have provided an invaluable, in-depth review of Welsh country houses.

Politicisation of Welsh Architecture

In the first four decades of the twentieth century, at a time of growing nationalism, it was a common consensus in non-conformist, radical and nationalistic discourse that the Welsh gentry had forsaken their country of birth, had allowed the demise of the Welsh language, and had played little part in the re-emergence of the Welsh nation; moreover, they had lived in their mansions as 'a pampered class reaping all that they had not sown'.[47] This was the view publicised by *The Welsh Outlook*, a monthly magazine that was founded in 1914 and continued until 1933. It was influential in academic and political circles, yet failed to reach a mass audience, its circulation being less than 2,000 copies around 1914-24 and declining rapidly during the late 1920s and early 1930s.[48]

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[45] Anon., 'Welsh Country Homes', *South Wales Daily News*, 23.10.1909, p. 9.
[46] Ibid.
[47] Anon., 'Editorial', *The Welsh Outlook*, 13 (1926), pp. 200-201.
[48] G. Jenkins, 'The Welsh Outlook: 1914-1933', *NLWJ*, 24 (1986), pp. 463-92.

Herbert M. Vaughan's memoir, *The South Wales Squires: a Welsh Picture of Social Life,* published in 1926, has been called the swansong of the Welsh gentry.[49] Vaughan's fascinating, acerbic recollections revived an interest in the country houses of south Wales. Ironically, the book provided evidence which detractors were quick to use to erode the reputations of the houses and families he was trying to defend; *The Manchester Guardian's* review of the book was scathing.[50] Vaughan's anecdotal account recorded the years during which the squires and their families were still living as they had done for several hundred years. By 1926, this life had all but vanished, the book giving a unique insight into the customs and practices of *yr uchelwyr*. Leslie Baker-Jones classifies *The South Wales Squires* as an 'apologia' for the Welsh gentry, and says that it revived 'the bitter tensions of an earlier generation'; radical, non-conformist, nationalist reaction to the book was almost immediate.[51] Vaughan had anticipated such a reaction by calling for a 'historian of the future' to take a more objective and realistic appraisal of the Welsh gentry - something not possible in the 1920s.[52] Such a view has been echoed by modern historians, such as Matthew Cragoe in *An Anglican Aristocracy: The Moral Economy of the Landed Estate in Carmarthenshire*. In this book, he appeals for 'rethinking the internal dynamics of the historical Welsh countryside by admitting to it a class which possessed a vast amount of influence and whose ideas and actions constantly shaped the lives of contemporaries.'[53]

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[49] L. Baker-Jones, *Princelings, Privilege and Power: The Tivyside Gentry in their Community* (Llandysul, 1999), p. 3. This book was based upon Baker-Jones's PhD thesis. He had previously been a school teacher and was archivist for Carmarthenshire Record Office.

[50] Ibid.

[51] Ibid.

[52] H.M. Vaughan, *South Wales Squires: A Welsh Picture of Social Life* (Carmarthen, 1988), p. 6.

[53] M. Cragoe, *An Anglican Aristocracy: the moral economy of the landed estate in Carmarthenshire, 1832-1895* (Oxford, 1996), p. 8.

Figure 3: *Llwynywormwood, near Llandovery, by an unknown artist, dated 1812.* NLW: Carmarthen (D-Z) Size B.

Unfortunately, Vaughan allowed himself to indulge in speculative enquiry of a kind which enabled detractors to discredit his work and undermine its value. One error-strewn portrayal was that of Sir Erasmus Griffies-Williams (1796-1870) of Llwynywormwood, Carmarthenshire, whose character and whose family's sensibilities sustained a scathing account, propagating a wholly inaccurate representation of one of Carmarthenshire's oldest families (see figure 3). It is only since in-depth research into the Griffies-Williams family and the Llwynywormwood estate has been carried out that these descriptions have been countered.[54] In this case, Vaughan took advantage of a family who had moved out of the region some fifty years earlier, relying on questionable sources. If we are to assess Vaughan's contribution to the field critically, we should acknowledge his intention to present a balanced picture of what he perceived to be a rapidly disappearing class. In this respect, he might well

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[54] M. Baker, *A Royal Home in Wales: Llwynywermod* (Bedlinog, 2008) and D.B. James, *Myddfai: Its Land and People* (Aberystwyth, 1991).

have succeeded, if only he had not included so many erroneous anecdotes. Leslie Baker-Jones goes as far as to say that *South Wales Squires* 'failed, on the whole, in its attempt to protect the good name of the gentry.'[55] However, this assertion is only in part correct, for Vaughan did succeed in immortalising the names of many south Wales country houses and families, which would have otherwise sunk into obscurity. Furthermore, he provided a contemporary commentary on Welsh country houses.

Theorisation and Articulation: The Rise of Vernacular Studies

The Welsh House by Iorwerth Peate (1901-1982) has surely been the most influential book in covering domestic architecture, not least because it was the first survey of buildings to cover most of Wales.[56] More than its title, its subtitle, *A Study in Folk Culture*, accurately represents Peate's extensive research priorities. The book has become a landmark in the study of Welsh vernacular architecture, and has brought the corpus of smaller Welsh domestic buildings to the fore. For historical and architectural writing, it was a pioneering text, albeit one which also enabled escapism into a Utopian view of Welsh sensibilities and historic culture. It largely drew upon Sir Daniel Lleufer Thomas's (1863-1940) technical appendix to the *Report of the Royal Commission on Land in Wales and Monmouthshire*,[57] and also Harold Hughes and Herbert Luck North's *Old Cottages of Snowdonia*[58] and the Royal Commission's *Anglesey Inventory*.[59] Hughes (1864-1940) began practice as an architect in Bangor in 1891. In 1900, he was appointed Bangor's diocesan architect and surveyor. North (1871-1941) was educated at Uppingham School and Jesus College, Cambridge. He was articled as an architect

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[55] L. Baker-Jones, *Princelings, Privilege and Power: The Tivyside Gentry in their Community* (Llandysul, 1999), p. 3.

[56] I. Peate, *The Welsh House* (London, 1940). See Appendix D, number of copies of I. Peate, *The Welsh House* (London, 1940) held by Welsh University Libraries. Data collected on 1.9.2010.

[57] Thomas, D. Lleufer, *Report of the Royal Commission on Land in Wales and Monmouthshire* (London, 1896), pp. 691-713.

[58] H. Hughes and H.L. North, *The Old Cottages of Snowdonia* (Bangor, 1908).

[59] RCAHMW, *An Inventory of the Ancient Monuments in Anglesey* (London, 1937).

in London and worked as an assistant to Sir Edwin Lutyens before co-founding an architectural practice in London. At the turn of the century, he returned to North Wales and opened a practice of his own in Llanfairfechan.

Why Peate wrote *The Welsh House* is evident from his earlier writings, which advocate and actively promote the opening of a Welsh folk and culture museum. This was achieved by the founding of the Welsh Folk Museum at St Fagans in 1946, on an estate donated by the earl of Plymouth, with a mansion of national significance at its centre. Contemporaries viewed Peate as a controversial and forceful figure.[60] He had been brought up in Montgomeryshire under a 'sturdy independence of mind'[61] instilled by Samuel Roberts's (1800-1885) radical nonconformity, a tradition of which he appeared to be intensely proud. Under the tutelage of H.J. Fleur, he undertook an undergraduate degree at the University College of Wales, Aberystwyth, in history, geography and Welsh, specialising in Celtic archaeology, followed by a Master's degree specialising in anthropology and linguistics.[62] During his mid-twenties, he became a lecturer in the extra-mural department at Aberystwyth, and at the age of twenty-six was appointed assistant keeper in the archaeology department of the National Museum of Wales, Cardiff. His academic writing began in 1923, but it was not until joining the National Museum that he began to publish widely on building techniques and folk culture in Wales. It was at this point that he began formulating the concept of a folk museum, based upon models existing in Scandinavia.[63] Peate was also a poet, broadcaster and critic, whose career spanned more than fifty years.

When reviewing Peate's bibliography, it is apparent that he published little on architecture, yet it is for this subject area that he was well remembered. The first edition of

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[60] T.M. Jones, 'Obituary of Iorwerth Peate', *WHR*, 11 (1983), p. 549.
[61] Ibid.
[62] M. Stephens, 'Peate, Iorwerth Cyfeiliog (1901–1982)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, Sept 2004; online edn, Oct 2006. URL: <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/55462> [accessed 4.11.2008]
[63] G. Daniel, *The Idea of Prehistory* (Harmondsworth, 1964), pp. 103, 159.

The Welsh House was published in 1940 as a supplement to *Y Cymmrodor* for the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion, which was an important instrument of Welsh thought and ideology and also, albeit London-based, the first national institution for Wales, founded in 1751.[64] Through this publication, Peate successfully impressed upon central government the need for a distinct Welsh folk museum. It was arguably an entirely calculated move, as he called for his 'brothers' - in particular the influential London Welsh - for support.[65] A second edition was published in 1944, with corrections and updates, and a third edition followed in 1946. In 2004 it was revised and partially updated by Gregory Stevenson, and reprinted by an independent Welsh publisher, Llanerch Press. Stevenson extended the text by including recent photographs of key buildings to illustrate how traditional Welsh architecture had changed since *The Welsh House* had been published over sixty years earlier. Stevenson's foreword provides a brief but balanced analysis of Peate's significance, and identifies weaknesses that have become apparent over the years, though its remit was not to critique the central premise of *The Welsh House*.

To find a distillation of Peate's own views and motivations, *The Welsh House*'s introduction offers an insight into his ideology, and succinctly sets out the argument for his study of Welsh folk culture. His disapproval of large estates and landowners is evident from the outset; he blames them for modernising structures on their lands, and for destroying traditional features.[66] However, even greater blame is placed upon the introduction of 'council housing,' constructed after World War One through the Housing Act of 1919. His reaction to modern housing was greatly intensified by the Housing Act of 1930 (the 'Greenwood Act'), which continued the process of modernising ordinary housing by granting local authorities the power to demolish properties 'unfit for human habitation'.

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[64] P. Lord, *Aesthetics of Relevance* (Llandysul, 1993), p. 10.
[65] Cymmrodorion literally translates as 'brotherhood'.
[66] I. Peate, *The Welsh House* (London, 1940), p. 2.

A resentment of English influence and connections is evident when Peate states that 'Wales has no architecture'[67] except for its cottages and small farmhouses. Peate asserts that, due to a lack of self-governance, Wales did not promote the growth of indigenous fine arts, and that the only form of national architecture was therefore the non-professional. These sentiments were echoed by the art historian Peter Lord in his critique of the visual arts in Wales, *The Aesthetics of Relevance*.[68] Peate claimed that the work of professional architects could only be seen in the houses of the rich or in prosperous regions, and he dismissed the idea of such architecture being Welsh, stating 'the rich were almost universally anglicised.'[69] He continued that the houses of the Welsh squires are 'almost without exception' English in inspiration, conceding only that they sometimes do exhibit 'signs' of so-called 'Welshness'.[70] Arguably, it is this dismissal of larger buildings as being of no interest to the study of Welsh architecture which represents a considerable omission. Such an oversight might otherwise seem peculiar, but, when considered in the context of Peate's political beliefs, it is not so. He was a devout follower of the work of politically and religiously radical Samuel Roberts, and - as noted above - was an early member of the Welsh Nationalist Party, Plaid Cymru. However, Peate later disagreed with some of the party's policies, and instead became a Liberal, adopting pacifism during World War Two, which led to his temporary dismissal from the National Museum in 1940. He was a supporter of a monoglot Wales, and used the medium of Welsh as a means of furthering his chosen causes.[71]

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[67] Ibid., p. 3.
[68] Lord, *Aesthetics of Relevance*, (Llandysul, 1993), p. 17. Born in England, Peter Lord graduated from Reading University with a Masters in Fine Art, specialising in sculpture, before moving to Wales during the early 1980s. He was a regular contributor to the Welsh magazine *Planet,* and his first significant writing appeared in 1992. *Aesthetics of Relevance* was published by Gomer Press, addressing the perceived failures of the National Museum of Wales in its presentation of the art of the nation. It covered a concise yet well-researched overview of approaches to Welsh art and the concept of nationhood from the early modern period to the present day, its principal underlying aim being to critique the art department of the National Museum.
[69] I. Peate, *The Welsh House* (London, 1940), p. 3.
[70] This concession appears to relate only to medieval and sub-medieval structures.
[71] T.M. Jones, 'Obituary of Iorwerth Peate', *The Welsh History Review*, 11 (1983), pp.549-51, p. 550.

Peate formulated his treatise during an exceptionally difficult period, both internationally and personally. Published during the early years of World War Two, *The Welsh House* had been formulated and researched during the inter-War years. There is no doubt that, as well as being influenced by the writings and practices of the Norwegian scholar, Alf Sommerfelt (1892-1965), Peate's opinions were informed by the Arts and Crafts Movement, whose interests were towards simpler, almost rustic buildings. The study of vernacular architecture was already an established discipline in certain parts of continental Europe, and this he freely acknowledges, citing Swedish and Irish projects as major influences on his own work. It was his application of such principles to a Welsh model that was widely acknowledged, and which propelled his career. Pivotal critiques of vernacular architecture had appeared during the early twentieth century - when interest was growing in traditional buildings. The Arts and Crafts' architect Basil Oliver's *Old Houses & Village Buildings of East Anglia* (1912) and *The Cottages of England* (1929) are examples of the movement's published works. Economic recessions, especially in the years following the end of World War One, and of course the recessions of the 1920s and 30s, meant that few people could afford to maintain the great country houses of previous eras.[72] Both a cause and effect of these circumstances was the phenomenon of many patrons and architects turning to building smaller houses, rejecting larger homes as impractical, frequently putting them up for sale or selling their fabric for reclamation. In England, in 1930, Vita Sackville-West (1892-1962) and her husband, Harold Nicholson (1886-1968), notably purchased Sissinghurst, Kent, consisting of a ruined mansion and farm; they made no attempt to rebuild the original house, instead just reusing the old gatehouse and raising the status of the garden, incorporating sections of the Tudor manor as elements of the garden landscape. In Wales, Clough Williams-Ellis (1883-1978) dispensed architectural patronage, not by constructing

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[72] The notable exception here are the readers of magazines such as Country Life.

large houses but by rescuing components of historic buildings, which were integrated into a village at Portmeirion, near Porthmadog (1925-1975).

In many cases, several hundred years of heritage and precedent were erased because families were not willing or able to adapt to these new circumstances. Simultaneously, the diffusion of socialist thought saw a rise in anti-establishment campaigns, consequently leading to the promotion of vernacular architecture. In the preface to the second edition of *The Welsh House*, Peate asserts 'the fact that the occupants of the houses were, or are, 'aristocrats' is of no importance.'[73] He goes on to say that, to the 'folk culturist', any distinction between the home of a 'peasant' and that of an 'aristocrat' is precluded as the houses of the two were built along the same principles, simply on vastly different scales. For Peate, this justifies the decision not to consider domestic buildings larger than farmhouses in his study, though it is interesting that, in the preface to the second edition of *The Welsh House*, such issues are addressed. Was he reacting against criticism for the exclusion of a whole corpus of Welsh buildings? The answer can be found in Peate's statement that, conceptually, folk culture is only concerned with small buildings; he retaliates against his critics by calling such a notion 'an odious distinction of social snobbery.'[74] It is clear that he considered the great houses of Wales to have been alien to their environment; as he did not include them in his discussion, apparently believing that they bore 'no relation to the traditional Welsh house.'[75]

Gregory Stevenson's foreword to the 2004 reprint of *The Welsh House* objectively highlights the fact that, even though the book was ahead of its time, Peate had fallen into the 1930s tendency of romanticising rural culture and of politicising architecture for nationalistic purposes. Stevenson holds that this prioritisation of 'peasant' housing claims that these buildings contain little style or fashion, denying any form of external stimuli. He writes that

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[73] I. Peate, *The Welsh House* (Lampeter, 2004), p. x.
[74] Ibid.
[75] Ibid., p. xi.

'Wales was a country experiencing huge changes, industrialisation and much Anglicisation in the inter-war years, and Peate's book was one small escape into the realm of a wholly Welsh, almost utopian, past.'[76] It is understandable that any nation undergoing such turmoil and radical upheaval as Britain experienced through World War One, together with the recession of the 1920s, might be tempted to cling to the ideals of bygone eras. Peate was immensely successful in reviving a cultural interest in traditional crafts and methods, but he did so at the expense of gentry architecture. He dismisses the value of external influences, believing that true 'Welsh architecture' only existed in its vernacular form, that it was the cottages and farmsteads that formed the Welsh heritage and not its great houses.[77]

A Methodology for the Analysis of Historic Buildings

The primary research undertaken for *Monmouthshire Houses: a study of building techniques and smaller house-plans in the fifteenth to seventeenth centuries* formed the basis of critical analysis of standing structures in Wales, and served as a benchmark in British architectural history. It was written in three volumes between 1951 and 1954 by Fitzroy Richard Somerset, 4th Lord Raglan (1885-1964) and Sir Cyril Fox (1882-1967).[78] Fox had been Director of the National Museum of Wales from 1926 to 1948, and his initial area of academic interest had been prehistory. However, vernacular architecture became his passion, leading to his playing a major part in establishing the Welsh Folk Museum. Peter Smith asserts that one concept developed by Fox - that 'highland' or 'lowland' zoning was a base law when analysing historic buildings - was of prime importance when considering structure, design or characterisation.[79] Smith goes on to comment that *Monmouthshire Houses*, when first

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[76] G. Stevenson, in *The Welsh House: A Study in Folk Culture* (Lampeter, 2004), p. x.
[77] Ibid., p. ix.
[78] Sir C. Fox and Lord Raglan, *Monmouthshire Houses: A Study of Building Techniques and Smaller House-plans in the Fifteenth to Seventeenth Centuries* (Cardiff, 1951, 1953 and 1954; reprinted Cardiff, 1994).
[79] P. Smith in the foreword to *Monmouthshire Houses: A Study of Building Techniques and Smaller House-plans in the Fifteenth to Seventeenth Centuries* (Cardiff, 1994), p. iv.

published, was the most ambitious study of farmhouse architecture in Britain.[80] The study was divided into three main periods: Medieval, Sub-medieval and Renaissance. Fox and Raglan ended their focus for the Renaissance volume in 1714, the death of Queen Anne, in the belief that, after this date, distinctiveness in Welsh architecture was in rapid decline, replaced by 'Georgianisation' and 'international' styles and forms.[81] Peter Smith, writing a new foreword in 1994 for a reprint of the three volumes, offered a few general reflections on the books themselves, and on the extent to which their conclusions have been modified by subsequent research. He greatly admired and valued the contributions of Fox and Raglan as pioneers, applauding their innovative approach to researching Monmouthshire, and describing their work as 'seminal' for the study of vernacular architecture in Britain.

Establishing the Building Corpus: Peter Smith and the work of the Royal Commission

Peter Smith's *Houses of the Welsh Countryside* is a primary source for this thesis.[82] It contains a definitive critique of historic architecture in Wales, although its focus is on buildings created by artisan craftsmen, it provides a base-line. It can be viewed as superior to Peate's *The Welsh House*. In 2010, an abbreviated version, entitled *Introducing Houses of the Welsh Countryside*, was published by RCAHMW, in association with Welsh publisher *Y Lolfa*.[83] An S4C Welsh language television series was recorded, based upon Smith's research and career.

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[80] This is in fact a generally held view.
[81] 1714 was also the terminal date adopted by the Royal Commissions on Ancient and Historical Monuments, when first set up.
[82] P. Smith, *Houses of the Welsh Countryside: A Study in Historical Geography*, (London, 1976; revised 1988).
[83] R. Suggett and G. Stevenson, *Introducing Houses of the Welsh Countryside* (Aberystwyth, 2010).

Figure 4: *Ruperra Castle, near Caerphilly, c. 1900. It was built by Sir Thomas Morgan during the early seventeenth century.* RCAHMW: C852485

Houses of the Welsh Countryside was a monumental study, commissioned by the RCAHMW, the culmination of over fifty years of research, chronicling and cataloguing the houses mentioned by Peate, as well as discovering many hundreds more. Smith, on occasion, does include some larger houses, such as Ruperra Castle and Ynysmaengwyn, having published an article on the latter house in *Archaeologia Cambrensis* in 1960.[84] Like Peate, Smith was highlighting the architectural losses Wales had suffered during the twentieth century. But, unlike Peate, he included a small selection of country houses, acknowledging that the same artisan craftsmen worked on buildings of all sizes. Ruperra had been devastated by fire in 1941, and Ynysmaengwyn had been under threat in 1960, being subsequently demolished in 1968 (see figure 4). *Houses of the Welsh Countryside* contains an insightful analysis within its introduction, which sets out Smith's methodology and approach. In summary, the Edwardian conquest of Wales at the end of the thirteenth century is seen by Smith as a deciding factor in the form of Welsh architecture. The political stability in Wales after the fifteenth century meant that there was no longer any need for defensive architecture.

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[84] P. Smith, 'Ynysmaengwyn, Merioneth', *AC*, 109 (1960), pp. 173-9.

This too had an economic effect; ordinary Welsh houses were far richer than the peasant houses of Ireland and Scotland, yet *yr uchelwyr* houses were on the whole relatively poor. The Welsh gentry are seen here to be fundamental, rising from the indigenous population through obtaining royal court positions or gaining wealth through industry. The nature of this emergence led, claims Smith, to a lack of distinction between the lower, middle and upper sections of gentry in Wales, and this is expressed through their houses and estates. Smith does not, however, deny the sophistication of Welsh country houses or their interpretation of 'court' and 'European styles'. Nor does he politicise this transference of ideas, principles and styles as being 'English' but rather shows how Wales's elite displayed cultural advancement through their architectural production. This is an important theme, which will be developed later in this thesis.

Topography is pivotal to the way in which Smith interprets Wales and its buildings. The country's division by mountains - which traditionally have not only defended but also divided the territory - is reflected in its architecture. The eastern and western regions of Wales are separated by a long and wide mountain range, as is the north coast from the south, making the country clearly divided both physically and culturally. He highlights how, through a form of cultural 'osmosis', English and Welsh ideas crossed the eastern border along the Marches and how, on the Western coast, Irish influence also played its part, and the links from south Wales across the Bristol Channel. Bath stone for instance was imported by sea, and from further afield from Caen. This argument is developed and contrasted with the other peripheral regions of Britain, such as Scotland, Cornwall and Ireland. Detractors of Smith's work are few, but some have said that its major drawback is its extent. It might have been more appropriate to have divided the book into two or more volumes, as its contents are labyrinthine.

To date, the RCAHMW has not produced a work based upon the houses of *yr uchelwyr*. Regional studies, such as *Glamorgan IV: Domestic Architecture Part 1 - The Greater Houses* (1981), do not yet exist for every region of Wales. Various scholarly articles have been published by Royal Commission staff, the most eminent of whom being A. J. Parkinson, whose research in the 1970s identified an unnamed school of carpenters active in North Wales at the end of the sixteenth century. He recognised fifteen sites in Denbighshire and Flintshire, with one further west in Caernarfonshire, where the work of this master carpenter or carpenters is characterised by the use of guilloche mouldings and decorated screens.[85]

Eurwyn Wiliam's *Traditional Farm Buildings in North East Wales: 1550-1900* was the product of doctoral research undertaken between 1975 and 1979, subsequently published by the National Museum of Wales in 1982.[86] As with so much research of this type and date, it is grounded on statistics, drawing from a core sample of some four hundred surviving farmsteads erected before 1900. It excludes farmhouses and other domestic structures, as these had been considered in *Houses of the Welsh Countryside*. Like his predecessors, he cites the loss of traditional structure - through alteration, neglect and demolition - as a motivation for his research. *Traditional Farm Buildings* was received favourably by the academic community, as the early modern period in Wales had at that date been inadequately studied. Critics noted that its strengths lay with analysis of nineteenth-century structures, especially estate buildings.[87] In 2010, Wiliam published *The Welsh Cottage: Building Traditions of the Rural Poor, 1750-1900* bilingually.[88] It was edited by Peter Wakelin, Richard Suggett and David Browne (all RCAHMW staff). Wiliam evaluates the development

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[85] A. J. Parkinson, 'A Master-Carpenter in North Wales', *AC*, 124 (1975), pp. 73-101 and A. J. Parkinson, 'A Master-Carpenter in North Wales: A Further Addition', *AC*, 125 (1976), pp. 169-71.
[86] E. Wiliam, *Traditional Farm Buildings in North East Wales: 1550-1900* (Cardiff, 1982).
[87] B. Howells, 'Traditional Farm Buildings Review', *WHR*, 114 (1983), pp. 565-567.
[88] E. Wiliam, *The Welsh Cottage. Building traditions of the rural poor, 1750-1900*, ed. by D. Browne, R. Suggett and P. Wakelin (Aberystwyth, 2010).

of vernacular architecture as an academic discipline, asking why the work of artisan craftsmen has not been studied. He suggests that, with buildings larger than farmhouses, the terminus for clear evidence of vernacular design is 1730, and that after this date they would have been designed by professionals, or by those with a quasi-professional background: '[...] after 1730 the influence of pattern-book architecture is almost invariably felt to some degree.'[89] He also asserts that the smaller gentry houses of the Tudor and Stuart period were not built with the direct involvement of the owners themselves, and that after this date they would have employed professional designers. This proposed date threshold is contested by this thesis. Wiliam comments that the building profession (masons, bricklayers etc.) was as organised in the Tudor period as it was during the Victorian, but that little evidence for this survives in Wales. One notable exception of documentary evidence, published as an appendix in Peter Smith's *Houses of the Welsh Countryside*, is evidenced by the building contract for Nerquis Hall, near Mold, as early as 1637 (figure 5). This illustrates a fully-developed profession of builders able to carry out both masonry and carpentry, under the supervision of a clerk of works acting for the client. Building projects as complex as building a house would have been unobtainable without organisation at a local level. In Scotland, a study in 2014 catalogued the records for the Incorporation of Mary's Chapel, which contained diverse and illuminating information on the building trade.[90] In 1475, Scottish wrights and masons were formally given a charter to incorporate into a single body, and their textual sources include minute books and craft administrative papers which record the often invisible class of journeymen and craftsmen.[91]

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[89] Ibid., p. 43.
[90] URL: http://www.ed.ac.uk/schools-departments/history-classics-archaeology/archaeology/about/staff-profiles/staff?uun=aallen2&search=2&params=&cw_xml=profile_tab2_academic.php [accessed 24.4.15].
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Figure 5: *Nerquis Hall, near Mold, by Moses Griffith for Thomas Pennant's 'A Tour in Wales', circa 1777.* Bodelwyddan Castle: CFAT 0046.

The Houses of Singleton[92] and *Old Gower Farmhouses and their Families*, both by B. Morris, focus respectively on the larger houses around Singleton, Swansea, and on the farmhouses, mostly those at risk, of the Gower region.[93] He writes with a well-balanced analysis of both the gentry and farming classes in Wales, supporting both these works with excellent line drawings, elevations and plans. Morris, a chartered surveyor by training, had been editor of the local history journal *Gower*, was honoured with an honorary fellowship of the University of Wales, Swansea, and was President of the Royal Institution of South Wales from 1990 to 1997.[94]

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[92] B. Morris, *Houses of Singleton: Swansea Landscape and its History* (Swansea, 1995).
[93] B. Morris, *Old Gower Farmhouses and their Families* ([n.p.], 1998).
[94] Ibid., p. 180.

John B. Hilling and Architectural History Approaches

Acting as a counter-balance to Smith's *Houses of the Welsh Countryside*, John B. Hilling published, in the same year, a catalogue to accompany an exhibition entitled *Plans & Prospects: Architecture in Wales 1780-1914*,[95] which included historic plans and drawings of a variety of Welsh buildings. This was funded by the Arts Council for Wales, and was held at the National Museum of Wales, Cardiff, and the National Library of Wales, Aberystwyth. It highlighted the years 1780 to 1914 as being some of the most radical in terms of building and landscape transformation, with areas such as Merthyr Tydfil and the valleys changed dramatically through industrialisation. The preface to the catalogue refers to the reluctance of previous generations of historians to acknowledge the importance of surviving buildings or to critique them, acknowledging that it was only in the 1960s and 1970s that 'attempts [were] made to study this controversial and problematic legacy'.[96] The architectural drawings and plans of houses featured a selection both architecturally and geographically broad.

Hilling followed this with *The Historic Architecture of Wales: An Introduction*, which was the first overall review of architecture in Wales.[97] Hilling is one of the earliest scholars to have addressed the concept of the characterisation of non-vernacular Welsh architecture. His work does, however, import some ideology from the folk culturists, such as Sir Cyril Fox, who is quoted in Hilling's introduction. And this specific influence on Hilling is apparent throughout his commentary. Hilling adopts the theory that, as a result of Wales' mountainous topography, there was a tendency for greater cultural unity. In a 'highland zone', such as that covering most of Wales, there is the tendency, according to continental anthropologists, for greater continuity to exist.[98] Taken on a regional scale across Britain, this distinction is borne out, and there is a mix of such areas across Wales. But, according to Peter Smith, Hilling fails

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[95] J.B. Hilling, *Plans and Prospects: Architecture in Wales 1780-1914* (Cardiff, 1975).
[96] F. Pugh, ibid., p. 3.
[97] J.B. Hilling, *The Historic Architecture of Wales* (Cardiff, 1976).
[98] Ibid., p. 1.

to take some of Wales's own geographical diversity into account, instead viewing the whole of the country as being part of a highland zone. In fact, although the central section of Wales and parts of the Western Coast are highland zones, regions such as the Vales of Glamorgan and Clwyd - areas of progression in terms of technology and design - are lowland.

Richard Suggett's work has broadened the Royal Commission's approach, despite focussing on Welsh vernacular architecture. He has written extensively on the application of anthropological theories to the social history of early modern Wales, in particular that concerning witchcraft.[99] Suggett's *John Nash: Architect in Wales* traces Nash's Welsh origins and architectural output.[100] Published in 1995, it coincided with the National Trust's restoration of Nash's Llanerchaeron, near Aberaeron, Ceredigion, and was described by the *Welsh History Review* as being 'a distinguished contribution to the growing literature on architecture in Wales'[101] He recently compiled *Houses and History in the March of Wales: Radnorshire 1400-1800*, which brought together research undertaken by the Royal Commission since the 1980s.[102] Work on the Radnorshire volume had begun in 1989, following the publication of *Glamorgan: Farmhouses and Cottages*.[103] Six years of fieldwork examined a thousand farmsteads in the Radnorshire region, using examples of nearly every variety identified by Peter Smith in *Houses of the Welsh Countryside*. The Glamorgan series included a volume on 'Greater Houses'. *Houses and History in the March of Wales* does not include any buildings larger than a substantial farmhouse. Its value, however, in furthering the study of high status architecture should not be dismissed, since some of the principles underlying Hilling's discussion of larger farmhouses and hall-houses can be extrapolated from it. For instance, the concepts Suggett applies to structural materials are equally

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[99] See for example R. Suggett, Witchcraft Dynamics in Early Modern Wales, in *Women and Gender in Early Modern Wales*, ed. by S. Clarke and M. Roberts (Cardiff, 2000), pp. 75-103.
[100] R. Suggett, *John Nash: Architect in Wales* (Aberystwyth, 1995).
[101] P. Morgan, 'Review of John Nash: Architect in Wales', *WHR*, 18 (1996-97), p. 549.
[102] R. Suggett, *Houses and History in the March of Wales: Radnorshire 1400-1800* (Aberystwyth, 2005).
[103] RCAHMW, *Glamorgan IV: Domestic Architecture, Part. II, Farmhouses and Cottages* (London, 1988).

applicable to country house architecture. These include the use of timber rather than stone in the borders and Marches. According to this account there appears to be little distinction between the 'greater houses' of Wales and their supposedly vernacular counterparts. Both are products - to varying degrees - of the same conditions, including finance, materials and the environment. And this similarity is a theme which will be developed by this thesis.

Looking for Meaning within the Built Environment

Architectural anthropologists, such as Amos Rapoport, Nold Egenter, and Paul Oliver, have - since the late-1960s - sought ways of interpreting meaning within the built environment. Their work has provided a valuable contribution to research into the creation, use and meaning of architecture. Access analysis, pioneered by Patrick Faulkner in the 1950s and 60s, established a new framework for the interpretation of medieval buildings, focusing on layout and social organisation.[104] The work of Rapoport's architectural anthropological approach to house form continues to be used and praised.[105] Rapoport states that 'the different forms taken by dwellings are a complex phenomenon for which no single explanation will suffice.'[106] He employs the terms 'users' and 'designers'[107] and breaks down his approach by stating '*things do elicit meanings*; the question is *how* they elicit or activate these meanings and guide them and thus, *which* things or objects "work" best.'[108] Can meaning be considered as 'encoded' in the houses of the Welsh gentry so that they can be decoded by their intended users?

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[104] P. Faulkner, 'Domestic Planning from the Twelfth to the Fourteenth Centuries', *AJ*, 115 (1958), pp. 150-183; P. Faulkner, 'Castle Planning in the Fourteenth Century', *AJ*, 120 (1963), pp. 215-235; C. Gerrard, *Medieval Archaeology: Understanding Traditions and Contemporary Approaches* (London, 2003), pp. 130-131.
[105] See K. D. Moore (ed.), *Culture-meaning-architecture: critical reflections on the work of Amos Rapoport* (Aldershot, 2003).
[106] A. Rapoport, *House form and culture* (Upper Saddle River, 1969), p. 3.
[107] A. Rapoport, *The Meaning of the Built Environment: A Nonverbal Communication Approach* (Arizona, 1982) pp. 15-19. The term 'designer' is used throughout this thesis to refer to the creator(s) of domestic architecture.
[108] Ibid., p. 19.

Rapoport's explanation of cultural determinants, and how they affect building form, is fundamental to understanding how houses were created. His book *House Form and Culture* proposed that the form of a building is informed - through a series of varying scales - by 'socio-cultural forces.'[109] His methodical anthropological approach to buildings resonates well with the processes by which gentry housing in Wales was created. Seen in the broadest terms, house form is not simply the consequence of physical factors or any single force, but is the result of a whole array of socio-cultural factors. These primary socio-cultural factors are then modified by secondary influences, such as climatic conditions, and by the tools for creating the desired building, such as materials, technology, etc. This objective and balanced view of 'many forces operating in combination' demonstrates that no single influence can govern how buildings are built. Rapoport's argument is divided into two halves; the first three chapters defend the primacy of culture, while the final three discuss the modifying influences of other factors. This theory has great relevance to this thesis. It is especially pertinent to the argument made here: that the houses of the Welsh gentry were not merely buildings, but were institutions whose form reflected aspirations and wider social implications via a complex set of purposes. The process of building a house is a cultural phenomenon, and its form and organisation, like Rapoport's built environment, are 'greatly influenced by the cultural milieu to which it belongs.'[110]

Maximilien Sorre's *genre de vie* (way of life), includes all the cultural, spiritual, material and social aspects which influence a phenomenon like the physical form of a building.[111] Rapoport uses the concept, stating 'houses and settlements are the physical expression of *genre de vie*, and this constitutes their symbolic nature.'[112] In this view, a house is no longer just a physical entity but instead a mechanism for reflecting its owner's and inhabitants'

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[109] Rapoport, *House form and culture* (Upper Saddle, 1969), p. 60.
[110] Ibid., p. 46.
[111] M. Sorre, 'The Concept of *genre de vie*', in P.L. Wagner & M.W. Mikesell (eds), *Readings in Cultural Geography* (Chicago, 1961), pp. 399-415.
[112] A. Rapoport, *House form and culture* (Upper Saddle River, 1969), p. 47.

world view. The diversity of built form, as shown by Peter Smith's *Houses of the Welsh Countryside*, supports this approach. By exploring the houses of the Welsh gentry, and the choices available to them, these factors should be considered. As Rapoport terms it, one 'must find the "flavour" of a culture's true meaning and beliefs before one can understand its houses.'[113] Historians such as John Gwynfor Jones have applied such principles to the culture or the ideologies of *yr uchelwyr*.[114] The term *genre de vie* is useful in general terms but, in order to apply it to the subject of this thesis, it must be broken down further using Rapoport's five components:

1. Basic need, such as the need for shelter etc.
2. Family, such as family structure, extended family, kinship groups, etc.
3. Position of women, which as an aspect of the family system, is evident with the male and female domains in houses and when women take the place of men in society.
4. Privacy, another extension of family; it is related to the separation of space, as illustrated by the solar wings of great halls.
5. Social intercourse or the meeting of people as we are defined as social animals. The provision of space for this important factor of lives is a modifying factor on form.[115]

Rapoport's analysis of structure regards buildings as being the result of two principal forces: man and nature. 'Man' involves 'his nature, aspirations, social organisation, world view, way of life, social and psychological needs, individual and group needs, economic resources, attitudes to nature; his physical needs, i.e., the "functional program"; the techniques available.'[116] For 'nature', it requires, 'physical aspects, such as climate, site, materials, structural laws and so on; visual, such as the landscape.'[117] Rapoport links behaviour and built form in two ways: 'first, in the sense that an understanding of behaviour patterns, including desires, motivations, and feelings, is essential to the understanding of built form, since built form is the physical embodiment of these patterns; and the second, in the

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[113] Ibid., p. 60.
[114] See J.G. Jones, *Concepts of Order and Gentility in Wales, 1540-1640* (Llandysul, 1992).
[115] Ibid., p. 61.
[116] Ibid., p. 13.
[117] Ibid.

sense that forms, once built, affect behaviour and the way of life.'[118] Rapoport makes an important link between the recording and classification of buildings, on the one hand, and the cultural pressures that are exerted on buildings, on the other. Fundamental to this approach is the concept that manifestations of house form can be so varied, even when the origins are similar, and that similar results seem to flow from totally different sources. This concept of the 'possibilist' stresses that 'physical setting only provides possibilities, not imperatives, and it is 'man' - not site or climate - that is the modifying force. Modification of a site's influence is expressed by Rapoport in three forms:

1. Religious and cosmological: the environment is regarded as dominant, and humanity is less than nature.
2. Symbiotic: humanity and nature are balanced, and humanity views itself as custodian of it.
3. Exploitative: humanity is the completer and modifier of nature. It creates it and also can destroy it.[119]

As a reaction to physical determinism, there is also anti-physical determinism, which, according to Rapoport, is the effect of religion and religious practices on house form; this is also expressed by Raglan's *The Temple and the House*. He states that 'the sacredness of the house' is fundamental to its form.[120] Pierre Deffontaines points out that only humans have a spiritual aspect which therefore distinguishes our buildings from the dwellings of other animals.[121]

Structure and Method

The primary aim of this thesis is to analyse whether there is anything distinctive about the country house in Wales as compared with that in England, Scotland and Ireland. Chapter 2 assesses the variety of primary sources available, and their relative authority for understanding the domestic architecture of *yr uchelwyr*. Chapter 3 critiques the layout of the

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[118] Ibid., p. 16.
[119] Ibid., p. 75.
[120] Lord Raglan, *The Temple and the House* (New York, 1964), p. 35.
[121] P. Deffontaines, *Géographie et Religions* (Paris, 1948), pp. 15-16.

homes of *yr uchelwyr* and discusses the impact of Welsh customs on house form. Chapter 4 reflects on the concept of survival and revival, asking whether the houses of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries were products of continuum or presented a break with the past. The eighteenth century saw the practice of architecture change, from being a craft vocation and gentlemen's hobby, to a profession.[122] Chapter 5 considers the role of female architectural patrons, against the backdrop of medieval laws regarding women, and places them in the context of a broader gender history. This chapter employs case studies to explore the different approaches of female owners and their expressed *uchelwriaeth* (nobility). This is critiqued in two ways, firstly by a multi-generational approach, and secondly, by examining the architectural patronage of women who 'became' Welsh.

This thesis focusses on the houses built by artisan craftsmen, termed vernacular architecture, and the developing influence of professional provincial architects. The transitional states of artisan craftsmen, using pattern books and copying buildings known to them and/or their clients, are discussed in Chapters 4 and 5. Provincial architects began from the early-nineteenth century to have a profound effect on country house building in Britain, providing a cheaper alternative to the London-based practices of 'national' architects. This theme is approached in this thesis through a synthesis of historical narrative and built evidence, and is supplemented by examples of houses that were built without any relation to the *uchelwyr*, by families who settled in Wales having had no prior connection with the Province. The aim of these chapters is to establish a more detailed context, both cultural and architectural, for the building of country houses in Wales. The thesis concludes by summarising the findings of the research, and places the Welsh country house in a national context.

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[122] R.M. Pears, 'William Newton (1730-1798) and the development of the architectural profession in north-east England', Newcastle University PhD Thesis (2013), p. 5.

Chapter 2: Sources for the study of the Welsh Country House

Introduction

The primary sources used in the construction of this thesis are wide-ranging both in terms of form (being two and three-dimensional) and in date, ranging from modern day surveys, archaeological evaluation and critical analysis of standing structures, visual source material to early-modern bardic poetry. This chapter begins with an overview of the three-dimensional sources, and the way in which a building's archaeology and architectural history help us to understand them. The two-dimensional sources include architectural drawings; this section includes a critical analysis of how pictorial representations and architectural drawings give us different perspectives on the same building. Verbal accounts and a discussion of place name etymology are an important source of information, particularly in terms of room usage within domestic property. Written descriptions and building accounts of houses in Wales began to appear during the sixteenth and early-seventeenth centuries, in parallel to surviving documentary evidence from elsewhere in Britain. This chapter then takes other sources into account, with a conclusion discussing how these different sources interact, and how this mix leads us to re-read certain sources differently. Theories appropriate for interpreting such a range of evidence are also discussed.

Standing Structures

This thesis argues that the houses of the gentry formed a conscious display of ancestry through a variety of architectural vehicles. Welsh families were connected by 'bloud and name'[1], and it was through these ties that their social world functioned. Concentrating on the Mostyn dynasty, Shaun Evans suggests that these families 'comprised a comprehensive

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[1] S. Evans, 'To contynue in my bloud and name': Reproducing the Mostyn Dynasty, *c.*1540-1692', Unpublished Aberystwyth University PhD Thesis (2013).

patrimony which provided the past-present-perpetual vehicle - the physical heirloom paraphernalia and conceptual heritage, legacy, traditions, customs and prerogatives - for the family's enactment of inheritable and multigenerational forms of *uchelwriaeth* over certain North Wales territories and communities'[2], ideas that can be extrapolated to other houses and families. In terms of the physical structures, Richard Suggett has argued that the houses of Wales, 'whose professional craftsmanship still astonishes us, were built as acts of conspicuous display through which social identity was constructed and maintained.'[3] *Yr uchelwyr*, the families of 'gentle birth' were, from the beginning of the seventeenth century, the great landowners of Wales, and as a consequence held enormous influence in all aspects of daily life. Archaeological evidence supports the idea that a new initiative took place towards the end of the medieval period to improve living standards, and that this was driven by the gentry.[4] The occurrence of fewer wars in post-fifteenth-century Wales meant that there less defensive architecture was being built. Political stability after the Glyndwr Rebellions removed the need for tower houses in Wales, a century before they were discontinued in other areas.[5] The Act of Union brought peace and stability to Wales, enabling the country to prosper whilst Scottish, Irish and northern English contemporaries continued to struggle. The divide between the poor and rich was less evident in Wales, leading to a reduction in the distinction between the lower, middle and upper gentry of the period, as illustrated by the large number of gentry houses (later used as farmhouses) dating between 1485 and 1558.[6] Peter Smith notes that Elizabethan storeyed houses often contained the remnants of early-Tudor halls, but that Tudor halls rarely incorporated any fabric of their

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[2] Ibid., p. i.

[3] R. Suggett, 'The Interpretation of Late Medieval Houses in Wales', in R.R. Davies and G.H. Jenkins (eds.), *From Medieval to Modern Wales* (Cardiff, 2004), p. 82.

[4] See C. Dyer, *Standards of Living in the Later Middle Ages: Social Change in England c.1200-1520* (Cambridge, 1989).

[5] A. Emery, *Greater Medieval Houses of England and Wales, 1300-1500: Volume 2, East Anglia, Central England and Wales* (Cambridge, 2000), p. 654.

[6] P. Smith, *Houses of the Welsh Countryside: A Study in Historical Geography* (London, 1988), pp. 147-149.

predecessors.[7] This further supports evidence of the radical rebuilding of Tudor Wales, where domestic architecture went from being transient to permanent, and where timber became replaced by stone. Such a use of stone and timber can be seen at Plas Teg, a house built using highly sophisticated planning techniques imported from court circles. It boasts a dressed ashlar classical frontage, yet internally it retained many vernacular features, such as its wooden interior decoration and staircase, which feature crude carvings and asymmetric detailing.

To understand Welsh houses, it is useful to take into consideration the size, plan and form of the buildings, as these can reveal the aspirations and ambitions of their owners. Newly-built properties are interesting, as they capture the owner's or designer's aspirations during the period of their construction. Llanerchaeron, Aberaeron, Ceredigion, is noteworthy in this respect, as what survives is substantially the result of a single build. Suggett described the mansion as being a purpose-built 'box villa', which, like many other Welsh gentry houses, incorporated a much older, 'ancestral' building.[8] Historically, it had been the home of the Gwynne family, who sold the estate in 1634 to Llewellyn Parry.[9] Like many members of the Welsh gentry, the Lewises were a fashionable family, employing the Anglo-Welsh architect, John Nash to redesign their house in the mid-1790s.[10] Nash's commissions in Wales may have occurred due to a patronage network of Freemasons, who formed an influential client group in seventeenth and eighteenth century Britain.[11] Freemasonry was popular and widespread following the reorganisation of by the Grand Lodge of London in

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[7] P. Smith, 'Hall, Tower and Church: Some Themes and Sites Reconsidered' in *Welsh Society and Nationhood: Historical Essays Presented to Glanmor Williams*, ed. by R.R. Davies (Cardiff, 1984), p. 122.

[8] See R. Suggett, *John Nash: Architect in Wales (*Aberystwyth, 1995).

[9] His descendants immediately assumed the surname Lewis.

[10] The Lewises had previously engaged King George III's architect Sir William Chambers, in *c.*1761 to design a villa at Llanaeron (Llanerchaeron) which remained unexecuted. URL: http://www.artfund.org/what-we-do/art-weve-helped-buy/artwork/4463/design-for-a-villa-at-llanaeron-sir-william-chambers [accessed 3.2.2014] and J. Harris, *The design of the English country house, 1620-1920* (Washington, 1989) pp. 152-3.

[11] William Schaw (c.1550-1602), Master of Works to James VI of Scotland, was the founder of Freemasonry in Scotland.

1717, with members engaging in social mobility between the established strata of society.[12]

Most members of the aristocracy and gentry, and professionals such as lawyers and doctors, were masons and the penetration of Freemasonry resonated not only on a national level, but also provincially. Welsh masonic lodges appear to have been governed from border towns and cities such as Chester, where an early reference to a Welshman being a Freemason was recorded in 1660. The Province of North Wales was instituted in 1727, with individual lodges being founded subsequently.[13]

Archaeology is the study of past societies and individuals through the physical remains they have left us, while architectural history is about understanding buildings and their surroundings in their wider cultural, historical and social context. It is also the history of material culture, including buildings, its scope actually being as wide as (or wider than) that of architectural history. It is seen, theoretically, as more reliable than history, as it deals with absolutes, rather than documents. Sir Howard Colvin would have disagreed with this assumption, and with good reason. He wrote that 'The only limits to understanding the archaeology of buildings or of excavations are the skills of the archaeologist […]',[14] to that we might perhaps add the state of preservation of the evidence.[15] Buildings archaeology is the study of structures as archaeological objects in their own right. Like any form of archaeology, it is the study of material culture, yet it can be inclusive of other tools and approaches, by utilising a variety of methods. It can be interdisciplinary, adopting a holistic attitude, enabling problem solving and critical understanding. Buildings archaeology, although a relatively new strand within mainstream archaeology, has developed from the various forms of approach created by archaeological theory. During the nineteenth century, buildings archaeology was being pioneered by architects and archaeologists such as Thomas Rickman and Robert Willis.

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[12] See R. Péter et al (eds.), *British Freemasonry, 1717-1813* (London, 2014).
[13] URL: http://www.nwmasons.org/history.html [accessed 6.4.15].
[14] R.K. Morriss, *The Archaeology of Buildings* (Stroud, 2000), p. 14
[15] Ibid. Morriss is simultaneously an archaeologist and architectural historian.

In 1817 Rickman published *An attempt to discriminate the styles of English architecture*, which gave rise to differentiating style and period through such terms as Norman, Early English, Decorated and Perpendicular.[16] He was to play a role in establishing a scholarly basis for the study of medieval architecture and its revival. Rickman was born in Maidenhead in 1776, the son of a surgeon and apothecary. He first trained in medicine and practised as a doctor for a number of years.[17] In 1808, Rickman moved to Liverpool to work as a clerk in a firm of insurance brokers. Following the death of his first wife, he became fascinated by the wealth of medieval architecture in the area. Rickman's son recalled that, 'from the time of his arrival in Liverpool he seems never to have missed a day or an hour which could be given to examining buildings.'[18] About 1812, he made a detailed study of Chester Cathedral, but this was not published until 1864, coinciding with his election as Professor of Architecture to the Liverpool Academy.[19] His lectures were so well received that they appeared as a chapter in James Smith's *Panorama of arts and sciences* in 1815, and led to commissions in Wales.[20] Rickman is an example of an architect that entered architecture by being a professional in another discipline, in this instance, medicine. His amateur interest in buildings was converted into a vocation through learning.

The defining factor is that the building is the primary archaeological resource, and the evidence for its archaeological interpretation is contained within it. It focuses on the study of structure and structural development, of which three principal elements exist: fabric, form and function.

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[16] M. Aldrich, 'Rickman, Thomas (1776–1841)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004. URL: http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/23607 [accessed 2.7.2008]

[17] J. Vaughan, 'Thomas Rickman's essay on Gothic architecture and nineteenth century architectural education,' Paradigm, 7 (1991). URL: http://faculty.education.illinois.edu/westbury/paradigm/Vaughan.html [accessed 28.2.2014]

[18] T. M. Rickman, *Notes on the life and on the several imprints of the work of Thomas Rickman* (London, 1901), p. 6.

[19] J. Vaughan, 'Thomas Rickman's essay on Gothic architecture and nineteenth century architectural education,' *Paradigm*, 7 (1991). URL: http://faculty.education.illinois.edu/westbury/paradigm/Vaughan.html [accessed 28.2.2014]

[20] Rickman's Welsh commissions include Gwrych Castle, Abergele, for Lloyd Hesketh Bamford-Hesketh

'Fabric's' definition is the actual material of which a building is constructed. The term also includes the question of how these materials were used, their structural capabilities and limitations. 'Form' is the physical shape of the building in all dimensions, including its internal layout. It is dictated by both the fabric and the function of the building. Form has to meet the requirements of the function in such a way as can be achieved using the available fabric. Every structure - from garden shed to country house - has a function. The understanding of space and use of space is just as important as the fabric it encloses; interpretation therefore has to be interdisciplinary. Buildings archaeology utilises the instruments and methods of historians and architectural historians; it uses scientific and technological instruments to describe, to analyse and to date materials and architectural structures.[21] It can be an essential tool in the case of buildings that are to be demolished, if the structure can be recorded accurately, critical analysis during the demolition process can preserve through record. For conservation issues, the role of the buildings archaeologist and the architectural historian can provide an authoritative overview informing clients during a decision-making process.

Architectural history and theory has, since the early nineteenth century, principally been grounded in the recording of facts. These facts are then established and, in the absence of interpretation, allowed - albeit in a generalised way - to 'speak for themselves.'[22] A range of approaches exist within each of the disciplines of archaeology, architectural history and history. Many writers have in recent years attempted to discern how the three disciplines can unite. But, rather than achieving this reconciliation, they have seen polemical arguments ensue. Dana Arnold, in *Reading Architectural History*, highlights that the interpretation of history, whether it be focussed on buildings or persons, is fluid and provisional, changing through time and through interpretation. Her conclusion contrasts starkly with the generalised

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[21] A. Boato and D. Pittaluga, *Building Archaeology: A Non-destructive Archaeology*, URL: http://www.ndt.net/article/wcndt00/papers/idn365/idn365.htm [accessed 27.2.2014].
[22] D. Arnold, *Reading Architectural History* (London, 2002), p. xvi.

'the buildings speak for themselves' approach. Arnold's approach is representative of those architectural historians whose role is by nature 'challenging', providing theoretical arguments, rather than providing factually based history. An archaeologist's interpretation of architectural history is the study of documentary evidence, art, structure and the development of ideas. Buildings are thus read as documents, 'providing examples of the development of decorative carving, mouldings, or plan forms, for example.'[23]

Approaches to architectural history have changed significantly during the past century; traditionally, history has been the root of architectural writing. Sir Nikolaus Pevsner (1902-1983) viewed function and aesthetics as primary paradigms, famously saying that 'a bicycle shed is a building: Lincoln Cathedral is a piece of architecture.'[24] Architectural historians such as Sir John Summerson (1904-1992) contributed to the chronological history of British architecture from the early medieval period onwards with his commission by Penguin Books to write *Architecture in Britain 1530-1830*.[25] Summerson's work on Georgian London, his essays and, to a lesser extent, his biography of John Nash were also influential.[26] His contemporaries, Christopher Hussey (1899-1970) and Alex Clifton-Taylor (1907-1985) both followed and added to the subject.[27] Summerson's work has been expanded upon by authors such as Mark Girouard, Gervase Jackson-Stops and Malcolm Airs, whose analysis into building processes opened up areas of new research.[28] As with archaeology, it was

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[23] R.K. Morriss, *The Archaeology of Buildings* (Stroud,(Stroud: Tempus, 2000), p. 10.
[24] N. Pevsner, *An Outline of European Architecture* (Harmondsworth, 1960), p. 22.
[25] M. Girouard, 'Summerson, Sir John Newenham (1904–1992)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, May 2009. URL: http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/47466 [accessed 17.2.2014]
[26] J. Summerson, *Georgian London: An Architectural Study* (London, 1945) and J. Summerson, *The Life and Work of John Nash, Architect* (Cambridge, 1980).
[27] J. Cornforth, 'Hussey, Christopher Edward Clive (1899–1970)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004. URL: http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/34070 [accessed 17.2.2014] and D. Moriarty, 'Taylor, Alec Clifton- (1907–1985)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004. URL: http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/30942 [accessed 17.2.2014].
[28] See M. Girouard, *Life in the English Country House: A Social and Architectural History* (New Haven, 1978): S. Blow, 'Stops, Gervase Frank Ashworth Jackson- (1947–1995)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Jan 2010. URL: http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/58183 [accessed 17.2.2014] and M. Airs, *The Tudor and Jacobean Country House* (New York, 1995).

necessary for the dating of buildings to be established and for the various types of architecture through time to be recognised.

Discourses had previously focussed upon description, data collection and construction of a canon, as shown by Sir Howard Colvin's *A Biographical Dictionary of British Architects 1600-1850*.[29] However, a rise in the influence of literary theory on architectural studies saw increasing debate surrounding the authorship of buildings, and this process was championed by Colvin, who was a historian by training.[30] He moved architectural history away from being a branch of art history, i.e. primarily based on connoisseurship concerned with style and attribution, to a branch of history, based on archival research. Attributions were to be made on the basis of archival evidence rather than of stylistic similarity to other works whose date and/or author could be established. His work is an indispensable work of reference, a benchmark in architectural history. But his aim was to record and not to analyse its contents. Rather than relying solely on visual evidence, Colvin returned to documentary sources; his *History of the King's Works* created a precedent for historic building analysis.[31] The six-volume set, which was published in 1963-1982, combined documentary analysis and building surveys. This established a basis from which archaeologists could interpret structures from parameters that had an objective base, and provided the field with a more systematic approach. This approach had a profound effect upon architectural history, which had previously been dominated by art history. Rather than commentators accepting that there existed a chronological progression of phases of construction following a traditional course, a new interest emerged in use, form and functionality, forcing a questioning of the nature of architecture. Architecture became 'an essential instrument of the development and

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[29] H. Colvin, *A Biographical Dictionary of British Architects 1600-1850* (New Haven, 1954)
[30] W. Whyte, 'Colvin, Sir Howard Montagu (1919–2007)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, Jan 2011. URL: http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/99338 [accessed 17.2.2014].
[31] H. Colvin (ed.), *The History of the King's Works* (London, 1963-1982).

dissemination of [social] ideas [...]'[32] There was an antagonism between the professions of history and archaeology, which stemmed from the latter's antiquarianism and its microcosmic view of sites. In reaction to this, archaeologists during the twentieth century rejected the use of historical sources in their discipline; David Dymond's important *Archaeology and History: A Plea for Reconciliation* dealt with these issues in detail, and brought the debate into mainstream academia.[33] Ian Hodder, in the mid-1980s, also called for synthesis between the disciplines, arguing that 'archaeology should re-capture its traditional links with history.'[34] An integrated approach has proven problematic for both historians and archaeologists, and there have been many works discussing the issues raised.[35]

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[32] D. Arnold, *Reading Architectural History* (London, 2002), p. 7.

[33] D. Dymond, *Archaeology and History: A Plea for Reconciliation* (London, 1974).

[34] I. Hodder, *Reading the Past: Current approaches to interpretation in archaeology* (1986) (revised 1991 and, with S. Hutson, Cambridge, 2003) p. 125.

[35] See J. Deetz, 'History and Archaeological Theory: Walter Taylor Revisited', *American Antiquity*,53 (1), pp. 13-22; T. C. Young, 'Since Herodotus, Has History Been a Valid Concept?', *American Antiquity*, 53 (1), pp. 7-12; J. Bintliff (ed.), *The Annales School and Archaeology* (London, 1991); B. Knapp, *Archaeology, Annales, and Ethnohistory* (Cambridge, 1992): I. Morris, *Archaeology as Cultural History: Words and Things in Iron Age Greece* (Oxford, 2000).

Figure 6: *Bachegraig, Tremeirchion, Denbighshire. Built by Sir Richard Clough in 1567.Watercolour by Moses Griffiths for Thomas Pennant's 'Journey to Snowdon'.* Bangor (Rare Books) XAA7/PEN.

Depicting the Welsh House

There is remarkably little visual evidence of country houses prior to the 1770s, and this thesis suggests that this may be accounted for by the rich descriptions preserved in bardic poetry. Wales had few large towns until the end of the eighteenth century - a characteristic which did not enable academies to flourish, nor to provide centres of population that could support such a specialist business.[36] Artworks often came from journeyman artists, or from England, from those gentry who had town houses. For North Wales, Chester and Shrewsbury were important centres from which the landed gentry would employ artists. And for the south, Bristol fulfilled this function.[37] Peter Lord states that the relative failure of academic art in Wales was the consequence of the location of government in England: 'Patronage was merely an absent intermediary consequent on the same fundamental cause.' He goes on to

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[36] See P. Lord, *Imaging the Nation* (Cardiff, 2000).
[37] M. Wynn Cato, *Parry: The Life and Works of William Parry A.R.A (1743-1791)* (London, 2008), p. 10.

argue that an indigenous culture and 'a particular identity are not sustainable without a parallel political expression.'[38]

The earliest depictions of houses are found in manuscripts, such as the surveyor's drawing of Ruperra Castle that is included on an arbitration of land division; this records a ground plan, but also elevations and a bird's-eye view. It shows four spines of chimneys arranged in rows coming off a central stack. The gables are prominently shown, as are the porch and crenellated corner towers.[39] The aerial, panoramic views of Margam Park, Port Talbot, and Llannerch, St. Asaph, are amongst the most important late-seventeenth century works that depict houses.[40] With detailed depictions of the gardens and wider landscape, they constitute some of the best visual records of two important houses. Llannerch was arguably at one time Wales's most important Renaissance terraced garden. The gardens were laid out by Mutton Davies in the 1660s around a tall and compact Jacobean house, not too dissimilar to Plas Teg, Mold, and Foxhall Newydd, Denbigh.[41] Llannerch was remodelled in 1772, and again more drastically in 1862-64 when the house was recased in the Italianate Style. Due to the characteristic nineteenth-century landscaping procedures that took place, nothing of the once magnificent gardens is visible above ground. They are reminiscent of Parc, Llanfrothen, where Huw Machno, in his elegy for William Lewis Anwyl in the 1640s, mentions gardens, orchards, walls, parks and 'fair towers'.[42]

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[38] P. Lord, *Aesthetics of Relevance*, (Llandysul, 1992), p.18.
[39] NLW Tredegar 1193 Row 124.
[40] National Museum of Wales, Cathays Park, Cardiff. Main Collection, NMW/A/29924 and 29925.
[41] ICOMOS Park and Garden Register 'Llannerch'. URL: http://coflein.gov.uk/pdf/CPG126/ [accessed 11.10.2014]
[42] ICOMOS Park and Garden Register 'Parc'. URL: http://coflein.gov.uk/pdf/CPG035/ [accessed 11.10.2014]
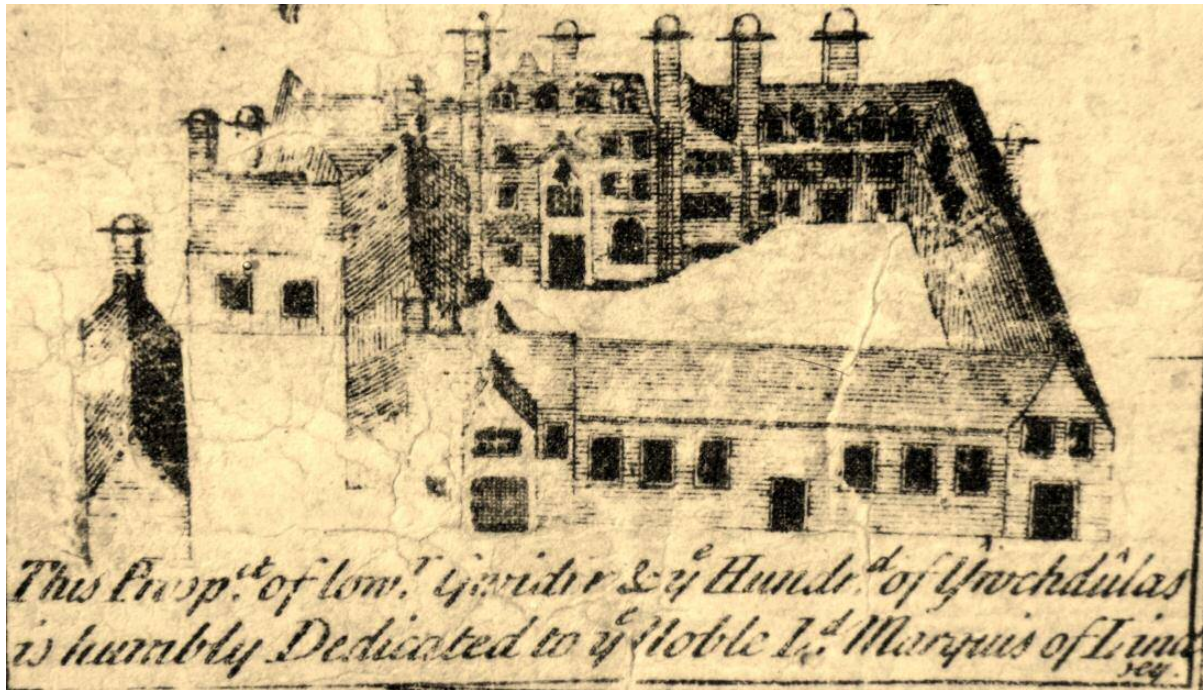
Figure 7: *Gwydir, Llanrwst as depicted on 'A New Map of Denbighshire and Flintshire'.* NLW: MA002/Attic.

'A New Map of Denbighshire and Flintshire', held at the National Library of Wales as MA002/Attic, created by William Williams and John Felton, engraved by J. Senex, *c.*1710, has been an important source for this thesis. The map's subscribers had elevational drawings of their houses and heraldic devices illustrated around the border. Another copy, in better condition, survives in private hands at Hartsheath, near Mold.[43] This document is one of the first visual surveys of historic houses in Wales; it serves as an important record of the spread of sash windows, replacing the traditional casement window in north Wales, as well as

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[43] Illustrated houses and their owners: Robert Ellis (1690-?) of Croesnewydd, Broughton, Wrexham; John Hill of Sontley (1650-1731), Marchwiel, Wrexham; Thomas Eyton (1682-1757) of Leeswood, Mold; William Hanmer (1674-1724) of Fenns, Whitchurch; John Trevor (1681-1719) of Plas Teg, Pontblyddyn, Mold; Sir Griffith Williams (-1734) of Marle, Llandudno; Robert Wynne (-1743) of Garthewin, Llanfairtalhaiarn; Edward Lloyd (1673 -1714) of Llwyn-y-Maen, Oswestry; Thomas Wynne (?-?) of Dyffryn Aled, Llansannan ; Madame Dorith and Judith Longford of Trevalyn, Rossett; Marquis of Lindsay (1660-1723) of Gwydir, Llanrwst; Sir Robert Cotton (-1748) of Lleweni, Denbigh; Sir Thomas Hanmer (1677-1746) of Bettisfield, Hanmer, Wrexham; Sir Walter Bagot (1702-1768) of Bachymbyd, Denbigh; Sir Roger Mostyn (1673-1734) of Gloddaeth, Llandudno; Sir William Williams (1666-1740) of Llanforda, Oswestry; Richard Myddleton (1655-1716) of Chirk Castle, Chirk; Sir Richard Grosvenor (1689-1732) of Eaton, Chester; Eubule Lloyd (?-1758) of Pen-y-lan, Ruabon; Robert Price (1655-1733) of Giler, Cerrigydrudion; Robert Davies (1684-1728) of Llannerch, St. Asaph; [David] Maurice (1656-1719) of Penybont, Llansilin; John Meller (1665-1733) of Erddig, Wrexham[43]; Sir Watkin Williams Wynn (1665-1740) of Wynnstay, Wrexham; [Sir Watkin Williams Wynn] (1665-1740) of Llangedwyn, Oswestry; Thomas Puleston (1687-1730) of Emral, Overton, Wrexham; John Robinson (1687-1732) of Gwersyllt, Wrexham and John Roberts (1672-1731) of Plasnewydd, Llanfair Dyffryn Clwyd, Ruthin.

the use of brick as a building material. The appearance of sash-windows in Britain can be traced to the end of the seventeenth century. It is believed that the sash-window had originated in the Netherlands, and that its widespread introduction had occurred during the reign of William of Orange.[44] Of the houses illustrated, Wynnstay in Ruabon, was the most well-known, as it was principal seat of the Williams-Wynn family, one of Wales' largest landowners, giving rise to the term 'Princes of North Wales.' The estate had passed in the mid-seventeenth century to Sir John Wynn, who enlarged an already existing house. This was in turn remodelled in 1736-38 by Francis Smith of Warwick, and his son, William Smith. James Wyatt carried out some works, but his ambitious schemes for a complete rebuilding were not realised.[45]

Figure 8: *Lleweni, near Denbigh, painted by Moses Griffith for Thomas Pennant's 'A Tour in Wales', 1778.* NLW: PD9872.

Lleweni was one of the largest houses to be illustrated. It was home to the wealthy Salusbury family, and had one of North Wales' most impressive medieval great halls. A red brick wing was added in the late-seventeenth century, which was extended to form a formal

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[44] See H. Louw, 'The Origin of the Sash-Window', *AH*, 26 (1983), pp. 49-72; H. Louw, 'Window-Glass Making in Britain *c*.1660-*c*.1860 and its Architectural Impact', *Construction History*, 7 (1991), pp. 47-68; H. Louw, 'A Construction History of the Sash-Window *c*.1670-*c*.1725 [Part 1]', *AH*, 41 (1998), pp. 82-130; H. Louw, 'A Construction History of the Sash-Window *c*.1670-*c*.1725 [Part 2]', *AH*, 42 (1999), pp. 173-239.

[45] Early nineteenth century alteration included the recasing of the mansion under the supervision of Benjamin Gummow in a neo-classical style. A devastating fire destroyed the entire interior of Wynnstay in the 1850s, and Benjamin Ferry was employed to rebuild virtually from scratch, in the French Renaissance style. The Williams-Wynns left Wynnstay in 1947 and the house was converted for use as school. Today, the main house has been divided up into flats together with all of the extensive outbuildings.

courtyard. The house was purchased by the Earl of Shelburne between 1775 and 1780, and Thomas Sandby, of London, was employed to build an unusual gothick front, with French Renaissance inspired towers.[46] The estate was put up for sale in 1810 and was purchased by the Hughes family of nearby Kinmel, who, between 1816 and 1818, demolished the house.
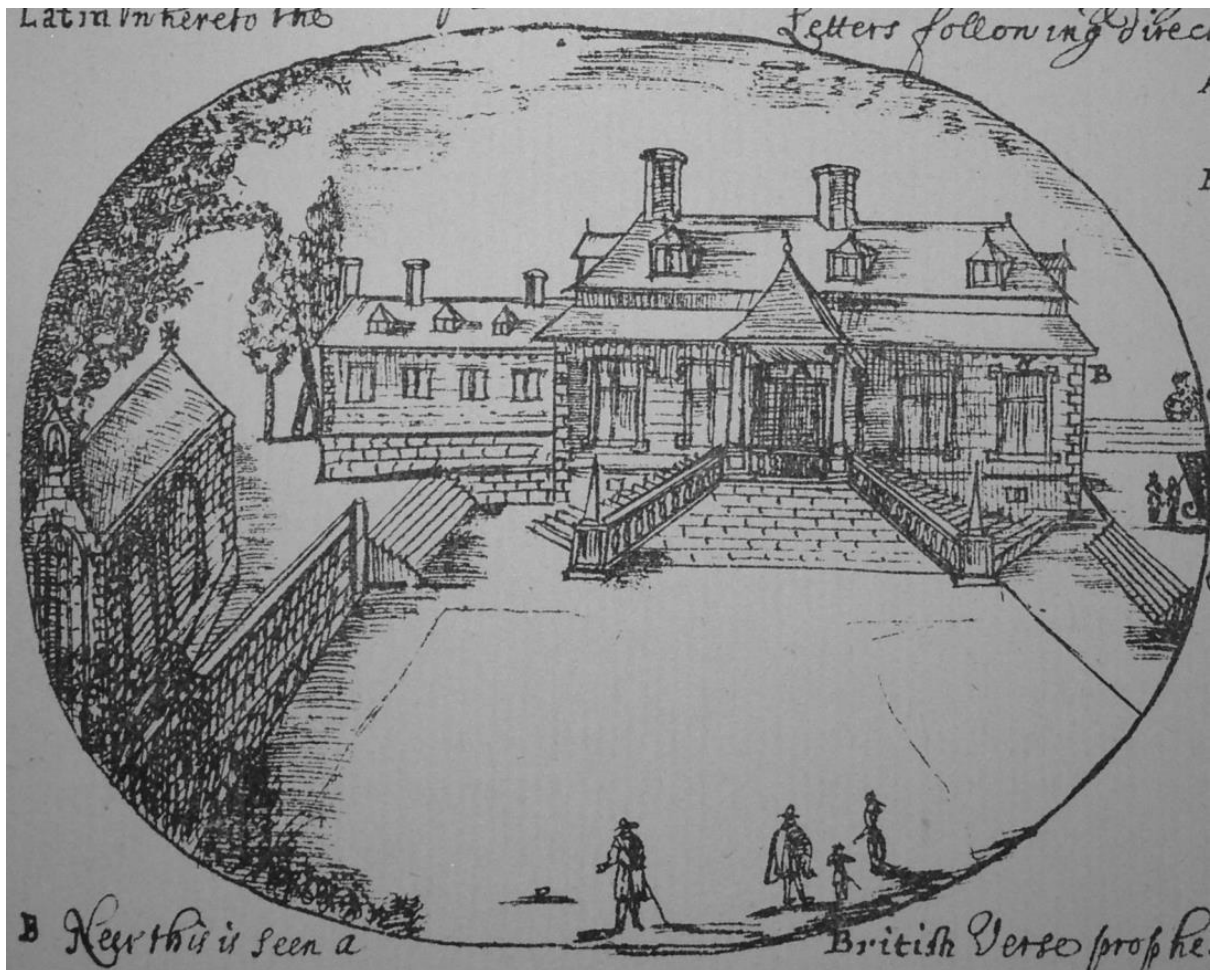
Figure 9: *Gwydir Uchaf sketched by Thomas Dineley, who recorded the progress of the Duke of Beaufort around Wales and the Marches in 1684, and made vignettes of some of the properties at which the entourage resided. This manuscript was not published until 1864, edited by Charles Baker. T. Dineley,* The Account of the Official Progress of His Grace, Henry the first Duke of Beaufort through Wales in 1684 *(London, 1888).* Courtesy of Cardiff University: WG30 (1888).

Engravings were a popular form of transferring images, in particular the work of famous artists. Richard Wilson's paintings of Welsh landscapes were issued as engravings

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[46] Sandby also seems to be the designer of the great bleachworks which were built near to Lleweni to provide employment for the tenants.

through the publisher John Boydell in 1775.[47] John Barrell remarks that 'the views chosen were among the grandest the country had to offer; three ancient castles, the two most striking mountains; and a modern bridge […] then the longest single-span arch bridge in the world and considered the modern wonder of Wales.'[48] Three years later came Thomas Pennant's *A Tour in Wales*, a two-volume set, which featured illustrations by Moses Griffith (1747-1819), who had been specially commissioned for the purpose.[49] Griffith was born at the mansion of Tryfaen, Bryncroes, on the Llŷn Peninsula, and, at the age of twenty-two, entered the employment of Thomas Pennant, heir to the Downing estate, near Holywell, Flintshire.[50] Pennant travelled extensively through the British Isles and gained an international reputation for scholarship, his many publications including *The British Zoology* (1761-77), *A Tour in Wales* (1778-81), *A Tour in Scotland and a Voyage to the Hebrides* (1772), *Literary Life* (1793) and *The History of the Parishes of Whiteford and Holywell* (1796).[51] Pennant was a Welsh speaker, as attested by the quotations of Welsh texts in his works and a comment by Reverend John Lloyd of Caerwys:

…to his great skill in the language and antiquities of our own country I own myself much indebted; for without his assistance many things might have escaped me and many errors crept into my labours.[52]

Architectural Drawings

Architectural drawings fall into two categories; the first are dimensioned and scientific drawings, and the second are perspective drawings or artistic impressions. The conflicting nature of the two approaches originated in the fifteenth century, when Leon Battista Alberti (1404-1472), in *De Re Aedificatoria* (1443-52), advised architects against using perspective

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[47] D. Solkin, *Richard Wilson: The Landscape of Reaction* (London, 1982), pp. 94-9.
[48] J. Barrell, *Edward Pugh of Ruthin 1763-1813 - A Native Artist* (Cardiff, 2013), p. 1.
[49] D. Moore, *Moses Griffith: 1747-1819 - Artist and Illustrator in the service of Thomas Pennant* (Cardiff, 1979).
[50] M. Griffith, *Dictionary of Welsh Biography*. URL: http://yba.llgc.org.uk/en/s-GRIF-MOS-1747.html [accessed 9.10.2014].
[51] D. Moore, *Moses Griffith: 1747-1819 - Artist and Illustrator in the service of Thomas Pennant* (Cardiff: Welsh Arts Council, 1979), p. 12.
[52] T. Pennant, *The Literary Life of the Late Thomas Pennant, Esq., by himself* (London, 1793), p. 26.

drawing, due to its inaccuracy. Alberti instead suggested the use of an orthographic ground plan and accompanying model, so that the key proportions and measurements of the plan could be used with the three-dimensional model.[53] Historically, architects were trained in other disciplines, such as art or apprenticeships in trades, and it was not until the beginning of the twentieth century that formal training in architectural schools became established.[54] The design process as it existed then and now involves an initial commission and a brief from a client, which is then developed by the designer with suggestive sketches and experimentation. These are then developed, with amendments, to form a set of plans, elevations and in some cases sections. Perspectives can then be made to give an artistic impression of the design. The final set of drawings are developed enough for a builder to execute the project. The provision of exact information, for use by skilled craftsmen, is among the skills of an architect. In assessing the need for such detailed drawings, it must be remembered that many artisan-craftsmen were still the main contractors for executing building projects into the nineteenth century.

The variety of architectural drawings vary from detailed drawings to artistic illustrations. The more detail given by a designer, whether they are an artisan-craftsmen, provincial architect or 'national' architect, the greater the chance of the end user implementing the design, without its being open to interpretation. Examples of this graphic development of architectural drawings can be found in the collection held at the National Library of Wales, which contains over 1000 items. Many architectural drawings are contained within other collections, so the actual number of items may be ten times the amount. An issue with using architectural drawings as a source of information is that they were often prepared for a particular purpose in mind, and that they often only show proposals rather than a realised project. One of the earliest drawings is attributed to John Calvert and

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[53] J. Lever & M. Richardson, *The Art of the Architect: Treasures from the RIBA's Collections* (London, 1984), p. 7.
[54] Ibid., p. 21.

Associates, *c.*1770s, for a chimney piece and cornice in the music room at Slebech Hall, near Haverfordwest, Pembrokeshire.[55] The drawings collections of RCAHMW contains over 11,000 items, and is continually being expanded. They range from copies of architectural plans to original reconstructions of historic sites, created by the Royal Commission.

Surveys

- Surveys usually are exact recordings of whole structures or elements of a building. Of all the items used in this thesis, the surveys undertaken by RCAHMW have been invaluable. Their surveying and recording of historic buildings, since their foundation in 1908, have provided the largest resource of surveys, accompanied by survey notes, photographs, and drawings. In 1963, the National Monuments Record of Wales (NMRW) was founded, and the contents of the National Buildings Record (NBR) were transferred over.[56] The NBR was founded in 1941 and continued until 1963 to work in cooperation with the three Royal Commissions, recording threatened buildings.

Plans

- Plans are the most common of architectural drawings, and have changed little since the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, when they were referred to as 'plots'. They were often added to elevations to provide further information.

Elevations

- Elevations provide a frontal view of a building made in projection on a vertical plane. They are essential drawings made by architects to study the 'geometric proportions of

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[55] NLW PE 5129/1 and NLW PE 5129/16. John Calvert of Swansea was a master builder.
[56] URL: http://www.rcahmw.gov.uk/LO/ENG/Search+Records/National+Monuments+Record+of+Wales/History+and+Collections/ [accessed 19.4.15].

a design, but misleading and difficult for the layman as they do not convey recession and projection unless read with a plan.'[57]

Sections

- A section is a longitudinal drawing which represents a building as if it were cut through at right angles to the line of sight. It was used by Palladio, but did not become common practice in Britain until the second half of the seventeenth century.[58] They were popularised in Britain by *Vitruvius Britannicus,* and were often combined with one-point perspective to create a 'sectional perspective' or with an elevation to produce a 'sectional elevation'. Sections enabled architects to show their clients proposals for interior decoration. An example of this can be seen in the Williams Wynn Deposit, National Library of Wales, which contains two sectional elevations of the library at Wynnstay, Ruabon, Wrexham, by James Byres, dated 1770. These are early for Wales, and show how the Williams Wynn family were progressive in their choice of designer at Wynnstay.

Perspectives

- Two parallel approaches existed in architectural drawing: firstly, the orthogonal method which presented a design in plan, elevation and section, and the second, which shows a building pictorially in perspective. This method was highly influential for topographical engravers, and the use of bird-eye perspectives of buildings in landscapes. Realism and pictorialism in drawing enabled the architectural drawing to be understood by the client, and also for the builder.

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[57] J. Lever & M. Richardson, *The Art of the Architect: Treasures from the RIBA's Collections* (London, 1984), p. 18.
[58] Ibid.

Photography

RCAHMW's photographic collection forms the most significant body of systematic recording through photography of historic buildings in Wales. This collection was utilised by Thomas Lloyd in *The Lost Houses of Wales*. It is a photographic survey of country houses demolished in Wales since *c*.1900 and chronicles the demolition, dereliction and possible threat of deterioration to some 350 buildings.[59] *Country Life* articles, both in terms of images and text, have been a useful recording mechanism for historic houses in Wales. In a similar vein, *Country Heritage: The Stately Homes of the North West Counties and North Wales* was published by the *Liverpool Daily Post*.[60] Twelve of the twenty-three houses featured in this book were in north Wales, and all were in private ownership.[61] RIBA's photographic library, together with the Courtauld Institute's Conway Library have been consulted for this thesis. The county record offices for Wales are a rich resource, and contain large collections of images, both amateur and professional.

Written Sources

Language, one of the most distinctive cultural elements of Wales, held a broad and conceptual meaning, as exemplified in contemporary literature. Dialects existed too, displaying a diverse regionality which helped to foster local customs. It is conceivable that many of *yr uchelwyr* spoke the dialects of their respective areas, which is an important factor when considering how estate affairs and legal administration were carried out directly. The *plas*, or mansion, acted not only as the physical centre of life for large sections of the

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[59] Lloyd chaired Cadw's Historic Buildings Council for Wales and is a Royal Commissioner on the Ancient and Historic Monuments of Wales and Chair of the Cathedrals and Churches Commission of the Church in Wales. SAVE Britain's Heritage published the book and it went into a second edition in 1989, and has been subsequently expanded by Welsh sections in the annual SAVE buildings at risk registers. *Lost Houses of Wales* was preceded by SAVE's *The Lost Houses of Scotland*, which had been published in 1980 and focussed on the largest houses lost.

[60] H.R. Shaw, *Country Heritage: The Stately Homes of the North West Counties and North Wales* (Liverpool, 1951).

[61] The list of houses in order featured: Belan, Bodfean and Rhug; Bodnant; Bodrhyddan; Garthewin; Hawarden; Mostyn Hall; Nantclwyd Hall; Plas Newydd; Plas-yn-Cefn; Vaynol.

community but also as the symbolic centre. In Wales, an alternative term to *plas* was *llys* ('court', in English), a term describing the mansion house not only in a legal sense but also as a power base for the landed elite and attendants, for whom it served as a locus of cultural activity, supporting traditional forms of patronage such as art and Bardic poetry.[62] The itinerant poets functioned as compilers of family pedigrees, whilst also praising their patron's hospitality. Plas Brynkir and the five courts of Sir Thomas Mostyn were presented as the centres of cultural life, not only in a physical, but also in a spiritual sense: '*dy lŷs enaid y wlad*' - 'your court, the soul of the land' exclaimed the poet Huw Pennant.[63]

Welsh names, throughout history, have enjoyed a fluidity that is not commonly seen in their English equivalents. Place names are indicative of language spread and adoption. Anglicisation occurred chiefly through the English visitors' recording names phonetically - a process magnified through verbal transmission. This is aptly shown by etymological development of Ruperra; the earliest documented occurrence is from 1550, where it appears as *Rriw'rperre*, followed by *Ruerperre* in 1586, *Rewperrie* in 1596 and *Rhywrperrey* in 1615. The first element, *Rhiw*, translates as a steep hillside, while the second element, *Perre*, is taken from Old French for 'pear' (*Pere* is also seen in Middle English as *Pereye* and in Old English as *Perige*); by 1635 this had become *Ruper(r)a*, 'the hill of pears'.[64] Throughout the remainder of the seventeenth century, the name continued to alternate between *Rueperry* and *Ruerperie*. Entirely Welsh in form, Plas Teg's name consequently changed very little over time: *Place Teg* in the sixteenth century, *Plas Teg* during the seventeenth century, *Plas Teg Park* during the eighteenth century, while by the nineteenth it had become *Plas-Têg*. During the twentieth century it has altered once more to the poorly anglicised *Plas Teg Hall*.

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[62] See J.G. Jones ed., *Class, Community, and Culture in Tudor Wales* (Cardiff, 1989).
[63] For Brynkir see *The Cefn Coch MSS.*, J. Fisher (ed.), pp. 301-05 and for the Sir Thomas Mostyn, ibid. pp. 205-207.
[64] NLW, (Tredegar Papers Schedule 5) MSS/78/36.

The manuscript collections held in the libraries of the gentry were an important source of information. Native Welsh families, and those who had become naturalised since the Norman Conquest, prided themselves on their ancient pedigrees and status-driven ancestries, which frequently espoused matrilineal descent. [65] Welsh social structure was clan-like, involving complex inter-familial relationships which, more often than not, focused on land ownership and retention of historic fabric in houses as a physical display of continuity.[66]

Architectural analysis has generally been disregarded by Welsh historians in favour of documentary evidence, which although rich in material is somewhat limited; it does not enable the more rounded analysis proposed by this thesis. John Gwynfor Jones introduced an article on the homes of the gentry, advocating that his '[…] study of the country mansions (*plastai*) is based largely on the abundant evidence to be found in panegyrics composed by the poets of the *uchelwyr*, estate papers, wills and inventories'.[67] Welsh bardic poetry is a singularly significant source of information for the building of houses, especially in those cases where little other documentary evidence survives. This corpus of praise poems is one of the largest and most neglected resources for architectural history in Wales. Daniel Huws has established that very few poems survive from the period pre-1450, and those that come later are *cywyddau*.[68] A *cywydd* generally follows a pattern of praising firstly the lineage of the patron, secondly their house, and thirdly their hospitality. Only a small minority of this corpus of work has been transcribed and translated into English, but tantalising references are made by several academics to a small number of houses and the poetry associated with them.[69] These poets were attracted by the concept of *yr iaith*, which translates as 'binding

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[65] See the many pedigrees contained within J. Griffith, *Pedigrees of Anglesey and Caernarvonshire Families: With Their Collateral Branches in Denbighshire, Merionethshire and Other Parts* (Horncastle, 1914).
[66] P. Jenkins, *The Making of a Ruling Class: The Glamorgan Gentry 1640-1790* (Cambridge, 2003), p. 203.
[67] J.G. Jones (ed.), *Class, Community and Culture in Tudor Wales* (Cardiff, 1989), p.xvi.
[68] D. Huws, *Medieval Welsh Manuscripts* (Cardiff, 2000), pp. 61-2.
[69] See E. Roberts, 'The Renaissance in the Vale of Clwyd', *FHSJ*, 15 (1954-55), pp. 52-63; R. Gwyndaf, 'Some References in Welsh Poetry to Sixteenth and early-Seventeenth Century New and Rebuilt Houses in North-East Wales', *DHST*, 22 (1973), pp. 87-92; E. Roberts, 'Everyday Life in the Homes of the Gentry', in J.G. Jones (ed.), *Class, Community and Culture in Tudor Wales* (Cardiff, 1989), pp. 39-78; R. Suggett, 'The Interpretation

community', suggesting also 'bonds of blood' and 'racial affinity'.[70] The gentry were praised as providing the roots of Welsh society, ensuring a structure and distinctive character that safeguarded Wales's identity:

> 'The bards were in the highest repute. I cannot give a stronger idea of the esteem they were in, than by citing from the Welsh laws, the account of their rank in the prince's court, and the various rewards and fees they were entitled to, and the severe penalties that were enacted to preserve their persons from insult. They were supposed to be endowed with powers equal to inspiration. They were the oral historians of all past transactions, public and private. They related the great events of the state; and like the Scalds of the northern nations, retained the memory of numberless transactions, which otherwise would have perished in oblivion. They were likewise thoroughly acquainted with the works of the three primary bards, viz., Myrddyn ap Morfryn, Myrddyn Emrys, and Taliesin Ben Beirdd. But they had another talent, which probably endeared them more than all the rest to the Welsh nobility; that of being most accomplished genealogists, and flattering their vanity, in singing the deeds of an ancestry derived from the most distant period.'[71]

By the mid-sixteenth century, the families mentioned in the above quotation had cemented their position, accumulating land and wealth, with many finding profitable positions outside Wales. By 1600, many of the Welsh gentry held positions at Court and within the households of some of the richest families across Britain.[72] Amongst the gentry, in England and Wales alike, material display was a crucial element of authority. But in Wales, emphasis on forebears and the symbolism of ancestral lands was of equal importance.

The poetry that describes the houses of the gentry is useful for reconstructing the physical appearance and attributes of the buildings. In light of this, the contents of the poetry will be ordered in terms of fabric, form and function. Hywel Dda's law stated that tenant farmers/villeins should build a *llys* (court) for the king which was a *naw tŷ* (a house of nine parts). These included the *neuadd* (hall), the *ystafell* (ante chamber), the *cegin* (kitchen), the

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of Late Medieval Houses in Wales', in R.R. Davies and G.H. Jenkins (eds.), *From Medieval to Modern Wales* (Cardiff, 2004), pp. 81-103. For instance, the Morgans of Ruperra and Tredegar were highly esteemed by poets; five poems written for Edmund Morgan in strict meter survive, and the last, an elegy, refers to his son, Thomas, the builder of Ruperra, praising him as 'gifted and well-endowed'.
[70] J.G. Jones, *The Morgan Family of Tredegar - Its Origins, Growth and Advancement c. 1340–1674* (Newport, 1995), n.p.
[71] T. Pennant, *A Tour in Wales: Volume II* (London, 1810), p. 83.
[72] G.R. Elton, *Studies in Tudor and Stuart Politics and Government: Volume 4, Papers and Reviews 1982-1990* (Cambridge, 2003), pp. 89-90.

capel (chapel), the *ysgubor* (barn), the *odyn* (bakehouse), the *ystabl* (stable), the *cynordy* (a small room by the gate) or the *cyfordy* (brewery or buttery), and the *tŷ bach* (wash house). The number Nine became an important number for building, and, in later centuries, became symbolic, rather than a rule to be kept to.[73] Poets referred to a house often in plural terms, even when it was one property, using the term *tai* rather than *tŷ* – a linguistic usage which relates to the unit-system.

Fabric

From a much earlier period is Lewys Glyn Cothi's fifteenth century *cywydd,* praising Ieuan ap Phylib's hall at Cefn-llys Castle, near Llandrindod Wells. It records 'that a master carpenter has been hired to make with his axe a new hall that will be like Arthur's hall in the lordship of Maelienydd. The new hall […] will be a court for the country, like an earl's court, with three parts, and these will form one house. Pale oaks have been linked together to make the building. The hall has been roofed with close-fitting shields. The house is very wide, and white like an altar […]. Rosser ap Ieuan […] built the hall […] it was timber framed with a pale appearance, and tiled rather than thatched. It also had three parts or wings.'[74] It was noted how white and bright the mansion appeared, whitewashed as it was with lime or *wen wisg*.[75] The artisan craftsmen knew the importance of a layer of whitewash (g*wyngalch*) on the inside and outside, so that the stonework was not damaged by the weather. Roof coverings are recorded by the poets, and include *o deils* (clay tiles), *cerrig neu ysglatys* (stone slates) and some *tafelli derw* (oak tiles), which were said to be more expensive than stone. *Blwm* (lead) was used at Mryneuryn, Lleweni, Plas Iolyn, Plas Llanrhaeadr, Bodidris and

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[73] L.A.S. Butler, 'Domestic building in Wales and the evidence of the Welsh Laws', *Medieval Archaeology*, 31, (1987), p.49.

[74] R. Suggett, 'The Interpretation of Late Medieval Houses in Wales', in R.R. Davies and G.H. Jenkins (eds.), *From Medieval to Modern Wales* (Cardiff, 2004), p. 90.

[75] Edward ap Huw at Faenol Fawr, mid-sixteenth century. Hence the names *Ty gwyn* (white house), *Twrgwyn* (white tower).

Nannau.[76] At Bodidris, Gruffudd Hiraethog (ob.1565) writes of a house with a white, presumably white-washed-tower roofed with lead that had been built by John Lloyd, High Sheriff of Denbighshire, in 1551.[77] On behalf of his master, Tudur ap Roberts (ob.1564)[78], Siôn Tudor (c.1522-1602) begged the Dean of Bangor to allow the newly built house at Berain to have slate instead of thatch:

| Oer to gwellt i ŵr teg iach | *A thatch roof is cold for a fair, healthy man* |
| Ysgatlys y sy glytach | *Slates are better shelter.* |

The slates, some twenty thousand of them, were to be brought by sea to Rhuddlan.[79]

Plas y Ward, near Ruthin, was immortalised by Simwnt Fychan's *cywydd's* praise poem. The house was rebuilt by Simon Thewall (1526-82) and his third wife, Margaret, daughter of Sir William Griffith of Penrhyn, who were, according to the poem, responsible for the rebuilding.[80] The poetry refers to a new roof and parlour: 'The new white parlour is white and covered with 'pearls.' [The] gable-end of the house is made of crystal stones, glittering like a thousand stars. The house had glass in its windows and the family's arms painted on stones'.[81] As with Hardwick Hall and elsewhere, the use of expansive, leaded window glass was commented upon by Siôn Phylip.[82] Chimneys, as well as glass, were status symbols. Siôn Tudor wrote about Plas Teg and its nine chimneys, although in otherwise unflattering terms. This use of the number nine was a motif employed frequently in Welsh architectural building in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.[83]

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[76] E. Roberts, *Tai Uchelwyr Y Beirdd: 1350-1650* (Caernarfon, 1986), p. 43.
[77] Ibid., p.18.
[78] E. Roberts, 'The Renaissance in the Vale of Clwyd', *FHSJ*, 15 (1954-55), p. 56.
[79] Ibid.
[80] R. Gwyndaf, 'Some References in Welsh Poetry to Sixteenth and early-Seventeenth Century New and Rebuilt Houses in North-East Wales', *DHST*, 22 (1973), p. 87, f/n 1.
[81] Ibid., p. 88.
[82] Ibid.
[83] *Gwaith Siôn Tudur*, E. Roberts (ed.), p. 973.

Form

In terms of location, the poets stated that every gentry house of note would need to be built on a hillside, or in an obvious place, where the rest of the world would see it and appreciate the building.[84] Those who did not follow this fashion were said to be unable to afford it.[85] It became common for the two side wings of a house to be higher than the central section, so that the roofline was not continuous, but formed a plan that was in the shape of a cross. The poets called this a *croesty*, or cross-house. There also emerged at this time a two unit house in a 'T' or 'L' form, and a three unit house, 'H' or 'U' form. There was actually relatively little difference between ecclesiastical and domestic architecture in Wales, with the hall in a house being compared to the nave, and its end units to the church tower. Windows were similar to their ecclesiastical counterparts, as were the roof structures. Churches were still more extravagant in form and decoration, reflecting the fact that the gentry preferred to spend more money on God than on their own home.

Emphasis was placed on the height of the building, reflecting the family's prominence in the locality.[86] This apparent 'reaching up into the heavens' illusion was often achieved with the addition of a staircase tower:[87]

Gwr a gododd Gaer Gwydion […]	*A man who built the celestial Fort of Gwydiion […]*
Llys mor uchel a llwybr y gwynt neu'r llwybr llaethog	*A hall as high as heavenly winds or the Milky Way*

One house in Anglesey was said to be so large and tall that it could be seen from Monmouthshire and Gwent.[88] This was an exaggeration, but showed the gentry's house as being something that contemporary commentators aspired to. Building a house with three floors in a two-unit house was considered as denotative of higher status than a two-floor, three-unit house, such as that seen at Gwydir. And it was the addition of more floors, rather

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[84] Ibid.
[85] Ibid.
[86] Ibid.
[87] Sion Brwynog about Sion ap Rhys of Drefeilir, Trefdraeth, 1557, E. Roberts, *Tai Uchelwyr Y Beirdd: 1350-1650* (Caernarfon 1986), p. 2.
[88] Ibid., Ieuan Tew description Rhys ap Morys' house. E. Roberts.

than more units, that meant greater status. Siôn Tudur wrote in praise of the building commissioned by John Wynn of Gwydir, exclaiming:[89]

Tŵr Gwydir tŷ ar godiad	*Gwydir Tower is a house arising*
Tai cedyrn, on'd da'u cadwed?	*Well established house, but well kept?*
Tŵr âgris fel tre Gaer-wynt,	*A landed tower like Winchester,*
Teg ydynt, tai a gedwid.	*Fair they are, houses that were kept well.*

With its height and whiteness, the mansion was likened to a lantern - an epithet repeated by the poets: *Lanter y Waun* (lantern of Chirk) or *Lanter goleudur gwledydd* (the lantern that lit up countries).[90] Smaller houses, albeit ones containing more rooms, became fashionable from the sixteenth century onwards, with poets using the terms *chanlloft* (hundred rooms) and *thrigeindrws* (sixty doors) to describe such houses.[91] Siôn Phylip (*c.*1540-1620) refers to the use of gables at Nannau:[92]

Twr a'I nen tua'r nawnef   *Tower with its roof towards the heavens.*

In another *cywydd* poem by Siôn Tudor, Katheryn of Berain's father built tall towers from 'old timber':[93] The new house at Berain was described as a 'fort' of 'hewn stones with a carved ceiling, and a tower of a hundred oak trees […] glass windows on the ground floor, a court-hall with a new floor, a cellar of plate-stones with lofts above it, and a beautiful chimney with its companion chimney washed with lime, forming 'horns' above the hall.'[94] Katheryn of Berain, like her father, added to her family home and made it more comfortable, bringing furniture over from 'Asia', the poetry refers to pearls and gold plate… *groesawu prins ar gwrs pryd* (enough to welcome a prince from away).[95]

Simwnt Fychan's elegy on Richard Clough describes how he designed and built Bachegraig:[96]

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[89] *Gwaith Siôn Tudur*, E. Roberts (ed.), pp. 130-134.
[90] Ieuan Tew describing Aberbechan. E. Roberts, *Tai Uchelwyr Y Beirdd: 1350-1650* (Caernarfon, 1986), p. 2.
[91] E. Roberts, *Tai Uchelwyr Y Beirdd: 1350-1650* (Caernarfon, 1986), p. 40.
[92] Ibid.
[93] R. Gwyndaf, 'Some References in Welsh Poetry to Sixteenth and early-Seventeenth Century New and Rebuilt Houses in North-East Wales', *DHST*, 22 (1973), p. 89.
[94] Ibid., p. 90.
[95] Siôn Phylip in E. Roberts, *Tai Uchelwyr Y Beirdd: 1350-1650* (Caernarfon, 1986), p. 33.
[96] E. Roberts, *Tai Uchelwyr Y Beirdd: 1350-1650* (Caernarfon, 1986), p. 36.

Adeilodd, cylfleodd lys,	*A hall he laid out, he built,*
Adail wen a dâl ynys;	*A shining structure which benefits an island;*
Gwnâi fel Berwig neu Fwlen	*He made like Berwick[-upon-Tweed] or Boulogne,*
Gaer glach ym Machegraig wen.	*A limewashed fortress in bright Bachegraig.*
Main nadd fel y mynnodd fo,	*Finely carved as he insisted,*
Main o Anwarp maen' yno;	*There from fair Antwerp stones*
Main a gwŷdd man y gwedda,	*Wooden beams where it suits,*
Marbwl ystôns mawrblas da	*Marble stones, a goodly mansion*
Eiddil, hynny a wyddir,	*Weak and succumbing to nature,*
Wrth hwn oedd dŵr Nemorth hir.	*Was mighty Nimrod's tower compared to this.*

Discussing plans for the mansion at Rug, near Corwen, the poet Simwnt Fychan (*c*.1530-1606) suggested to Sir Robert Salusbury that the new house should have a foundation of good quality gravel, that the building should be timber framed and that the roof, ceiling and porch should be built in the style of others in the locality.[97] Land at Gwydir was purchased in 1500, and the house was begun there by Maredudd ab Ieuan ap Robert ap Maredudd. His son Sion Wyn ap Maredudd, who inherited Gwydir in 1525, carried on building a militaristic square tower with four floors (*twrysgwar, pedwarllawr*) due to the threat of attack, which was likened to nearby Dolwyddelan Castle by Enid Roberts.[98] Another status symbol was the number of chimneys that a house had. At Gwydir, the chimneys themselves resembled towers, and the plan reminded poets of a castle, even though it was a house:[99] *Cost di-wall sail castell Siôn* (Abundant cost is the foundation of Siôn's castle). Siôn Wyn ap Maredudd died in 1559 and was succeeded by Morris Wyn (*c*.1520-1580), who married Katheryn of Berain in 1573. Enid Roberts suggests that it was Katheryn who caused Morris to build a cross wing at Gwydir, as she had lived at Winchester with her previous husband, John Salusbury (ob.1566). There was a labyrinth in the garden and a staircase like 'the famous one in Winchester', on which Siôn Tudor (*c*.1522-1602) commented:[100]

Laborinthws dlws, duleision – didlawdl	*A fair labyrinth, green and fecund*
O waith Ded'lws dirion.	*The work of gentle Daedalus.*

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[97] Ibid., p. 91.

[98] Ibid.

[99] E. Roberts, 'The Renaissance in the Vale of Clwyd', *FHSJ*, 15 (1954-55), p. 56

[100] Siôn Tudor as quoted by J. Corbett in *Castles in the Air* (London, 2004), p. 181.

At Faenol Fawr the ground-floor parlour contained a heraldic overmantel bearing a date of 1597; this is supported by Siôn Tudur, who records that the house cost thousands of pounds to build, and that joiners and masons were employed in the hundreds:[101]

Ni rifir ac ni rifwyd,	*Never counted, nor shall there be counted,*
Siars un llys, seiri Siôn Llwyd -	*The cost of one court, the wrights of Siôn Llwyd,*
Seiri main cywrain, cwrant,	*Keen, skillful wrights, they excelled,*
Seiri coed o fesur cant.	*A hundredfold carpenters,*
Nid oes cof, na dysg hefyd	*There is no memory nor learning either*
A fwriai'i gost fawr i gyd […]	*That could reckon its great cost combined […]*
Nid aeth, ei waith odiaeth oedd,	*He went not, his exceptional work was*
I ben dan fil o bunnoedd.	*to end before spending a thousand pounds*
Cerfio wyneb Caer Fenis	*Carving the face of Venice.*
Gwaith mater maith mewn tri mis,	*Work of an extensive kind within three months,*
A ni bu o fewn ei borth	*And there wasn't in all its construction*
Garreg gam neu gar cymorth.	*A crooked stone nor the aid of kinsmen.*

Function

Pedigree was an important link between the past and present, allowing a family to assume its place in society with ease, by means of their kinship. Hospitality, meanwhile, fulfilled the notion of the gentry's gentility and willingness to offer provision. Itinerant poets would frequent gentry houses, and their praise-poems continue to offer important windows into the origins and development of Welsh mansions. The completion of a gentry house was cause for poets to embark on a circuit around several houses, which, by the early sixteenth century, was established practice.[102] Building a house established status, but 'there was a continual need to maintain status through entertainment' and patronage.[103] This can be seen in Hillyn's praise-poem about Ieuan Llwyd's new hall erected in South Ceredigion:[104]

Dathlu codi Tŷ Ieuan Llwyd:	*Celebrating the building of Ieuan Llwyd's hall:*
Costes cun barddles, beirddlith,	*A lord who benefits a poet, and who nourishes poets,*
Ieuan rhan rhwydd, dŷ difeth,	*Ieuan of generous portion has spent on a flawless house;*
Naddfain a gwyngalch, filch fath,	*he has spent on dressed stones and lime-wash of a splendid kind,*
Neb ni'i cyst y rhyw byst byth!	*No one else will ever [again] spend on such posts!*

Exaggeration was an important element of bardic praise, and reflected the payment given by their patron, often describing their subjects from memory or by comparison with

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[101] E. Roberts, *Tai Uchelwyr Y Beirdd: 1350-1650* (Caernarfon, 1986), p. 46.
[102] G. Thomas, *Eisteffodau Caerwys: The Caerwys Eisteddfodau* (Caerdydd, 1968), pp. 68-69.
[103] R. Suggett, 'The Interpretation of Late Medieval Houses in Wales', in R.R. Davies and G.H. Jenkins (eds.), *From Medieval to Modern Wales* (Cardiff, 2004), p. 96.
[104] Ibid.

places such as Windsor Castle, Winchester and Venice.[105] Two sixteenth-century poems, composed after 1567, record how Bachegraig was viewed by contemporary poets. The first, by William Cynwal, asked:[106]

> *to send forth a hawk to call Richard Clough and Katheryn of Berain home from Antwerp [...]*
> *The bird is told to beg them to return home quickly to inspect the noble building –*
> *the court which is a mirror to the country.*
> *The mansion is strong like a mighty rock,*
> *its walls like those of Troy and its tower rising into a fine summit.*
> *It is a protection to Christendom and is comparable with [the house of] Calais.*
> *It is a castle to welcome a host of people at a cost which is as much as that of [King Arthur's feast at] Caerleon.*
> *Its stone floor is excellent and its parlours full of mead.*
> *It is a remarkable mansion*
> *The St. Paul's of Gwynedd*
> *Indeed there never was,*
> *And never will be,*
> *A house so spacious and beautiful.*

The appointment of a High Sheriff was important for house builders, as it was conferred on 'new entrants to the élite […] shortly after, or at the same time as, they were engaged in building activity'.[107] Hospitality was an important function of the gentry. In 1562, Plas Iolyn was praised for its cellar large enough to hold a shipload of wine, and was inspired by Naples or Venice: *Pwrs gwan ni ŵyr pris gwal* (A lean purse does not apprehend the price of a wall).[108] William Mostyn never completed the vast quadrangle, which would have turned Mostyn Hall into a courtyard house, dying in 1576 before it could be completed, having only added a new wing, *Porth Mawr* (great gate) onto the old house.[109] In his elegy to William Mostyn (*c*.1521-1576), Simwnt Fychan (*c*.1530-1606) remarked:[110]

Adeiladaeth bennaeth byd,	*The chief construction of the world,*
A wnai William f'anwylyd.	*Which my dear William was making.*
Dechreuodd, growndwalodd dŷ,	*He began, he laid the house foundations,*
Dibrin dechreuad obry;	*An abundant beginning here below,*
Iesu fab, na chawsai fo	*Would to Jesus that he*
Einioes i orffen yno.	*Had life to finish there.*

[105] *Gwaith Siôn Tudur*, E. Roberts (ed.), pp. 403-406.
[106] R. Gwyndaf, 'Sir Richard Clough of Denbigh c.1530-1570 Part 3', *DHST*, 22 (1973), pp. 73-74.
[107] P. Lowery, 'Patronage and the Country House in Northumberland'. Faulkner, Tom E. (ed.), *Northumbrian Panorama: Studies in the History and Culture of North East England* (London, 1996). p. 65.
[108] E. Roberts, *Tai Uchelwyr Y Beirdd: 1350-1650* (Caernarfon, 1986), p. 30.
[109] E. Roberts, 'The Renaissance in the Vale of Clwyd', *FHSJ*, 15 (1954-55), p.57.
[110] Transcribed and translated in A.D. Carr, 'The Mostyn Family and Estate, 1200-1642', unpublished Bangor University PhD Thesis (1976), p.169, f/n.133.

Dafydd, proffwyd blodeufawr,	*David, the great prophet,*
Draw a fu'n dechrau'r dref fawr,	*Started a great house.*
A Selyf mewn gras eilwaith,	*And Solomon again in grace,*
A wnâi gynt orffen y gwaith;	*Then finished the work.*
Ym Mostyn y mae un wedd	*In Mostyn there is likewise a*
Ail Selyf lyseuwledd;	*Court-builder, another Solomon;*
Aer William mewn aur eiliad	*William's heir in a golden shelter*
A orffen fry dŷ ei dad.	*Who will finish his father's house.*

Giraldus Cambrensis had, in the twelfth century, commented that 'the Welsh value distinguished birth and noble descent more than anything else in the world. They would marry into a noble family than into a rich one.'[111] Some centuries later, Lewys Menai applied these qualities to Robert Wyn, demonstrating how he represented the quintessential *uchelwyr*:[112]

Ni roe un dreth ar wan draw	*He did not put one tax on the weak;*
Ei smoneth ai ardreth oedd	*his husbandry and his tax was*
Trwy lwyddiant a hir wleddoedd	*through success and long feasting.*
Porthi pawb fal y perthyn	*Feeding everyone as appropriate*
Yw bwriad teg Robert Wyn	*is the fair intention of Robert Wyn;*
Bir gwinoedd bob awr genym	*beers and wine every hour for us;*
Byw er gras bower a grym	*living for grace, power and authority.*
Am ryw wledd a mawr elw i wyr	*For some, feast and great profit for men;*
Am ryw ancwym ym Mryncyr	*for some food and drink in Brynkir.*
Urddas i Robert eirddoeth	*Honour to Robert, true, wise words –*
O wraidd a dawn hardd i doeth	*he came from roots and for wisdom.*

In the sixteenth century, the Welsh bards had praised the relative simplicity of the Welsh gentry, such as Pyrs Holland of Kinmel, near Abergele:[113]

Erioed ni fynnodd i'w ran	*Never did he desire for his part*
Ddillad trwsiadoedd sidan;	*apparel of silken airs;*
Boneddigion beilchion byd	*The proud noblemen of the world,*
A sefent in is hefyd,	*Who would rank lower too,*
A sidan yn drwsiadoedd,	*And silken in attire,*
A Phyrs hael yn ei ffris oedd.	*And* generous Pyrs was in his frieze.
Mwy ei barch yn cyfarch ced	*He was more respected when requesting a favour*
Na milfyrdd yn ey melfed.	*Than multitudes in their velvet.*

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[111] Gerald of Wales, *The Journey Through Wales/The Description of Wales*, trans. Lewis Thorpe (London, 1978), p.251.
[112] *Gwaith Lewys Menai*, J.D. Davies (ed.), pp. 163-64 quoted by S. Evans, '*Bywer gras, bower a grym* - Living for grace, power and strength: The House of Brynkir, c.1500-1700', in M. Baker (ed.), *Plas Brynkir* (Cardiff, 2014).
[113] E. Roberts, 'The Renaissance in the Vale of Clwyd', *FHSJ*, 15 (1954-55), p. 58. Translated from the original MS NLW/Panton 63, 31.

Poets were sometimes offended by their so-called patrons when hospitality was not forthcoming. A dispraise poem by Tudur Ddall records, in angry and sarcastic verse, the hall of a gentry man called Hywel:[114]

Dychan i neaudd Hywel;	*A satire on Hywel's hall:*
Neuadd Hywel hygel hegl,	*Behold the hall of Hywel with its hidden leg[s][115]*
Newydd-drwg: neud mwg a'i meigl,	*here is a new ill: smoke is soiling it;*
Ys dôr gaed, nid rhad rhugl,	*its door is closed, there is no open hospitality within.*
Os derw, ys diriaid na sigl,	*If it is made of oak, it is unfortunate it doesn't sway;*
Ys oerffyrch anhygyrch hogl,	*It is an inaccessible monstrosity with miserable forks,*
Ys del drwy nen ei phen ffagl!	*May a flame come through the top of its roof!*

Pedigrees and Genealogical Treatise

The interest in Welsh medieval and early-modern texts was propelled by Philip Yorke's *The Royal Tribes of Wales*, which was a benchmark in Welsh history and a cementation of the Welsh gentry's origin myths.[116] Yorke (1743-1804), born at Erddig, near Wrexham, was of English descent but, through his Welsh wife, Diana Wynne (1748-1805), heiress of Piers Wynne of Dyffryn Aled, Llansannan, he became interested in her family history, becoming a noted genealogist and historian.[117] 'Yorke's genealogical works indicate that he at first largely accepted the Welsh origin myth, and gave credence to the "Trojan" roots of the people, but that later he distanced himself from this traditionally held viewpoint.'[118] Yorke had direct access to many lost manuscripts as well as to the families and houses in which he was interested, lending his writings great authority in their descriptions of gentry beliefs and practises. It was from his work that many gentry families validated their ancestries, connecting for the first time with the kinship network preserved in pedigree rolls and privately held manuscripts. Sir Samuel Rush Meyrick (1783-1848), like Yorke, developed - as a result of his marriage to Mary Parry (1784-1818), daughter of James Parry of Llwyn

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[114]Again, another reference to its cruck frame. See also Appendix K.

[115] Feet of the cruck frame.

[116] See P. Yorke, *The Royal Tribes of Wales* (Wrexham, 1799).

[117] T. Seccombe, 'Yorke, Philip (1743–1804)', rev. Dylan Foster Evans, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004. URL: http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/30247, [accessed 21.5.2014]

[118] Ibid.

Hywel, Cardiganshire - an interest in Welsh history and genealogy. Seven years after his marriage in 1810, he authored *The History and Antiquities of the County of Cardigan*. Meyrick's last published work was a transcription of Lewis Dwnn's *Heraldic Visitation of Wales* for the Society for the Publication of Ancient Welsh Manuscripts in 1846.[119]

British landowners or landed proprietors showed interest in genealogical research during the nineteenth century, and the Welsh were no exception. William Watkin Edward Wynne (1801-1880) was son of William Wynne (1774-1834) of Peniarth, Merioneth, and Elizabeth (*d*. 1822), daughter and co-heiress of Philip Puleston of Pickhill Hall, Denbighshire.[120] Wynne inherited the now famous collection of manuscripts from Hengwrt, bequeathed to him in 1859 by Sir Robert Williams Vaughan of Nannau, Dolgellau, which proved to be one of the most important sources for Welsh history.[121]

Jacob Youde William Lloyd (1816-1887) [122] was another noted antiquary and genealogist, publishing *The history of the princes, the lords marcher, and the ancient nobility of Powys Fadog, the ancient lords of Arwystli, Cedewen, and Meirionydd, and many of the descendants of the fifteen noble tribes of Gwynedd* in six volumes, in 1881-87.[123] Lloyd, though born in Lancashire, was half-Welsh, inheriting through his mother and aunt the estates of Clochfaen, Montgomeryshire, and Plas Madog, Denbighshire; he adopted the historic surname and arms of Lloyd associated with Clochfaen.[124] Middleton Hall was described at

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[119] S. B. Bailey, 'Meyrick, Sir Samuel Rush (1783–1848)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Jan 2012. URL:http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/18644, [accessed 22.5.2014]

[120] D. L. Thomas, 'Wynne, William Watkin Edward (1801–1880)', rev. Beti Jones, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004. URL: http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/30162, [accessed 22.5.2014]

[121] D. L. Thomas, 'Wynne, William Watkin Edward (1801–1880)', rev. Beti Jones, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004. URL: http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/30162, [accessed 22.5.2014]. This collection of manuscripts is held at the National Library of Wales, Aberystwyth under the collection name Peniarth MSS.

[122] Lloyd changed his surname from Hinde.

[123] See the six volumes of J.Y.W. Lloyd, *The history of the Princes, Lords Marcher and the ancient nobility of Powys Fadog and the Ancient Lords of Arwystli, Cedewen and Meirionydd* (London, 1882-87).

[124] T. Cooper, 'Lloyd, Jacob Youde William (1816–1887)', rev. Michael Erben, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004. URL: http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/16841 [accessed 21.5.2014]

the time of its construction as 'the finest modern seat in all South Wales',[125] yet its owner, Edward Abadam (1800-1875) adopted the Welsh patronymic, by prefixing ab to his paternal name.[126]

An example of one of the families which claimed descent from the Noble Tribes was the Lloyds of Gwrych: their direct descendants were incredibly proud of their ancestry, and specifically of their supposed descent from the early-medieval tribal leader, Cunedda Wledig and his eight sons, who apparently founded the Noble Tribes of North Wales.[127] By the 1880s, only the families of Gwrych and Cefn continued to claim such descent, asserting Cunedda's third son Rhufon ap Cunedda, as their common ancestor.[128] This was set out in the tenth-century Harleian genealogies, which describe the origins of the kings of Gwynedd, and other regions of North Wales thus:

> These are the names of the sons of Cunedda, of whom there nine: Tybion, the first-born, who died in the land which is called Manau Gododdin and did not come hither with his father and his aforementioned brothers. Meirion, his son, divided the possessions among his kinsmen: the second was Osfael; the third Rhufon; the fourth Dunod; the fifth Ceredig; the sixth Afloeg; the seventh EinionYrth; the eighth Dogfael; the ninth Edern. This is their boundary: from the river which is called DyfrDwyw [Dee], as far as the other river, the Teifi. And they held very many districts in the western part of Britain.[129]

Bringing together all previously published work, Thomas Nicholas's *Annals and Antiquities of the Counties and County Families of Wales* was published in 1872.[130] The book's popularity demonstrated public interest in Wales for ancestral and architectural history, focussing on the gentry families and their houses. Nicholas set about recording the history and pedigrees of the principal existing and extinct families of Wales; it was a mammoth task, which saw Nicholas travel across the whole of Wales, visiting virtually all of

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[125] H.M. Vaughan, *South Wales Squires: A Welsh Picture of Social Life* (Carmarthen, 1988), p. 108.
[126] Ibid., p. 109.
[127] J.Y.W. Lloyd, *The history of the princes, the lords marcher, and the ancient nobility of Powys Fadog and the ancient lords of Arwystli, Cedewen, and Meirionydd* (London, 1881) vol. 5, pp. 338-353.
[128] Ibid., p. 343.
[129] British Library, Harleian MS/3859 as quoted in T.M. Charles-Edwards, *Wales and the Britons, 350-1064* (Oxford, 2013), p. 328.
[130] It was revised and extended as a second edition in 1875, with many corrections and additions.

the houses mentioned. He also corresponded with nearly every one of the existing families described. The swansong publication by John Edward Griffiths, *Pedigrees of Anglesey and Caernarvonshire Families with their collateral branches in Denbighshire, Merionethshire and other parts*, was published in 1914.[131] This source has been greatly drawn upon in this thesis.

Other Documentary Sources

During the eighteenth century, Wales was a diverse and creative nation, whose iconography formed an inspirational backdrop. Aesthetic appreciation of Wales' landscapes inspired natives and visitors equally. With the rise of printing, tourist guides and tourism, sightseers - as shown by the impact of Thomas Pennant's *Tours in Wales* [1778] and descriptions of the Wye Valley, Monmouthshire and Hafod, near Aberystwyth, made Wales both nationally and internationally famous for scenery and unadulterated nature.[132] Thomas Pennant records how the gentry received their guests: '[...] the utmost hospitality was preserved: every house was open, even to the poorest person.'[133] Pennant was the recipient of this ancient hospitality at Cwm Bychan, the mansion of Evan Llwyd. Having first recited his ancestry, which could be traced back eighteen generations, Llwyd entertained 'in the style of an ancient *Briton*', welcoming his guest with 'ale and potent beer, to wash down the *Coch yr Wden*, or hung goat, and the cheese, compounded of the milk of cow and sheep.' A prized possession was the 'ancient family cup, made of a bull's scrotum, in which large libations had been made in days of yore.' Pennant noted that the family had lived in their isolated, ancestral seat for many generations 'without bettering or lessening their income; without noisy fame, but without any of its embittering attendants.' The mansion itself Pennant recognised as a 'true

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[131] See J. Griffith, *Pedigrees of Anglesey and Caernarvonshire Families: With Their Collateral Branches in Denbighshire, Merionethshire and Other Parts* (Horncastle, 1914).
[132] P. Sambrook, 'Mynnyd y Fynnon: Cwmystwyth and Eisteddfa Gurig' in *The Archaeology of the Welsh Uplands*, edited by David M. Browne and Stephen Hughes (eds.) (Aberystwyth, 2003), p. 72.
[133] T. Pennant, *A Tour in Wales* (London, 1778), p. 244.

specimen of an ancient seat of a gentleman of Wales.' These houses did not follow the national progress of design, as the buildings were constructed by artisan craftsmen, who were succeeded by provincial architects, a group which catered to the wishes of a gentry who preferred to stay within the established boundaries of design.

Gentry families such as the Williams-Wynns of Wynnstay, Wrexham, went on Grand Tours around Europe, collecting and establishing collections to house in Wales as well as in their London houses.[134] It was from classically-based education and an increasing interest in archaeology, that the creation and transmission of architectural taste was brought into Wales by the gentry. The Grand Tour allowed the study of European cultures, past and present, and the effects of this was reflected in the architecture of the country house and its surrounding landscape, which was supported by home-grown antiquarian research. This was bolstered at the level of artisan craftsmen by the extensive literature available on the theory and practice of architecture, as well as the availability of practical trade manuals. Internal tourism, as reflected in the development of bathing resorts and spa towns such as Abergele in the eighteenth century and Llandrindod Wells in the nineteenth, meant that families rarely had to venture far from their estates to partake of 'polite society'.

Mid-nineteenth-century Wales saw frequent conflicts between estate owners and their tenants. This conflict arose with the introduction of the tithe laws, the new social divide that emerged between church-going landowners and non-conformist servants, and the ever-growing language divide as shown by contemporary newspaper reports and accounts. The Rebecca Riots took place in South and Mid Wales between 1839 and 1842, in protest against toll roads, which were operated by trusts. Yet many gentry families, such as the Morgans of Ruperra and Tredegar, as well as the Mostyns of Mostyn and Gloddaith, supported the resurgence of the Eisteddfod and Gorsedd as mainstreams of Welsh cultural renewal, which

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[134] See P. Hernon, *Sir Watkin's Tours: Excursions to France, Italy and North Wales, 1768-71* (Wrexham, 2013).

both preserved and promoted language and custom. [135] This interest in archaeology and folklore renewed awareness of Wales's history and its historic buildings. Up until the late-nineteenth century, despite generating considerable wealth, many of the gentry's estates in Wales employed an estate manager more as an assistant, whereas a significant number were managed 'in hand' by their landed proprietors and families. [136] For example, Sir John Williams of Bodelwyddan undertook by himself the design and supervision of road-works, drainage laying and wall building; his son noted in his diary that Sir John 'would do it his own way and very well he finished it.'[137]

Figure 10: *Baron Hill, near Beaumaris, Anglesey, painted by Moses Griffith in 1776 for Thomas Pennant's 'A Tour in Wales'.* Yale Center for British Art: B1975.2.165.

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[135] S. Evans, 'To contynue in my bloud and name': Reproducing the Mostyn Dynasty, *c*.1540-1692', unpublished Aberystwyth University PhD Thesis (2013), p. 224.
[136] R. Colyer 'The land agent in nineteenth-century Wales' in *WHR*, Vol. 8, no. 4 (Dec. 1977), pp. 401-425.
[137] GCPTA/6 'Bodelwyddan Memoirs' MSS

Abstracting the Welsh Country House: '*Waeth waeth faensaer, gwell well bren saer*/worse and worse is the stonemason, but better and better is the carpenter'[138]

Alternative theories of house form are considered by Rapoport, and they are dismissed by him for their implicit rather than for their explicit nature.[139] Theories often revolve around physical determinism and around the citation of single causes as an explanation – an approach which Rapoport strongly opposes. His work supposes that many subtleties and complexities contribute to the development of house form. All of these variables express and assert different forces, causing the interaction of many factors. Climate and the need for shelter have been among the most widely accepted determinants.[140] Rapoport questions why so many house forms exist within such a limited number of climatic zones. This is particularly apparent in the limited geographical areas of Wales, where there appeared the unique phenomenon of two mansions built together – as *uchaf*/upper house and *isaf*/lower house, such as at Gwydir, Mostyn and Brynkir. Climate impacts on building form, but is not the sole determining factor. Materials, construction and technology are all integral elements contributing to form, and the abundance or lack of certain materials will limit or allow certain kinds of construction to take place. Richard Suggett comments that, for late-Medieval and early modern houses in Wales, timber was the predominant building material. He states that the use of stone was limited to areas in which Norman influence was still prevalent - in areas such as south Pembrokeshire and the Vale of Glamorgan.[141]

Site is an important determinant of form, but Rapoport questions the nature of its influence on house form. 'The importance of site is shown by the almost mystical attachment of primitive, even peasant cultures to the land, testified by the care with which land is treated and houses placed on it. This attachment can lead to persistence of sites because of their

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[138] D. Miles (ed.), *The Description of Pembrokeshire [by] George Owen of Henllys* (Llandysul, 1994), p. 78.
[139] A. Rapoport, *House form and culture* (Upper Saddle River, 1969), p. 18
[140] Ibid., p. 19.
[141] R. Suggett, 'The Interpretation of Late Medieval Houses in Wales', in R.R. Davies and G.H. Jenkins (eds.), *From Medieval to Modern Wales* (Cardiff, 2004), p. 86.

traditional nature.'[142] Suggett stresses how 'the location of a house and its relation to the surrounding landscape is an important aspect of housing culture'.[143] Welsh landowners were often said to be 'married to their land' or had a pronounced yearning for it (*hiraeth)*, with the siting of their houses determined by ancestral links to a certain location. Upland houses were often built on the marginal boundaries of cultivated and wild land, which over time became unimportant as land was reclaimed by modern farming techniques. Shaun Evans has shown that the Mostyn family constantly drew upon quasi-divine rights, due to their ancestry and land ownership; the five courts of Mostyn were all ruled on this principle.

Constancy and change are factors that affect houses implicitly, with families often adopting methods of survival and revival in the architecture of their houses. A slow evolution in architectural styles was at times furthered by sudden, profound influences, such as the introduction of brick into Wales during the 1560s. The kinship groups of North West Wales that centred on the Wynns of Gwydir and the Mostyns of Mostyn show recurring architectural patterns, which include upper and lower houses, courtyard houses, gate houses and great halls, as well as evidence of the unit-system. However, the reversion to a castellated style during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries shows the value of historic forms as an example of prestige being accorded to old styles in preference to 'any real continued validity or utility [being accorded to] the form.'[144] The survival of military buildings, such as Conwy and Caernarfon Castles, with their town walls, were physical evidence of a past that was still visually dominant in parts of Wales. This survival, has cultural links that require exploration and understanding, and shows a dualistic approach to architectural design. Regional history and an antiquarian interest in ancestry had a profound effect on country house design. Elements of change are at odds with those of constancy, and Rapoport asserts that change is

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[142] Ibid., p. 28.
[143] R. Suggett, 'The Interpretation of Late Medieval Houses in Wales', in R.R. Davies and G.H. Jenkins (eds.), *From Medieval to Modern Wales* (Cardiff, 2004), pp. 82-83.
[144] A. Rapoport, *House form and culture* (Upper Saddle River, 1969), p. 78.

the more dominant of these two nouns, acknowledging that the force of constancy should nonetheless not be minimised.[145] In terms of constancy and change, Suggett points out that the post-1400 houses were professionally built, large in number and rarely incorporating reused material. This indicates a period of 'great rebuilding' by the Welsh gentry, contrasting with the construction of buildings post-1550 which feature a large amount of reused material.[146] Dendrochronology has revealed that, generally speaking, the larger the hall, the earlier it is, which Suggett says 'is surprising', as it had been generally thought that the smaller the structure, the earlier it was.[147] This can be explained by the existence of elaborate buildings in Wales, in the form of the castles, their royal apartments and their associated towns, abbeys, etc., from at least the thirteenth century onwards. It is also possible that the continuation of the fashion of building great halls was an attempt to reverse the devastation and loss of material culture resulting from Owain Glyndwr's revolt.

Lines of sight are utilised either with houses facing the view or with them turned away from view, as at the mansion of Dinas Mawddwy, Gwynedd, which was built on the bottom of a steep valley floor. The impact of site is cultural rather than physical, as Rapoport suggests. He adds that the ideal site depends on the cultural definition of what is required, be that determined by the goals, ideals or values of a society.[148] Rapoport uses the Japanese *Hogaku* system of orientation as an example of house location not governed by topography, and the Gilbert and Ellice Island houses as an example of houses orientated to 'the forces of the Universe rather than to the topography.'[149] He goes on to suggest that the avoidance of land-use due to the presence of graves, groves of trees, historical sites and sacred water

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[145] Ibid., p. 79.
[146] R. Suggett, 'The Interpretation of Late Medieval Houses in Wales', in R.R. Davies and G.H. Jenkins (eds.), *From Medieval to Modern Wales* (Cardiff, 2004), p. 89.
[147] Ibid.
[148] Ibid., p. 30.
[149] A. Rapoport, *House form and culture* (Upper Saddle River, 1969), p. 29

sources influences house placement; it is 'site in the spiritual, not the physical sense.'[150]

Defence has typically been linked with economics as the two most common social explanations for house form. Courtyard houses and the separation of domains are a common feature used in houses which are both crowded and hierarchic.[151] The courtyard houses and gate houses of the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries in North Wales may be partly defensive, but could also be explained as symbolic: the larger the gate house, the more important the owner and their family. Gatehouses also represent a control of access by way of a single entry point, a consideration important for remote houses, which depended on farming and on the protection of livestock, since cattle rustling was rife in parts of Wales, as testified by the court records.[152] The agricultural revolution transformed the old farming estates into more productive, profitable enterprises, with the enclosure of and improvement of upland regions as agricultural prices rose, and the need to feed and clothe expanding urban populations. The low-risk nature of agricultural investment - in comparison to the boom and bust industries of coal and iron - provided a secure depository for surplus finances when higher-risk ventures were to be avoided.

Spatial arrangements vary, depending on family and social organisation, and are seen in the use of the unit-system in the houses of the gentry of North-West Wales. Marriage customs and inheritance all affect the form of dwelling, each varying from family to family. Examples include the Wynns of Gwydir, Llanrwst, Conwy, with their multi-storeyed house connecting awkwardly with the great hall range, or the complex of houses for the Anwyls of Parc, Llanfrothen, Gwynedd. 'Survival of an archaic form in some areas and its disappearance in others (which are adjacent) show the complexity of the forces operating': Rapoport's statement is entirely applicable to Welsh houses. Within a small area could be

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[150] Ibid.
[151] Ibid., p. 81.
[152] R. Suggett, 'The Interpretation of Late Medieval Houses in Wales', in R.R. Davies and G.H. Jenkins (eds.), *From Medieval to Modern Wales* (Cardiff, 2004), p. 89.

found a tower house at Penrhyn Castle, Bangor, Gwynedd, a Jacobean mansion at Baron Hill, Beaumaris, Anglesey, and a Tudor manor house at Faenol, Bangor, Gwynedd - all built during the early seventeenth century. The tower houses of Scotland, the *palazzi* of Florence and the towers of San Giminiano or Bologna are not just defensive; rather they are examples of prestige building; such a dual purpose was obviously perceived by contemporaries. In Wales, a general lack of tower houses has been attributed to the stability of the country post-Owain Glyndŵr. Those that did survive were rapidly adapted for domestic use, with the defensive elements being kept as features. This element of choice is key to Rapoport's argument for the determination of form. Again, the consistent plan of the great hall, with its high and low ends, entry points and service passage, has many variants. In comparing the great halls of houses such as Gloddaith, Mostyn, Maenan and Penarth Fawr, one sees similarities. But the sizes and the placement of doors and windows differ in each building, creating variations upon the model. Rapoport states that such examples of variations on a theme are not individual solutions but 'group solutions representative of a culture and its response to the characteristics of a region.'[153]

Economies of scarcity exist in Wales; the Marches had poor building stone but good timber, so many houses were timber-framed, whilst west coast houses generally use stone. The geology of Wales provided almost every type of stone needed for house construction, from rubble-built manor houses to ashlar-front country house. The existence of good quality building stone in north Wales was widespread, and its use was consequently ubiquitous. Where good supplies of clay were found, brickworks were founded, giving regions of Wales - such as the northeast with its Ruabon brick - thriving industries. Bricks were used to form the inner layers of houses and the sub-divisions of earlier houses, as can clearly be seen at Ruperra Castle and Baron Hill. In both cases, by having bricks produced on site, transport

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[153] A. Rapoport, *House form and culture* (Upper Saddle River, 1969), p. 87.

costs were eliminated. And the employment of regional tradesmen helped produce higher quality products, through their knowledge of the local materials. Welsh landowners were also comparatively poorer than their English counterparts, as shown by the proliferation of relatively small-scale manor houses. Since houses are less critical for survival than food, we would expect them to be even less affected by sheer economic necessity; it was common for gentry builders to build beyond their means, taking out mortgages which encumbered the estate. 'Neither survival nor expansion was readily achievable without credit,' and this availability of capital for architectural endeavours was critical.[154] Private banks were, from the eighteenth century, essential sources of credit, providing the necessary capital for building projects. This happened at Hafodunos during the 1860s, when the rebuilding of the mansion by Henry Robertson Sandbach, to the design of Sir George Gilbert Scott, caused Sandbach to be somewhat financially embarrassed. At Brynkir too, during the 1880s and 1890s, huge amounts of money were expended in modernising the house, which nearly bankrupted the family, who then sold the estate in 1903. Financial and personal credit went hand in hand; the threat of bankruptcy was an ever present factor for less affluent families, who could have their reputations easily ruined. Rapoport comments that people with similar economic situations may have different moral systems and world views; and, since the house is an expression of world view, economics is not the sole determining factor.[155]

Houses with attached agricultural estates, due to a combination of isolation and changeable weather, had a greater need than more accessible houses, to store produce, animals and equipment, as well as to respond to Welsh customary practices. The cluster form of buildings, created so as to accommodate family members, is common, as evidenced by the unit-system and the organic nature of accretions; yet this clustering differs from building to building. This variation, according to Rapoport 'indicates the importance of considering the

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[154] J. Rule, *The Vital Century: England's Developing Economy, 1714-1815* (London, 1992), p. 164.
[155] Ibid., p. 34.

specifics of the problem, rather than only its general features.'[156] Elite architecture does not cater for these rather localised needs. So, when a great hall was no longer required, it was divided internally, as at Bodelwyddan or Penrhyn. Rapoport concludes that vernacular building - a term which includes most Welsh gentry houses - is an additive process, and adapts to change more readily 'than the closed forms of high-style design; all these variations then fall into one of two ways in which additions can be made.'[157] The first is by clustering, as seen at houses such as Parc, Llanfrothen; and the other method is by sub-division, as at Brynkir, where the upper house was awkwardly subdivided internally. The relationship between vernacular and elite architecture is something that Rapoport only touches upon, but he concedes that each form influences the other, as seen in the rustic Village Baroque of Austria and Switzerland.[158]

It is interesting at this point to recall the words of the bardic poets, who frequented the houses of the gentry, lauding their near mythical links with the past, the power of their ancestry and the physical display of their houses; the very stones from which their mansions were built had symbolic properties, as is shown by Sir Richard Clough's Bachegraig, whose stone was brought over from Antwerp in the 1560s:[159]

> *It contains hewn stones from Antwerp*
> *According to his own desire*
> *Stones, marble-stones and timber have been placed where they are best suited*
> *It is a fine mansion.*

Everything with regard to houses and their uses can be viewed as having symbolic significance, but it is unwise to take such a view in every case. Just as with physical determinism, this 'symbolic' approach, used in isolation, ignores the full range of variables that exist. Lewis Mumford refers to the need of humans to utilise their internal resources

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[156] A. Rapoport, *House form and culture* (Upper Saddle River, 1969), p. 36.
[157] Ibid.
[158] Rapoport, *House form and culture* (Upper Saddle River: Prentice-Hall, 1969), p. 106.
[159] Simwnt Fychan *c*.1567, translated by R. Gwyndaf in *Compass Points*, J. Morris (ed.), (Cardiff, 1993), pp. 114-115.

rather than control their physical environment, putting the primacy of the symbol as a modifying factor,[160] as shown by the poetic writings of the Welsh bards, with their mythic rather than their rational or practical function.[161] Considering the relative lack of wealth of the Welsh gentry, it is appropriate to contrast them with Rapoport's observations on cultures where affluence is scarce, and as a result 'highly developed ceremonial life' results.[162] Again, the Welsh gentry used what little resources they had to make symbolic statements, either through the use of the word, whether spoken or written, which lauded their homes, activities and ancestry, or through visual imagery, by way of portraiture, furniture or the architecture of their homes and gardens. Even the orientation of a house may be ritualised, and illustrates a 'function of cultural and religious attitudes rather than material factors'.[163] This can be seen in the way in which morning and breakfast rooms were often east-facing, in order to enjoy the morning light, with drawing rooms south-facing for the greater use of sunlight during the day, and dining rooms on the west or north-side, as they were used in the evenings or at night-time. All of these are indications of pragmatism in an age of candlelight. The great hall was viewed as a microcosm of society, and, within some Welsh families, it survived well beyond its original use. The halls at Mostyn and Gloddaith, for example, became the centrepieces of the accretions that later surrounded them. Their function of receiving guests, hosting the recitation of poetry, entertaining and dispensing law, continued into recent times, underlining and exemplifying the family it housed and their place within a wider community. Thomas Pennant, writing in the 1770s, commented on the continuing traditions of the great hall at Mostyn:

> The great gloomy hall is furnished with a dais or elevated upper end and with a long table for the lord and his jovial companions; and another in the side, the seat of the inferior partakers of the good cheer. To this day the similitude of the old times is kept

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[160] See L. Mumford, *Art and Technics* (New York, 1953) and L. Mumford, 'Technics and the Nature of Man', in *Knowledge Among Men*, S.D. Ripley (ed.) (New York, 1966).
[161] A. Rapoport, *House form and culture* (Upper Saddle River, 1969), p. 43.
[162] Ibid.
[163] Ibid., p. 51.

up when the family is at home. The head servants take their dinner at the dais and the numerous inferior servants fill the long table. [164]

It was by using symbolism, ceremony and the building, thereby solidifying ties and continuing longstanding practices, that families were able to continue an ideal of gentry life right into the twentieth century. Hierarchies were maintained and access controlled, allocating space for certain members and excluding others. Into the twentieth century, 'Coming of Age' ceremonies were a continuation of this. They entailed the heir to an estate formally being presented to the tenantry and wider community, as a rite of passage. Often the heir would be proclaimed initially within the house in the presence of a chosen few, and then led outside to be placed in view of the community. Festivities were held and the cementation of the transition to the next generation was made.[165]

The greater the number of possibilities, the greater the choice, which creates a freedom that Rapoport terms *criticality*. An analogy for criticality as proposed by Rapoport is as follows:

> In problems of flight, a rocket has a higher criticality than an airplane, because it is more severely constrained by technical requirements; slow speed airplanes have more degrees of freedom, i.e., lower criticality than rapid ones (compare the variety of forms in the 1920s with the relative few forms of present day jets.) [166]

Therefore, with buildings, the criticality is low. And Rapoport argues that this low level of criticality accords more importance to cultural, social and psychological factors.[167] He goes on to state that this does not constitute a form of cultural determinism, replacing physical or economic determinism. The material life of the Welsh gentry was altogether similar to the rest of the United Kingdom. But the expression of their individuality, particularly the ceremonial aspects of life - such as their roles as royal court officials, members of parliament, high sheriffs, justices of the peace, benefactors, patrons, figureheads,

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[164] T. Pennant, *History of the Parishes of Whiteford and Holywell* (London, 1796), p. 55.
[165] See Lady Marjorie Cochrane's Photo album, Prestatyn: GCPT/12.
[166] A. Rapoport, *House form and culture* (Upper Saddle River, 1969), p. 59.
[167] Ibid., p. 60.

etc. - is reflected through their buildings. Objects within homes and rooms within mansions were given almost magical qualities, as seen at Penrhos, Holyhead, Anglesey, where the portrait of an ancestress was said to extrude paranormal control over its descendants if ever it should have been removed from the ancestral home.[168]

Rapoport observes that those cultures with lower levels of economic activity clung more to the mythical aspects of their societies, and it is important to view the Welsh gentry and the people who lived and worked on their estates through this perspective. Even in the early twentieth century, the Countess of Dundonald at Gwrych Castle continued to believe in her ancient bloodline, which she traced back to Roman times; she sought out material evidence for this by excavating the iron age hillforts on her estate, and then took part in the ceremonies of Druidic bards, where she took on the attributes of the Celtic goddess Rhiannon.[169] Such behaviour formed an essential element of daily life, with the associated rituals thus incorporated into the buildings in which these people lived. It was no accident that sight lines from Gwrych Castle were aligned with the hillforts of the Clwydian Range, with the early medieval 'mother church' at Abergele, and with the medieval fortress of Edward I at Rhuddlan and the Lloyds of Gwrych's Tudor mansion in the castle's park. This interaction of cultural factors linking back to the owner and builder of Gwrych's past, presents numerous possibilities as to how they could be incorporated into the castle's creation. They do not determine its form but rather provide possibilities for its construction.

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[168] Bangor (Penrhos) 7 1013. 'The Life of Margaret Owen, Lady Stanley (1742-1816) by her great-granddaughter, Jane Henrietta Adeane of Plas Llanfawr, Holyhead', pp. 4-9.
[169] Interview with the earl of Dundonald, 9.9.09.

Chapter 3: The Form and Layout of the Welsh Country House

Introduction

The main aim of this chapter is to critique whether there is anything identifiably distinctive about the form and layout of Welsh country houses, by examining their structure. The chapter begins with an overview of previous research and presents the RCAHMW's typology of domestic architecture in Wales as the baseline for analysing Welsh country houses, contrasting with England, Scotland and to a lesser extent, Ireland. This is placed against the Welsh laws, and the continuance of customs and practices, and how these may have effected house building. Taking these differences into account, the unit system is discussed in detail, with a variety of case studies from across Wales. The conflict between artisan craftsmen, the rise of architectural professionalism or internal architectural practices and the influence of national, and international ideas and movements is analysed under the heading archaism and modernity, and explored by the discussion of stepped gables and its spread in north Wales. To conclude the chapter, Llwyn Ynn, Plas Teg and Ruperra are discussed at length in order to test whether the forces exerted on them resulted in a distinctively Welsh form or layout. The case studies consider the architectural output of gentry operating at parish, regional and national levels.

This thesis is a macro-study of the survival and revival of mansion houses, supplemented and expanded by micro case studies that are used to demonstrate general trends observed during research. As shown in Chapter 2, the architectural output of the *uchelwyr* was determined by both outside influences and those from within. Families were flexible and pragmatic in their approach to building. R.M. Pears stated, 'patronage was an inherent part of a stratified society, with individuals in each layer looking to the one above for wealth, favour

and office in return for loyalty and support.'[1] This complex network of patronage was underpinned by the kinship and friendship networks of Wales, which were certainly not unique, as shown by the research undertaken in northeast England by R.M. Pears. It is suggested by this thesis that appropriation of houses through marriage presents an interesting scenario: some families chose to continue previous traditions and built their homes respectively, or left the house relatively untouched; others were greatly altered or in some cases demolished and replaced. Throughout this thesis there are micro-studies of gentry houses in Wales, supplemented and expanded by more in-depth case studies. Welsh mansions do not present a homogeneous group, but include much variety, particularly in terms of size, layout and date. In light of this knowledge, we may ask: did the houses of *yr uchelwyr* exhibit features that distinguish them from their counterparts outside of Wales? This chapter analyses the evolution of house forms from the sub-medieval hall house through to the Renaissance planned houses of the late-seventeenth century. A typology of house types, developed by Peter Smith, will form the basis of critical analysis of the case studies. Within these typological groups are features that were either distinctive of the Welsh country house, or were adopted by *yr uchelwyr* as conspicuous modes of decoration, and will be discussed in detail in this chapter under characteristics of gentry housing Wales.

The Impact of the Welsh Laws on Architecture

The Welsh gentry were constantly looking back through history - right back to the period of the formation of Wales, after the departure of the Romans. Renewed interest in Britain's classical Roman heritage during the early-eighteenth century was contrasted in Wales by a revival in its pagan past, such as the Druids, the Celts and the early-medieval rulers. This thesis proposes that it was following the fall of Rome that the origins of the gentry's belief

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[1] R.M. Pears, 'William Newton (1730-1798) and the development of the architectural profession in north-east England', Newcastle University PhD Thesis (2013), p. 103.

systems appear to lie, to be later developed during the medieval period, so that, by the sixteenth century, a thousand-year history, combining both real and yet also mythological elements, had been woven. An antiquarian view of Welsh history, and its embodiment through architecture, was a fundamental device used by *yr uchelwyr* in demonstrating their attachment to land and authority over specific localities. A distinctive difference from England were the medieval laws of Wales, which differed significantly from both English common law and canon law. They are attributed to *Hywel Dda* [Hywel the Good] (c.880-950), ruler of Wales in the tenth century.[2] It is said that Hywel, in AD 906, summoned six men from every *cantref* (a Welsh land division) within his kingdom to an assembly at Whitland, Carmarthenshire, to examine and amend the old laws, with a view to codifying a legal system in Wales - a native system intended to contravene neither the law of the Church nor that of the Holy Roman Emperor.[3] There is no direct connection between Hywel and the surviving manuscripts, but he was probably evoked in relation to them in order to endow the laws with greater authority and integrity.[4] Accounts of the assembly and the initiative behind it can be found in the introductions to the law texts themselves. Thomas Glyn Watkin suggests that among Hywel's motivations may have been his desire to please the Church, which was moving towards the compilation of written law. Another may have been Hywel's keenness to follow the trend towards secular rules, as advocated by Alfred of Wessex (848/849-899).[5]

Around forty documents survive from this legal corpus, thirty-four of which are in Welsh, with the rest in Latin, but none of them dates before the thirteenth century. They have been copied and reprinted enabling them to survive despite the originals having been lost.

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[2] D. Jenkins, 'The Significance of the Law of Hywel', *THSC*, (1977), pp. 54-76.
[3] T.G. Watkin, *The Legal History of Wales* (Cardiff, 2007), p. 45.
[4] S.E. Roberts, *The Legal Triads of Medieval Wales* (Cardiff, 2011), p. 2.
[5] Watkin, *The Legal History of Wales*, p. 45.

The laws in Wales are separated into three groups[6], based upon their region of origin. The Cyfnerth or Gwentian Redaction probably retains the earliest versions of the laws of Gwent, despite these manuscripts being of fourteenth century origin.[7] The Blegywryd or Dimetian Redaction is the largest of the three groups, codified for the Dyfed region[8]. The Iorwerth or Venedotian Redaction is the oldest manuscript in the group, dating from the thirteenth century, but also contains later law, reflecting the political situation in Gwynedd during the thirteenth century. The Latin group form a separate redaction and is, by and large, distinct from the three Welsh language redactions. Nearly all of the surviving manuscripts open with a prologue, recounting the life of Hywel Dda and how the laws were created, and proceed to list the laws of the court, the officers and their duties. All of the redactions contain a section called the Three Columns of Law, covering respectively homicide, theft and arson. Other sections include the law of women, land law, suretyship (contract), corn damage and the value of horses and equipment.[9]

The corpus of writings consists of prose literature, poetry and functional writings, which is then divided into the laws, bardic grammars and medical texts. Triad usage can be found throughout the Celtic language group, occurring also in Breton, Cornish, Irish and Scottish Gaelic texts.[10] Sara Elin Roberts, in *The Legal Triads of Medieval Wales*, suggests that the triad form was a mnemonic device used for memorising large amounts of material.[11] The *gwŷr bonheddig* or *uchelwyr* (the gentry), were of free birth and granted certain privileges, such as entry into the professions - as advocates, bards, or priests.[12] In contrast, the *aillt* or *taeog* class, despite being free, were subject to restrictions from entering the professions. This class, despite being socially inferior, were able to ascend, through payment,

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[6] No document remains from Powys although the Iorwerth Redaction refers to it.
[7] Roberts, *The Legal Triads of Medieval Wales*, p. 2.
[8] Ibid., p. 3.
[9] Ibid.
[10] Ibid.
[11] Ibid.
[12] Watkin, *The Legal History of Wales*, p.52.

to the status of *uchelwyr,* and even to king. It has been suggested that the *aillt* or *taeog* class were descendants of Goidelic tribes, who occupied Wales before the ingress of the Brythonic or British tribes. J. Rhys and D.B. Jones have claimed that these people traced their pedigree and descent through the female line.[13] They relate that the stories contained within the *Mabinogion* were in fact Goidelic in origin, presenting customs that were matrilineal, rather than patrilineal. There exists a dichotomy between the *Laws of Hywel Dda* and the *Mabinogion,* as in the latter women are given greater status. The mother is a powerful archetype; the House of Dôn, in the Fourth Branch of the *Mabinogion,* traces its pedigree to a mother goddess Dôn. An Irish equivalent exists in Danu, whose children formed the mythological race, *Tuatha Dé Danann,* 'the peoples of the goddess Danu.'[14] Another Irish parallel is seen in the use of triads - the 'grouping of ideas or themes in threes, which occurs throughout medieval Welsh literature.'[15] Payment reflected status, as was the case with deliberate insults, which resulted in the payment of a *sarhad.* Women were afforded a higher status under Welsh law than in most contemporary legal systems. The queen was allotted one-third of the king's income for her personal use, and she was accorded greater status than any other member of the court.[16] Family units, *cenedl,* were agnatic, headed by the oldest surviving male ancestor. Yet women were acknowledged with their own laws. For men and women, 'status was generally dependent upon birth, although it could be determined by office or the tenure of land.'[17] Both *cenedl* and *sarhad* are attributed by Professor Nora Chadwick as being survivors of an ancient Celtic way of life.[18] As Welsh law was essentially the customs of the people it was not static, but responsive, requiring royal authority for validation. Customs supplemented the law, and were accepted if they were not at odds with

[13] See D. Brynmor-Jones & J. Rhys, *The Welsh People: Chapters of their Origin, History, Laws, Language, Literature and Characteristics* (New York, 1900).
[14] S. Davies, *The Mabinogion* (Oxford, 2007), p. 240.
[15] Roberts, *The Legal Triads of Medieval Wales*, p. 1.
[16] Watkin, *The Legal History of Wales*, p. 49.
[17] Ibid., p. 52.
[18] N. Chadwick, *The Celts* (London, 1971), p. 110.

it.[19] The *Mabinogion* affirms the existence and practice of these legal customs, particularly those of the laws of court, which are a distinguishing feature. Native law was in use until the death of Llewellyn ap Gruffydd (c.1223-1282) and the Statute of Rhuddlan in 1284, which brought English criminal law into Wales. However, cases continued to be regulated by Welsh law until the Laws in Wales Acts of 1535 and 1542, with the last case to be heard under Welsh law being a hearing concerning land in Carmarthenshire in 1540.[20] However, well into the seventeenth century, Welsh law continued to be used in civil matters.[21] In 1730, William Wooton published the first translation from Welsh, entitled *Cyfreithjeu Hywel Dda ac eraill, seu Leges Wallicae Ecclesiasticae et Civiles Hoeli boni et Aliorum Walliae Principum*.[22] This book enabled, for the first time in nearly two hundred years, widespread access to the medieval Welsh laws.[23]

The Transition from Sub-medieval Hall to Storeyed House

With the backdrop of the distinctive Welsh legal system, post-1400 architecture in Wales developed differently from that of England, Scotland and Ireland.[24] Scottish houses were still being made defensible in the late-seventeenth century, as political stability had not been achieved, and even with the Union with Scotland Act 1706 and Union with England Act 1707, Scotland was not stable. As described by Aonghus Mackechnie, there was state paranoia and terrorism in Scotland after the Glorious Revolution.[25] Focus moved from maintaining the Stuart royal homes to re-fortifying houses, as seen by the dereliction of Dunfermline and Falklands palaces. By contrast, the Welsh house was often undefended

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[19] Watkin, *The Legal History of Wales*, p. 48.
[20] T.M. Charles-Edwards, *The Welsh Laws* (Cardiff, 1990), p. 93.
[21] T. Jones Pierce, *Medieval Welsh Society: Selected Essays by T. Jones Pierce* (Cardiff, 1972), pp. 386-7.
[22] W. Wooton, *Cyfreithjeu Hywel Dda ac eraill, seu Leges Wallicae Ecclesiasticae et Civiles Hoeli boni et Aliorum Walliae Principum* (London, 1730).
[23] D. Stoker, 'William Wotton's Exile and Redemption: An Account of the Genesis and Publication of Leges Wallicae' in *Welsh Book Studies,* 7 (2006), pp. 7-106.
[24] Suggett & Stevenson, *Introducing Houses of the Welsh Countryside*, p. 27.
[25] A. Mackechnie, Holyrood and the Masters of Work after 1678, paper delivered at the University of Edinburgh's 'The Architecture of Scotland in its European Setting, 1660-1750', 23.4.15.

given the political stability in Wales after the early-fifteenth century rebellions, so that the hall house became associated with entertainment and hospitality, not defence. Hall building and design developed as a high craft, which was praised in bardic poetry, and enjoyed by all strata of society in medieval Wales.[26] The most common building type was the three unit plan – an open hall, set between storeyed upper and lower bays, with chambers. Timber was the main material used for construction; full crucks were used in north and east Wales, with jointed or scarfed crucks in south and west Wales.[27] Stone vaults were used in south Pembrokeshire and south Glamorgan, and are associated with Anglo-Norman settlement.[28] These first floor halls may echo the castle and church building tradition, since many church towers in Pembrokeshire were built with fire proof vaults. The hall house type is distributed nationally throughout Britain.[29] From the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries onwards, there was a move away from open-hall houses to storeyed dwellings, which created a greater amount of choice as it produced several house types and regionally distinctive houses.

The interior of the hall house was based around a centrally-placed open hearth open to the roof. Lateral fireplaces and beamed ceilings were not utilised by medieval builders in the great hall, even though the technology was available to builders, as evidenced by their inclusion in castle architecture from the thirteenth century onwards. Dendrochronology has shown that no house has been found to pre-date 1400.[30] There are documentary references to many great pre-1400 houses, but none survive.[31] This lack of pre-1400 house survival reflect the devastating effect of Glyndŵr Rebellion.

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[26] Suggett & Stevenson, *Introducing Houses of the Welsh Countryside*, p. 31
[27] Ibid., p. 32
[28] Ibid.
[29] Ibid., p. 57
[30] Ibid., p. 33
[31] Ibid.

RCAHMW established that there were three sizes of single-unit hall built in Wales - as categorised according to the baying (the space between the trusses system).[32] The great halls within a lordship were the residence of the lord, his steward or religious house. The building period for these houses peaked between 1430-50.[33] These consist of 3 bays or more, sometimes forming an H-Plan or a winged pattern, and boasting ornate timberwork. Gentry halls are usually composed of two bays set between inner and outer rooms. They feature a central open truss with arch bracing and cusping. These families were often influential at a local level. They are identified as *yr uchelwyr*. Aisle trusses were often placed at the entry to a house, while 'speres' or ports defined and dramatised the hall entrance.[34] The so-called 'peasant hall' was often single bayed hall, set between upper and lower ends. Most of these have been dated by the RCAHMW to post-1500.[35] They were built on profits from livestock grazing and were the predecessor of the longhouse. The parlour was at one end and the cowhouse at the other.[36]

A typology of the Sub-medieval House in Wales was created by RCAHMW, identifying the transition from the medieval hall form to a Renaissance influenced plan. Sub-medieval houses can be separated into three categories of unit usage in terms of scale: the smallest, one-unit houses are rare and may actually be part of a larger, now lost, complex; medium sized two-unit houses are the most common, and dominate the Snowdonia house type; and there is also the larger, three-unit house. All of these house types were storeyed, with a hall on the ground floor and a chamber on the first floor. In the two-unit house were also a cold parlour (without a fireplace) and a service room, side by side, on the ground floor, and two chambers above. The three-unit house had all of the above, but with the addition of a heated parlour, with another chamber above. As attested by the poetry discussed in Chapter 2,

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[32] Ibid., p. 35
[33] Ibid.
[34] Ibid, p. 36
[35] Ibid, p. 37
[36] Ibid.

height was an important sign of social status. Lower status houses of one and half storeys had their upper floor inserted into the roof space to create an attic storey, lit by low windows beneath eaves or by dormer windows. Higher status houses were of two and a half storeys, featuring a similar arrangement for the attic. Peter Smith states that a tall house of two units might have been considered to be superior to a low house of three.[37]

During periods of great change - social, economic and religious - the house represented an embodiment of continuity. These homes display certain themes, such as the parallels their owners made between the Bibles's focus on genealogy and that of the Welsh gentry.[38] This was often mocked by outsiders, who saw the Welsh predilection for outlandish pedigrees as bizarre. Yet many families clearly attached beliefs to their supposed ancestries and, in consequence formed tight kinship groups. These groups were characterised by shared resources, land and architectural ideas. Peter Smith shows in his distribution maps that certain building types were restricted to distinct regions, each building type flourishing only for short periods of time. No explanation is given for this effect, except that there was a spread of new ideas supplanting previous practices. It is therefore important for these regional building types to be discussed.

Peter Smith, in his work for the RCAHMW, has stated that the architectural 'personality' of Wales was not uniform, but had complex distributions of different features in different regions.[39] Smith concluded that architectural innovation spread from east to west, from the English borders and seen across Wales. Hall houses had an essentially uniform plan, but were succeeded by a diversity of regional house types. Medieval houses have been

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[37] Smith, *Houses of the Welsh Countryside*, p. 164.
[38] R. Suggett, 'The Interpretation of Late Medieval Houses in Wales', in R.R. Davies & G.H. Jenkins (eds.), *From Medieval to Modern Wales* (Cardiff, 2004), p. 79.
[39] Ibid, p. 17.

described as 'introvert' and the houses of the Renaissance as 'extrovert'.[40] According to this thinking, medieval houses were designed to be 'internally attractive', whereas renaissance buildings were principally designed to have appealing facades.[41] Smith defines the sub-medieval house as incorporating an enclosed fireplace, an overall upper floor (distinct from a loft), and a fixed stair.[42] All of these elements are absent from the hall house. The basic classification is according to the placement of the fireplace and its relationship to the entrance.[43] The main fireplace may be sited on an external wall, either lateral or gable, type A. If placed internally, it may be backing on the cross-passage, type B, or on the site of the cross-passage creating a lobby-entry, types C or D, (see figure 11).[44]

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[40] H. Sharnette, 'To What Degree Were Classical Influences On Architecture Adopted And Adapted In Welsh Building Styles 1500-1800?', URL: http://www.elizabethi.org/contents/essays/renaissance.htm [accessed 31.12.14].
[41] P. Smith, *Houses of the Welsh Countryside: A Study in Historical Geography* (London, 1988), p. 225.
[42] P. Smith, 'Rural Housing in Wales' in *Agrarian History in England and Wales. Vol. IV, 1500-1640*, ed. by J. Thirsk and others (Cambridge, 1985), p. 699.
[43] Ibid.
[44] Ibid.
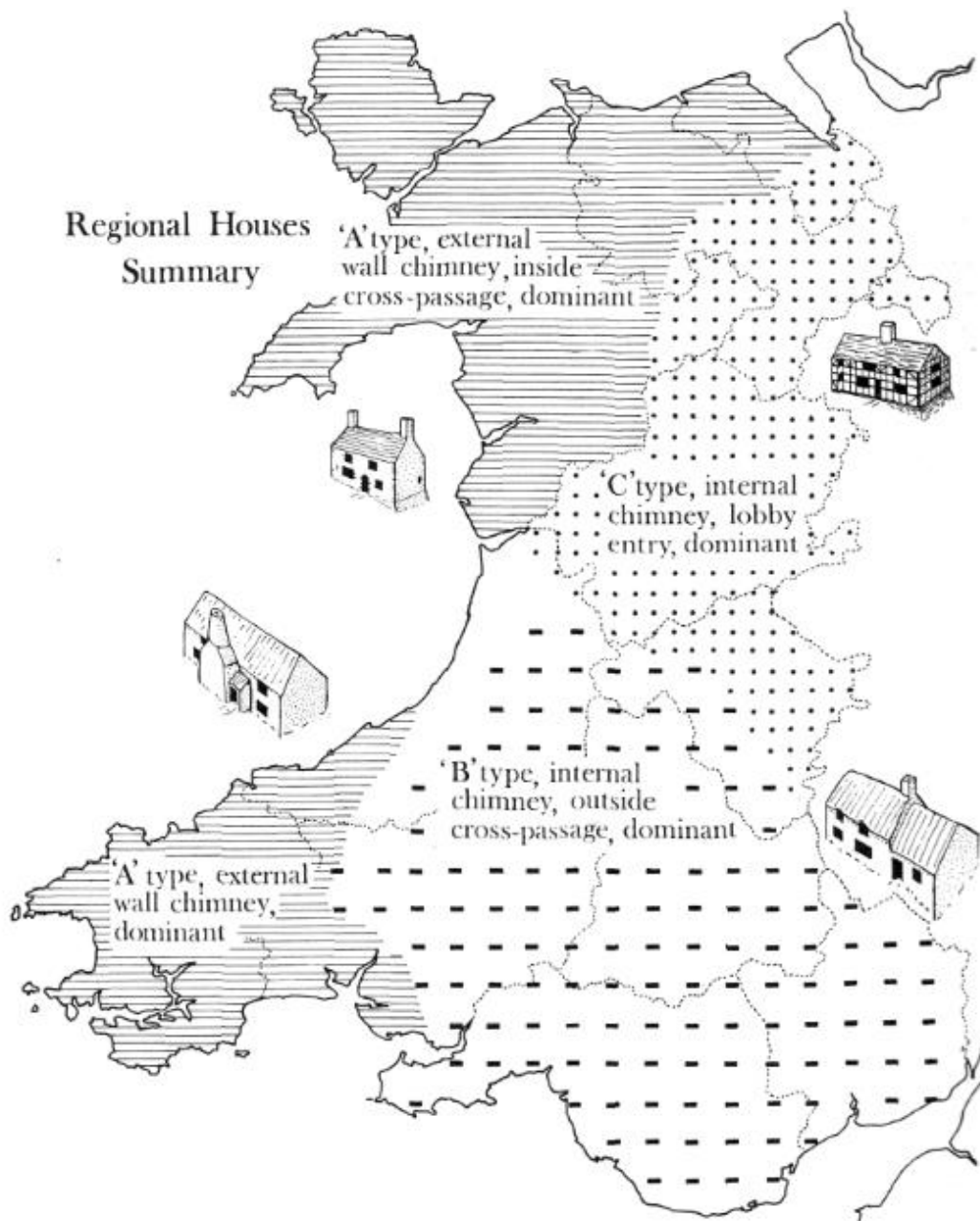
Figure 11: *The distribution of sub-medieval houses across Wales by Peter Smith in* Houses of the Welsh Countryside, p. 432. RCAHMW

Dating the transition from open hall to storeyed house is still the subject of debate. Similar debate concerns the diversity or otherwise of planning among post-medieval houses. The RCAHMW dendrochronology project began in 1996.[45] It has shown that those late-medieval houses still surviving date from post-1400 - after the Owain Glyndŵr rebellion - and that there was a great trend for rebuilding in the late medieval period, albeit one that was

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[45] URL: http://www.rcahmw.gov.uk/LO/ENG/Our+Services/Research+and+Recording/National+Projects/ [accessed 25.11.14]

socially and chronologically staggered.[46] There were a high proportion of lesser North Wales Gentry, especially in the Conwy and Clwyd valleys. This, claims Peter Smith, is shown by the survival of ornate roof features in the sub-medieval hall house and the abundance of such embellishments in sixteenth and seventeenth century houses - functioning as heraldry and date-inscriptions.[47] Other architectural characteristics, such as the layout produced by the unit-system, the inclusion of non-defensive gate houses, the creation of courtyard houses and the addition of diagonal chimneys and stepped-gables, points similarly to the existence of a thriving gentry architectural style.[48] The use of stepped gabling was a building phenomenon that was prevalent in north Wales country house architecture for nearly two centuries. In this chapter, the origin, spread and utilisation of stepped gabling will be discussed in an attempt to understand why certain architectural forms were chosen by *yr uchelwyr*.

High status houses are generally earlier and larger than low status houses - a pattern which illustrates the diffusion of ideas from high to low status. This is shown by lesser landowning farmers building their own versions of hall houses in the early sixteenth century. The gentry at this time began to build a new type of house, featuring upper storeys, fireplaces and chimneys. It employed stone, increasingly, in preference to timber. In summary, pre-1550 houses in Wales are uniform in plan and based on an open hall. These include three principal hall types: great halls, gentry halls and peasant halls. Post-1550 houses include numerous types of vernacular houses. Most domestic gatehouses originated from the Elizabethan and Stuart eras. Smith comments that 'the gatehouse, which had been an important unit in the latest phase of the castle and fortified house, became a favourite adjunct of the Renaissance mansion, but often only as a detached building which fulfilled no military purpose'[49]

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[46] R. Suggett & G. Stevenson, *Introducing Houses of the Welsh Countryside* (Aberystwyth, 2010). p. 20-21.
[47] Smith, *Houses of the Welsh Countryside*, p. 141.
[48] See P. Smith, 'Rural Housing in Wales', p. 799.
[49] P. Smith, *Houses of the Welsh Countryside*, p. 225.

Figure 12: *The classification used by Peter Smith in* Houses of the Welsh Countryside *for distinguishing the types of sub-medieval house, p. 172.* RCAHMW

In Wales the first sub-medieval and the first Renaissance-planned houses appeared at the same time during the mid-sixteenth century (see figure 12).[50] Sub-medieval houses became the dominant form of house for around a hundred years, after which time the Renaissance-planned house took the lead, and by the mid-eighteenth century, nearly all houses of the gentry included some centrally planned elements. Comparison with England is

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[50] P. Smith, 'Rural Housing in Wales', p. 699.

difficult, given that there are large areas of England for which there is no quantified information. Nevertheless, Smith notes that some broad parallels are apparent.[51] Kent is dominated by the central-chimney, lobby-entry house (as far as the Hampshire-Dorset border). Dorset, east Devon and east Somerset are dominated by the chimney backing onto the entry house. While in west Devon and west Somerset was found the lateral chimney house. Cornwall has a predominance of lateral chimney or end chimney houses. The lobby entry houses of the north Midlands, were found to extend into Wales, in contrast to the chimney backing onto the entry houses of Yorkshire and the end chimney houses of Westmorland and Furness.[52] Craft guilds, with their apprenticeships supplied the necessarily skilled workforce, which operated either at a very local or regional level. Aspiring craftsmen served apprenticeships under masters to learn the skills of their chosen profession. Little evidence has survived on how these craftsmen were trained in their respective trades. Master-craftsmen worked in tandem with workers in other crafts, and it was rare for any one craftsmen to overview the building process, as Colvin noted.[53] The designer of the sub-medieval and early-modern house was the master-craftsmen who were 'perforce practical geometricians and accomplished draughtsmen, for before a complex and highly articulated building is erected its members must have been set out in advance, either to scale or full size.'[54] Few names of these craftsmen have survived in the architectural record, but evidence of their individuality can be seen in the form of apotropaic marks.

Typology of Post-Medieval Houses in Wales

- **Type A (end-chimney) House**

  The sub-medieval house in Wales was built to a limited range of rigid patterns, and the two-unit, end-chimney type A house was a popular form. Type A covers houses

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[51] Ibid., p. 702.
[52] Ibid.
[53] H.M. Colvin, *A Biographical Dictionary of British Architects 1600-1850* (New Haven, Conn., 1954), p.30.
[54] J. Harvey, *English Medieval Architects: A Biographical Dictionary Down to 1550*, 2nd rev. edn. (Gloucester, 1987), p. xli.

where the fireplace is placed away from the entry, against an outside wall. Peter Smith also calls this placement the 'inside cross-passage' type, as the entry is usually directly into the hall.[55] It is the only major sub-medieval Welsh house type to have its small service-room and small parlour at the entry end of the building. End-chimney houses are distinguishable from other forms as the entrance is not linked with the fireplace, and the service rooms are at the entry end, rather than behind the 'dais' end.[56] This sub medieval plan came to dominate the region of Snowdonia as it spread amongst the gentry. Cefn-y-fan, Dolbenmaen, Gwynedd is a typical example.[57]

- **Type A (lateral chimney) House**

  Similar to the previous type, this form of house has its fireplace placed on an external wall.[58] Lateral fireplaces are the earliest enclosed fireplace, and were introduced into Wales during Edward I's conquest of Wales. The distinguishing feature of this type of house plan is that the fireplace is placed on the side outside wall, rather than on the gable end.

- **Type B (chimney backing on the entry) House**

  This is distinguished by having the fireplace so placed that it stands between the hall and the entrance onto which it backs.[59] Type B is widely distributed in Wales, but there are more examples in south Wales than in the north, and it is virtually absent in Gwynedd, Pembrokeshire and Anglesey. Peter Smith comments that the type B plan is also found in the Cotswolds, Somerset and East Devon.[60] In Scotland, it occurs as a single-storey house and is absent from Ireland.[61]

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[55] Ibid., p. 157.
[56] Smith, 'Rural Housing in Wales', p. 703.
[57] Smith, *Houses of the Welsh Countryside*, p. 158.
[58] Smith, 'Rural Housing in Wales', p. 704.
[59] Ibid., p. 159.
[60] Ibid., p. 161.
[61] Smith, 'Rural Housing in Wales', p. 708.

- **Type C (lobby entry) House**

  The fireplace stands opposite the entry, alongside which is a small lobby, standing in what was historically the passage. It is the characteristic house type of the north-eastern borders of Wales where it has a close association with half-timbered houses.[62] This is due to the lack of good quality building stone along the borders, and also the prevalence of half-timbering in the counties of Cheshire, Shropshire and Herefordshire.

- **Type D (lobby entry) House**

  This house type contains two chimney stacks instead of one, with the secondary fireplace standing by itself on a gable wall.[63] It is mostly found in the Welsh border counties, and is often used in half-timbered buildings. It is found in the highest status mansions, most of which are post-1600 in date, as this plan provides greater freedom of movement.

- **Type H (end entry) House**

  Similar in other respects to the two-unit type B house with a gable entry, it differs from it in that the entrance is in the gable without the fireplace.

  Larger houses often were formed by accretions, including the building of wings. In plan, the most common layouts were 'L'- or 'T'-plans where single wings had been added, and 'U'- or 'H'-shapes, which formed symmetrical layouts. Over time, the additions of structures such as gatehouses, dower houses and secondary houses, caused the overall plan to become enclosed, thus developing sites into courtyard houses. This house development will be discussed more fully later in this chapter.

  The Snowdonia house was the earliest form of storeyed house in Wales, and is concentrated within the historic counties of Merioneth and Caernarfonshire in northwest

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[62] Ibid., pp. 708-709.
[63] Smith, 'Rural Housing in Wales', p. 710.

Wales.[64] Some claim that the storeyed tower of Gwydir was the prototype of the Snowdonia House, but there is no evidence to support this.[65] Gwydir was a large courtyard house developed in a piecemeal fashion, incorporating a stone sub-medieval hall house, a storeyed range, gatehouse, and various timber-framed offices. The Wynns were one of the wealthiest families in North Wales, but their wealth and power were restricted to their immediate area. The Snowdonia house were stone built and storeyed. Although no timber examples survive, it seems such houses may well have been made from timber as well. They were often a two-unit dwelling, with the ground floor divided by a central passage entrance. One room usually contained a large hall or kitchen on one side of the entrance. On the other side were two smaller, screened outer rooms, such as the parlour or a cold parlour and dairy. The hall/kitchen had a large gable end fireplace which was the focus of the room, and this fireplace contained in its side a winding stone stair to the upper floor. The two chambers on the first floor reflected the arrangement of the ground floor. The first, an inferior chamber, was entered at the head of the stairs, while the principal chamber lay beyond the first room and was heated by another gable-end fireplace.

Dendrochronology has shown that the oldest Snowdonia Houses are from the mid-Tudor period: Y Garreg-fawr and Waunfawr (whose timber has been dated 1540-1554[66]), and Cae Glas, Llanfrothen, Gwynedd, whose timber was felled in the winter of 1547/8.[67] Another detail of the Snowdonia house is the diagonal chimney, set at an angle to its base, which was seen as a status symbol. These mid-Tudor houses have an absence of stone stairs, which reveals the novelty of the early storeyed house and their relationship to the open hall.[68] Most Snowdonia houses appear to have been newly-built in the period, but some were originally

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[64] Suggett & Stevenson, *Introducing Houses of the Welsh Countryside*, p. 58
[65] Peter Welford, owner of Gwydir Castle, interviewed 16.9.10, and Dr. Gregory Stevenson, interviewed, 20.9.10.
[66] Suggett & Stevenson, *Introducing Houses of the Welsh Countryside*, p. 59
[67] Ibid.
[68] Ibid, p. 60

hall houses which subsequently had ceilings inserted; in the latter's case their roofs appear to have been raised, and occasionally the stubs of crucks have been revealed.[69]

The period 1540-1640 saw a replacement of hall houses by storeyed houses. The ground plan of the Snowdonia house preserved the principal part of the hall house, that section from the outer room to the upper end of the hall. The third room of the three-bay hall house was transferred to the first floor of the Snowdonia house, where the first floor 'great chamber' had been given a fireplace. What was the status of these storeyed houses? They were often the homes of the gentry, who formed a closely related and interconnected elite. Later additions were usually minimal, but could include a kitchen wing, and/or a new staircase - placed centrally either within the hall passage or as a projecting tower. The parlour and dairy were then converted into a single space, and the house could be extended by wings, or further units.

The movement away from medieval planning saw the introduction of new building layouts and the addition of prestige elements. New-build properties were no longer built on a downhill gradient, but rather placed across a slope. This was so that the long axis of a building was given prominence. Houses became centralised, with the entry placed in the middle of a front, allowing a symmetrical façade to be achieved. These prestige fronts were enriched with storeyed porches, gatehouses, and tall chimneys reaching high above the roof line. Stair towers, added at the rear of properties, allowed better circulation around houses and were one of the most important features in terms of display. Fireplaces, with heraldic overmantels and stained glass were also popular manifestations of pedigree and precedence.

One of the greatest innovations of the seventeenth century was the adoption of the double-pile and multi-cellular plan, which superseded the single-pile hall houses and the other house types of sub-medieval Wales. Double-pile houses were often formed out of

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[69] Ibid.

earlier buildings, by the addition of a prestige front. Staircases were placed either in a central stair-passage or in a stair-hall. It was now possible to accommodate a multitude of rooms within a compact plan (see figure 13).
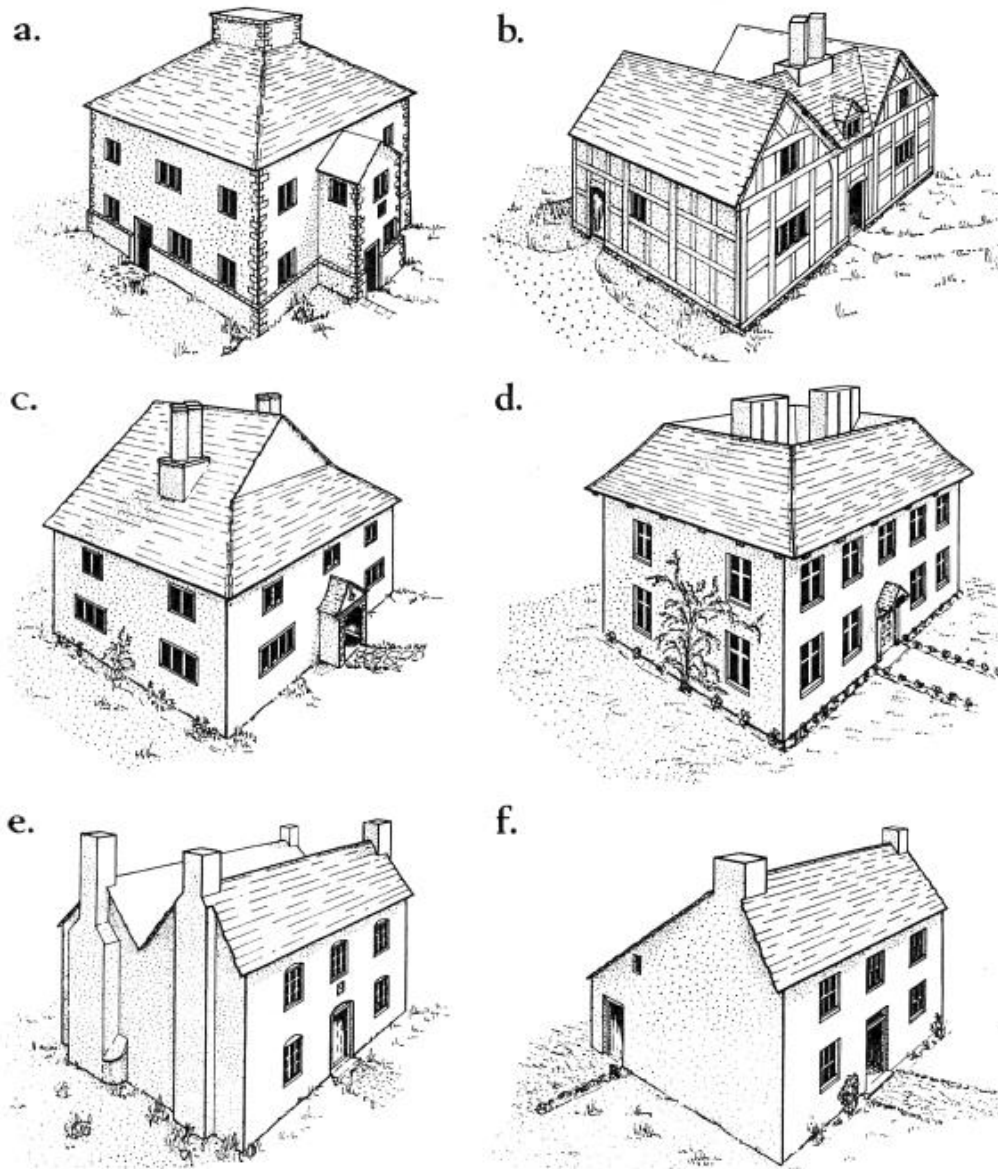
Figure 13: *Different types of double pile Renaissance houses by Peter Smith in* Houses of the Welsh Countryside, p. 239. RCAHMW.

In Welsh country houses, there are two principal approaches to house building post-1600. Many Welsh gentry families continued to develop houses in an organic fashion, resulting in an *evolutionary house*, by being formed over many generations, and clearly displaying its development, often in a linear fashion. As seen in Scotland, the adaptation of an

earlier house was a common way of house development. Jacques Androuet du Cerceau (*c*.1545-*c*.1585) printed pattern books were influential in promoting the inclusion of earlier structures within new ones and the Morgans at Ruperra may have had knowledge of du Cerceau's work. Home owners had a choice of adopting fashionable, European designs or internally expressing their ancestry through other means, such as stained glass, inscriptions, portraiture etc. Some took a mid-ground approach, keeping a sub-medieval ground plan, introducing archaic elements mixed with contemporary design elements, as seen at Ruperra Castle, where the Morgan family built round corner crenellated towers, echoing Caerphilly Castle, which contrast sharply with the Classical multi-storeyed porch. This mixture of elements was a common approach taken by the Welsh gentry, who, whilst seeking to be part of a national elite, were conscious of their background and their status in local society. Was this synergy of ideas displayed through the architecture of their houses?

Byw Cyd (Living Together): The Unit System in Wales

What H.M. Vaughan viewed as being a 'classic style' emerges from his use of such statements as 'interesting old landmarks disfigured' or 'vile transformation'. Vaughan as a contemporary commentator and member of *yr uchelwyr* claimed that to see 'old-style' country houses, one must visit the large farmhouses which had formerly been the gentry's dwellings.[70] Could this practice of subdividing houses have resulted in a visual style that was borne out of necessity but was common throughout Wales? Is there any validity in the assertion that this was simply the Welsh gentry clinging to their pre-Act of Union traditions, in a subversive action of continuity expressed through architecture? Vaughan was writing in the mid-1920s, and Llanina, near Newquay, was given as an example of one such house still inhabited but fitting Vaughan's criteria. He describes Llanina as 'very small', being centred

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[70] H.M. Vaughan, *South Wales Squires: A Welsh Picture of Social Life* (Carmarthen, 1988), p. 82.

on a long, low dining room which extended the whole breadth of the house, apparently a typical feature of many pre-nineteenth-century mansions where an abundance of rooms was not seen as an important feature of a gentry house.[71] At this point, Vaughan inserts an anecdote from a Welsh squire speaking to his architect: 'I shall only need a dining room!'[72] Does this pragmatic approach to building partly account for the organic growth of many mansions in Wales? Vaughan goes on to say: 'the different styles and periods of building […] automatically tend to harmonize and the result is most pleasing to the eye and gives character to the whole.'[73] What he describes is a clear sequence of structural additions that may appear awkward and may include adjoining buildings constructed on a modest scale, but this is characteristic of the unit system. Gogerddan, near Aberystwyth, was altered by Sir Pryse Pryse (1838-1906), who insisted 'on the older portion of the house being retained in the new long edifice.'[74] The exact circumstances that gave rise to this form of building are still open to interpretation, but Welsh laws, wills, inventories and anecdotal evidence appear to point to a customary practice of providing accommodation for family members within a self-contained detached house, or subdividing an existing structure. This manifested itself in the Welsh concept of *byw cyd* (living together), conventionally known as the unit system:

> The unit system consists of an arrangement in a group of several small houses, each complete in itself, in place of the single large house which might be expected to result from addition or rebuilding. The houses are usually more or less contemporary and mostly date to the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. A marked feature is the lack of direct communication between units, although in some cases they have been connected in later times by additional buildings or awkwardly contrived passageways.[75]

The 'unit system' was originally believed to have been a northwest Wales phenomenon,[76] but research has provided examples from other regions in Wales, as well as

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[71] Ibid.
[72] A quote from an unnamed Welsh squire, ibid.
[73] Ibid., p. 81.
[74] Ibid., p. 66.
[75] W. J. Hemp, & C. Gresham, 'Park, Llanfrothen, and the Unit System', *AC*, 97 (1942), p. 98.
[76] Ibid.

scattered examples in Lancashire, Cheshire, Dorset, and Hertfordshire.[77] However, the unit system does appear to be largely absent in the rest of England. The data set of unit system houses assembled for this thesis includes over 110 examples.[78] The most abundant group can indeed be found in northwest Wales in houses which had familial relationships, most notably the houses of Gwydir, Parc and Brynkir. RCAHMW identified at least 58 examples of the unit system existing in Glamorgan, ranging from large mansions such as Sker, Kenfig, Bridgend, to small gentry houses such as Crugau, Neath Higher, Neath Port Talbot.[79] This study revealed that the unit system was far more widespread than previously thought, and was not only associated with northwest Wales. One major difference identified in south Wales was that the number of units involved appeared to be limited to two, whilst in north Wales there could be several. A variety of structures, that cluster, have been identified as being 'unit-system': secondary houses; subsidiary houses; dower houses; *tyddyn y traian* (jointure house); detached service ranges; bakehouses; back-houses; brew-houses; outside kitchens and detached kitchens. Yet the exact form of this clustering phenomenon still differs from building to building, a discrepancy which, according to Rapoport 'indicates the importance of considering the specifics of the problem rather than only its general features'.[80]

Richard Suggett placed the unit system in the context of documentation relating to succession and inheritance, particularly that of the widow.[81] A feature noted by this thesis is the appearance of houses with a long façade, featuring many styles of architecture that appear

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[77] D. Moore, *The Irish Sea Province in Archaeology and History* (Cardiff, 1970), p. 10; R. Machin, 'The Unit System: Some Historical Explanations', *AJ*, 132 (1976); RCHME, *Houses of the North York Moors* (London, 1987), p. 88.;D.C. Williams, R.J. Williams & R.J. Zeepvat, 'Excavations at Great Linford, 1974-80', *Buckinghamshire Archaeological Society Monograph*, 3 (1991), pp. 124-9; J.T. Smith, *English Houses, 1200-1800: The Hertfordshire Evidence* (London, 1992), pp. 106-11.
[78] See Appendix F.
[79] RCAHMW, *Glamorgan Inventory: Vol.4 part 2 Farmhouses and Cottages* (Aberystwyth, 1988), pp. 438-439.
[80] A. Rapoport, *House form and culture* (Upper Saddle River, 1969), p. 36.
[81] R. Suggett, 'The Unit System Revisited: Dual Domestic Planning and the Development Cycle of the Family', *VA*, 38 (2007), pp. 19-34.

to emerge out of each other.[82] To classify the types of unit system observed, the following

list, figure 14, has been assembled:[83]
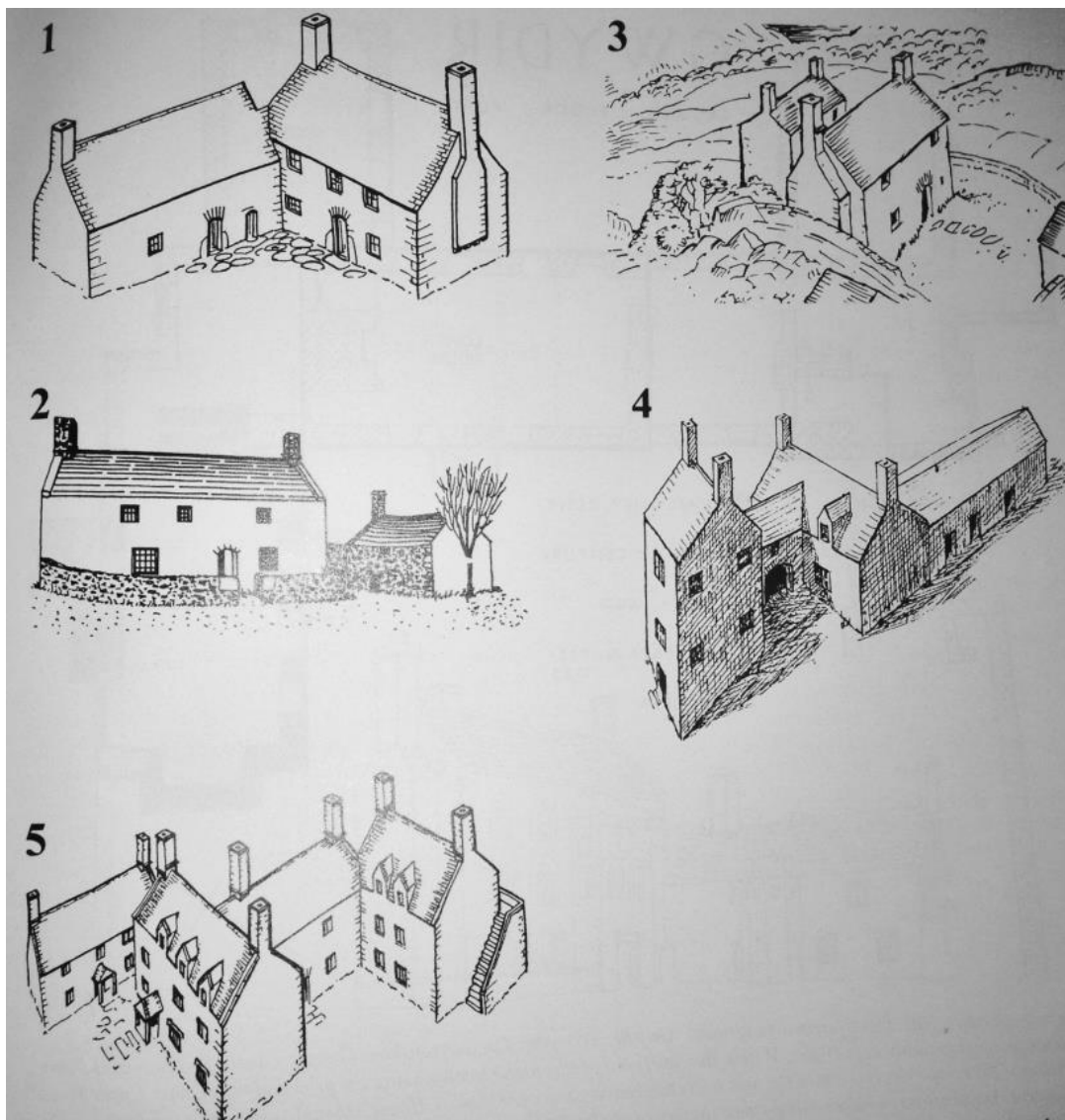
Figure 14: *Types of unit system houses, as depicted by Peter Smith in* Houses of the Welsh Countryside. *This drawing is a composite of the five types.* RCAHMW.

1. Flanking (attached): arranged in an L-plan and often set corner to corner (which indicates that they may be earlier), as seen at Gwydir Castle, Llanrwst, Conwy.
2. Flanking (detached): generally the secondary house flanks the lower gable end of the main house but is detached, as seen at Llwynywormwood, Llandovery, Carmarthenshire.
3. Parallel: both ranges stand often in front of each other, the secondary house lower and on a smaller scale. As seen at old Hafodunos, Llangernyw, Conwy.
4. Lobby-linked: the principal house is linked to the secondary house by a common lobby.

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[82] See Appendix F.
[83] Smith, *Houses of the Welsh Countryside*, pp. 166-200. See also R. Suggett, 'The Unit System Revisited: Dual Domestic Planning and the Development Cycle of the Family', *Vernacular Architecture*, 38 (2007), p. 27.

5. Complex: the multi-unit site which can be a mixture of all the arrangements. Famously found at Park and Plas Newydd (both at Llanfrothen, Gwynedd)
6. Subdivision: the buildings are partitioned internally, so that the exteriors remain unaltered, as at the upper house at Brynkir, Dolbenmaen, Gwynedd.

In 1942, Gresham and Hemp referred to examples of 'co-parency', where family members may share a holding yet maintain independant households,[84] this form of dual-household planning may have prevented the fragmentation of estates without abandoning the customary practice of *gavelkind*. Gresham, suggested that the unit system provided a dwelling for the heir-in-waiting.[85] Many of these houses were altered during the nineteenth century by gentry who tried to imitate their Irish counterparts, resulting in many families in Wales rebuilding or enlarging their homes at great expense.[86] Older houses, as Vaughan rightly points out, were often incorporated into the new building. He cites Tregyb, Gogerddan, Ffynone and Trawscoed as prime examples amongst many.[87] He also states, with some regret, that a lot of rebuilding was carried out 'during a very low period of architecture, so that in most cases these buildings appear false and alien to the scenery, traditions and requirements of Wales.'[88]

In analysing this form of planning, it is important to emphasise that the farm buildings were not duplicated or triplicated as were the houses. Parc and Plasnewydd, Llanfrothen, Gwynedd are an examples of where two houses were built together and but with only one barn to serve them both.[89] William Lewis Anwyl (d. 1642) of Parc was a wealthy, cultured and well-educated man with a strong sense of family, who had contacts in London and

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[84] W. J. Hemp & C. Gresham, 'Park, Llanfrothen, and the Unit System', *AC*, 97 (1942), pp. 98-112.
[85] C. Gresham, 'Gavelkind and the Unit System', *Archaeological Journal*, 128 (1971), pp. 174-5.
[86] Vaughan, *South Wales* Squires, p. 81.
[87] Ibid.
[88] Ibid., p. 82.
[89] Smith, *Houses of the Welsh Countryside*, p. 168. After a discussion with N. Powell of Bangor University (6.12.14), she pointed out that many of the north Wales gentry families were dependent on income from cattle, and that the great estates often had several large barns situated near to their houses. For instance, the bird's eye view of Llannerch contains cattle within the vicinity of the main house and garden (see Unknown British artist, Llannerch, Denbighshire, Wales, c. 1667, Yale Centre for British Art, Paul Mellon Collection B1976.7.11).

elsewhere who kept him supplied with books and information.[90] He may well have tried to create a garden based on Italian ideas on this wet site.[91] In addition, a *cywydd* (panegyric) on Anwyl's death mentions his 'New House of immense construction' as well as gardens, orchards, parks and 'fair towers'.[92]

Duplication of houses built in close proximity to another may be the result of a marriage of an heir whilst the estate owner was still alive. This may explain the erection of buildings of equal size. Smaller duplicates suggest a 'parlour block' for a widow when the resources of the estate could stretch to the provision of a dower home. As a contemporary commentator, Thomas Pennant, writing in 1770, refers to the *tyddyn y traian* or 'jointure house' at a gentry house in Snowdonia, called Cwm Bychan:[93]

> Stools and roots of firs, of vast size, are frequently found near the lake. Mr Llwyd observed one, with the marks of fire on it, which he used to repair the Tyddyn y Traian or jointure-house of his family; an ancient customary appendage to most of the Welsh houses of any note.

Pennant highlights the commonality of this form of building among gentry houses. As previously stated, gentry status was often determined by blood, rather than by wealth, and consequently, houses of gentry status could vary radically in scale. Cwm Bychan is dated 1612 and is a modest two-storeyed Snowdonia house and Moses Griffith made an illustration of it for Pennant's *A Tour in Wales*. This reference to *tyddyn y traian* is an indicator of the importance, practice and form of Welsh buildings. Unfortunately, few other commentators or contemporary accounts are as explicit as Pennant. His readership was an English-speaking and mostly non-Welsh audience, who would not have been aware of Welsh building forms. The 'appendages' that he mentions can be clearly seen at a variety of gentry houses, and range from small outbuildings to large, independent mansions. Other forms of planning, the

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[90] M. Dunn's report for Dating Old Welsh Houses on Parc, Llanfrothen, Gwynedd. URL: http://datingoldwelshhouses.co.uk/library/HHistory-old/HHMIDDLE%20PARC.pdf [accessed 22.11.14].
[91] This poem is quoted by Cadw but no reference is given.
[92] ICOMOS Park and Garden Register 'Parc'. URL: http://coflein.gov.uk/pdf/CPG035/ [accessed 15.10.14].
[93] T. Pennant, *A Tour in Wales: Volume II* (London, 1783), p .237.

use of seasonable residences, *hendre* and *hafod*, which literally translate as the 'old homestead' and the 'summer dwelling', may in some instances, relate to the unit system. *Hendre* represents 'permanent' or ancestral settlement on lower land, *hafod*, on higher ground was the summer dwelling to which some members of the family moved. William Salesbury's Welsh dictionary of 1547 describes *hafod* as a dairy, whilst seventeenth-century dictionaries define it as either a dairy or summer house.[94] Traditionally, the period of summer grazing was from *Calan Mai* to *Calan Gaeaf* (May Day until All Saint's Day).[95] Transhumance was a pastoral economy where a family moved their herds and flocks in the spring to feed on grasses in the mountain pastures. Another interpretation was that the winter home was *hendre* and the summer home was *hafod* or *hafoty* as it was in north Wales, *lluest* in the west, or *meifod/cynaefdy* (May/Autumn House).[96]

Rhydodyn or Edwinsford at Talley, is an example of a high status unit system house. About 1635, an unusual square renaissance house was constructed on the banks of the River Cothi for the Williams family. The Williamses had owned Edwinsford since the late medieval period; their pedigree was lauded by poets, in the traditional manner. Sir Rice Williams, High Sheriff of Carmarthenshire, extended the house during the late seventeenth century with a wing containing some of the most elaborate plasterwork in southwest Wales. Francis Jones reports that deeds dating from 1541 record *Rydodyn ycha* (Upper Edwinsford) and *Rydodyn issa* (Lower Edwinsford).[97] Jones suggests that the name Edwinsford was introduced to distinguish the mansion from the home farm. Peter Smith confirmed after a structural survey that there were in fact two houses joined corner-to-corner, which had caused much confusion to historians, who believed that Edwinsford-isaf and Edwinsford-uchaf were two separate

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[94] Ibid., p. 6.
[95] Anon., 'Hafod, hafoty and lluest' in *Ceredigion: Journal of the Cardiganshire Antiquarian Society* Vol. 9, no. 1 (1980), p. 1.
[96] Smith, *Houses of the Welsh Countryside*, p. 143.
[97] F. Jones, 'Williams of Edwinsford (Part I)' *THSC* (1986), p. 65. Francis Jones, was a genealogist and Wales Herald Extraordinary, previously County Archivist for Carmarthenshire.

physical properties, as Francis Jones called it the 'riddle of Rhydodyn'.[98] Smith stated that the upper and lower houses were in fact those which touched at their corners. However, the documentary evidence reveals that this was clearly not the case. A deed dated 1659 shows that Nicholas Williams of 'Rhydodwynne' mortgaged the messuage called 'Rhyd-odwynne Issa'. It would be odd for a semi-detached house to be mortgaged even though it was viewed as a separate entity. Similar arguments have been put forward for Gwydir Castle but the evidence is contradictory.

The two houses at Edwinsford, though touching at corners, are both planned in very different ways. One is a three-bay linear block, with a central doorway and dog-leg staircase[99], with parlours to either side; the other is square with a central chimney stack, around which rooms were arranged. The distinctive pyramidal roof is similar to several others: Bachegraig, Tremeirchion; Cemais Bychan, Cemais; Tŷ Mawr, Llansilin; and Trimley Hall, Llanfynydd.[100] The square block is the earlier of the two houses at Edwinsford. Smith observes that all the houses except for Bachegraig (which dates from the sixteenth century) have the same plan and dimensions, which suggests either that they had the same designer or that the artisan-craftsmen responsible made use of the same pattern. In Scotland, at Musselburgh, East Lothian, Halkerston Lodge was built *c*.1638-40, with a square plan and pyramidal roof, 'recalling one type of contemporary farmhouse in the Netherlands'.[101] The Beemster farms in northern Holland were built on reclaimed land pumped dry in 1612 by a commission of Amsterdam merchants, under the direction of hydraulic engineer and builder of mills, Jan Adriaanszoon Leeghwater (1575-1650).[102] The parcelling of land and creation of

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[98] Ibid., p. 67.
[99] Now reused at Llwyn-y-Brain, Llandovery.
[100] Plans published in P. Smith, 'Historical domestic architecture in Dyfed: an outline, in *Carmarthenshire Studies*, T. Barnes & N. Yates (eds.), (Carmarthen, 1974), pp. 72-73.
[101] C. McWilliam, *The Buildings of Scotland: Lothian, except Edinburgh* (London, 1978), p. 266.
[102] B. Leupen et al, *Design and Analysis* (Rotterdam, 1997), p. 157.

a grid system was designed by Jan Pieterszoon Dou and Lucas Janszoon Sink.[103] Further research may reveal that the Welsh pyramidal house owners may have had links with the Netherlands, as was often the case in Scotland due to its trade with the Low Countries.

The plasterwork that once decorated the ground-floor rooms of the centrally planned mid-seventeenth century house at Edwinsford was almost identical to that found at Newton House and Plas Taliaris, both near Llandeilo.[104] Recent dendrochronology has dated roofing timbers from Newton as having been felled in 1664.[105] It is therefore reasonable to give a date of *c*.1660 for the building of the second house at Edwinsford. Documentary evidence supports this: with a letter dated 7th July 1659 requesting Nicholas Williams to confirm 'the number of boards and nails required […] to the "setting up of your house".'[106]

Another instance of *uchaf (*upper) and *isaf* (lower) houses is found at Gwydir Castle, Llanrwst. As Pennant writes:

> On a rock, high above the Lower Gwedir, stood another, called The Upper, seemingly built for the enjoyment of the beautiful view it commands of the rich meadows watered by the Conwy, and their elegant boundaries. It was a sort of Diaeta, or summer-house, erected by Sir John Wynn, in 1604, who had a classical taste. The walls were covered with inscriptions; and the situation well deserved the panegyric bestowed on it in the following Welsh lines, placed over the entrance:
>
> *Bryn Gwedir gwelir goleu adeilad*   A conspicuous edifice on Gwedir hill,
> *Uwch dolydd a chaurau*   towering over the adjacent land;
> *Bryn gwych adail yn ail ne;*   a well-chosen situation,
> *Bron wen Henllys brenhinlle.*   a second paradise, a fair bank, a palace of royalty'
>
> This has been of late demolished; but the family chapel, which stands near the site of the old house, is still preserved, and service performed in it every Sunday evening.[107]

Gwydir Castle is an example of the unit system. The multi-storeyed block of *c*.1510 was set corner-to-corner with the hall-range of *c*.1550, the solar tower and hall range having no direct access, until an awkward later addition resolved this issue. There is some confusion as to whether the *uchaf* and *isaf* relationship relates to the houses that touch at corners, or

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[103] Ibid.
[104] See C13378 and C13379, a pair of drawings by A Weight Mathews, showing detail of ceilings at Edwinsford, Llansawel.
[105] Tree-Ring Dates from the University of Sheffield Dendrochronology Laboratory. *Vernacular Architecture*, 31(1), pp. 118-128.
[106] F. Jones, 'Williams of Edwinsford (Part I)' *THSC* (1986), p. 67.
[107] T. Pennant, *A Tour in Wales: Volume II* (London, 1783), pp. 269-270.

whether Gwydir Uchaf referred to by Thomas Pennant, some distance away from the main house, is more likely. Pennant writes of Gwydir:

> The ancient house of Gwedir stands near the foot of this rock. It is built round a greater and lesser court. Over the gate-way is the date, 1555, with I. W. John Wynn ap Meredydd, grandfather to the famous Sir John, author of the memoirs of the family. This shews 1553, the supposed time of the death of the former, to be a mistake. The place takes its name from Gwaed-dir, the bloody land, from the battles fought here … The supposition that it was derived from its being the first house in Wales which had glass windows is not well founded, those conveniences having been known long before. Sir John Wynn himself even mentions a date of 1512, on a window at Dolwyddelan, which is long- before the building of Gwydir. But the following lines of a poet, who flourished some centuries before, is still a stronger proof of the antiquity of glass in our country:

> *Trwy ffenestri Gwydir yd ym gwelent*   They see me through the glass windows.[108]

Gwydir Uchaf was built as a summer house in 1604, according to RCAHMW, soon became the Wynn's preferred residence during the seventeenth century; they erected a private chapel there in 1673. The house at Gwydir Uchaf was demolished during the mid-eighteenth century, as Pennant attests.[109] In terms of the relationship between the various houses at Gwydir, Richard Suggett has pointed to documentary evidence which states: '[the] squire [...] resided in the upper house, while the lower house was occupied by servants in 1627/1628. In 1651 the lower house was explicitly reserved for the squire's widow.'[110]

The widow's third, or jointure, was abolished in Wales by statute in 1695/6, and in 1725 it was formally replaced by the right to a set proportion of moveable goods.[111] In southern England, 'detached kitchens' of varying size were cited as being mistaken examples of the unit system. This has caused debate among architectural historians - specifically regarding whether detached kitchen ranges actually accommodated separate households.[112]

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[108] Ibid., pp. 139-140.
[109] Ibid., p. 270.
[110] Suggett, 'The Unit System Revisited', p. 28. Documentary source not cited.
[111] Act 7-8 William III, c.38: abolition of the ancient custom in Wales of the widow's entitlement to the 'reasonable part'.
[112] See D.& B. Martin, 'Detached kitchens in eastern Sussex: a re-assessment of the evidence', *VA*, 28 (1997), pp. 85-91; R.A. Meeson, 'Detached kitchens or service blocks?', *VA,* 31 (2000), pp. 73-75; J. Walker, 'Detached kitchen – a comment and an Essex example', *VA,*31 (2000), pp. 75-77; J.T. Smith, 'Detached kitchens or adjoining houses?', *VA,*32 (2001), pp. 19-33; D.& B. Martin, 'Detached kitchens or adjoining houses? – a

At Llwynywormwood, near Llandovery, an entirely detached kitchen range survives, dated to the seventeenth century. It is aligned north–south with three bays of seventeenth-century date, and a further two most probably date from *c*.1800, when the main house was extended towards the bank of the adjacent hillside. Within the three-bay section is a seventeenth-century fireplace with bread ovens.[113]

What is surprising about the layout of Llwynywormwood is the odd angle at which the detached kitchen is juxtaposed with the contemporary main building. What survives of the contemporary seventeenth century house is a three-storey random-rubble-built gable end and preserves an in-filled seventeenth-century mullioned window casement. This window faces north and is significantly higher than the presumably nineteenth-century windows. The whole structure sits on a levelled platform, which is cut into a north-facing slope and has extensive views across the park. When the seventeenth-century house was built, its axis ran east-west, with a possible projection running to the north. Only two contemporary illustrations survive of Llwynywormwood before its abandonment, but neither shows the detached kitchen range. Figure 3, a pencil and ink drawing in the National Library of Wales, had been originally dated to 1888; but beneath the border of its frame is an inscription, which reads, '*Llwynywormwood seat of G G Williams Carmarthenshire*', followed by a date obscured by part of the foliage drawn around the house.[114] Further research proved the date on this drawing to incorrect, the house instead having been illustrated in 1812.[115] The configuration of the main rooms in the house indicates the possibility of the building having been reconstructed is supported by a reference to an old Welsh pedigree that was kept in the

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response', *VA,* 32 (2001), pp. 19-33; R. Suggett, 'The Unit System Revisited: Dual Domestic Planning and the Development Cycle of the Family', *VA*, 38 (2007), pp. 19-34.

[113] This was used as a scullery, dairy, laundry and outer kitchen during the second half of the nineteenth century.

[114] NLW, Carmarthen (D-Z) Size B, Llwynywormwood Carmarthenshire

[115] The new date has been suggested by myself during the research for this thesis, and was confirmed by the National Library of Wales.

house which was 'long enough to reach from one side of the dining-room, across the hall, and drawing-room.'[116]

The ambiguity of evidence from Llwynywormwood can be contrasted against that of Brynkir, which captures the development of the Welsh country house through the phases of its architectural growth. Several key features have been identified in the complex of buildings at Brynkir, which were added and subtracted to over a period of several hundred years. The earliest built structure identified on the site is the sub-medieval great hall. The origin of Brynkir is an early thirteenth-century deer park, associated with the royal court or *llys* of Llywelyn the Great (1172-1240).[117] This provided the boundaries for the later manor house, garden and home park, and its creation modelled the wider landscape. Etymologically, 'Brynkir' is derived from *Bryn Ceirw*, (hill of the deer), appearing in documents and poetry in the following forms: Bryncir, Brynker, Bryncyr and Brynceirw.

House construction involves two distinct phases: firstly, preparation: when the site is chosen, the building is designed, its materials gathered and brought to the site; secondly, the actual building process and its completion. Material use is dependent on a number of factors, which include fashion, tradition, religious proscription or prestige value. The persons involved in these processes are the family and then the wider community, who are employed to carry out the work and the ongoing maintenance. Rapoport states that construction has important ritual and religious aspects; technical action is associated with mystical action, and it cannot be assumed that the technical takes precedence over the ritual. Material and spiritual actions are linked through rites of construction which take place at various points in the process.'[118]

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[116] A. Bayne & J.T. Pryme, *Memorials of the Thackeray Family* (London, 1879), p. 31.
[117] S. G. Smith, 'Medieval Park at Brynkir', in M. Baker (ed.), *Plas Brynkir* (Cardiff, 2014), p. 6.
[118] A. Rapoport, *House form and culture* (Upper Saddle River, 1969), p. 108.

The Early Development of Plas Brynkir, Dolbenmaen, Gwynedd

Several forms of building type, as discussed earlier in the chapter, can be found at Brynkir. These comprise of *uchaf* and *isaf* houses; a hall-house; a Snowdonia planned range; a gate house; and a courtyard house (see figure 15). The abandonment of the upper house in favour of the lower house also mirrors the progress of other Welsh country houses, where earlier buildings were superseded by more modern houses. This development will be reviewed in the next chapter. Geophysical survey undertaken as part of a partial excavation in 2013 revealed the full extent of the upper house, with its courtyard and gate house.
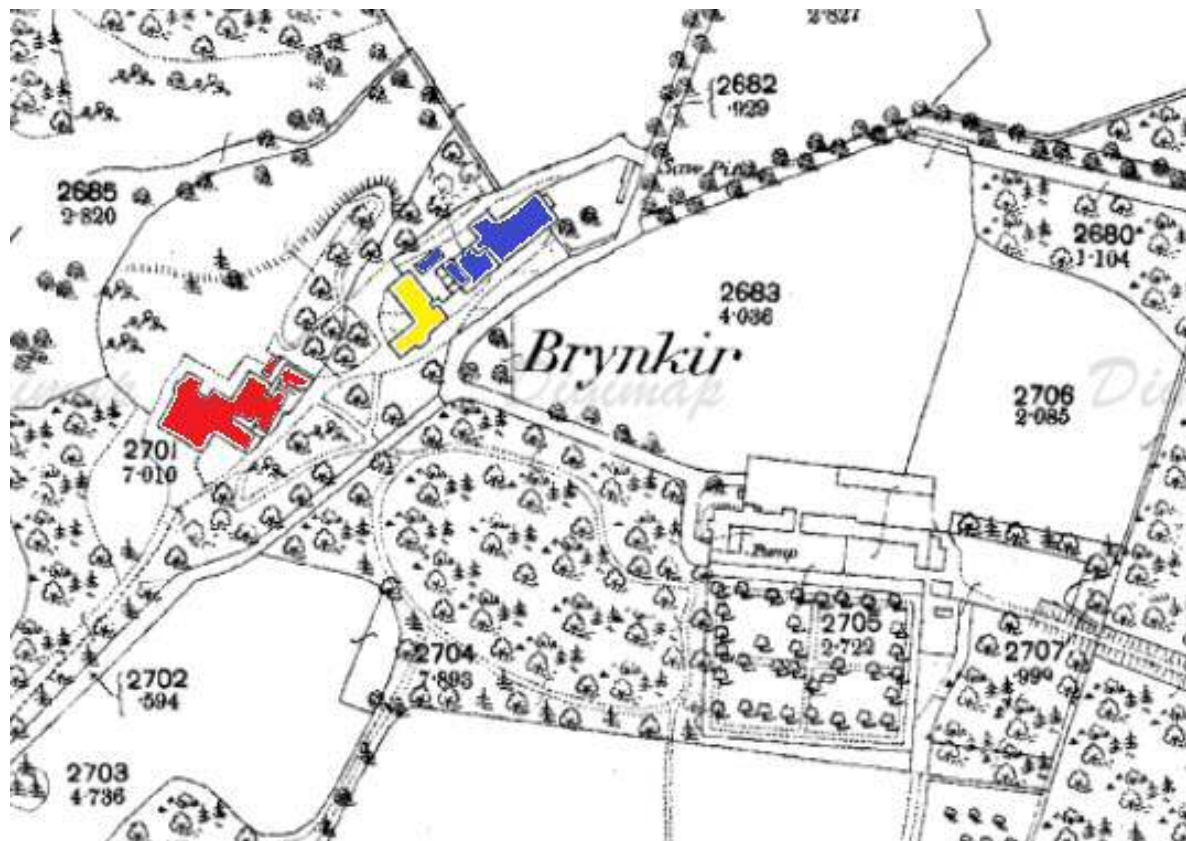
Figure 15: *Plan of Brynkir showing the upper house in yellow, lower house in red and outbuildings in blue. Based on the 1889 OS Map.* Crown Copyright.

Brynkir was suggested as a unit system property by Hemp and Gresham in 1942 and this section will examine in detail the fabric and form of Brynkir to see what evidence exists for unit system. Other than a survey of the upper house by the RCAHMW in 1954, the site had been overlooked by archaeological analysis until excavations, as part of the research for

this thesis, began in 2012. Through critical analysis, Brynkir has been proved to be a unit system development, and is comparable to nearby Clenennau [119] and Parc [120], thereby establishing this mansion complex as an important marker in Welsh architectural history, given the extensive work carried out there. In terms of its archaeology, the site is a palimpsest, with several post-1500 domestic buildings, both standing and below ground, for the upper house.[121] From a regional perspective, Brynkir is a large, domestic site that fits into a pattern of post-medieval houses in northwest Wales whose architectural similarities are reflected through inter-familial relationships. As previously outlined, the components consisted of independent houses built in close proximity to each other, yet structurally separate. At Brynkir, the upper house was constructed into the slope of a hillside, running parallel to the valley, so that the gable ends were facing the prevailing winds, which come from Cwm Pennant (translates as Pennant Valley) or from the sea. Due to topography, the site slopes in two directions: down towards the valley floor and to the entrance of the valley itself. It was noted from historic photographs, when the site had been cleared of trees that the upper house would have had strategic views over great distances, yet it was sheltered enough by the rising hills behind to be afforded the necessary protection from the elements.[122]

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[119] RCAHMW, *An Inventory of the Ancient Monuments in Caernarvonshire: Volume II, Central* (London, 1960), p. 68.

[120] Hemp & Gresham, 'Park, Llanfrothen', pp. 98-112.

[121] C. Gresham, 'Platform Houses in Northwest Wales', *Archaeologia Cambrensis* 53 (1954), p. 48. These were completely stripped for their building materials (principally timber and metal) around 1945.

[122] RCAHMW, Royal Air Force Vertical Aerial Photography Collection, C707413.
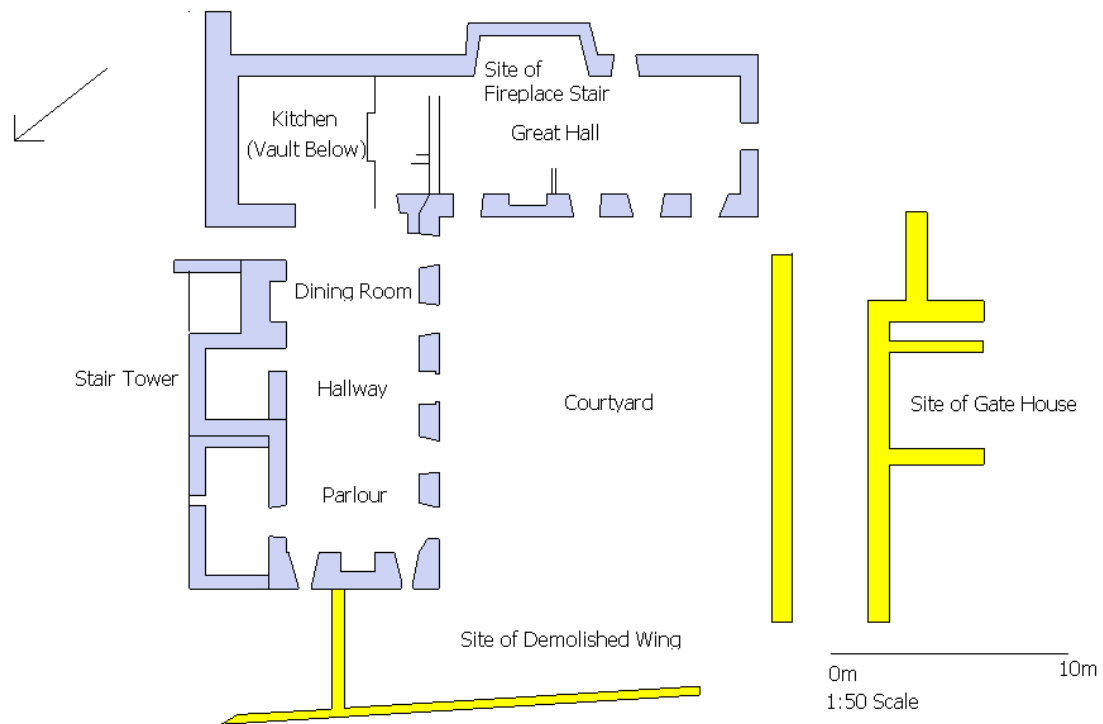
Figure 16: *Plan of the upper house at Brynkir, showing in blue buildings extant and in yellow, structures revealed by geophysics*. Mark Baker.

Excavations in 2012 and 2013 of three one-metre-square test pits down to the geological surface was intended to characterise the site stratigraphy and occupation layers of the site. These trenches were extended to become trenches A, B, C, D and E, and were used to establish the stratigraphy of the site around the upper house. By revealing the vertical profile, occupation layers were identified beneath a layer of humus and demolition material. All excavation was carried out by hand with shovels and trowels. The five trenches were placed at strategic points for understanding the structure's form and function. According to the RCAHMW's second volume on Caernarfonshire, the upper house began as a sixteenth-century hall-house, to which an additional seventeenth-century two-storey wing was added at a right angle (see figure 16).[123] The trenches were dug around the building: A, 3m x 1m, dissected the interior and exterior of the great hall; B, 1m x 1m, was located on the external corner of the hall, where the stone platform of the building was wholly exposed; C, 2m x 3m,

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[123] RCAHMW, *An Inventory of the Ancient Monuments in Caernarvonshire: Volume II, Central* (London, 1960), p. 68.

was in the interior of the original sixteenth-century hall by the cellar entrance; D, 1m x 2m, was over the main entrance of the seventeenth century house; E, 1m x 3m, was over the rear wall of the hall which had been demolished to foundation level.

All trenches revealed two layers above the undisturbed archaeology: there was first a layer of topsoil of up to 30 cm in places, which covered a second layer of demolition and collapsed material that was up to 1m in depth. Large pieces of fallen masonry and roofing slate were found in the second layer, which, due to its compact nature, meant that removal took longer. However, some interesting finds were identified in the rubble layers, which probably related to the dwelling's use as a 'romantic ivy-clad ruin' garden feature in the nineteenth century (according to the 1899 sales catalogue).[124] These included a perfectly preserved clay pipe that was found with all its decorations and manufacturer's mark intact, allowing us to date it to 1860-1900.[125] There was also a wide range of domestic glass and pottery finds. In the deposition levels were found bottle stamps with the 'Brynker' family name stamped on them, as well as nineteenth-century domestic pottery. Through excavation, the interior of the great hall and the 'Snowdonia house' was explored, and RCAHMW's 1950s site plan was updated (see figure 16).[126] This excavation also provided datable evidence to establish the construction phases of the buildings. In 2013, a geophysical survey of the upper house revealed two ranges of buildings, forming a courtyard in the form of a parallelogram, which was entered through a gatehouse (see appendix J).

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[124] Gwynedd Archives, XD96/3/1
[125] Pattern with acorns and oak motif dated between 1860 and 1900. The company the made the pipe 'W. Southorn & Co' is still operational and is based in Cambridge. A similar pipe was found in Wakefield. URL: http://www.wakefieldexpress.co.uk/news/local-news/deep-secrets-revealed-by-dig-at-cathedral-1-975924 [accessed 2.1.15].
[126] RCAHMW, *Caernarvonshire: Volume II*, p. 69.

The Brynkir Dynasty, c.1500-1700

Owain Gwynedd

John / Siôn ap Maredudd ab Ieuan

Ieuan / Ifan ab John   =   1) Jonet ferch Rhys ab Llewelyn, Bodychen, Ang.
2) Margaret ferch Maredudd ab Ieuan, Cwm Penanmaen, Caer.

Robert Wyn (d.1565)   =   Margaret 'Wen' ferch Robert ap Gruffudd, Maesmor, Denb.

Elisau Wyn (d.1568)   =   1) Dorothy ferch Gruffudd ap Robert, Talhenbont, Caer.
2) Efa ferch Maredudd ap Rhys, Bodowyr Uchaf, Ang.

Robert Wyn Brynkir (d.1616)   =   Anne 'Wen' ferch Morus ab Elisau (d.1628), Clenennau, Caer.

Ellis Brynkir (d.1628)   =   1) Grissel ferch John Gruffydd, Cefnamwlch, Caer.
2) Margaret ferch William Wyn Maurice, Clenennau, Caer.

Lowri ferch William Anwyl, Parc, Mer.   =   James Brynkir (1600-44)   Robert Brynkir (c.1600-28)   =   Winifred ferch Thomas ap Rhys Wyn (d.1629), Giler, Denb.

Jane ferch Robert Wynn (d.1691) Glyn, Mer.   =   Ellis Brynkir (1643-71)

Catherine ferch William Price (1622-1727), Rhiwlas, Mer.   =   James Brynkir (1668-1740)

Figure 17: *The descent of the Brynkir family from Owain Gwynedd.* Shaun Evans.

The results of critical analysis of the upper house's structure Brynkir have been extrapolated in a chronological development, demonstrating the original hall-house's expansion into a unit system property. The phases of building are placed into the context of owners, incorporating documentary evidence to establish an architectural history for the upper house. Each phase is illustrated with reconstruction drawings by Ceri Leeder, who has assisted the archaeological investigation since 2012. The Brynkir case study has been discussed at length, in order to allow a developed discussion of the RCAHMW's building types and the suggestion of unit system being a distinctive Welsh building form. The research undertaken at Brynkir has been thorough, and the results substantial, enabling the extrapolation of concepts and contributing to understanding the way in which Welsh houses were developed.

Phase 1: The Medieval Hall House
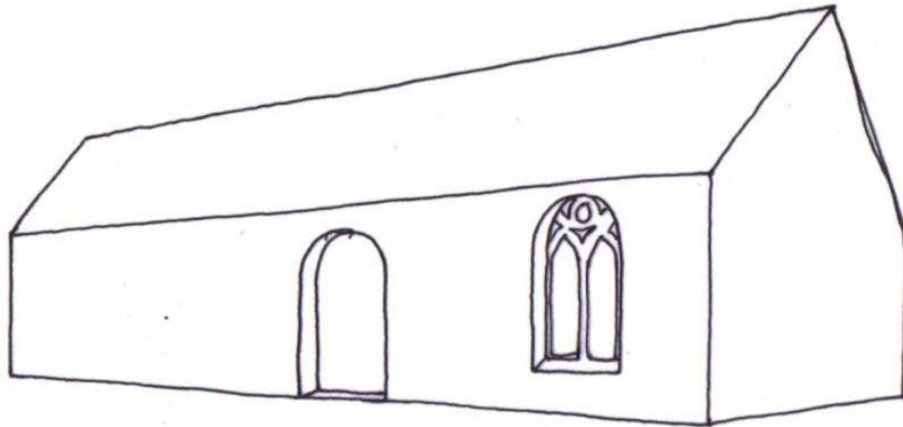
Figure 18: *Phase 1 showing the building of the great hall at Brynkir.* Ceri Leeder.

The hall house at Brynkir was built onto a plinth of at least three courses, with rounded corners, creating a platform on to which the hall was erected. The plinth was graduated, and the stones which were above ground level, and visible, show that the front elevations, overlooking the gardens, were originally rendered. The earliest sections of the upper house are constructed out of dolerite boulders, most probably gathered from post-glacial scatter and roughly hewn to shape. There appeared to be very little evidence of tooling marks, and it is likely that stones were chosen specifically according to their dimensions: larger boulders on the lower courses, decreasing in size as the wall height increases. A winder stair, typical of hall houses adapted in the sixteenth century was built into the hall fireplace, and revealed by excavation in 2014. At roughly 2 m from ground level, a ledge was observed internally, on which a wooden roof or floor may have been supported. It was noted that all of the phase 1 building material stopped at this level. There was little evidence, if any, of external render on the rear elevations.

In terms of documentary evidence, John ap Maredudd was born during the first decade of the fifteenth century, at his father's home, Ystumcegid, Dolbenmaen. He was vividly portrayed by Colin Gresham as 'a true Welsh *priodor*, a local chieftain, the product of

centuries of the moulding influence of the *gwely* system [...]'[127] He set up his own home on ancestral lands in the *rhandir* of Clenennau and one of the earliest documents which records the region in detail is a late-fifteenth-century rental which mentions locations such as *Bryncir isa* (lower Brynkir) and *Ynys y gwreichion* (sparkling island), a reference to the metal working of a smithy.[128] Ieuan ap John, third son of John ap Maredudd was given land at Brynkir around 1485, and it is probable that Ieuan erected the first house on the site of Brynkir. Ieuan married a daughter of the house of Gwydir, one of the most influential families in north Wales, and whose house was unit system. According to the pedigrees rolls, through his children, Ieuan became related to most of the principal gentry families in north Wales, cementing his status, and that of his house, in *yr uchelwyr* society.[129] This kinship network, it is suggested, can be seen being embodied in the shared architecture of the gentry's houses.
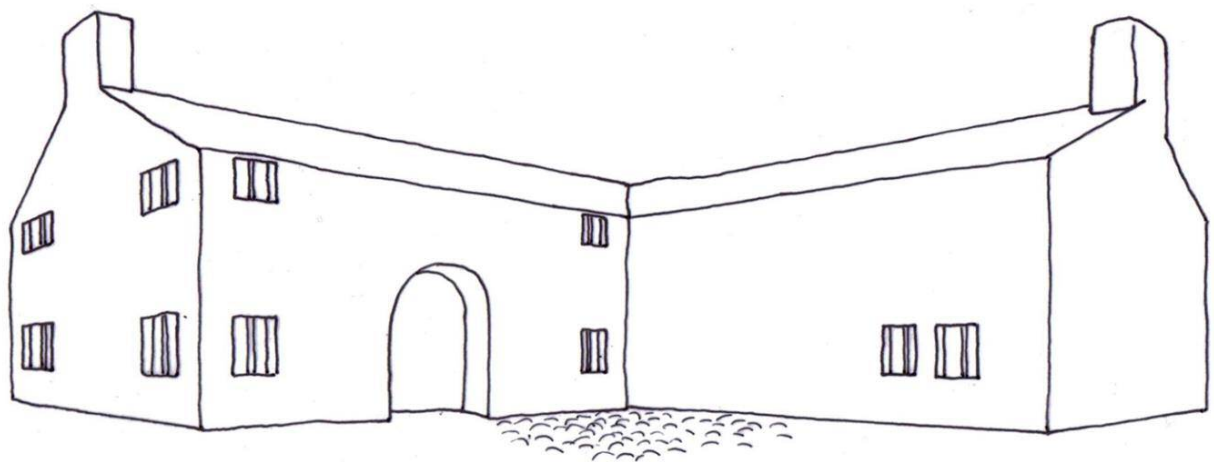
Figure 19: *Phase 2 showing the addition of the Snowdonia centrally planned house, added to the great hall.* Ceri Leeder.

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[127] C. Gresham, *Eifionydd: A Study in Landownership from the Medieval Period to the Present* Day (Cardiff, 1973), p. 19.

[128] NLW (Wynne of Gwydir Papers) 210, quoted by Gresham, *Eifionydd*, p. 28.

[129] See mid-sixteenth century pedigree of Elisau Wyn of Brynkir (d.1568), by Wiliam Llŷn (c.1534-80), illustrated with the heraldic shield of Owain Gwynedd NLW Peniarth MS. 141B f.32 and heraldic pedigree roll commissioned by James Brynkir (1668-1740) in 1696. The pedigree celebrated the family's kinship network and ancestry, parading their status and honour. NLW Peniarth MS. 476G.

Phase 2: The Snowdonia House and the creation of a Unit System Mansion

At right angles to the hall house there was constructed a large two-storey building with a central doorway, giving access to a parlour to the left and a dining room to the right. In the garden gable-end, four small windows, and overlooking the terrace gardens, survive in their original size. The building of this Snowdonia type house is likely to have taken place c.1590. The walls constructed out of mudstone, identified by the Geology Department, National Museum of Wales, as being from the quarry site in Bryn Brain, within the garden at Brynkir.[130] The mudstone used cleaves naturally when quarried into rectangular blocks, is easily transportable and can be used for constructing walls of great height. Diagonal tooling marks are visible on all of the external mudstone. These marks may have either been part of the finishing process after quarrying, or were used to create a surface to which render or limewash could adhere. Some dolerite boulders were included in this building phase, but none was as large as those found in phase 1. Most appear to have been chosen specifically for their size, but have then been split. However, while the markings found may merely be glacial marks, it is likely that these were made more defined, so that the render could adhere more securely. It may have been during this phase that the second storey of the late-medieval hall was added. If the hall had originally had a cruck-frame roof, then it is likely this was enclosed within this later phase. The collapse of the building to the late-medieval stonework may indicate that, when the building was asset-stripped *c*.1945, the roof was removed in its entirety. Huw Pennant described Plas Brynkir in c.1594, 'a fine hall, newly built' by Robert Wyn Brynkir[131], calling it a 'regal fort', where his noble wife Ann was upholding its

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[130] See appendix E.

[131] Ieuan's eldest son and heir took the additional surname of Wyn due to kinship with the Wynns of Gwydir, becoming known as Robert Wyn ap Ieuan. Robert Wyn Brynker (-1616) was the first of the family to adopt the name of their home as a surname.

reputation as a site of lavish hospitality and feasting. [132] This evidence supports the archaeological dating of the site, and corresponds with Robert becoming High Sheriff of Caernarvonshire in 1594.[133]
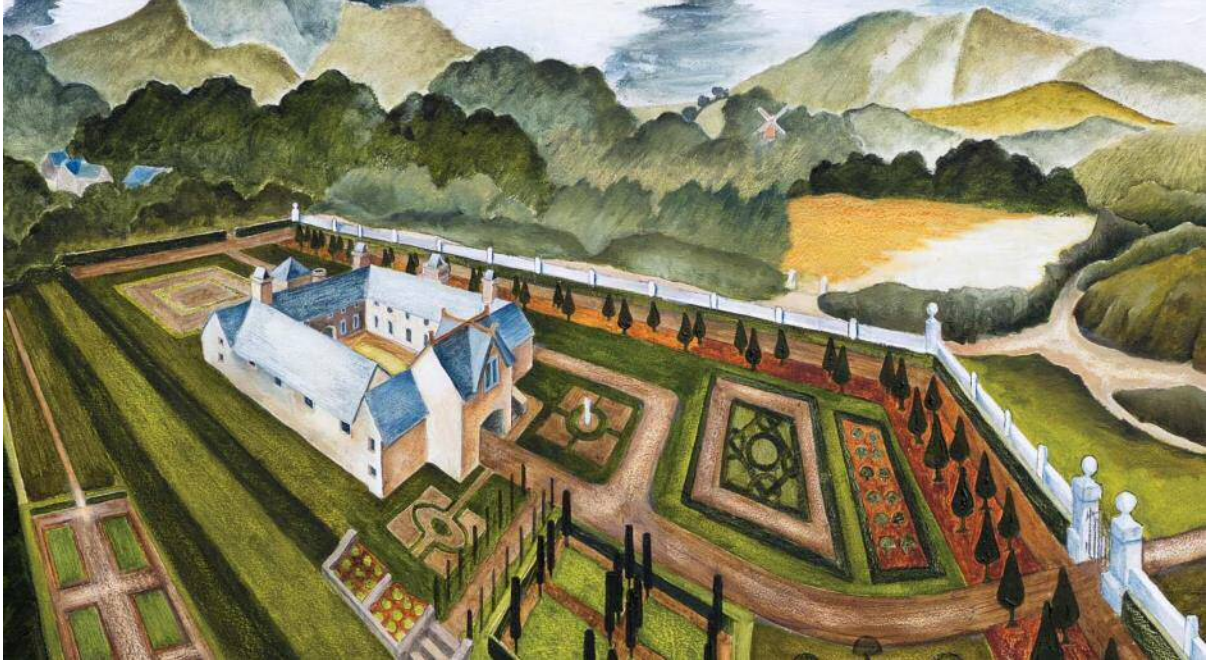
Figure 20: The above illustration shows the fully-developed unit system house at Brynkir, *c*.1660. *Ceri Leeder*.

Phase 3: A Courtyard House

The geophysics revealed that there were two further ranges forming a courtyard house, entered through a gatehouse, stylistically dated to the mid-1620s. Onto the rear of the Snowdonia house was added a projecting stair-tower, positioned directly opposite the main door. This was a conscious display of wealth and sophistication, particularly when carried above the roof line of the house - as at Plas Mawr, Conwy (*c*.1580); Plas Berw, Llanidan, Anglesey (*c*.1615) and Bodysgallen, Llandudno (*c*.1620).[134] The sloping nature of these houses enabled good alignment of old and new sections. The enlargement of fireplaces in the

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[132] *Gwaith Huw Pennant*, R.L. Jones (ed.), pp. 203-05 quoted by S. Evans, '*Byw er gras, bower a grym* - Living for grace, power and strength: The House of Brynkir, c.1500-1700', in M. Baker (ed.), *Plas Brynkir* (Cardiff, 2014), p.22.

[133] W.O. Pughe, *Cambrian Register, Volume II* (London, 1799), p.291. URL: http://books.google.co.uk/books?id=p9wuAAAAMAAJ&pg=PA289&dq=NAMES+OF+THE+HIGH+SHERIF FS+FOR+THE+COUNTY+OF+CAERNARFON&lr=&ei=X6fsSr_8A6iOyATQxek1&redir_esc=y#v=onepage &q&f=false [accessed 2.1.15].

[134] Smith, *Houses of the Welsh Countryside*, p.231.

parlour and dining room may also date from this period, as the arching is similar to stonework found in the tower. In 1662, the Hearth Tax records Ellis Brynker, gent, listed under Llanfihangel-y-Pennant parish, as having three hearths. This probably ties in with the three ground-floor hearths in the upper house. This raises the question as to whether hearths sharing a chimney stack were taxed separately. This seems improbable, as it would be unlikely that there were no upstairs fireplaces at Brynkir in 1662, a theory supported by the alternative name of 'chimney tax'. The tax had been introduced the same year in order to cover the deficit resulting from supporting the recently restored monarchy.

Ellis Brynker (?-1628) first married Grissel, daughter of John Griffiths of Cefnamwlch - an important Caernarfonshire house, with a gatehouse and evidence of unit-system planning. [135] Ellis Brynkir was commended on his architectural achievements, probably undertaken in the mid-1620s. Huw Machno recorded that Ellis 'like his father, he was also a builder', who had erected 'extensive buildings' at 'great cost'.[136] These references may refer to the erection of the gatehouse and the additional ranges forming the courtyard house.
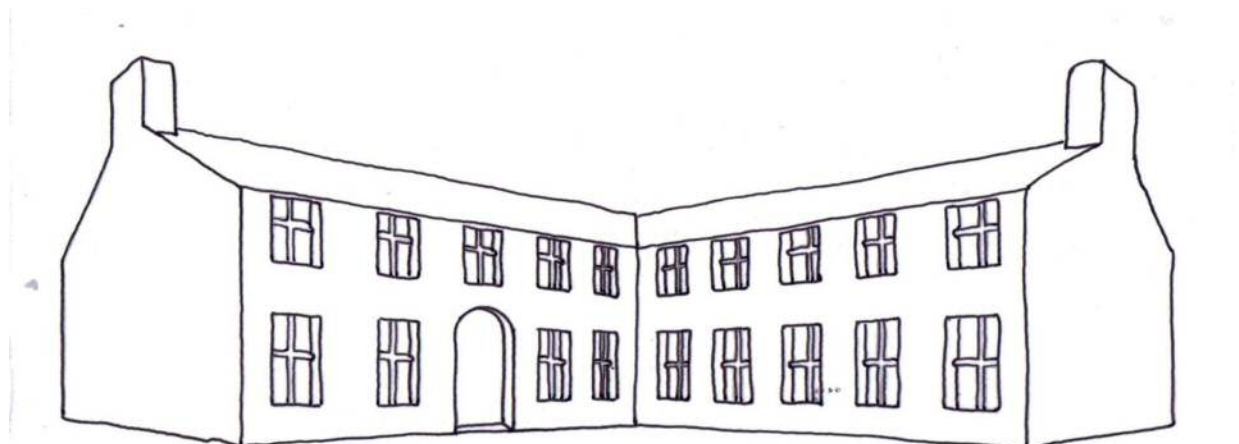
Figure 21: *Phase 4 included the re-fenestration of Brynkir and the insertion of a first floor into the great hall.* Ceri Leeder.

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[135] The main portion of Cefn Amwlch, which included a late-Medieval first floor hall, was demolished in 1814, leaving behind a seventeenth-century domestic wing and gatehouse.

[136] E.D. Jones, 'The Brogyntyn Welsh Manuscripts IV', p. 13, quoted by Evans, 'The House of Brynkir', p.22.

Phase 4: Gentrification of the Unit System House

The staircase-tower at Brynkir was reconfigured during the mid-seventeenth century and the entry blocked, indicating that it may have been an open-well stair, which was either filled in or was replaced with a dog-leg staircase to fit into the altered space. Windows were inserted and existing openings enlarged to take casements in the hall, which appear to have been glazed with diamond panes. It may have been at this time that the house was (awkwardly) partitioned, so that the hall was partitioned off from the rest of the building. This is the physical evidence of internal subdivisions, seen as part of the unit system. [137] Historic photographs of Brynkir's Snowdonia house gable-end show that all of the sixteenth-century windows were filled in and that the exterior was rendered. It is likely that the window seats to either side of the parlour fireplace were converted into cupboards.

James Brynkir (1600-1644) married Lowry, daughter of William Lewis Anwyl of Parc, linking Brynkir directly with one of the most important unit houses in Wales. His son, Ellis (1643-1670) inherited as a minor which meant that his mother administered the estate, and would have kept two households at Brynkir. Archaeological evidence of this was uncovered in the interior of the hall and Snowdonia house. Ellis married Jane (1643-1691), daughter of Robert Wynn of Glyn Cywarch, near Talsarnau (about twelve miles southeast of Brynkir). Glyn Cywarch, like Parc, is a storeyed unit system house, with a gate house in front and terraced formal gardens; it is dated to 1616.[138]

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[137] Hemp & Gresham, 'Park, Llanfrothen', p.99.
[138] Gwynedd Archaeological Trust URL: http://www.heneb.co.uk/ardudwycharacter/ardudwy/ardudwy31.html [accessed 22.11.14].

Figure 22: *Phase 5 saw the upper house have several windows blocked-up due to the introduction of the window tax and the use of part of the great hall as a cow shed.* Ceri Leeder.

Phase 5: Contraction and Adaptation

Many of the windows in the hall-range were blocked up at both ground- and first-floor levels, indicating either a change of use or possibly a response to the Window Tax, which was introduced in 1696.[139] Unfortunately, window taxation records do not survive for this area of Caernarfonshire.[140] All of the windows blocked up were large casement windows (as evidenced by the lead and diamond-shaped glass discovered). The main doorway was also altered so that it was made narrower. Under the lowest course of this infill, in an undisturbed context, was found a shard of Buckley slipware, dated *c*.1700. Between the late seventeenth and late eighteenth centuries, Buckley ware was very popular and characterised by large thrown storage vessels for household and dairy use, along with press moulded baking dishes with bold slip decoration.[141] Together with the blocked windows this shard dates this phase of alterations to the early eighteenth-century.

In 1670, the estate was again inherited by a minor, James Brynker (1668-1740), and it appears that the estate was administered by his mother, Jane, whose will survives and is dated

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[139] British History Online, Statutes of the Realm: volume 7: 1695-1701, 'William III, 1696-7: An Act for making good the Deficiencies of several Funds therein mentioned and for enlargeing the Capital Stock of the Bank of England and for raising the Public Credit. [Chapter XX. Rot. Parl. 8 & 9 Gul. III. p. 5. nu.1.', Statutes of the Realm: volume 7: 1695-1701 (1820), pp. 218-238. URL: http://www.british-history.ac.uk/report.aspx?compid=46868 [accessed: 12.4.2012]

[140] The Window Tax was repealed in 1851.

[141] URL: http://www.ceramics-aberystwyth.com/buckley.html [accessed 15.9.12]

1691.[142] James Brynkir continued in the tradition of his forebears by promoting his personal and dynastic status by commissioning a portrait of himself and a lengthy heraldic pedigree roll, headed with the title.[143] Throughout the history of Brynkir, there are several instances of two households co-existing simultaneously on site. Brother and sister, William and Jane Brynker, appear to have lived independently, yet both at Brynkir, both separately subscribing to books.[144] In 1759 William Brynker died intestate and his creditors had to obtain bonds to reclaim monies owed.[145] After her brother's death, Jane Brynker (-1760), retired to Aberdunant, a house on the Brynkir estate, where she drew up her will.[146] The Brynker family died out, and the estate was sold. It was a property investment and was reduced in size, removing the seventeenth-century additions in *c*.1800, and Brynkir was demoted and became a farmhouse for a larger, neighbouring estate until its sale to the Huddart family in the early-nineteenth century.[147] The Huddart development of the Brynkir estate, and the erection of the Regency mansion in favour of the old Brynker family house, is discussed in the next chapter.

Archaism and Modernity: Conflicts in Welsh Country House Design in the Seventeenth Century

This thesis proposes that the core concepts of *uchelwriaeth*, or gentility, were fundamental to the architectural approach of gentry families. Design became an important factor, and the more advanced it was, the greater prestige value. The ability to design required a vision to conceptualise a structure in three dimensions, and be able to convey the projected design to a

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[142] The Will of Jane Brynker, dated 1691. URL: http://hdl.handle.net/10107/415601 [accessed 14.10.14].

[143] NLW (Peniarth) MS/476G.

[144] For example, William Wynne, *Prif addysc y Cristion* (Shrewsbury, 1755), p. 193.

[145] NLW Bond for Creditors for William Brynker, dated 1759. URL: http://dams.llgc.org.uk/object/llgc-id:961090 [accessed 23.4.12].

[146] NLW Last Will and Testament of Jane Brynker, dated 1761. URL: http://hdl.handle.net/10107/415601 [accessed 23.4.12].

[147] W. Huddart, *Unpathed Water: The Life and Times of Captain Joseph Huddart FRS 1741-1816* (London, 1989), pp.172-73.

client. The building of a house was for many members of the gentry, the most expensive decision they would make. The question of architectural attribution was often answered in Wales with Inigo Jones, who of perceived Welsh descent, was believed to have designed many of the great seventeenth century houses in Wales (notably at Ruperra and Plas Teg).[148] Jones was viewed as a true architect in a world of craftsmen, for bringing Continental design to Britain, but his first-hand knowledge of Italian classical architecture was cut short by the Civil War.[149] Those that followed were mostly craftsmen, working in a form called 'artisan mannerism', where decoration was copied but the overall unifying effect displayed by Jones was not replicated. In the 1780s Thomas Pennant, speaking in connection with the house at Plas Teg, dismissed the suggestion that Inigo Jones had been the designer, yet he still attributed the elaborate courtyard gateway to Jones. Association with Jones may be synonymous with quality. It was indeed perceptive of previous generations of historians to recognise the high-quality design and unique structure of Plas Teg.

In late-seventeenth century Scotland, James Smith of Whitehill (*c*.1645-1731) mimicked the journey of Inigo Jones to Rome, with Smith in Italy between 1671-5.[150] A paradigm shift in Scottish architecture can be identified from the 1670s onwards as a result. The publication of an English translation of 'The regular architect: or the general rule of the five orders of architecture of M. Giacomo Barozzio Da Vignola' and the *Académie royale d'architecture*, established by Louis XIV in 1671, were a backdrop to Smith's journey to France and Italy. Theoretical interest in architecture was prominent at this point, as shown by Athanasius Kircher's (1602-80) *Latium*, published in 1671. Smith was heavily influenced by the Italian palazzi in and around Rome, and the published literature of the period. The Spanish philosopher and writer, Juan Caramuel y Lobkowitz (1606-1682), was influential on

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[148] T. Pennant, *A Tour in Wales*, *Vol. II* (London, 1810), p. 46.
[149] Pears, R.M., 'William Newton (1730-1798) and the development of the architectural profession in north-east England', Newcastle University PhD Thesis (2013), p. 198.
[150] See C. González-Longo, 'James Smith and Rome', *Architectural Heritage*, 23 (2012), pp. 75-96.

Smith. Caramuel's *Architectura Civil Recta y Obliqua*, published in 1678, promoted the use of balusters which sloped to the angle of the stair, and also the mixing of classical and gothic motifs in design. Both were used by Smith during the building of Drumlanrig, and the placement of balusters at 45° became a hallmark of Smith's work. Stone domes, similar to Spanish churches, also became a common architectural device used by Smith in his buildings. Ogee roofs would have been seen by Smith at the Duke of Palma's house on the Palatine in Rome, as illustrated by Giovanni Battista Falda (1643-78), whose engravings were published in book form, *Le Fontane di Roma* and *Palazzi di Roma*, and were readily purchased by tourists and visitors. Alexander Edward's (1651-1708) European tour of 1701-02 was a pragmatic trip to investigate coal and lead mines, as well to research houses and gardens in England and mainland Europe. Edward was commissioned by several prominent Scottish clients to obtain imagery, either as engravings or oberservational drawings, and physical materials such as plants, back to Scotland. His journey took him to London, where he was guided around the capital's houses and gardens, gathering material which was being sent back to Scotland. He then went on to Amsterdam, and then onto France, where focus was placed on the acquisition of images of French architecture and landscapes. John Lowrey argues that this trip resulted in the largest recorded import of architectural drawings to Scotland, and contributed to a new era of house and garden design.[151] For instance, surviving documentation from the trip records over 750 books purchased in Paris, 139 plans of gardens and 49 plans of houses. Edward was given privileged access to the Royal library at Versailles, copying out original drawings of topiary that were then sent back to Scotland.[152]

This dissemination of ideas, by first-hand accounts, and the use of written accounts and illustrated texts, was important for country house design in Britain generally, and the case of Alexander Edward is one well-recorded instance. Local artisan craftsmen had access to

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[151] See J. Lowrey, 'A Prospect on Antiquity and Britannia on Edge: Landscape Design and the Work of Sir William Bruce and Alexander Edward', *Architectural Heritage*, 23 (2012), pp. 57-74.
[152] Probably due to Alexander Edward's Jacobite sympathies.

secondary sources such as printed architectural texts, engravings, and also the ability to travel to view the primary sources, buildings designed by court surveyors and architects, and it is this interpretation of that design which marks the houses of the seventeenth and early-eighteenth century in Wales. The influence of architectural texts was supplemented by the experience of architects and craftsmen, who had worked outside of Wales, as shown by the building of Bachegraig. This diffusion of ideas and skills was an important movement in the development of house building, prompting patrons to emulate their peers, and to enable artisans to provide interpretative designs at a competitive rate, which lay the foundations for the rise of the provincial architect. For instance, James Gibb's *Book of Architecture* reaffirmed this point by stating that his book could be used by 'gentlemen who might be concerned in Building, especially in remote parts of the Country, where little or no Designs can be procured.'[153]

Some families, such as the Trevors of Plas Teg, near Mold, northeast Wales, and the Morgans of Ruperra, near Caerphilly, southeast Wales, interpreted their architectural output in different ways. Ruperra represents an instant of archaism as a form of traditionalism yet also of radicalism, incorporating battlemented circular corner towers, which evoke medieval Wales, and originally gables, characteristic of vernacular houses of the area. Plas Teg, despite being built on ancestral lands, employs progressive European design, breaking mostly, but not completely with tradition. Recognising the transmission of culture and values through architecture enables a reinterpretation of Plas Teg's and Ruperra's developments and, moreover, their encoded meanings. Both houses, founded respectively by Sir John Trevor (1563-1629) and Sir Thomas Morgan (1564-c.1641), established seats for newly created cadet branches of the Trevor and Morgan families. What united these two men was their ambition, driven by not being firstborn, and their ability to prevent this from becoming a

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[153] J. Gibbs, *A Book of Architecture, containing designs of buildings and ornaments* (London, 1728), p. i.

disadvantage. In both cases, the penchant for good marriages was pragmatic, since advantageous marriages provided additional wealth, status, and (as was often the case for younger sons) an estate with an established family and house; this ensured these younger sons an otherwise unattainable independence.

Figure 23: *Plas Mawr, Conwy by John Buckler, c. 1812.* NLW: (Drawing Vol. 85).

From all of the features previously discussed in this chapter, it is apparent that regional styles were developed in Wales during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, incorporating new ideas whilst absorbing traditional forms. This section explores the different approaches *yr uchelwyr* adopted in the development of their houses:

1. A radical new build, which incorporated little historic fabric.

2. A mixed approach that blended old and new into a new composition.

3. An archaic building programme, which referenced vernacular forms and included, little, if any, modern elements.

The Renaissance had most impact in northeast Wales.[154] Stepped gabling was a popular building phenomenon in this region for a period of over forty years, between the late 1560s and 1600, but continued to be utilised by builders well into the nineteenth century. Peter Smith's distribution map shows that the majority of buildings with this feature were located in the Vale of Clwyd and north Flintshire, with clusters in Caernarfonshire, Anglesey and Merioneth.[155] All of the sites in North Wales were houses which belonged to *yr uchelwyr* and show a spread of ideas and a coherent building regime amongst kinship groups.[156] Clusters of houses with stepped gables are found in the vicinity of Plas Clough, Denbigh, Denbighshire, and Faenol Fawr, Bodelwyddan, Denbighshire, and it is suggested that these provided the prototypes. Examples in South Wales are different, as they appear to be a continuation of embattled parapet walls, and show development from defensive origins, as seen at St. Donat's Castle, Vale of Glamorgan, and the Bishop's Palace, St Davids, Pembrokeshire.[157] The origins of stepped gables can be pinpointed to the 1560s, and were introduced into North Wales from Flanders by Sir Richard Clough, agent of Sir Thomas Gresham in Antwerp.[158] Gresham founded the Royal Exchange in the late-1560s, establishing Anglo-Netherlandish architectural interchange that would dominate country house building in England for the next fifty years. The Royal Exchange was designed and built by Antwerp master mason, Hendrik van Passe, and was heavily influenced by the Antwerp Burse of 1531.[159] Clough's interaction with the Netherlands and its architecture was prevalent when he came to build his own houses in Wales. Clough and his brothers built several houses in north Wales, and their building exploits are recorded by poets. William Clough's house is praised by William Cynwal (d. *c.*1587) whose poem 'Cywydd to the mansion of William Clough of

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[154] See E. Roberts, 'The Renaissance in the Vale of Clwyd', *FHSJ*, 15 (1954-55).
[155] Smith, *Houses of the Welsh Countryside,* pp. 518-9.
[156] See appendix G.
[157] RCAHMW, Bishops Palace, St Davids; Photo survey comprising 3 B&W prints taken by Iain Wright dated 27 September 1994, C4680.
[158] W. Palmer, *Discourse on the Gresham Foundation* (London, 1837), p. 5.
[159] H. Louw, 'Anglo-Netherlandish Architectural Interchange c. 1600-c. 1660', *AH*, 24 (1981), p. 1.

Denbigh' likened it to 'Troy, St. Paul's Cathedral and the 'posts' of Babylon […] The white-robed fort is like a crystal rock, and mention is made of its white tower. The mansion was costly to build and it is very spacious, with four lofts and chambers.'[160] Another brother, Hugh Clough, built a town house in Denbigh in 1574, built of red brick imported from Holland and ornamental stone from the continent; since Hugh, like his brother Richard, was Sir Thomas Gresham's agent.[161]

Sir Richard Clough came into possession of the dissolved Maenan Abbey, which provided stone for additions to Gwydir and to the royal apartments at Caernarfon Castle.[162] A panel oil painting from c.1750 shows Maenan and its garden laid out in the Dutch style (probably laid out in the 1560s).[163] Robert Ifan recorded that Clough's youngest daughter had the Abbey settled on her, and she was lauded as the 'heiress of Maenan, who married into the Wynnes of Melai', a prominent neighbouring family.[164] Another house inherited by Mary was Plas Coch, Denbigh, (*coch* being Welsh for red) which took its name from the red bricks used to build the mansion.[165] Clough's will, dated 20th September 1568, mentions that the building of Bachegraig was supervised by his brother, William Clough, and that the houses were 'not fullye made at the writinge and makinge of this my will and Testamente.'[166] A codicil to the will dated 15th February 1569/70 states that 'Bachegraig as yet is unifnished and not fullye buylded all his debtes beinge payed yt shalbe fullye bwylte and accomplissed […] William Cloughe [...] hathe the Administracion and oversighte of the bwyldinge of the sayde howse […]'[167]

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[160] R. Gwyndaf, 'Sir Richard Clough of Denbigh c.1530-1570 Part 3', *DHST*, 22 (1973), pp. 56-57
[161] *Coch* translates as 'red'. J. Williams, *Ancient & Modern Denbigh* (Denbigh, 1836), p. 178.
[162] RCAHMW, *An Inventory of the Ancient Monuments in Caernarvonshire: III West: the Cantref of Lleyn together with the General Survey* (London, 1964), p. clvii.
[163] W.B. Lowe, *The Heart of Northern Wales: As it was and as it is: Being an Account of the Pre-historical and Historical Remains of Aberconway and the Neighbourhood* (Llanfairfechan, 1912), p. 278.
[164] Gwyndaf, 'Sir Richard Clough', p .59.
[165] Williams, *Ancient & Modern Denbigh*, p. 286.
[166] Gwyndaf, 'Sir Richard Clough', pp. 70-71.
[167] Ibid., p. 71.

Figure 24: *Moses Griffith's watercolour of Plas Clough, as it stood during the 1770s.* NLW: PD9872.

Plas Clough near to Denbigh, is the earliest dated example of a stepped gabled house in North Wales, bearing a date of 1567, which is preserved in iron letters on the central gable above the porch.[168] Robert Gwyndaf questions whether this date inscription was original to Plas Clough, as it does not appear in Moses Griffith's watercolour from the 1770s (see figure 24). He posits that the ironwork had come from Bachegraig, which was demolished in the early-nineteenth century.[169] This is conceivable, given the accuracy of Griffith's work, that materials were transferred from Bachegraig to Plas Clough. Peter Smith claimed that Plas Clough was the first Renaissance house in Wales to be built with stepped gables, suggesting that Sir Richard Clough had introduced the building style from Flanders as an aesthetic expression of prestige (see figure 25).[170] Dendrochronological dating would either confirm or dismiss this as no firm date has been given for Plas Clough. Plas Clough's plan is entirely traditional, with a central porch and gabled ends, yet Bachegraig's plan was unique, built around a central chimney in the form of a square (see figure 26). Thomas Pennant, writing in the 1770s, described it as:

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[168] Ibid., pp. 48-86.
[169] Ibid., pp. 71-72.
[170] Smith, *Houses of the Welsh Countryside,* p. 483.

A mansion, and three sides, inclosing a square court. The first consists of a vast hall, and parlour: the rest of it rises into six wonderful stories, including the cupola, and forms, from the second floor the figure of a pyramid: the rooms are small and inconvenient.[171]

Figure 25: *The entrance front of Bachegraig, as illustrated by Moses Griffith, c.1770.* Bangor Rare Books XAA7 PEN.

Richard Fenton, during the first decade of the nineteenth century, provides great detail:

The house is a most singular building, built by the size and form of the outbuildings, with a view to future commerce, the Knight having had it in contemplation to make the Clwyd navigable to this place. You ascent into the great hall by a flight of steps, on each side a portico. The room is large and antique, and fireplace large. Behind this is the drawing room, in which there are large casement windows, ornamented with painted glass…There is a bow window at one end of the room…the chimney piece in the great room, where the painted glass is, is very grand in the old style. The knight was so fond of giving his coat of arms, that on his outer door, massy as that of a prison, he has described it by the nails stuck over it and over the knocker in the iron work, 1568. Nay, you see these arms in open work in the vane of the top of the outbuildings. There are several bricks with fine *bas reliefs*, now stuck the outside of the parapet of landing place of stair in front of the house, which formerly had their places behind the fireplace in the great hall. The most uniform and handsomest front is towards a garden, or perhaps what was once a bowling green, to the east […][172]

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[171] T. Pennant, *A Tour in Wales: Volume II* (London, 1810), pp. 139-41.
[172]*Archaeologia Cambrensis*, 1917 supplement: ed. John Fisher, pp. 141-2.

Figure 26: *The rear of Bachegraig, as illustrated by Moses Griffith, c.1770.* Bangor Rare Books XAA7 PEN.

Sir Richard Clough's choice to build Bachegraig on low-lying ground within easy reach of the River Clwyd, perhaps indicates that the suggestion of creating a small port may be a valid one. Plas Clough was built on higher ground, away from the river, much in the tradition of *uchaf* and *isaf.* The upper house was of a more traditional nature, more typical of Welsh houses of the period, yet with touches of modernity and international design, as evidenced by the introduction of stepped gables. This was the private home of Clough and his wife, while Bachegraig, with its accessibility and provision of warehouses, had a dual purpose of being both a commercial and domestic building, much in the Flemish tradition. Clough was expansive in his approach to building projects. Influenced by his travels and court connections, he imported wooden panels from overseas, marble for the floors, stone for columns and stained glass, imitating the work of the Earl of Ormond and Lord Burghley. Brick building was commented on as being new, and it took a while for the fashion to reach Wales. Nogging, the filling with brick in-between the timber framing of walls, became common practice - something that is also attested by poetry. Examples include the *main a*

brics employed at Llwydiarth in the early-seventeenth century, alongside the use of brick, as recorded in a *cywydd* celebrating the renovations at Caer-gai in 1620.[173] In Denbighshire and Flintshire, four houses with stepped gables bear dates in the 1570s: Penissa Glasgoed, Bodelwyddan, 1570; Faenol Bach, Bodelwyddan, 1571; Mertyn Abbot, Whitford, 1573; and Golden Grove, Llanasa, 1578, whilst in Conwy County, Penrhyn Old Hall, Llandudno is dated 1590 and Plas Mawr, Conwy, has a variety of dates between 1577 and 1595.
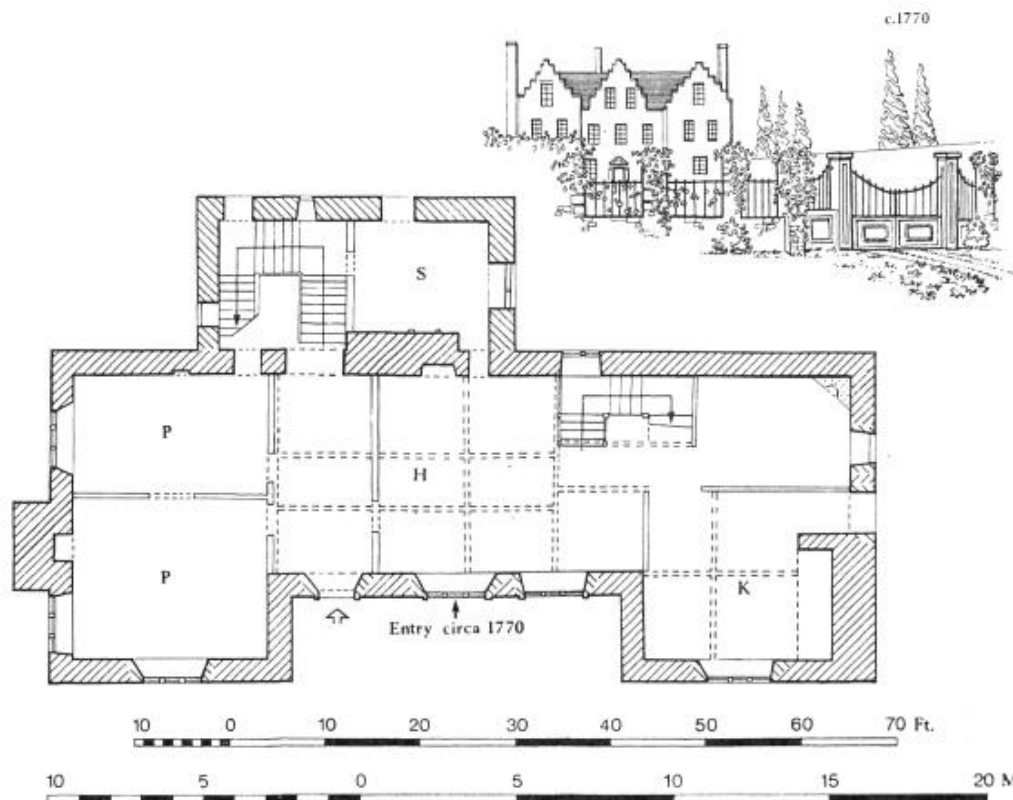
Figure 27: *Ground floor plan and elevation of Faenol Fawr, Bodelwyddan.* RCAHMW

Three sub-groups of stepped gables exist: the first are in houses where they added to an earlier building, perhaps during the creation of a new cross-wing (as at Penrhyn Old Hall, near Llandudno, Conwy) where the original medieval house was expanded in the late-sixteenth century); the second are compact, multi-storeyed, single-pile houses, often with dormers (as at Plas Mawr, Conwy, *c.*1570s and Plas Coch, Anglesey, *c.*1590); the third are newly built H-plan houses (Faenol Fawr, Bodelwyddan, *c.*1597).

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[173] E. Roberts, *Tai Uchelwyr Y Beirdd: 1350-1650* (Caernarfon 1986), p. 37.

Golden Grove, Llanasa, Flintshire, is a two-storey stone-built house with stepped gables on a crosswing. There is a porch consisting of a two-column portico, surmounted by a stepped gable tympanum, carrying the date '1587', imitating the porch at Plas Clough, Denbigh. Inside is a studded door, with a three-centred arch engraved 'EMK [Edward Morgan Knight] 1578'. A detached, two-storey wing appears to have existed as an entirely separate secondary house, and contains a plaster ceiling with centre panels and corner flower ornaments, and stone mantels, one inscribed 'EMK 1604' (see figure 28). This was connected to the main house during the eighteenth century, and such a layout is comparable with Llwyn Ynn (which will be discussed later in this chapter). Recent dendrochronological analysis (2011) at Plas Coch, Llanedwen, Anglesey, has provided dates that may represent a building phase of an early use of stepped gables, corroborated by the date above the principal door of 1569.[174] Two precise felling dates were obtained from roofing timbers: the first, from summer 1534, comes from a reused piece of timber; the second, from spring 1592, represents a remodelling.[175]

[174] Oxford Dendrochronology Laboratory Report 2010/58 entitled 'The Tree-ring dating of Plas Coch, Llanedwen, Anglesey commissioned by The North West Wales Dendrochronology Project in partnership with RCAHMW'. URL: http://coflein.gov.uk/pdf/DCP2011_10/ [accessed 15.10.14].
[175] R. Haslam, J. Orbach, & A. Voelcker, *The Buildings of Wales: Gwynedd* (New Haven, 2009), p. 157.

Figure 28: *A 1770s watercolour of Golden Grove, Llanasa, by Moses Griffith.* Bangor Rare Books XAA7 PEN.

Following the building of Plas Teg, many gentry houses in the immediate area and around the town of Mold were rebuilt or remodelled incorporating sophisticated ashlar masonry and stone-dressed windows, creating another distinctive group of houses in the Vale of Clwyd hinterland. The Vale, known in Welsh as *Dyffryn Clwyd*, has a hinterland which covers an area to the east around the market town of Mold and the River Alyn, and to the west, the eastern edge of the Conwy Valley.[176] In Scotland, the work of the Mylne mason dynasty has been well researched and published.[177] Successive generations of the Mylne family had been employed by the Scottish royal family since the early-sixteenth century.[178]

This thesis proposes that a distinct group of artisan craftsmen were working in this area due to the established client base of *yr uchelwyr* families. The building or altering of

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[176] DRO/NTD/1780.

[177] See R.S. Mylne, *The Master Masons to the Crown of Scotland and Their Works* (Edinburgh, 1893) and P. Harding, 'John Mylne IV (1611–1667): 'Great Artisan, Grave Senator', *Architectural Heritage*, 23 (2012), pp. 15-39.

[178] H.M. Colvin, *A Biographical Dictionary of British Architects 1600-1840* (New Haven, Conn., 1954), pp. 567-8.

houses in the area would have provided long-term employment for a team of craftsmen and is reflected in the surviving buildings. An early examples in this group of houses was Brymbo, Wrexham (demolished 1974), dated on the entablature with the year 1624. It had shaped gables with finials and deep mullioned windows. The principal entrance was formed of a moulded round arch under a pediment, with fluted columns. Rhual, Mold, was erected in 1634 by Evan Edwards, who was secretary to Richard Sackville at Knole in Kent. The main house, unusually for the area, is constructed of brick, using a double-pile plan, with a service area in the north wing.[179] Nerquis Hall, Mold, an H-plan house with a third-floor long gallery, was completed in 1638, as recorded on an inscribed date.[180] Nerquis is an important house in terms of the architectural history of north Wales. The building contract of 1637, discovered in the house's attic, names the designer as Evan Jones, and its carpenter and builder as Raffe Booth of Chester. The contract refers to the criteria being the same as a house recently erected nearby, most probably Rhual.[181] Evans and Booth must have been competent enough with being able to draw up what the house was to look like, as well as to specify quantities and timescales to convince their client to employ them. Before this contract had been drawn up, Evans and Booth would have had to obtain the agreement of other tradesmen to execute their design. Booth, as carpenter, would have been fully aware of the large quantity of timber needed for such things as scaffolding and roof structures. These craftsmen had to be polymaths, able to engage with wealthy patrons, to draw up building contracts, provide detailed cost estimates and co-ordinate how the other tradesmen would work with each other during the building process. The supervision and project management of large-scale building projects such as the erection of country houses, was a highly developed skill, which was controlled by the master craftsmen. The rise of the profession of architecture superseded

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[179] E. Hubbard, *The Buildings of Wales: Clwyd* (London, 1994), pp. 397-8.
[180] Ibid., pp. 405-6.
[181] Smith, *Houses of the Welsh Countryside*, pp. 334-5.

traditional craftsmen, as the architect promised to do everything that was required during the building process.[182]

The Nerquis document also highlights the importance of the carpenter over the stonemason. There was a distinction between the work of a carpenter, who would construct the principle wooden structure of a house: drives piles to support the building […] places bearers where the chief weight of the building lies […] he lays the joists, girders and rafters in flooring […] he puts on the roof and prepares it for the slater […] It requires a strong robust body. He must […] write with a tolerable hand and know how to design his work. He must understand geometry.'[183] A joiner, however, required a finer approach, delivering the detailed elements of a wooden interior, as well as preparing the way for plasterwork: [a joiner] is employed making doors, making floors, preparing the scantlings for the plaisterer […] in fitting the house with partitions […] wainscoting the several apartments. As the joiner's work requires a nicer hand, and a greater taste in ornament, his business requires that he be acquainted with geometry and mensuration.'[184] This is an important distinction between carpenter and joiner as the prestige of woodwork was valued higher than that of stonework. As Richard Suggett has written, even though there was 'a cultural tension deeply embedded in the historical experience of the Welsh people […] there was [not only] a clearly expressed sense in which stone and timber were in competition, but a sense also that the stonemason's craft was declining even as the carpenter's was improving.'[185] These master craftsmen gained social status which was also transferred to their patrons.

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[182] However, a hallmark of the artist-architect of the eighteenth century was the requirement of patrons to accept many retrograde items, as the architect would often not be project managing construction works.

[183] R. Campbell, *The London Tradesman. Being a Compendious View of All the Trades, Professions, Arts, Both Liberal and Mechanic, Now Practised in the Cities of London and Westminster. Calculated for the Information of Parents, and Instruction of Youth in their Choice of Business* (London, 1747), p. 160.

[184] Ibid., p. 160.

[185] R. Suggett, 'The Interpretation of Late Medieval Houses in Wales', in R.R. Davies & G.H. Jenkins (eds.), *From Medieval to Modern Wales* (Cardiff, 2004), p. 87.

Hywel ap Gruffudd ap Rhys's house, Plas Newydd at Crogen, Llandderfel, was lauded for its use of timber by its owner. The poet Tudur Aled (c.1465-c.1524) commented that:[186]

Rhyw dy byth nis rhoid i ben   *You would never give up this house*
Be bai saer am bob seren   *Even if you needed a joiner for every star.*
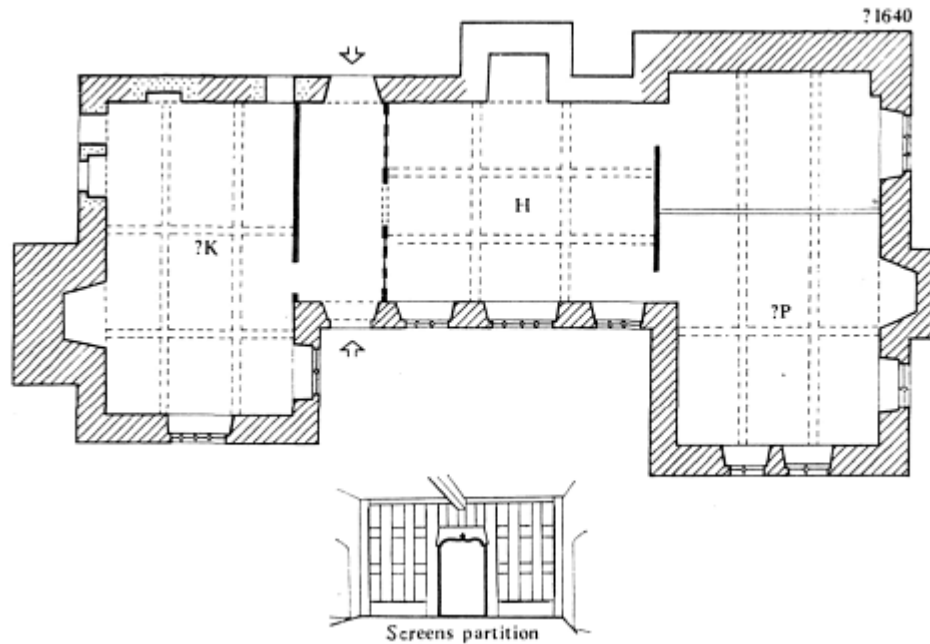
Figure 29: *Floorplan of Pentrehobyn, showing ground floor of the house.* RCAHMW

It is interesting to note how the carpenter was the senior craftsman, despite Nerquis being a stone-built house. Evidence of this hierarchy is provided by other documentary sources. The reference to the building of Rhual, 'lately built & wrought for Evan Edwards Esquire,' is culturally of importance, as it set a regional standard with which other work could be compared. It is likely that the same building team was responsible for this house too, and several others in the region can also be identified as the work of this team, or at least influenced by it. Pentrehobyn, on the outskirts of Mold, has such features, but, unlike Nerquis, here they are incorporated into an earlier house.[187] A date-stone above the door

[186] *Gwaith Tudur Aled, Vol. I*, T.G. Jones (ed.), (Cardiff, 1926), p.76; Roberts, *Tai Uchelwyr*, p. 47.

[187] Pentrehobyn, ICOMOS Parks and Gardens Register. URL: http://coflein.gov.uk/pdf/CPG109/ [accessed 17.20.24]. The Lloyds of Pentrehobyn had lived in or around the site since the eleventh century, and were descended from Hywel ap Edwin (d. c.953), prince of Wales, and one of the sons of Hywel Dda.

bearing '1540' and a heraldic fireplace with the date '1546' appear to be reused material (see figure 29). The house combines sixteenth- and seventeenth-century elements in a sophisticated form, both traditional and contemporary, including a sub-medieval cross passage, set off to the side. Henblas, at nearby Llanasa, is a three-storey, gabled, stone building with ball finials, a central porch and mullioned and transomed windows, with hoodmolds or dripstones above.[188] A gable is inscribed with the date '1645'. This compact house, according to Peter Smith, 'embodies all…developments in a very distinguished early-Renaissance design'.[189] Smith believed that Henblas, with its symmetry and fine ashlar stone work, was a highlight in Welsh seventeenth-century architecture.

Figure 30: *A 1940s photograph of the main staircase at Plas Teg.* RCAHMW

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[188] Hubbard, *Clwyd*, p. 383.
[189] Smith, *Houses of the Welsh Countryside,* p. 248.

Another feature of the seventeenth-century houses in the Vale of Clwyd hinterland are their staircases. Plas Teg's staircase has survived remarkably untouched and is the grandest of all, befitting the status of its owner (see figure 30). It is an open-well stair, opening from the side of the great hall, and was accessed by a private entrance from the east elevation. At Rhual, Mold, there survives a full-height well staircase of *c*.1634, with flat shaped and pierced balusters, finialled newels and lozenge patterning on the string.[190] Faenol Fawr's secondary staircase (unfortunately destroyed by fire) had flat, shaped balusters, and panelled newels with bulbous square finials. It was repositioned as a secondary staircase, being moved from the stair turret during the eighteenth century.[191]

Figure 31: *Llwyn Ynn photographed in 1955, shortly before its demolition in 1963/4.* RCAHMW: C405587.

A case study which illustrates the integration of elements in a distinctive Welsh way is Llwyn Ynn, a house which incorporated unit system, crow-stepped gables and Renaissance detailing (see figure 31).[192] It was located at the southern end of the Vale of Clwyd, in one of

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[190] Hubbard, *Clwyd*, p. 398.
[191] Ibid., pp. 326-7.
[192] Like so many Welsh place names, the form here is varied and fluid, appearing in various sources as *Llwynyn*, *Llwyn Yn* or *Llyn Ynn*. *Ynn* is a plural form, *Onn*, Ash-tree, a descriptive name, similar to *Llwynywormwood*, which when translated means 'grove of wormwood'. *Llwyn Ynn* translates as 'grove of ash trees', not to be confused with nearby *Llwyn Onn*, translatable as the singular 'grove of Ash'. Doubling the consonant is preferable to marking the vowel when it is desired to avoid ambiguity.

the most fertile farmland regions in Wales.[193] The house last appears on the 1963 edition of the Ordnance Survey map and A.J. Parkinson of the RCAHMW found it destroyed when he visited in 1964. However, the service range was retained as a dwelling and survives, albeit in a parlous state. The foundations of the main house, cellars, portions of the front wall and kitchen chimney also survive, and a systematic archaeological survey would reveal more information as to the actual plan of the house. Llwyn-Ynn was a three-storey long stone house with late-sixteenth-century origins.[194] The house consisted of three units with balancing wings at the dais and passage ends. As there were three building phases, the house was irregular in plan and elevation; it was built of limestone, with a slate roof at two different levels. One might surmise at whether the original doorway was centrally placed, or opened into the dais or passage end of the hall. After the 1560s, as was fashionable in north Wales, stepped gables dominated all four elevations at Llwyn Ynn, in similar fashion to Faenol Fawr. Like Faenol Fawr, the parlour wing was to the left of the hall, with the kitchen and service rooms to the right. Opening from the main hall was a rear stair tower, which contained both the principal and secondary staircases. The original design incorporated double-stepped gables on the front and back, in mirror image. Typically, the earlier mullioned and transomed windows decrease in length and breadth in each storey. It is proposed that an unfinished scheme, perhaps halted by the Civil War, may account for a mixture of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century building styles. Money appears to have been lavished on the house during the 1670s.[195] Thomas Nicholas suggested that the shield date of 1672 referred to a

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[193] The nearest towns to Llwyn Ynn are Ruthin and Mold; the former three miles southwest, the latter, twelve miles to the east. Llanfair Dyffryn Clwyd, a small village, which also gives its name to the parish, is a mile to the east.

[194] Rhys ap John Wynne (born c.1530), son of John ap Dafydd of Llanfair Dyffryn Clwyd (born c.1500), is the first of the Pryse family to be linked directly with Llwyn Ynn.[194] Their son, John ab Rhys Wynn (later Pryse), married Mary, daughter of Baron Lewys ab Owain of Cwrt Plas yr Dref, Dolgellau, who, it is reasonable to suggest, built the stepped-gable house in the last quarter of the sixteenth century. Llwyn Ynn was then inherited by Edward ap John (Pryse), High Sheriff of Denbighshire in 1627.[194] The estate was bequeathed to Edward's co-heirs, John Pryse and Mary Pryse.

[195] Edward Lhwyd commented, c.1698, that it was one of fifteen houses of note in the parish of Llanfair Dyffryn Clwyd, confirming that 'Lhwyn ynn' was owned by D.L. Parry Esq. The earliest known representation of the

period when the house underwent repairs, and that a portion of it was pulled down on ceasing to be the principal residence of the owners.[196] A long gallery ran east to west, in similar fashion to Nerquis Hall, Mold, and Henblas, Llanasa. New gates with tall, decorated pillars, topped with urns, bore a date of 1676, and were erected in front of the house. This created a formal forecourt out of the original seventeenth-century terrace, similar to many other Welsh houses that were depicted by Thomas Dineley (as he recorded the progress of the duke of Beaufort through Wales in 1684).[197] References also exist to the existence of elaborate lead hoppers.
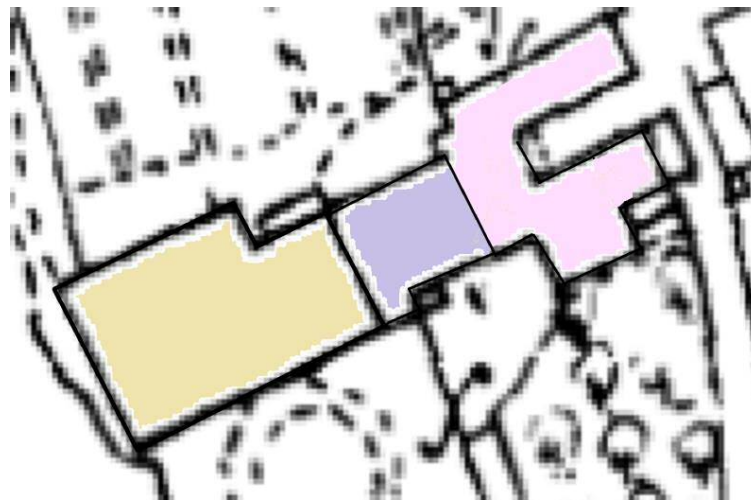
Figure 32: *Illustration of the three units from left to right: main block; connecting wing; and timber-framed range.* After 1899 Ordnance Survey Map

The half-timbered service range is rather intriguing: it appears to be *c*.1600 in date, perhaps even earlier. However, only dendrochronology and a full archaeological survey could substantiate this. There are small straight braces at the corners and there is one panel with a concave-sided lozenge, which is stylistically similar to those found in Gloucestershire, where

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mansion is to be found on 'A New Map of Denbighshire and Flintshire', by William Williams and John Felton, engraved by J. Senex, c.1710. The map's subscribers had elevational drawings of their houses and heraldic devices illustrated around the border. Unfortunately, Llwyn Ynn was not engraved in this way.

[196] T. Nicholas, *Annals and Antiquities of the Counties and County Families of Wales*: *vol. 1* (London, 1872), p. 373.

[197] T. Dineley, *The account of the official progress of His Grace Henry, the first duke of Beaufort through Wales in 1684: By photo-lithography from the original ms. of Thomas Dineley in the possession of His Grace, the eighth Duke of Beaufort* (London, 1888).

these features are all late-sixteenth or early-seventeenth-century in date.[198] It is an example of the unit system, as the half-timbered house functioned as an independent unit (see figure 32).[199]

Figure 33: *Llwyn Ynn, garden elevation, photographed c.1870s.* RCAHMW: C405586.

Thomas Pennant did not include the house in his *A Tour in Wales* during the 1770s; however, Moses Griffiths or John Ingleby may have painted a watercolour of Llwyn Ynn, engraved in the late nineteenth century for inclusion in Nicholas's *Annals and Antiquities*.[200] Nicholas goes on to describe the manor house of Llwyn Ynn as:

> 'of the early Tudor period, and curious not only as an excellent specimen of the domestic architecture of that time, but as having retained its exterior and interior character apparently unchanged to the present date. The old hall and other rooms, with their pannelled walls and low ceilings, contain oak woodwork and furniture of great age; while the quaint terrace, the sundial, and iron gates are evidently very ancient.[201]

The garden elevation illustrates as least three phases of major building activity: stepped gables, with roofs at a low level; then 1640s gables with ball finials on the staircase tower; and nineteenth-century alterations to windows, such as the lowering of the ground-floor windows of the stair tower to near ground level (see figure 33). The cross-window on

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[198] Information from L. Hall, interviewed 13.10.12.
[199] See R. Suggett, 'The Unit System Revisited: Dual Domestic Planning and the Development Cycle of the Family', *Vernacular Architecture*, 38 (2007), pp. 19-34.
[200] Ibid., p. 374.
[201] Ibid., p. 400 & p. 373.

the left of the stair wing appears to match those in the front elevation, and was presumably inserted to replace an earlier two-light window like all the other originals. It is interesting to contrast these with lower and presumably earlier-windows under the left-hand stepped gable; three phases of windows are thus visible here.

Like many unit system houses in north Wales, the secondary house at Llwyn Ynn flanks the principal house yet is detached from it. This secondary house is L-shaped and timber-framed, dated by Cadw to date from the seventeenth century. The later, linking stone block that joins the two houses together appears to be nineteenth century. The timber range stands on a high stone plinth, with slate roof, dormer and a tall stone chimney of similar design to the chimneys of the stepped gable sections of the main building. It is orientated to the same axis as the main house, yet at a lower level, the principal gable faces south, with another gable facing to the east. Cadw describes the timber framing as square, three panels high with top corner braces (see figure 31). The corner posts of the south facing gable are generously jowled. The area above the tie beam is diagonally panelled.[202] As at Faenol Fawr, the service or domestic rooms were later incorporated into this section of the house and included a 'large' kitchen, larder, butler's pantry and a store room under the stairs and cellars. Within the connecting range was the housekeeper's room and scullery.[203] In the half-timbered building was a servants' hall and bakehouse, with servants' bedrooms above, resonating with the unit system's association with bakehouses (see figure 34).

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[202] Llwyn Ynn Cadw Listing Description.
[203] DRO/NTD/1780.
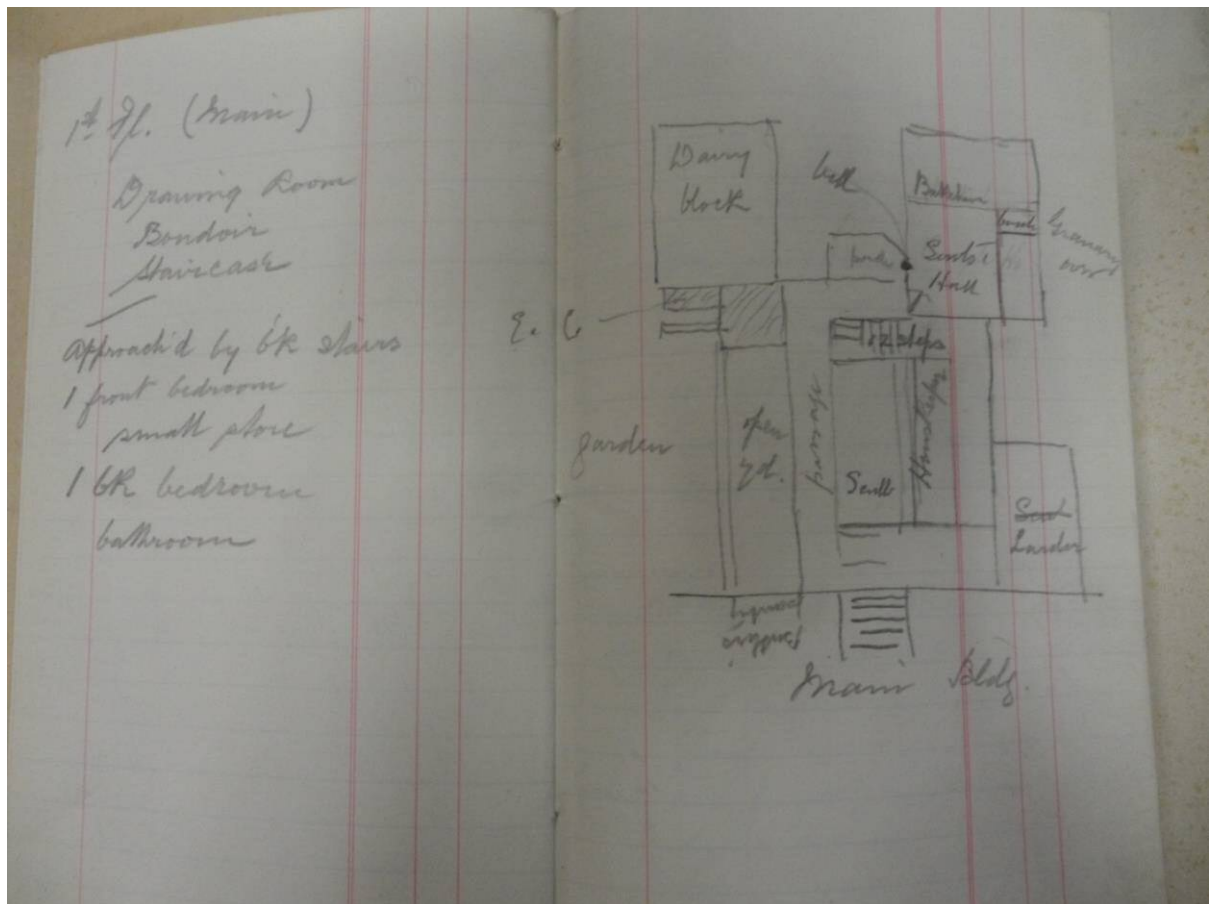
Figure 34: *Sketch plan of service wing, c. 1913.* Denbighshire Record Office: DRO/DD/PO/471.

It would be reasonable, given their comparable examples, to propose that the stepped gable house at Llwyn Ynn was built during the 1580s, perhaps by the same building team as worked on Faenol Fawr, the plan of which is similar to Llwyn Ynn. Faenol Fawr, Bodelwyddan, has almost identical front and rear stepped gables on the cross wings. This supports the hypothesis that a recessed central section at Llwyn Ynn once existed: entry was through a centrally placed doorway, which led directly into the hall, with the parlour to the left, and the kitchen and service rooms to the right. Directly above the hall was the great chamber, accessed from a rear stair turret.
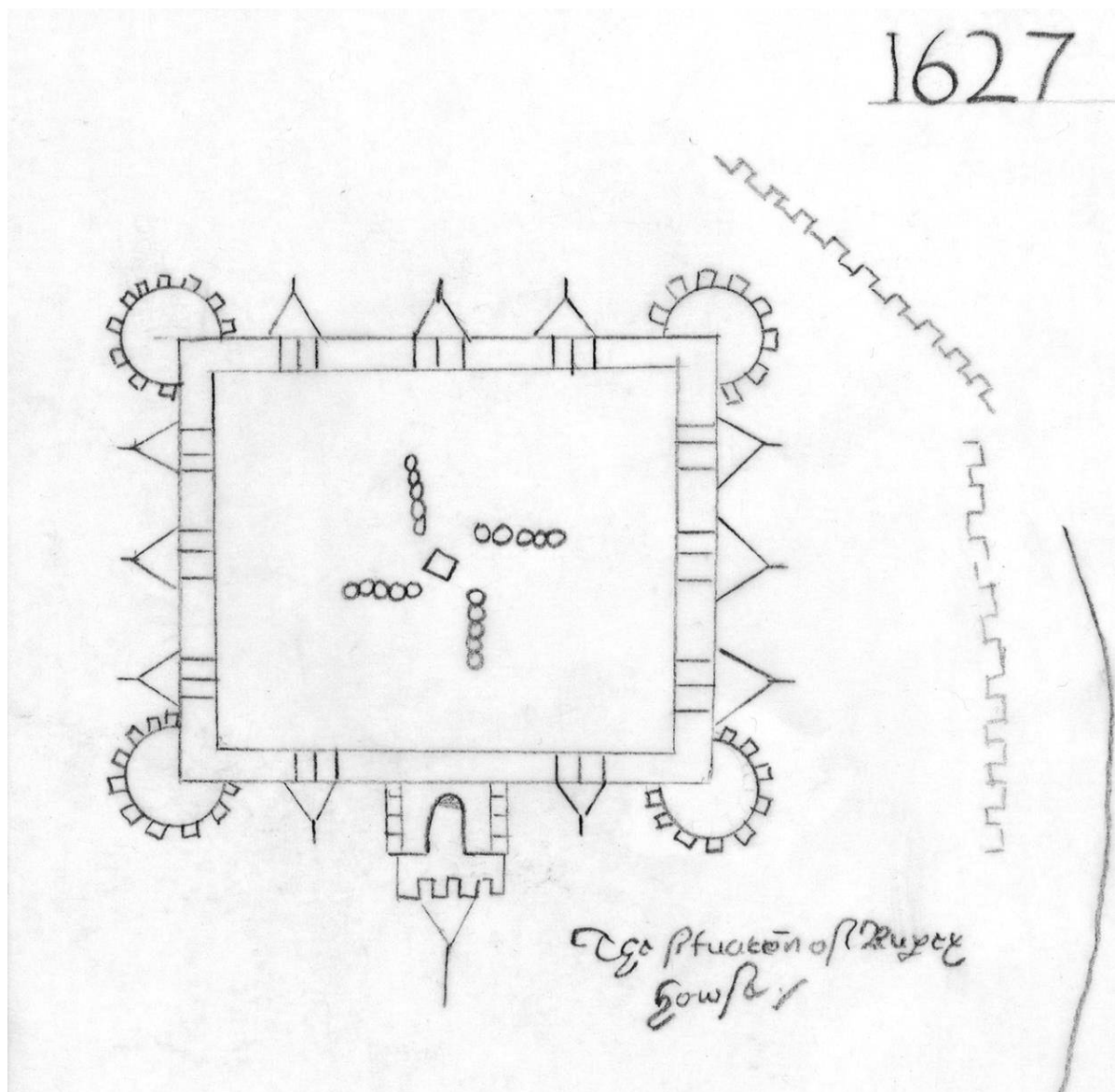
Figure 35: *A tracing of a surveyor's drawing of Ruperra Castle dated between 1627 and 1631. It clearly shows the central chimney stacks radiating from what was either a banqueting tower or viewing platform, as well as battlemented circular corner towers and gables.* NLW (Tredegar) 1193 Row 124, (after a tracing by Richard Suggett).

There has been a mansion on the site of Ruperra since at least the late fifteenth century. Further investigation is necessary to understand the structure, such as whether any fabric survives from the pre-1620 Lewis house. Documentary evidence for the early seventeenth-century history is scarce, as the papers of Sir Thomas Morgan do not survive in any great quantity. We can conjecture, however, that work on Ruperra began around 1616, shortly after Pembroke's elevation as Lord Chamberlain, when he became one of the chief officers of the Royal Household, with responsibilities including the organising of court

entertainment. The building appears to have been completed by 1627, as shown on an arbitration of land division that contains a surveyor's drawing, recording a ground plan as well as simultaneously representing elevations and a bird's-eye view (see figure 35). It shows four spines of chimneys arranged in rows, coming off a central stack, while the gables are prominently shown in addition to the porch and crenelated corner towers. Dineley's 1684 drawing appears to be an accurate representation of the house and its immediate approach: an outer court with pollarded trees, and a classical gateway with twinned lodges, which bears a striking resemblance to those found at Cranborne, Dorset.[204] One important reference is found in a manorial survey of Abercarn, dated 1631, which states that Sir Thomas Morgan ordered 100 tons of timbers to be cut down and that 80 tons were felled for the building of Ruperra House. The present building, with its circular towers, had been constructed by this date, but the elaborate forecourts with gatehouses are not shown on the 1627 plan. G. T. Clark suggested a rather fanciful figure of £19,999 19s 9d for the re-building of Ruperra and the construction of the townhouse, Tŷ Coch, whose name evokes the use of red brick or old red sandstone of which Ruperra is constructed.[205] By comparison, the far grander Hatfield House and gardens (1607 -12), cost less than £10,000.[206]

Now covered in early-twentieth-century roughcast render, Ruperra was originally limewashed externally, as were the nearby houses of St Fagans and Y Fan, both also built in the same period. Approaching from the south, the viewer is confronted by the multi-storey porch in ashlar. Key to the design, this porch bears the now-weathered royal coat of arms of either James I or Charles I, the arms of the earls of Pembroke and the arms of the Lewis and Morgan families, expressing in visual form the inheritance and pedigree of Sir Thomas

[204] T. Dineley, *Duke of Beaufort*, pp. 358-9.
[205] Clark, *Limbus Patrum Morganiae et Glamorganiae: Being the Genealogies of the Older Families of the Lordships of Morgan and Glamorgan* (London, 1886), p. 317.
[206] L. Stone, 'The building of Hatfield House', *Archaeological Journal*, 32 (1955), p. 128.

Morgan's wife.[207] This type of entry is a common feature in late-Tudor and early-Stuart mansions but its sophisticated decoration places it apart from other examples. It is similar to the porch found at Old Beaupre, near Cowbridge, which has a date of 1600 inscribed in it.[208] Porches had developed as status symbols since the late-fifteenth century in English houses, being used to display heraldry, or to provide an impressive entry to a house as at Audley End or Montacute House.[209] These Italian renaissance influences were spread across mainland Europe to England during the early fifteenth century, where architecture became particularly influenced by the Low Countries, mixing Dutch and Flemish elements into a classical fusion. Such design was often applied to gothic building, as at Ruperra, but with the building of great houses, as seen at Longleat, Hardwick Hall, Wollaton, and Burghley House.[210]

The main walls of Ruperra are constructed out of Old Red Sandstone, with small sections of early seventeenth-century brick around windows, and such brick is also used for walling infill. Internally, only doorcases and surrounds can be confidently dated to the early seventeenth century; a small group of sixteenth-century doorways with 'Tudor heads' and 'Square heads' may reuse material from the Lewis house. Intriguing too are the building lines and joints in the corner of the southeast tower, which is not tied into the main body of the house, suggesting it is the product of a later phase. Due to the absence of internal corridors, progress around Ruperra was in sequence, from room to room around the central stack. The principal entrance through the south porch was central, but led into a screens passage at the lower end of the hall: an entirely traditional medieval form of planning, seen at St Fagans and also at Montacute House. Dineley records that stained glass, depicting the Morgan arms,

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[207] RCAHMW, *An Inventory of the Ancient Monuments in Glamorgan: Domestic Architecture from the Reformation to the Industrial Revolution: Part 1 The Greater Houses* (London, 1981)*,* p. 263.

[208] Ibid., p. 46. Beaupre is a fortified manor house, with a defended courtyard and gatehouse, similar to St. Fagans.

[209] Listed building description for Audley End. URL: http://www.britishlistedbuildings.co.uk/en-370379-audley-end-house-saffron-walden-essex [accessed 2.1.15].

[210] See listed building descriptions on www.britishlistedbuildings.co.uk.

featured in the windows of the great hall.[211] Service rooms were arranged to the left of the screens passage, occupying the western side of the house at both basement and ground-floor level. Directly above the hall and identical in dimensions was the great chamber, off which were the principal bedrooms and withdrawing rooms. On the top floor was the long gallery, which ran along the south front, and gave access to a viewing platform on the roof of the porch. It is difficult to determine whether the battlements of the towers were accessible, and whether the apex of the central stack was envisaged as a banqueting room, as at Lulworth.

Archaism in seventeenth-century architecture was a common trait for families wanting to assert their ancestry through architecture. At the Palace of Skokloster, near Stockholm, Sweden, between 1654-76, Count Carl Gustaf Wrangel created an ancestral seat for the Counts Wrangel in an old fashioned and untypical design for Sweden, with corner towers reminiscent of a Schloss.[212] It was similar to Schloss Johannisburg, Bavaria, Germany and may have been an attempt by Wrangel to solidify his Germanic roots.[213] As at Ruperra, the archaic design enhanced the ancientness of estate at Skokloster, even though the fortress-like house had no military function. Internally, the design was modern, with an enfilade similar to Vaux-le-Vicomte. The house was built around a central courtyard, in the fashion of an Italian palazzo, and was an efficient design, adaptable for climatic conditions.

Two inventories survive for Ruperra. The earlier, following the death of Lady Mary Kemeys in 1699, is detailed and easy to follow, enabling an accurate reconstruction of the rooms, which are listed in sequence and can be followed in an anti-clockwise pattern, beginning with the great hall.[214] The only outbuildings listed are stables, and there is no reference to the pair of towers at the entrance to the inner courtyard, as shown on the Dineley

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[211] Dineley, *Duke of Beaufort*, pp. 358-9.
[212] More typical houses of this period in Sweden were Djursholm and Drottningholm.
[213] Schloss Johannisburg was built between 1604-14 by Georg Ridinger for Johann Schweikhard von Kronberg.
[214] NLW (Kemeys-Tynte Schedule 1), MSS/D44.

drawing of 1684.[215] The 1698 inventory offers an insight into how Ruperra functioned as a family home that had changed little since the death of Sir Thomas Morgan in 1641. Virtually all of the rooms, apart from the main rooms, were hung with fabrics, tapestries and gilt leather; there are tantalising references to interior decoration and furniture, such as a set of '12 Ca[e]sars' and a portrait of Nell Gwynne.[216]
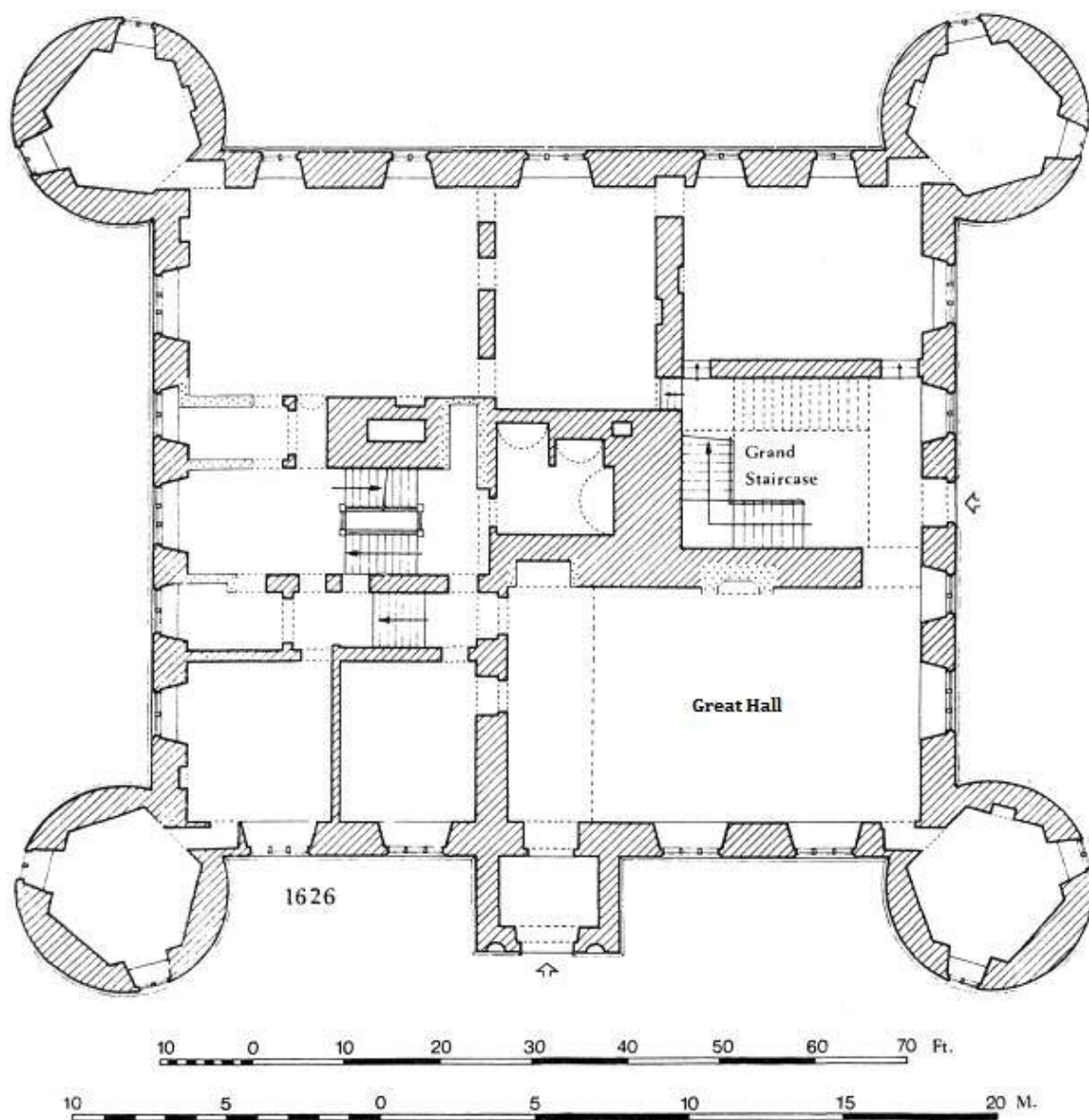
Figure 36: *A ground floor plan of Ruperra, published originally in* Houses of the Welsh Countryside. RCAHMW.

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[215] Dineley, *Duke of Beaufort*, p. 358.
[216] NLW (Kemeys-Tynte Schedule 1), MSS/D44.

Unfortunately, as a result of two devastating fires in 1783 and 1941, few internal seventeenth-century features survive. Thomas Hardwick restored the house during the 1780s, creating entirely new spaces at *piano nobile* level on the north side, and his drawings (now at the National Library of Wales) show reused Jacobean elements. Externally, he replaced the original gables with crenellations, and removed all trace of the Long Gallery. Hardwick's new rooms were partitioned by hand-made brick walls, made on site using a clamp kiln that produced over 80,000 bricks.[217] Major work was undertaken to create vaults under the east and southeast portions of the house; this required the digging-out of levels under the Great Hall.[218]
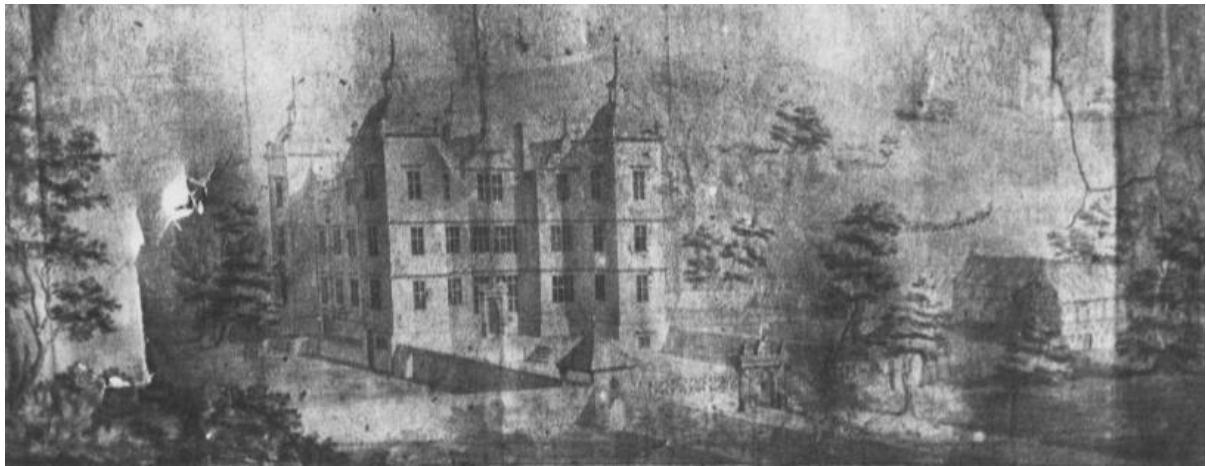
Figure 37: *A drawing of Plas Teg c.1660 showing the elaborate forecourt gateway and open-air balconies between the upper tower floors and the long gallery.* FRO/PR/F/60.

Plas Teg consists of three parallel structural units running north-south: the service rooms, the central hall and the staircase with half-landing parlour, each with its own point of access. The three points of access were all controlled by gun loops, making the mansion defensible to some degree, though the size of the windows mitigates against defensibility – the loops may have been partly ornamental but similar to those in a compact castle such as Holt, near Wrexham. A processional route is clearly discernible, from the great hall to the highly carved and elaborate Vredeman-inspired staircase, to the great chamber on the first

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[217] NLW (Tredegar Papers Schedule 10), MSS/150.
[218] Ibid.

floor. At the first quarterpace of the stairs was the parlour, with a music room in the northeast tower room beyond, providing a semi-private space for the Trevors. It is probable that the southeast tower contained the back staircase, which also gave access to the accommodation floor and long gallery. Here, the axis of the long gallery is switched, running east-west over the greatest internal dimension. Originally, external viewing balconies at each end connected the upper floor of the four towers with the long gallery. This floor provided good-sized suites of two rooms each: one suite in the main block and another in the tower. It is possible that the three tower rooms (excluding the staircase tower) were originally envisioned as banqueting rooms, which would account for access via external balconies; by 1663, however, these rooms were in use as bedrooms.[219]

An inventory for Plas Teg was drawn up on 1 July 1663.[220] The house contained the study, stair head, the chamber above Sir John Trevor's chamber, the inner room over Sir John Trevor's room, the dining room, the green chamber, the inner room, Sir Edward Trevor's chamber, the chamber over the kitchen, the inner room, the hall, the tower room east, the tower chamber south, the gallery, the wardrobe, the tower chamber west, the clock chamber, Sir John Trevor's chamber, the inner rooms of Sir John Trevor's chamber, the inner room over the kitchen, the parlour, the inner room in the parlour, the closet, Sir Richard Trevor's chamber, the cellar under the parlour, the kitchen, the lower larder, the buttery, the pantry, the cellar under the buttery, the brewhouse, the washhouse, the space over the washhouse, the bolting house and the stables. As at Ruperra, the great chamber above the hall is called the 'Dining Room'.

John Gurney remarks that the appearance of axial halls during the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries was a development of great importance. It did not present a complete break with the past, such as seen in Palladio's radical design for the Villa

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[219] FRO/PR/F60.
[220] FRO/G/3236.

Valmarana at Lisiera, but instead a transitional point.[221] At both Plas Teg and Ruperra, the disposition of rooms still retained the functional separation of high and service ends of the house. The reorientation of the hall may well reflect the increased importance of first-floor living. The physical inspiration for the axial hall at Plas Teg may well lie in Ashley House, Surrey, which also has this unusual feature, and was built for Lady Jane Berkeley between 1602 and 1607.[222] Lady Berkeley was known to Trevor, who owned a drawing of its layout, probably owing to the fact that during the period of Ashley House's construction, he was Keeper of the neighbouring Oatlands Park.[223]

Unlike Hardwick and Wollaton, Plas Teg lacks the sea of window glass which appears to give those houses an air of vulnerability and theatricality. Fortunately, the survival of seventeenth-century structural elements is quite plentiful. The posts and newels of the staircase appear much in the style of the Dutch designer Hans Vredeman de Vries, whose books on architecture would have been known to Trevor. Of special interest is the doorcase to the secondary stairs, which retains seventeenth-century *trompe-l'œil* strapwork decoration.

At Plas Teg, the exterior and plan were masterminded by an experienced mason-architect, while the vernacular interior - principally the main staircase and doorcases - was by local craftsmen following pattern-book designs. It has been suggested, but not proven, that the rear and service elevations were originally rendered and whitewashed, which would have created a dramatic effect when viewed from the pleasure grounds. It is reasonable to suppose that Plas Teg's elevation and plan were designed by a court surveyor; two of John Thorpe's plans show similarity to Plas Teg in terms of ground plan,[224] suggesting that Thorpe may

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[221] J. Gurney, 'Lady Jane Berkeley, Ashley House and Architectural Innovation in late-Elizabethan England', *AH*, 43 (2000), p. 117.
[222] Ibid.
[223] Ibid.
[224] Specifically T.85 and 254, plan 72.

have been involved at some initial stage.[225] Andor Gomme and Alison Maguire comment that 'the planning of Plas Teg is extremely economical: for the size of its ground plan it has more high-status accommodation than almost any other house of its time and has clearly been thought out by an experienced designer'.[226]
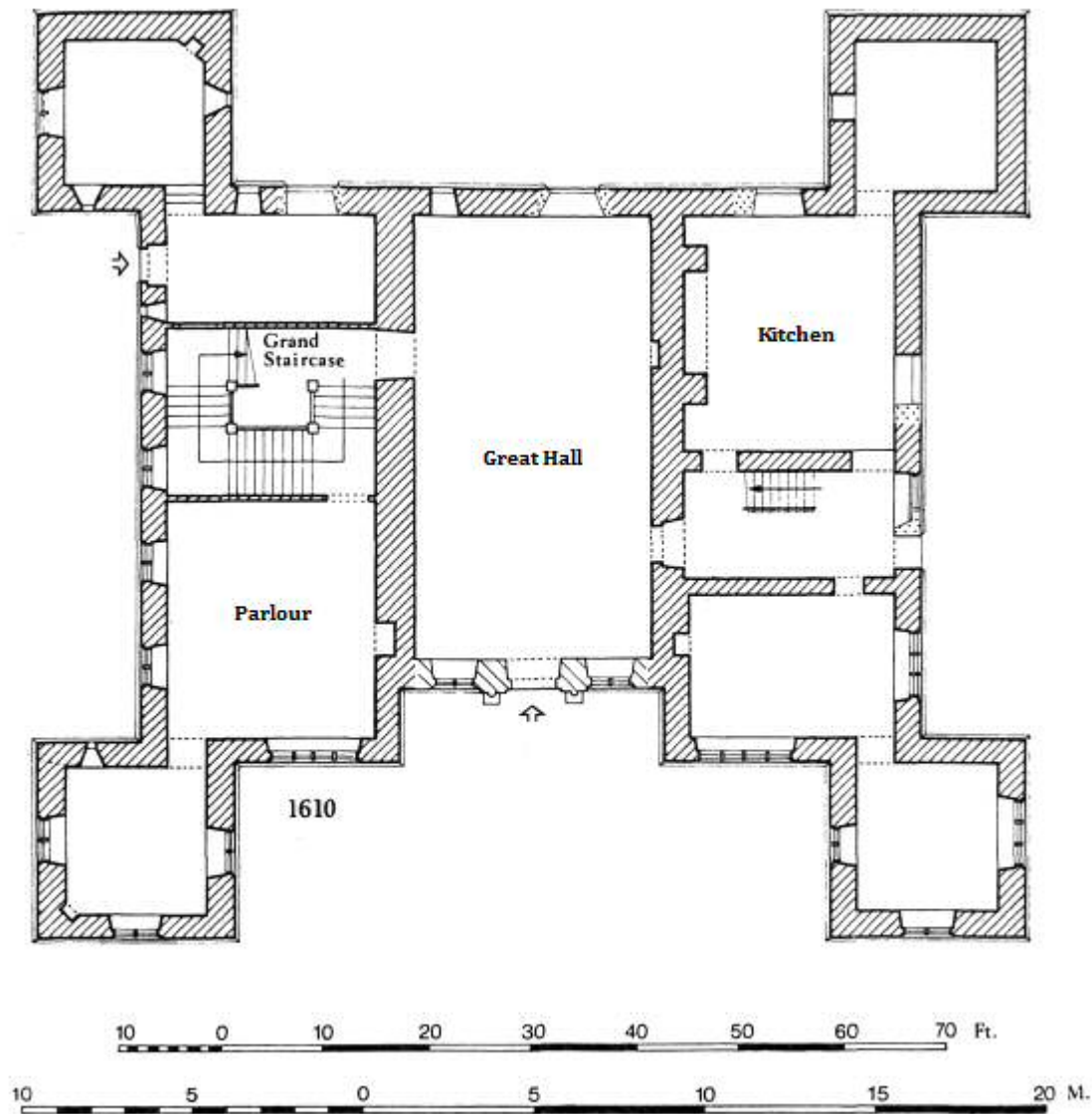
Figure 38: *A ground floor plan of Plas Teg, originally published in* Houses of the Welsh Countryside. RCAHMW.

Inigo Jones's son-in-law and personal assistant, John Webb, is known to have been employed by Sir John Trevor II at Plas Teg around 1650, labelling his designs as being for

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[225] A. Gomme & A. Maguire, *Design and Plan in the Country House: from Castle Donjons to Palladian Boxes* (Oxford: Yale, 2008), p. 131.
[226] Ibid., p. 258.

the Trevor house 'at Wrexham in Fflintshire'. They represent designs for 'The Front', 'The Hall' (the latter with a capital depicting the Trevor wyvern) and 'The Great Chamber'.[227] Webb's designs may correspond to the existing main entrance external doorcase, together with the fireplace in the Great Chamber. Unfortunately, there is no evidence for the survival of the capital or indeed for whether it was ever executed.[228]

The Somerset-based architect William Arnold is a strong candidate for mason-architect of Ruperra, or at least for its surveyor during execution in the 1620s. His team had worked on Wadham College, Oxford, Montacute House, Somerset and Cranborne Manor, Dorset, the summer residence of the Cecils. Arnold's brother, Godfrey Arnold, heads the list of masons on the fragmentary surviving accounts for Lulworth Castle, which is similar in design to Ruperra, and possibly inspired by du Cerceau.[229] Devices such as the scallop-headed alcoves or seats seen on the main porch at Ruperra, are distinctive of Arnold's practice. These shell-heads, which are - unusually - reversed, appear in nearly all of Arnold's domestic works.[230] The tripartite Venetian windows are unusual at this date, but can also be seen in some of Arnold's church commissions in Dorset and at Wadham College.[231] Comparisons have been drawn between Ruperra and Lulworth Castle, Dorset, because of their outward similarity in terms of elevation, plan and scale; Lulworth is 83 ft. square in plan, while Ruperra is 86 by 75 ft.[232] Lulworth was built by Thomas Howard, 3rd Lord of Bindon, who set about creating a hunting lodge adjacent to the Royal Forest in the Isle of Purbeck, in order to entice James I to hunt on his lands.

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[227] J. Bold, *John Webb: Architectural Theory and Practice in the Seventeenth Century* (Oxford, 1989), p. 175.
[228] J. Bold, 'John Webb: composite capitals and the Chinese language', *Oxford Art Journal*, 4 (1) (July 1981), pp. 9-17.
[229] J. Manco, D. Greenhalf & M. Girouard, 'Lulworth Castle in the seventeenth century', *AH*, 33 (1990), p. 47.
[230] M. Girouard, *Elizabethan Architecture: Its Rise and Fall, 1540-1640* (London, 2009), pp. 389-406.
[231] See also Montacute House, Somerset and Dunster Castle, Somerset. The churches include
[232] RCAHMW, *An Inventory of the Ancient Monuments in Glamorgan: Domestic Architecture from the Reformation to the Industrial Revolution: Part 1 The Greater Houses* (London, 1981), p. 264.

Surviving documents suggest that it was Robert Cecil, Earl of Salisbury, who suggested that Bindon should erect a lodge in his newly created park.[233] Lulworth rose at remarkable speed; by July 1608, work was underway, and by April 1610 the house was at least inhabitable.[234] Two building accounts survive, which each cover a week of the construction; they record 15 masons and 60 other craftsmen and labourers, together with numerous other specialists.[235] The reuse of materials from nearby Mount Poynings and recycling of stone from Bindon Abbey may have aided the speed of construction; such reclamation was common in Wales, and the Lewises of Y Fan had obtained permission to salvage building material from Caerphilly Castle for the extension of their house.[236]

It is no surprise that Morgan and Trevor chose to employ metropolitan architects at their houses, as they were, of course, eminent and cultured Welsh men playing out their lives on a British stage. This does not, however, necessarily imply a sense of 'Englishness' or 'Britishness' in contradistinction to 'Welshness'. It was rather simply about getting the highest quality architects available for the job, and these were architects with whom they had prior professional and personal contact. Arnold's work in England must have impressed Morgan, who probably visited Cranborne Manor and Lulworth whilst at nearby Wilton House. Similarly, Sir John Trevor I, was undoubtedly influenced by the Earl of Nottingham and Lady Jane Berkeley's employment of John Thorpe at Nottingham House and Ashley House is a strong candidate for Thorpe being involved with Plas Teg. Sir John Trevor II's choice of John Webb was made because of Webb's rise as a favoured architect during the Interregnum. He was often employed by Parliamentarian patrons and Trevor's contemporaries. Paradoxically, Webb's designs appear to have been executed by local masons, whose contributions have given them a peculiarly vernacular quality.

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[233] Historical Manuscripts Commission 9: Salisbury (Cecil) MSS/19 (1965), pp. 399-400.
[234] Manco, Greenhalf & Girouard, 'Lulworth Castle', p. 31.
[235] Dorset Record Office, D/WLC/E2.
[236] RCAHMW, *An Inventory of the Ancient Monuments in Glamorgan: Domestic Architecture from the Reformation to the Industrial Revolution: Part 1 The Greater Houses* (London, 1981), p. 192.

The Morgan dynasty had residences over much of southeast Wales, with principal family members based at Machen, Tredegar and Ruperra during the opening years of the seventeenth century. Edmund Morgan, fourth son of Thomas Morgan of Machen, married three times and fathered at least eight children.[237] All these married well, but it was the eldest son from the third marriage, auspiciously called 'the seventh child', who became the most accomplished. This Thomas Morgan, born in 1564, married Margaret, sole heiress of Rowland Lewis of Ruperra.[238] Margaret Lewis was set to inherit a 700-acre estate, Ruperra being tenanted to provide an income to 'maintain, clothe, and educate [...] Margarett Lewis until she reaches the age of twenty-one years'.[239] During the late 1580s, Morgan joined the household of Henry Herbert, 2nd Earl of Pembroke, a distant relation and neighbouring landowner to his family's estates in southeast Wales. Thus it was that Rice Lewis (possibly a kinsman of Margaret Lewis) dedicated a survey of the Pembroke holdings entitled 'Breviat of Glamorgan, 1596' to 'Thomas Morgan Esquior Stewarde in house to the Right Honourable Henry Earle of Pembroke.'[240] The Herberts were among the richest landowners in Britain, in Wales famously renovating Cardiff Castle, with successive earls becoming Lord President of Wales and the Marches. Despite residing chiefly at Wilton House in Wiltshire, which had been obtained as a gift from Henry VIII, they continued to foster strong links with their Welsh lands, especially in Glamorgan.

Sir John Trevor, born in 1563, was the second son of John Trevor and Mary Bridges, of Trevalyn, Rossett. In 1597, he entered Parliament as a junior colleague of Charles Howard, 1st Earl of Nottingham and Baron Howard of Effingham in the Borough of Bletchingley,

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[237] Clark, *Limbus Patrum*, p. 317.
[238] NLW (Tredegar Papers Schedule 5) MSS/78/35. Margaret Lewis was referred to respectively as Catrin, Mary and Catherine in documents.
[239] NLW (Tredegar Papers Schedule 5) MSS78/4 and MSS/78/34. William Mathew of Radder (*sic*) was recorded as renting Ruperra.
[240] R. Lewis, 'Breviat of Glamorgan: 1596-1600', *SWMRS*, 3 (1954), p. 94.

Surrey.[241] The following year, on 20 December, he was appointed Surveyor of the Queen's Ships, receiving £40 per annum. On the death of Elizabeth I and the accession of King James I, Sir John's fortunes increased meteorically. He was appointed to several lucrative posts within a single year, including Steward and Receiver of Windsor Castle, Keeper of Upnor Castle, Chatham, and Keeper of the Royal House and of the Royal Park at Oatlands, Weybridge. From 1596 to 1605, Sir John moved around the houses associated with his various posts, but Oatlands was to be his most frequent seat, and three of his children who died in infancy are buried at Weybridge Church.[242]

There is no doubt about the powerful patronage afforded by William, 3rd Earl of Pembroke to his steward Sir Thomas Morgan. In May 1603, Morgan was appointed surveyor of the royal forests south of the Trent, with a life annuity of £50. Meanwhile, in 1606, Pembroke granted Morgan lands in Glamorgan and made him a trustee of Baynard's Castle, the earl's London house. Morgan had been instrumental in organising the visit of James I to Wilton in 1623, and was knighted there by the king on 7th August that year.[243] Some days after the royal visit, Morgan entertained the poet John Taylor at Wilton, on behalf of the absent earl. Taylor recorded how 'I was most freely (and beyond my worth and merit) kindly welcomed, by the Right Worshipfull, Sir Thomas Morgan Knight, with whom I dined, and by whose command I was shewed all or the most part of the admirable contrived Roomes, in that excellent, and well-built house.'[244] Letters survive from the earl in which he openly expresses his support for Morgan's candidature as MP for Wilton.[245] Indeed, Pembroke nominated Morgan for Wilton at seven parliamentary elections, beginning in June 1607. The earl refers

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[241] E.S. Jones, *Trevors of Trevalyn and their Descendants* (London, 1955), p. 41.

[242] M. Baker, *Plas Teg: A Jacobean Country House* (Prestatyn, 2006), p. 16.

[243] M. Brennan, 'William Third Earl of Pembroke, and the MPs for Wilton, 1621–1628', *Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Magazine*, 78 (1984), pp. 70-73.

[244] J. Taylor, 'Taylor's Discovery by Sea'*, The Crypt, or Receptacle for things past, and West of England magazine* (1829), pp. 23-24.

[245] Brennan, 'Earl of Pembroke', pp.70-73.

to Morgan's 'fidelitie and abilitie', stating he was not greedy in his appointments, serving for many years as a faithful servant.[246]

Sir John Trevor epitomised the ambitious courtier in a time that saw many men using their positions to gain financially, politically and socially. His career was protected and propagated by the Earl of Nottingham. Trevor acted as the earl's secretary and, like Morgan, secured important and lucrative positions. It was through the direct intervention of Nottingham as Lord High Admiral, for example, that Trevor became Surveyor of the Navy under Elizabeth I, and again under James I. In exchange, Nottingham received many benefits including a share of the taxes on every ton of coal coming into the Port of London and a share of taxes on sweet wines imported into the country. In 1608, Trevor, together with Sir Robert Mansell, admiral and Welsh M.P., and Phineas Pitt, eminent shipwright, was accused of fraudulent conduct for freighting the ship 'Resistance' from the king's stores in March 1605, selling the goods for their own gain and then claiming wages for voyages as if it had gone on the king's service. Fortunately for Trevor, the earl of Nottingham chaired the committee of inquiry, and Trevor escaped punishment. Nevertheless, he withdrew from public affairs and in 1611 sold his post as Secretary to the Navy.[247]

Trevor, despite frequent and prolonged absences, continued to foster a close relationship with his familial lands in Wales. Sir John had never had a substantial residence and estate of his own before, but by 1600 he had shown a determined interest in the old mansion of his kinsmen at Plas Teg, and became embroiled in legal wrangles that resulted in his full ownership of the estate in 1607.[248] It seems likely that his work there could have started sometime in 1607/08 and have been well advanced by 1610/11, thus coinciding with his withdrawal from court. The house contrasts with a number of other houses of the 'great

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[246] Ibid.
[247] M. Girouard, 'Plas Teg, Flintshire: the property of Mr. Patrick Trevor-Roper,' *Country Life* (19.7.1962), p. 135.
[248] Flintshire Record Office, PT/MSS/983.

rebuilding' in northeast Wales: Pentrehobyn, Nerquis, Gwysaney and Rhual.[249] None of these regional houses can compete with the modernity and accomplishment of Plas Teg. One contemporaneous house was Foxhall Newydd, Henllan, near Denbigh, begun in 1608 but never completed, which would have been the largest and most ambitious in the region.[250] Slightly later, the Bulkeley house of Baron Hill, Beaumaris, constructed between 1612 and 1618 to entertain Prince Henry of Wales on his progress to Ireland, was designed with square corner towers and an entrance hall similar in plan to Plas Teg.[251] Plas Teg enabled Trevor to live fashionably in an environment conceived for entertainment, yet removed from the glare of London and the court. He had mitigated the consequences of his retirement, planning in advance for the physical consequences of withdrawal from court and the accommodation that his positions had provided.

During the 1630s, Morgan experienced financial difficulties. He was in arrears on his annuity from the pretermitted customs, a controversial export tax that had caused protests in 1635. In addition the 3rd earl, who died in 1630, had owed him money.[252] His eldest son, Sir Lewis Morgan, died in 1635, leaving a young wife, Anne, and two small children, Thomas and Elizabeth.[253] Morgan is recorded to have drafted a will at Ruperra on 20 June 1638 but his actual date of death is not known, nor is his place of burial.[254] The compounding commissioners valued the family estate at £1,000 per annum.[255] Ruperra was held in trust for the young Thomas Morgan by his uncle Sir Philip. Thomas died without an heir, and the estate passed to his sister, Elizabeth, who had married into the wealthy Thomas family of Wenvoe, near Cardiff. Ruperra appears to have become a secondary home used by

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[249] P. Smith, 'Plas Teg', *Transactions of the Flintshire Historical Society*, 18 (1960), p. 57.
[250] M. Baker, 'Baron Hill and Garthewin: A Comparison', (unpublished BA Dissertation, University of Wales, Bangor, 2006), p. 16.
[251] Ibid., p. 14.
[252] A. Nicolson, *Arcadia: the Dream of Perfection in Renaissance England* (London, 2009), p. 190.
[253] Anne, as a widow, married Walter Strickland and left all of her property to her daughter, Elizabeth.
[254] Clark, *Limbus Patrum*, p. 318.
[255] Wiltshire Record Office, G25/1/21, fol. 258; P. Moore, 'Three Seventeenth-Century Travellers in Glamorgan', *Glamorgan Historian*, 7 (1971), p. 15.

Elizabeth's son, William Thomas, and his wife Mary.[256] William Thomas then died, and Ruperra was bequeathed to Mary, who, as a wealthy young widow, married Sir Charles Kemeys of Cefn Mably. Ruperra became their home during the late 1680s, until her death in 1699.[257]

Despite controversy, Trevor retained both his seat as Member of Parliament as well as his share of taxes, and was knighted at Windsor in 1618.[258] By 1626, his reputation had recovered sufficiently for him to sit on a Commission to investigate abuses in the Navy and, in 1628, on another concerning Crown lands in North East Wales. Between 1627 and 1629, due to ill-health, Trevor was chiefly in residence at Plas Teg, and kept in touch with London affairs by letter to his servant Daniel Moore.[259] On 20 February 1629, Trevor passed away at Plas Teg, and an elaborate, inscribed funerary monument was erected to his memory at Hope church. Trevor's will survives, dated 16 January 1629, and states that:

> [...] to my best beloved friend, the companion of my life, the mother of my children, whom god by his holy ordinance of matrimony hath made my wife. I offer and bequeath her for term of her natural life, as for long as she continues a widow [...] Plas Teg [...] and all other lands within the Lordship of Hope and Mold [...][260]

All household goods and contents were left to Lady Trevor on condition that she did not remarry, everything otherwise passing to Sir John Trevor II, the heir apparent:

> [...] My son shall have a perfect inventory of all things in the said house that he may call for in due time giving allowance reasonable [for] wear and tear and waste made by her [Lady Trevor] in her use of them [...] Also I bequeath unto my said wife all her wearing apparel, jewels [...] and pearls to be disposed of at her [Lady Trevor] pleasure, excepting a Spanish chain set with diamonds given to me by Philip the Second King of Spain [...] and excepting a fair quill bason and font, and a pair of silver Danish pots given unto me by the late Queen Anne [wife of James I] [...][261]

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[256] They are recorded to be residing at Ruperra in 1674.
[257] NLW (Tredegar Papers Schedule 8) MSS/104/10.
[258] J.Y.W. Lloyd, *The History of the Princes, the Lords Marcher and the Ancient Nobility of Powys Fadog and the Ancient Lords of Arwystli, Cedewen and Meirionydd* (London, 1882), vol. 3, p. 200.
[259] FRO/G/MSS/421-435.
[260] Plas Teg Archive, PTA/8. Note: The Plas Teg Archive belonging to Mrs. C. Bayley has been transferred to Flintshire Record Office.
[261] Ibid.

Under 'the custom of north Wales', Lady Margaret was more than adequately provided for under the terms of her husband's will. The North Wales custom of a widow's provision was adhered to, following historic precedence. This, however, created a problem for the heir apparent. Plas Teg was the only house of note belonging to Sir John I in North Wales. For a period of nearly ten years, Sir John Trevor II was therefore without a permanent base on his ancestral lands. His mother exerted her rights rigorously, expecting as a widow that all her wishes would be acceded to. This naturally strained the relationship between mother and son, whose visits to Plas Teg became less and less frequent, with the son relying on his agent to address Lady Margaret's complaints. A power struggle then ensued, as a Royalist, Anglican mother quarrelled with her Parliamentarian, Puritan son. Lady Trevor continued as chatelaine under the 'custom of north Wales', despite being in reality a life-tenant to her son. To mitigate matters, Sir John Trevor II wrote to his agent Thomas Crewe that he was happy for him to obey the instructions and wishes of Lady Margaret, so long as she claimed profits from the coal pits on the estate to sustain her income. As an austerity measure, the deer in the park were to be reduced in number, as they were too costly to maintain, and Plas Teg was no longer viewed as a place of entertainment.[262] If Margaret was compliant, then the park would be hers to use on very reasonable terms, so long as she did not plough it.[263] To complicate matters, however, an argument had arisen with Thomas Crewe regarding her son's instructions about payment of coal.[264] Lady Margaret ran Plas Teg as before and exerted her widow's rights to their full extent, refusing to move to a dower house; Crewe was instructed by Trevor that he had to bear her harsh words patiently 'because she is my mother and was your good and worthy old master's wife'.[265] Coal became the main source of the quarrel, with Lady Margaret constantly complaining that she did not receive

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[262] FRO/D/G/3273, fol. ii, 24.4.1630.
[263] Ibid., fol. iii, 1.9.1630.
[264] FRO/D/G/3272, fol. i, 20.7.1630.
[265] FRO/D/G/3273, fol. iii, 1.9.1630.

enough of it, believing she should have it as cheaply as possible or even for free.[266] Lady Trevor had been accustomed to an extravagant court lifestyle, which she strived to maintain on a radically reduced income.

As troubles were rife between mother and son, it was the messenger who felt the force of the schism. Crewe was told to deal with her 'in the mannerliest manner that you can, suffering from her patiently ill words which break no heads, knowing that I suffer from her sometimes myself'.[267] The agent was to indulge Lady Margaret in any small matter that would not cost much and, as she had been complaining to her brother-in-law, Sir Richard Trevor, regarding her treatment, Crewe was advised to offer his services to him too.[268] This was not enough and Lady Margaret pressed her son to dismiss Crewe from his position as steward. But this was something Trevor did not wish to do. A moderate course of action was required - one that would 'give my mother no occasion to quarrel whilst you stay there'.[269] Tensions eased somewhat in 1638, when Sir John Trevor II inherited Trevor property at Trevalyn Hall, Rossett, Flintshire, following the death of his paternal uncle, Sir Richard Trevor.[270] Plas Teg was not neglected while Lady Margaret continued in residence, as she evidently carried out maintenance works. For example, Samuel Wood, recommended to her the stonemason Booth of Chester, who is subsequently recorded at Plas Teg as having hewed coping-stones there.[271] Further work was carried out at Plas Teg in 1641, when the house was repaired following storm damage; the agent suggested a man called Jennyns to execute this work as 'it is a reasonable bargain to do it for 20s p.a., if I bargain with another he will not do it so cheap nor any better'.[272] She did not, however, undertake any major building works, as her son's attention and money had been transferred to Trevalyn which was being altered to

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[266] Ibid., fol. x, 16.4.1631.
[267] Ibid., fol. vii, 2.2.1631.
[268] Ibid., fol. xiv, 19.11.1631.
[269] Ibid., fol. xvii, 28.3.1632.
[270] Jones, *Trevors of* Trevalyn, p. 38.
[271] FRO/D/G/3275, fol. xxviii, 21.12.1639. Presumably the same Booth recorded as working at Nerquis.
[272] Ibid., fol. lvi, 22.5.1641.

cater for Trevor's expanding family. Margaret's health was in decline by 1646 and after a lengthy illness she died and was buried in St Cynfarch's church at Hope, beside her husband. Reports state that, through the mediation of friends, mother and son were reconciled but never again felt the closeness they had once enjoyed.[273] Plas Teg was tenanted out and it was not until the next century that the Trevors would return. Sir John's puritan attitude may have been at odds with that of his mother but, ironically, this rift, together with the Civil War and Interregnum, preserved both Plas Teg and Trevalyn from being architecturally transformed.

Genealogy and pedigree played an important and continuing role in forming a sense of place and status amongst country house owners in Wales. In *An Open Elite*, it states that the heyday of the country house was from around the time of the Restoration to about 1880.[274] In England, they were to become semi-independent rulers of the countryside, dominating politics, economic and social life, as well as disseminating architecture at a county level. Upward social mobility through acquired wealth was a marked feature of English gentry life, which had been commented on by foreigners as early as the fifteenth century, who also noted the reluctance of the gentry to live in cities.[275] Entry to the elite by people of low birth but large fortune was to become the English social paradigm that formed the basis of country house living until the twentieth century. Daniel Defoe repeatedly highlighted the tension between the worlds of gentility and commerce through his writings:

> Wealth, howsoever got, in England makes
> Lords of mechanics, gentlemen of rakes.
> Antiquity and birth are needless here,
> 'Tis impudence and money makes a peer.[276]

This was in contrast to the Welsh gentry, who defined themselves by blood rather than wealth. Those who could afford land and a country seat signified received an economic return, power, status and the establishment of a dynasty. In Wales, kinship was seen as the

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[273] Baker, *Plas Teg*, p. 24.
[274] Stone & Stone, *An Open Elite?* (Oxford, 1984), p. 15.
[275] Ibid., p.16.
[276] D. Defoe, *The Trueborn Englishman* (Oxford, 1927), p. 45.

strongest and most valuable of ties. Special significance was accorded to key female figures in the family, who were valued for their close links with other gentry families. Yet it is important to remember that, in a great number of cases, women did not inherit the houses in which they had been born and raised, and upon marriage most resided at their husband's home. In widowhood, women frequently retreated to a dower house, so that the heir could occupy the family seat. One of the most famous examples of a Welsh matriarch, often cited by contemporaries, was Catrin o Ferain, daughter and heiress of Tudor ap Robert Vychan of Berain, 'Katheryn of Berain' (1535-1591), so-called 'Mam Cymru' (Mother of Wales).[277] It was through her four marriages and offspring that this title was given: she first married Salusbury of Lleweni, second, Sir Richard Clough of Bachegraig, third, Maurice Wynn of Gwydir; and finally Edward Thewall of Plas-y-Ward. For Kathryn, remarriage gave her more freedom of action than that which widowhood could provide. Property, wealth and connections became hers, and she was able to arrange good matches for her children with her step-children and in-laws.[278] It was Katheryn's model to which many Welsh women aspired in the subsequent centuries.

Dower and the widow's third entitled a wife to live in her husband's property until her death, and such arrangements often created the kind of stasis in which little alteration was carried out. The steward's letters from Plas Teg demonstrate this situation *in extremis*. The persistence of customary rights to personal property enabled a legal ambiguity, which, according to Katherine Warner Swett, 'preserved a measure of additional financial support and some vital tactical space [...] until the abolition of these rights at the end of the seventeenth century'.[279] This was used to great advantage by the widowed Lady Margaret

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[277] K.W. Swett, 'Widowhood, Custom and Property in Early Modern North Wales', *WHR*, 18 (1996), pp. 189-227.
[278] Ibid., p. 223-4.
[279] Ibid., p. 191. ba

Trevor at Plas Teg during the 1630s and 1640s; she successfully strove to maintain her position in her marital home.

In both the cases of Morgan and Trevor, the return to their Welsh roots was an important move and that of their descendants as they endeavoured to maintain the traditions of their forebears, continuing the occupation of their ancestral lands, constructing houses that reflected the aspirations of their dynasties and maintaining the rights of widows. This awareness of national feeling - distinct from the modern form of nationalism - emphasised belonging through background and origin. This sentiment had intensified through the course of Anglo-Welsh integration, reaching a zenith with the Owain Glyndŵr rebellion in 1400. It was against this backdrop that the Tudor settlement of 1536-40 was created. Contemporaries praised the benefits of the Acts of Union, viewing the unification as the integration of Wales into Britain, fostering citizenship of the growing British Empire.

Sir Thomas Morgan, being a younger son and the husband of a wealthy heiress, set about legitimising his own dynasty through the building of Ruperra, realising a conservative and almost archaic home, incorporating corner castellated towers into a medievally-planned house arranged around a central stack. The influence of the earls of Pembroke, and of life lived at Wilton, cannot be underestimated; Mark Girouard goes so far as to argue that Ruperra was a 'Pageant Castle', designed as a permanent theatre set for the ritual of court masques and entertainments.[280] Such arguments are borne out by Ruperra and Beaupre's highly-decorated porches, which could easily have been transposed from drawings for early seventeenth-century theatre designs. Grand tournaments were held at Wilton, organised chiefly for the 3rd and 4th earls, and Morgan, as steward, would have certainly been the organiser of these events.

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[280] Girouard, 'Plas Teg, Flintshire: the property of Mr. Patrick Trevor-Roper,' *Country Life* (19.7.1962), p. 447.

Sir John Trevor's requirements were different. He needed to construct an impressive residence as the base from which his estates and lands could be administered and organised, as well as creating a showcase to entertain his contemporaries while in retirement. Such an innovative and advanced design as Plas Teg projected an image of progressive taste and power, and fashionable taste.[281] Being centrally planned, the design expressed all that was modern, embodying the principles of Palladio and of Serlio's third book.[282] Sebastiano Serlio (1475-1554) was an Italian stonemason, employed by Francis I of France. His seven books of architecture contained scaled illustrations of buildings so that illiterate or even non-Italian readers could understand the book's contents and replicate designs. Andrea Palladio (1508-1580) and his 1570 *I Quattro Libri Dell' Archittetura (The Four Books of Architecture)* claimed that he had studied and copied Roman ruins, and reconstructed them as contemporary structures.[283] Cited as a source by Palladio, Marcus Vitruvius Pollo's text of 20 B.C. provided a direct link with the Roman past. The influence of Palladio was to be fully realised in the early-eighteenth century. Even more crucial for understanding the development of Plas Teg was Trevor's 1605 embassy to Spain with Charles Howard, 1st earl of Nottingham, to conclude peace negotiations with Philip III of Spain (1578-1621) at Valladolid.[284] Trevor would have been aware of the work of Spanish court architect, Juan de Herrera (1530-97) whose austere classicism is reflected in the exterior of Plas Teg.[285] The Escorial, Madrid, built 1563-84 was pivotal in forming the Herrerian architecture of late-sixteenth century Spain. Francisco de Mora (c.1553–1610) and Juan Gómez de Mora (1586–

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[281] The inclusion of balconies linking the long gallery to the four corner towers at Plas Teg was innovative for building design in Wales, however, comparisons can be drawn to Seaton Delaval (1728) which was a cold house, designed for an Italian setting rather than a windy and wet British environment. With this in mind, is it understandable that the balconies at Plas Teg were filled-in.

[282] Smith, 'Plas Teg', p. 158.

[283] A. Palladio, *The Four Books of Architecture*. Trans. by R. Tavernor and R. Schofield (Massachusetts, 1997).

[284] J. Dillon, *The Language of Space in Court Performance, 1400-1625* (Cambridge, 2010), p. 88.

[285] Two accounts of the visit were published shortly afterwards in England: Anon., *The royal entertainement of the Right Honourable the Earle of Nottingham, sent ambassador from his Majestie to the King of Spaine* (1605) and R. Treswall, *A relation of such things were observed to happen in the journey of the right Honourable Charles Earle of Nottingham* […] (1605).

1648) would have been practising during Trevor's Spanish visit, and their buildings incorporated square corner towers. Did the embassy return with engravings and pictorial evidence of their Spanish trip, resulting in a Spanish-inspired house being built in Wales?

The building of Plas Teg was undertaken by a local building team, deliberately incorporating vernacular design into the form and into the detailing of internal features, such as the main staircase and doorcases. Plas Teg and Ruperra are in scale only lodges, but in practice were used as primary residences. The deer parks, created in anticipation of a royal visit, are features typical of early seventeenth-century houses, hoping to tempt James I, who was a keen huntsman, to visit. The royal coat of arms above the main door at Ruperra is an indication that Morgan had this objective in mind.[286]

Returning to the earlier theme of kinship and shared architectural concepts executed by artisan craftsmen. This thesis proposes that the power of ancestry began with the *Laws of Hywel Dda*, which provided a codification of practice for medieval Welsh society. This process of codification diffused from the elite downwards, via the legal profession, whose contact with England, particularly after the conquests of the late-thirteenth century, intensified. Canon law was often at odds with that of traditional Welsh law, the latter being frequently criticised politically and theologically by the clergy for its 'ungodly' practices. Laws of inheritance, such as *gavelkind* or partible inheritance, where land and goods could be apportioned between heirs, were adopted and adapted by the gentry. The widow's provisions were an important element of gentry practice in north Wales, where a widow's provision was unusually generous. This gave rise to the building tradition of the unit system, where separate households could co-exist simultaneously. As shown earlier in this chapter, the most notable surviving gentry houses which display this configuration are at Gwydir Castle, Llanrwst,

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[286] Unknown, *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, 49 (1893), p. 30. Unfortunately, he did not live to witness Charles I visit on 27 July 1645, when his son, Sir Philip Morgan, entertained the king.

Conwy, Brynkir, Dolbenmaen, Gwynedd, and Edwinsford, Talley, Carmarthenshire with smaller examples found at various gentry houses across Wales.

Expression through architecture was frequently used by the gentry in their homes, ranging from heraldic display to whole houses erected as a memorial to their maternal ancestors. This practice may not be exclusively Welsh, and can be seen elsewhere in the British Isles, but the *yr uchelwyr*'s reluctance to readily adopt national and international styles separates their houses from their English counterparts. An interest in pedigree and lineage - with roots in the *Laws of Hywel Dda* and the *Mabinogion* - was perpetuated by bardic poetry, heraldic design and the prominence of the great hall. Hospitality, in particular, entertainment, became an essential requirement of the gentry home in Wales. Therefore, the provision of space in the form of a great communal hall became a feature of the Welsh house well into the seventeenth century.

Welsh houses were criticised in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries for being old fashioned and devoid of unique architectural prowess, yet across Wales there appear cohesive groups of domestic buildings - all of which share the feature of a prominent great hall, with many other features shared both internally and externally, even when architectural unity was sacrificed.[287] This, in itself, gave rise to the appearance of the 'evolutionary house': a building on to which successive additions were made, enabling the contributions of generations to be clearly discernible. Arguments have been put forward that, due to lack of money, the Welsh gentry were unable to demolish and rebuild, and that this was the reason for rambling and elongated houses. The old house at Brynkir, praised in bardic poetry, was preserved and lived in by members of the Brynker family until their demise in the 1760s. After which, it appears that artisan craftsmen continued the historic tradition of extending earlier structures, thus, by 1900, Brynkir was highly representative of country houses across

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[287] The ten notebooks of Joseph Gulston (1745-86) contain many descriptions and comments on the domestic architecture of south Wales and for part of the muniments of the Stepney-Gulston family of Derwydd, deposited at Carmarthenshire County Record Office.

Wales, being evolutionary in nature and design. No single explanation will suffice as to how different forms of dwelling emerge, as individuals each respond differently to the same social, cultural, economic, ritual and physical factors. Rapoport comments that, even though factors and responses may change gradually over time, the lack of rapid change and the persistence of form are characteristics of vernacular architecture.[288] In a Welsh context, this is illustrated by the use of crow-stepped gables in north Wales between the 1560s and the early nineteenth century. Recognised as entirely unique to the region when first introduced by Flemish designers in the mid sixteenth century, two hundred years later they were perceived to be old fashioned and fell out of use. Understanding the identity and character of the culture of the Welsh gentry, the choices that this group made - in response to both physical and cultural variables - become much clearer. As with the example of partible inheritance (*gavelkind*), this specific characteristic of Welsh law and its continued cultural practice impacted directly on the country houses of Wales in the form of the unit-system. Adaptations to buildings do not always occur simply because they are possible; rather they occur because there is always a desire for change. In Wales, when there is easy access to elite architecture, either through links with the royal courts or through contact with visitors from outside, it was the choice of vernacular design that stands out. As Rapoport concludes, 'even when the physical possibilities are numerous, the actual choices may be severely limited by the cultural matrix; this limitation may be the most typical aspect of the dwellings and settlements of a culture.'[289] It is often what a culture makes '*impossible* by prohibiting it either explicitly or implicitly, rather than what it makes inevitable, which is significant.'[290] What is crucial to the understanding of how these houses came to be is the creator's vision of an ideal life. The contrast seen between the contemporaneous mansions of Plas Teg and Ruperra Castle encapsulates one aspect of Welsh gentry aspiration: the pull between archaism and

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[288] Ibid.
[289] Ibid., p. 47.
[290] Ibid.

modernity, the link between ancestral lands and the creation of new dynasties. Plas Teg was at the forefront of modernity, whilst Ruperra reflected medieval design. Both reflect the environment sought by their respective families, who were part of the same social milieu, both Welsh, yet choosing different routes to express their identity.

Chapter 4: Survival or Revival? The Rise of the Architectural Professionalism in Wales

Introduction

The concept of survival and revival, used throughout this thesis, is central to understanding the development of the country house in Wales. It illustrates the movement from vernacular building by artisan craftsmen to polite architecture, based on pattern books or designed by architects. This chapter examines the houses that were built by architects, and which did not always follow the traditional pattern of building discussed in earlier chapters. By way of contrast, it returns to the houses analysed in Chapter 3, contrasting their redevelopment by their new owners with what had gone before. Three of these - Brynkir, Hafodunos and Llantysilio - are considered as in-depth case studies. A complex mixture of social, cultural and economic forces are demonstrated by the case studies, with both internal and external influences discussed, dictating the way in which houses in Wales were formed. The gentry of Wales and their successors were far from isolated, and it is important to consider the choices they made when determining the design of their houses. Rapoport emphasises this point by recognising the impact of the broader cultural matrix: 'even when the physical possibilities are numerous, the actual choices may be severely limited […] this limitation may be the most typical aspect of the dwellings and settlements of a culture.'[1] What had been historically forced upon Welsh gentry - through the medieval laws - became accepted practice, then became tradition, forming the essential ingredients of conspicuous display - as illustrated in the discussion of the unit-system in Chapter 3. This was reinforced by a corpus of bardic poetry that emphasised pedigree, hospitality and the physical embodiment of the house as representing the family. In this chapter, we consider another form of embodiment: that of the replacement house. As previously stated, nearly all of the houses of the *yr uchelwyr* were

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[1] A. Rapoport, *House form and culture* (Upper Saddle River, 1969), p. 47.

palimpsests, with evidence of work dating from the sub-medieval period through to the twentieth century (see figure 39). However, the houses of the industrialists were often completely new builds, and retained little historic fabric from the previous buildings. This chapter reviews the houses of *yr uchelwyr* which were altered or rebuilt using architects; it asks: was there was a continuum of traditions, or do the alterations signify a break with the past?
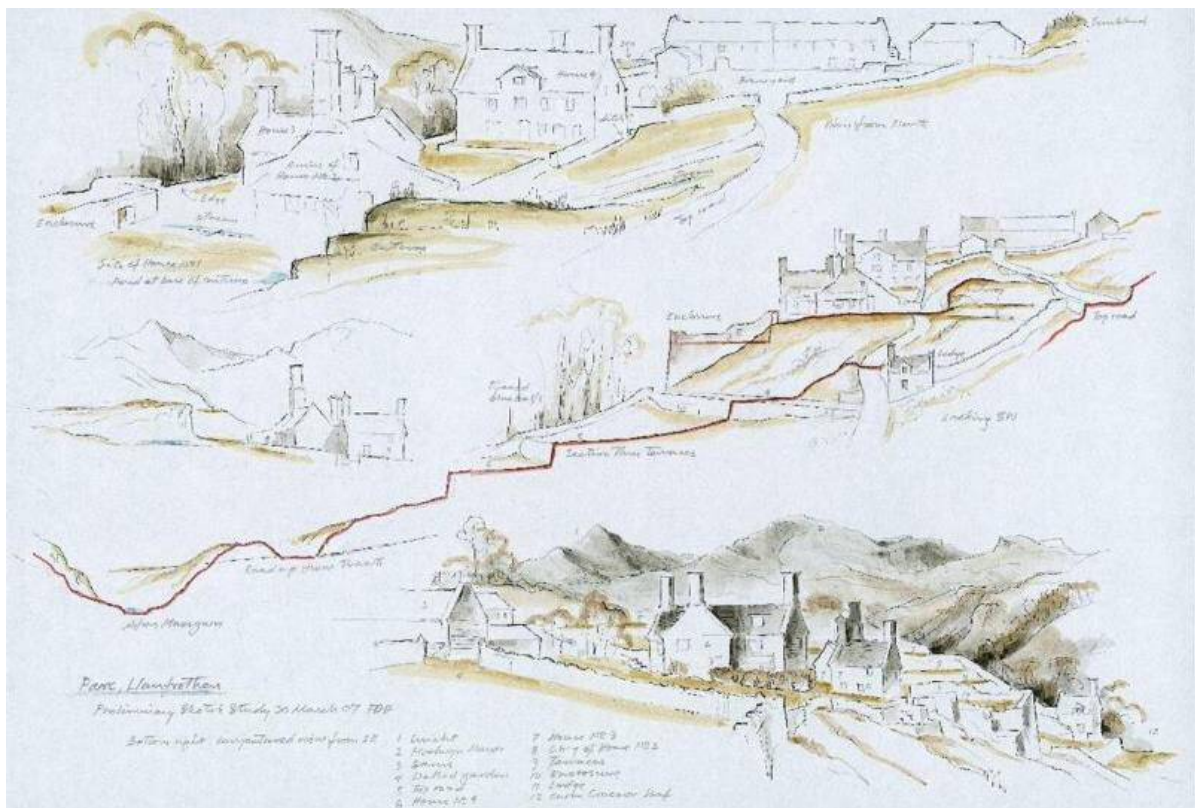
Figure 39: *A sketch by Falcon Hildred showing various elevations of Parc, Llanfrothen, one of the most famous examples of the unit-system arrangement in Wales, and a house that was continually enlarged until the twentieth century.* RCAHMW: C553209

In Britain in the year 1700, there was little consensus on what was meant by the term architect, and how this title differed from that of certain other professions, including mason, carpenter, surveyor and engineer. During the eighteenth century, the emergence of educated clients, (wishing to emulate their peers), together with the widespread availability of pattern books and experienced local craftsmen were all pivotal in the movement from vernacularism to professionalism. Key figures in the development of English architectural professionalism,

such as Robert Smythson, Inigo Jones, Sir Christopher Wren and Sir John Soane, defined a new approach to architecture, distinct from that of the craft guilds that had previously dominated the building profession.[2] Design skill was the foremost skill of a professional architect, often grounded in classical study (which was not available to most artisan craftsmen due to the required finances for extended foreign travel). In Scotland and Wales, this process may have been much slower, as shown by Drumlanrig Castle, Dumfriesshire, built between 1675 and 1689, which was directly derived by the medieval military architecture of Scotland.[3] Drumlanrig exhibits the Scottish approach to country house building as the 'architecture of ancestry', in the traditional belief that noblemen were judged by the achievements of their ancestors. It also is derived from designs found in Jacques Androuet du Cerceau's *Les Plus Excellents Bastiments de France* (1576, second volume 1579) and his *Livre d'Architecture* (1582).[4] In contrast, Sir William Bruce (*c*.1630-1710), building his own home at Kinross (1686-93), broke with tradition and designed a house that took inspiration from chateau architecture seen around Versailles. Scottish estates towards the end of the seventeenth century did not generate much profit, so monies were sought elsewhere, in particular from the Treasury. A parallel can be made with France, where the wealth of the French middles classes was acquired by methods which 'were mainly disreputable, largely through the exploitation of the loose financial administration of the Government'.[5] Nicolas Fouquet, creator of Vaux-le-Vicomte[6] (constructed 1658-61), was a man of immense wealth who spent it discriminately, employing the best architects and artists. Charles Wemyss proposes that William Bruce's rise in fortune appears to have been

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[2] B. Kaye, *The Development of the Architectural Profession in Britain: A Sociological Study* (London, 1960), p. 12; F. Jenkins, *Architect and Patron: A Survey of Professional Relations and Practice in England From the Sixteenth Century to the Present Day* (Oxford, 1961), p. 48; J. Wilton-Ely, 'The Professional Architect in England', in *The Architect: Chapters in the History of the Profession*, ed. by S. Kostof (Oxford, 1977), pp.180-208.

[3] J. Summerson, *Architecture in Britain, 1530-1830* (London, 1953), p. 334.

[4] C. Wemyss, *The Noble Houses of Scotland* (London, 2014), pp. 192-201.

[5] A. Blunt, *Art and Architecture in France, 1500-1700* (London, 1999), p. 128.

[6] Designed by Louis Le Vau (1612-1670).

established in a similar way.[7] For Scottish country house owners, the building of Kinross presented an alternative to the 'architecture of ancestry' followed by the nobility. Bruce wanted to be judged on his own achievements, rather than those of his ancestors, and the decisive break with traditional house building was key to this. It would be after the Acts of Union that his architectural mode would find favour, presenting an alternative way in which houses could be designed. In effect, it presented his successors with a choice between the castle and the country house. Bruce goes against the stereotype of the English gentleman-architect, as demonstrated by his accruing of wealth through tax farming from the Scottish Treasury.

During the first half of the eighteenth century many Welsh patrons were still employing their local craftsmen, but a change occurred *c.*1750, which was propelled by two main proponents: firstly, the rise of industrialisation, and secondly, the picturesque movement. The emergence of the skilled artisan, as shown in the previous chapters, was an essential factor in country house building, arguably remaining so into the nineteenth century, providing a practical knowledge of local building materials and construction techniques. The persevering nature of this skilled group can be partly attributed to the relative isolation of parts of Wales and its gentry, both physically and psychologically, from England.

A hundred years later, in 1800, there was a growing expectation that public works and private houses were to be designed and their construction supervised by professional architects.[8] The three main case studies in this chapter illustrate this change: Brynkir used all local building craftsmen, copying other villas built in the immediate area; Llantysilio, was constructed using a provincial architect, while Hafodunos, was built and overseen by one of the highest profile architects of the mid-nineteenth century: Sir George Gilbert Scott. This

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[7] C. Wemyss's keynote lecture on Sir William Bruce of Kinross, 23.4.15, at the University of Edinburgh's conference, 'The Architecture of Scotland in its European Setting, 1660-1750'.
[8] F. Jenkins, *Architect and Patron: A Survey of Professional Relations and Practice in England From the Sixteenth Century to the Present Day* (Oxford, 1961), p. 48.

change in approach to country house construction was a national trend: 'the building industry was no longer dominated by craft-trained artisans and artistic patrons, but by middling professionals increasingly vocal in their disdain for those with manual skills and drawing upon an aesthetic education to underpin their expertise.'[9]

The Rise of Architectural Practice in Wales

Antiquarian study of historic buildings, in particular medieval cathedrals and military ruins, dominated eighteenth-century architectural scholarship. Critical analysis was often lacking. But this work was conducted by means of careful recording, and the illustrations of the day set a high standard for future publication.[10] An interest in detailed, correct representation was a feature of architectural publishing in the nineteenth century - a period greatly influenced by the works of Robert Willis (1800-1875) amongst others.[11] Both amateurs and professionals travelled across Europe and the Near East on Grand Tours, returning to record correct plans and drawings of monuments and standing structures, which were then interpreted and employed in British architecture. This access to primary source material set the artist-architect apart from the provincial counterpart. John Ruskin's (1819-1900) tours across Europe, and their written accounts, had a profound effect on architectural practice in Britain.[12] This transfer of ideas and understanding led to such archaeologically influenced movements as the picturesque and the gothic revival.[13]

Artisans, such as carpenters and masons, undertook much of the design work for the houses of *yr uchelwyr*, and the etymology of *pensaer* (architect or head 'wright') shows the

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[9] R.M. Pears, 'William Newton (1730-1798) and the development of the architectural profession in north-east England', Newcastle University PhD Thesis (2013), pp. 5-6.
[10] N. Pevsner, *Some Architectural Writers of the Nineteenth Century* (Oxford, 1972), pp. 52-61.
[11] B. Marsden, 'Willis, Robert (1800–1875)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Oct 2009, URL: http://www.oxforddnBCom/view/article/29584, [accessed 18.2.2014]
[12] R. Hewison, 'Ruskin, John (1819–1900)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Sept 2013, URL: http://www.oxforddnBCom/view/article/24291, [accessed 18.2.2014]
[13] For a historiography see C. Gerrard, *Medieval Archaeology: Understanding Traditions and Contemporary Approaches* (London, 2003).

evolution of the profession in Wales: *saermaen* for stonemasons, *saercoed* for carpenters.[14]

Unlike Scotland, which maintained its own building traditions from governmental level until the eighteenth century, Wales's artisan craftsmen were restricted by the lack of any equivalent central drive - either by an elite or government - for the development of palace-like houses or large-scale civic buildings. As shown by the typology of house building outlined in Chapter 3, vernacular building techniques and layouts were prevalent in Wales well into the eighteenth century. An early description of the role of an architect can be found in Campbell's *London Tradesmen*:

> An architect is one who draws the design and plan of [a building], where he describes in profile the whole building; all its proportional dimensions; every member of the building is exactly delineated […] Besides this plan he generally forms a model in wood, with the same exactness as before […] When the employer has fixed upon the plan they then agree upon the price and the architect either undertakes the whole work for a certain sum, or is paid for superintending the work only […]An architect properly ought to be of no other employ; but he must be a judge of work and how it is executed to his design. He must know the secrets of […] all branches employed in building. His education ought to be liberal and his head mathematically and geometrically turned; he must be well-versed in the theory and practice of figures, but above all eminent in design and invention.[15]

Conversely, in 1755, Dr Johnson's dictionary defined an architect as 'a professor of the art of building' and 'a builder', whilst a builder was also defined as 'an architect'.[16] Until the mid-nineteenth century, there was no clear distinction between the professions of architect, surveyor and civil engineer. The Institute of British Architects, founded in 1834 and receiving its Royal Charter in 1837, began the process of formalising training and the development of architecture as a distinct profession.[17] Prior to this, pupillage had been varied in terms of the quality of its training, despite the charging of fees. John Mordaunt Crook noted that the system of pupillage was inconsistent and was dependent upon the willingness

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[14] T. Lloyd, 'The emergence of the architectural profession in Wales', *AC*, 157 (2008), p. 4.

[15] R. Campbell, *The London Tradesman. Being a compendious view of all the trades, professions, arts, both liberal and mechanic, now practised in the cities of London and Westminster. Calculated for the information of parents, and instruction of youth in their choice of business* (London, 1747).

[16] S. Johnson, *A Dictionary of the English Language*, 2 vols. (London, 1755-56).

[17] URL: http://www.oxforddnb.com/public/themes/97/97265.html [accessed 29.9.2011]. RIBA was established sixty-three years after the Institute for Engineers had been founded.

of the established architect to educate their protégés; the training relied on repetition rather than rewarding variety in design.[18] This training followed the precedent set by the Office of Works, which had persons such as Nicholas Hawksmoor, William Kent and James Paine amongst its ranks.[19] The Society of Civil Engineers was founded in 1771 by John Smeaton (1724-92), and it was the engineer, employed as County Surveyor, who maintained the county roads and bridges, also taking on country house design during the latter part of the eighteenth-century.[20]

Provincial architects are well documented in the Pevsner *Buildings of Wales* series, a brief overview of the architectural development of the country houses, cataloguing the named architects and their known works, and also including those houses without certain attribution.[21] Classicising aestheticism was the driving force behind the alteration of houses in Wales post-1750, coinciding with the rise of industry and the influx of new families, whose wealth brought a new generation of wealthy patrons. As seen elsewhere in Britain, the development of technology and manufacturing techniques were pervasive, and the diversity of choices available for building had a profound effect. Peter Smith states that 'at a time when the prosperous farmer might be building a simple version of a gentry house of the age of Anne, the greater landowner or industrialist was being tempted into erecting a highly improbable Romanesque castle or Perpendicular manor house.'[22] This expansion of Wales's architectural vocabulary is reflected both in its art and country houses, principally the houses

[18] J.M. Crook, 'The pre-Victorian architect: Professionalism and Patronage', *AH*, 12 (1969), pp. 64-70.
[19] H.M. Colvin's *History of the King's Works* also created a precedent for historic building analysis. The six-volume set, published in 1963-1982, combined documentary analysis and building surveys. This established a basis from which archaeologists could interpret structures - using parameters that had an objective base - and provided a systematic approach to the enterprise.
[20] A. Saint, *Architect and Engineer: A Study in Sibling Rivalry* (New Haven and London, 2007). See Chapter 5 of this thesis and the discussion of James Defferd's employment in northwest Wales.
[21] R. Haslam, *The buildings of Wales: Powys (Montgomeryshire, Radnorshire and Breconshire)* (London, 1979; 2013) (rev. R. Scourfield and R. Haslam); E. Hubbard, *The buildings of Wales: Clwyd (Denbighshire and Flintshire)* (London, 1986); J. Newman, *The buildings of Wales: Glamorgan* (London, 1995); J. Newman, *The buildings of Wales: Gwent/Monmouthshire* (London, 2000); T. Lloyd, J. Orbach & R. Scourfield, *The buildings of Wales: Pembrokeshire* (London, 2004); T. Lloyd, J. Orbach & R. Scourfield, *The buildings of Wales: Carmarthenshire and Ceredigion* (London, 2006); R. Haslam, J. Orbach & A. Voelcker, *The buildings of Wales: Gwynedd* (London, 2009).
[22] Smith, *Houses of the Welsh Countryside* (London, 1988), p. 321.

of the richer gentry, and the new, incoming industrial families. Cardiff University's Salisbury Collection and the Georgian Group's Pardoe Collection both chronicle this change through their collections of original art works and prints. An early proponent of the expanding Welsh vision was Richard Wilson (1712/13–1782), descended from the Wynnes of Leeswood, Mold, Flintshire, one of north Wales's gentry families.[23] Wilson was one of the first artists to relate the Welsh landscape to that of Italy, a concept recently highlighted by National Museum of Wales, Cardiff/Yale Center for British Art, New Haven with their exhibition, *Richard Wilson (1714-1782) and the Transformation of European Landscape Painting[24]*, conference[25] and a major work re-evaluating Wilson's art.[26] His art had the patronage of Wilson's kinsmen within *yr uchelwyr*.[27] For example, the Jones family of Pentre Mawr, Abergele[28] were patrons of Wilson's, commissioning several portraits.[29]

The Effect of the Picturesque Movement on Architecture in Wales

In 1756 Edward Burke published his *Inquiry into the Origin of our Ideas of the Sublime and the Beautiful*, which recognised the sublime as a visual concept.[30] Vastness became a quality inherent to the sublime; a link with emotion was also thus formed, allowing passions and instinct to rule. Objects that affected these were said to give rise to fear, and were called the 'sublime', whilst those which awakened sensations of sex, tenderness or pleasure were

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[23] D.H. Solkin, 'Wilson, Richard (1712/13–1782)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Sept 2010 [URL: http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/29680, accessed 2811.2014].

[24] *Richard Wilson and the Transformation of European Landscape Painting*, Exhibition at National Museum Cardiff, 5.7.14 to 26.10.14.

[25] *Classical Celtic: Wales and Scotland in a Mediterranean Light*, 19.9.14. This conference was jointly organised by the University of Wales Centre for Advanced Welsh and Celtic Studies and National Museum Wales. It marks the start of a major AHRC-funded project run by CAWCS and the University of Glasgow: *Curious Travellers: Thomas Pennant and the Welsh and Scottish Tour 1760-1815*.

[26] M. Postle & R. Simon (eds.), *Richard Wilson and the Transformation of European Landscape Painting* (London, 2014).

[27] See R. Baker, 'The Family of Richard Wilson RA and its Welsh Connections', *FHSJ*, 35 (1999).

[28] See chapter 4 for a discussion of the architectural history of Pentre Mawr, Abergele, Conwy.

[29] T. Nicholas, *Annals and Antiquities of the Counties and County Families of Wales* (London, 1872), p. 411.

[30] See E. Burke, *A Philosophical Enquiry into the Origin of Our Ideas of the Sublime and Beautiful* (London, 1756).

termed 'beautiful.' [31] Burke believed that human emotion was only experienced by the immediate reaction, through physical impulses, that objects aroused. A review of eighteenth-century concepts of sublimity and beauty is particularly useful in understanding why Wales so fitted these ideals. Christopher Hussey discussed in detail the ways in which the sublime was broken down into individual forms; these included obscurity, power, privations, vastness, infinity, succession, uniformity, roughness and surprise. Beauty's attributes were smallness, smoothness, gradual variation, delicacy of form, colour and subtlety. [32] On the borders of Wales, in Herefordshire and Shropshire, were based the two most influential men in forming the picturesque movement: Richard Payne Knight [33] (1750-1824) and Uvedale Price [34] (1747-1829). They built on Burke's ideology, and a more sophisticated doctrine was thus developed, which argued that the inherent qualities of a landscape must always be taken into account, and that any landscaping served to strengthen these qualities through intelligent correction and manipulation. [35] William Gilpin's exploratory tours in Wales brought the Principality to the fore of the burgeoning tourist market, in terms of attractiveness to adherents of the picturesque. In particular, it was the publication of *Observations on the River Wye* - based upon a tour during the summer of 1770 - that facilitated the movement and helped to change the way in which people viewed landscapes and their role in conjunction with architecture. [36]

As Wales was becoming a tourist destination during the late-eighteenth century, it was also being chosen as a home to many new wealthy, entrepreneurial families, who either came with money or based themselves near to their sources of income. The exploitation of

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[31] C. Hussey, *The Picturesque: Studies in a Point of View* (London, 1928), p. 57.

[32] Ibid., pp. 59-60.

[33] C. Stumpf-Condry, S. J. Skedd, 'Knight, Richard Payne (1751–1824)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, May 2014 [URL: http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/15733, accessed 28.11.2014].

[34] D. Whitehead, 'Price, Sir Uvedale, first baronet (1747–1829)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Oct 2007 [URL: http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/22769, accessed 28.11.2014].

[35] M. Lewis, *The Gothic Revival* (London, 2002), p. 43.

[36] See W. Gilpin, *Observations on the River Wye* (London, 1782).

mineral resources was fully realised by the Industrial Revolution in Wales, a movement greatly stimulated by the requirements (particularly for iron) of the Napoleonic wars. This new wealth led to ambitious new buildings being attempted by *yr uchelwyr* and their industrialist counterparts, with the latter greatly influencing the former. The chief areas of this expansion were the coal and iron districts of Monmouthshire and Glamorgan, with the smaller scale coal, iron, and lead works of Flintshire and Denbighshire, and the slate quarries of Gwynedd.[37] Coal-mining was to dominate Wales for nearly two-hundred years before the rapid diminishment of the industry in the 1980s and 1990s. The impact of the income from the coal industry cannot be underestimated in terms of the urban expansion of the towns and cities of south Wales, and for the building and furnishing of the country houses of the region. For the duration of the nineteenth century, many elite south Wales gentry families, such as the Butes of Cardiff Castle, were sustained by the wealth brought in by coal. The steadiness of their income enabled the long-term patronage of architects such as William Burges, and the creation of houses palatial in scale and contents.[38] The development of ports for import and export grew in conjunction with the improvement of roads, and the resultant 'opening up' of Wales. Turnpikes enabled communication between the more remote regions of Britain with London, and this no doubt hastened the transference of ideas more easily. These roads created an integral infrastructure for turning what were once distant and isolated areas into new territory for expansion.

The Great Re-building of Wales: Country houses and their Designers

Thomas Lloyd, in his presidential address for the Cambrian Archaeological Society[39] and subsequent article for *Archaeologia Cambrensis*,[40] cites many architects employed in Wales

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[37] Smith, *Houses of the Welsh Countryside* (London, 1988), p. 321.
[38] *South Wales Daily News*'s articles on the country houses of south Wales 1909-1913 bear witness to this. For a history of the coal industry see J. Ulric Nef, *The Rise of the British Coal Industry*, 2 vols. (London, 1932).
[39] Delivered by T. Lloyd at the 154th Annual Summer Meeting, held at Carmarthen.

prior to *c.*1750 who were connected to the London Welsh, noting that the absence of architectural practices in Wales was due to the relative poverty of the Province, especially in the remote northwest and western regions.[41] This is corroborated by the relatively few entirely 'modern' houses being built in Wales up to this point. Those being commissioned were from either the wealthiest of *yr uchelwyr* or industrial families. Hilling's *The Historic Architecture of Wales* does not cover the eighteenth century in any depth. The book reviews for *Antiquity* and *The Society of Architectural Historians of Great Britain*, highlight the lack of research into architectural studies in Wales at this point.[42] It is suggested by this thesis that local builders, using pattern books and architectural engravings, were responsible for the building of many of the great houses, tending to be rather simple in form and layout, with little decoration or embellishment.[43]

The search for attribution has been a continuous, underlying topic in the study of Welsh country houses during the last fifty years. Howard Colvin's article for *Architectural History* in 1982 carefully dissected the plan, structure and decoration of Tredegar House, Newport, in order to identify the designer.[44] Tredegar House was rebuilt on a lavish scale between 1664 and 1672, with work commissioned by Sir William Morgan (c.1640-1680) at his family's ancestral home, incorporating the original sub-medieval house.[45] Tree ring dating has dated the primary timbers of the sub-medieval house to a felling date range of 1544-74.[46] The mid-sixteenth century house was partially reconstructed following a fire, and had a

[40] T. Lloyd, 'The emergence of the architectural profession in Wales', *AC*, 157 (2008), pp. 1-8.
[41] Ibid., pp. 2-3.
[42] W. G. Thomas, 'John B. Hilling: The historic architecture of Wales: an introduction', *Antiquity*, 52 (1978), pp. 65-6; M. Allentuck, 'John B. Hilling, The Historic Architecture of Wales' *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, 37 (1978), p. 116.
[43] See Appendix N. Welsh pattern books appeared from the 1780s, notably James Lewis's Original Designs in Architecture. J. Lewis, *Original Designs in Architecture: Consisting of Plans, Elevations, and Sections for Villas, Mansions, Town-houses, &c. and a New Design for a Theatre* (n.p., 1780).
[44] H. Colvin, 'An architect for Tredegar House?', *AH*, 25 (1982), pp. 6-9.
[45] Ibid., pp.6-7.
[46] Anon., 'National Tree-ring Dating Programme', *VA,* 42 (2011), pp. 115-16.

felling date range of 1624-54.[47] The main building had felling dates of winter 1666/67, winter 1670/71 and winter 1671/72.[48] Colvin suggests, on the basis of the plan and elevation, that the most likely 'artisan architect' was Roger or William Hurlbutt, whose work at Maiden Bradley, Wiltshire, he cited as being comparable.[49] Richard Suggett, however, suggests that Tredegar has closer stylistic parallels with Sir Roger Pratt's Clarendon House (built 1664-67),[50] a conclusion that is also supported by tree-ring dating.[51] Tredegar House is unique in Wales in terms of its scale, form and decoration. It is an evolutionary house even though the Restoration front masks the earlier structures.

The Employment of Architects in the Houses of *yr uchelwyr*

London-based architects (appointed by Welsh gentry who also had London houses), received commissions from across Wales. The brothers Samuel (1737-1807), Benjamin (1744-1818) and James Wyatt (1746-1813) were all employed in north Wales during the last quarter of the eighteenth century, while in south Wales during the same period were working Robert Adam (1728-1792), Henry Holland (1745-1806), John Johnson (1732-1814), Samuel Pepys Cockerell (1753-1827) and Sir John Soane (1753-1837), while Robert Lugar (1733-1855) in the 1820s and 1830s, carried out many commissions in southeast Wales. It is important to note that some of these 'national' architects did not necessarily view themselves as architects per se. Robert Adam and James Paine described themselves as 'artists' rather than architects, leading to architectural historians giving them the designation of artist-architects.[52]

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[47] Ibid.
[48] Ibid.
[49] H. Colvin, 'An architect for Tredegar House?', *AH*, 25 (1982), p.7.
[50] J. Bold, 'Pratt, Sir Roger (*bap.* 1620, *d.* 1685)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [URL: http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/22708, accessed 27.11.2014].
[51] URL: http://www.coflein.gov.uk/en/site/20907/details/TREDEGAR+HOUSE%2C+NEWPORT/ [accessed 27.11.14].
[52] R. Adam & J. Adam, *The Works in Architecture of Robert and James Adam* (London, 1778), p. 2; J. Paine, *Plans, Elevations and Sections, of Noblemen and Gentlemen's Houses, and also of Stabling, Bridges, Public and Private, Temples and Other Garden Buildings* (London, 1767), p. ii.

Penrhyn Castle, Bangor, Gwynedd, was a medieval manor house, which had been granted a licence to crenellate, and survived relatively untouched until the 1780s.[53] Samuel Wyatt (1737–1807), was employed by Richard Pennant (1737-1808) to remodel Penrhyn in 1782.[54] Pennant had entered Parliament as MP for Petersfield in Hampshire in 1761, and maintained a parliamentary seat for nearly twenty years.[55] Wyatt was well-known in north Wales having been employed across the Menai Strait by the Williams-Bulkeleys to remodel the Jacobean mansion of Baron Hill, Beaumaris, in 1776.[56] At Penrhyn, as at Baron Hill, Wyatt used the structure and plan of the original houses as a point of reference in his design.[57] The cellars were retained, together with the medieval circular staircase turret; although altered, the great hall was converted into a centrally approached entrance hall, placed at the heart of the now symmetrical 'U-shaped' house.[58] This inclusion of historic fabric was a feature of houses across Britain, and shows that families chose to reduce their financial expenditure at this time. This suggests that many of *yr uchelwyr* simply could not afford to undertake wholescale building projects, preferring to reduce the total cost by adapting what they already had. At Penrhyn, castellations were added to match the surviving tower and to bring harmony to the whole design; and the detached medieval chapel was moved a few hundred feet away from the new house in order to make it feel more a part of the picturesque landscaped park.[59] Wyatt used yellow mathematical tiles[60] hung on the exterior walls in order to resemble brick.[61] Wyatt's Penrhyn did not survive for long, and was

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[53] Cadw Listing Description for Penrhyn Castle, Bangor, Gwynedd.
[54] J.M. Robinson, *The Wyatts: An Architectural Dynasty* (Oxford, 1979), p. 258.
[55] J. Lindsay, 'Pennant, Richard, Baron Penrhyn (*c.*1737–1808)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [URL: http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/21859, accessed 28.11.2014]
[56] M. Baker, 'Baron Hill and Garthewin - A Comparison', (unpublished BA dissertation, Bangor, 2006), p. 4.
[57] Ibid.
[58] Cadw Listing Description for Penrhyn Castle, Bangor, Gwynedd.
[59] Haslam, Orbach and Voelcker, *The Buildings of Wales: Gwynedd* (London, 2009), p. 39.
[60] This type of external covering was common alternative to brickwork, often added to timber-framed buildings, and was particulary favoured in exposed areas, such as coastal regions. Many examples survive in Brighton, where Henry Holland used them for his design of Marine Pavilion.
[61] National Trust, *Penrhyn Castle* (London, 2001), p. 11.

then entombed within Thomas Hopper's vast Norman edifice, built for George Hay Dawkins-Pennant (1764-1840) between 1820 and 1838.[62]

Similarly, at the core of Penpont, Brecon, Powys, is a sixteenth-century house called Abercamlais Isaf. To this house was added a double-pile two-storey with attic house, built in 1666 by Daniel Williams, a descendant of the Williams family of nearby Abercamlais, Brecon.[63] Departing from this form of vernacular architecture, Penpont was remodelled in 1802 for Penry Williams by Charles Wallis of Bristol.[64] Penpont's most striking feature is its Doric portico, which runs along the entire front of the house and comprises twenty-two grouped columns.[65] A similar scheme was used at Glansevern Hall, near Welshpool, Powys, built c.1801 by the architect Joseph Bromfield in the Greek revival style for Sir Arthur Davies-Owen (1752-1837).[66]

Provincial architects were often based in English border towns such as Shrewsbury, Chester and Bristol, procuring commissions in Wales. This group of practitioners were pivotal agents in the diffusion of 'national' architectural tastes across Britain. As shown by R.M. Pear's thesis on the development of the architectural profession in north-east England, provincial architects created patronage networks that were local rather than national.[67] Larger estates retained craftsmen who undertook essential repairs and small-scale alterations, but for newly established families, it was necessary for them to seek out recommendations for reliable tradesmen and the source of this information generally was the provincial architect.

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[62] Cadw/ICOMOS, *Register of Parks and Gardens in Wales: Conwy, Gwynedd and the Isle of Anglesey* (Cardiff, 1998), pp. 251-2. The plan of the medieval house, and its retention within the later accretions, was recorded by RCAHMW and published in their Caernarvonshire Inventory.

[63] T. Nicholas, *Annals and Antiquities of the Counties and County Families of Wales* (London, 1872), p.122 and Cadw Listed Building Description for Penpont. URL: http://www.britishlistedbuildings.co.uk/wa-6802-penpont-including-attached-conservatory-an [accessed 28.11.14].

[64] J.P. Neale, *Views of the Seats of Noblemen and Gentlemen, in England, Wales, Scotland, and Ireland*, *Volume 5* (London, 1828), n.p and Cadw /ICOMOS, *Register of Landscapes, Parks and Gardens of Special Historic Interest in Wales: Powys* (Cardiff, 1999), pp. 194-200.

[65] R. Haslam, *The Buildings of Wales, Powys* (London: 1979), pp. 367-8.

[66] C. Hussey, *Late Georgian, 1800-1840* (London, 1958), p. 153.

[67] R.M. Pears, 'William Newton (1730-1798) and the development of the architectural profession in north-east England', Newcastle University PhD Thesis (2013), p. 10.

Thomas Farnolls Pritchard of Shrewsbury (1723-77) undertook work at Powis Castle,[68] while Thomas Harrison (1744-1829) and Thomas Jones (1794-1859), both of Chester, dominated the country house market in north Wales during the early part of the nineteenth century. Likewise, Edward Haycock (*c*.1790-1870) of Shrewsbury, was prolific in Shropshire, the Welsh marches and south Wales, designing Clytha Court, Monmouthshire (1824-8). [69] Harrison's pupil, Thomas Penson (1790-1859) of Oswestry, was prolific in the Marches, no doubt reinforced by his appointment as County Surveyor for Montgomeryshire, and Denbighshire.[70]

Joseph Turner (1729-1807), was north Wales based, and operated in Flintshire and Denbighshire, specialising in country houses, as well as civic buildings. [71] His work at Garthewin, Llanfairtalhaiarn, Conwy, was by adding a new classical front to a much older house for the Wynne family, *c*.1770, and nearby at Dyffryn Aled, Llansannan, Conwy, where a large new build house was constructed on a grander scale than Garthewin.[72] John Cooper, employed originally by Samuel Wyatt, was introduced to north Wales to supervise construction of Baron Hill, Beaumaris, Anglesey in the late-1770s, later practising as an architect out of Beaumaris. Wyatt was not often present to supervise Baron Hill so employed as clerk of the works. This often was a common occurrence at the time for London-based architects, as shown by Sir John Soane's 'clerks of the works' often taking on the role of designer. After that, Soane did not respond to enquiries. [73] Cooper was a skilled artisan craftsmen who had, through experience of working with a leading architect, is this case, Samuel Wyatt, acquired new skills and the ability to supervise a large scale building

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[68] J. Ionides, *Thomas Farnolls Pritchard of Shrewsbury: Architect and 'Inventor of Cast Iron Bridges'* (Ludlow, 1998), p. 89.
[69] J. Orbach & R. Scourfield, *The buildings of Wales: Carmarthenshire and Ceredigion* (London, 2006), pp. 68-69.
[70] R. Haslam, *The buildings of Wales: Powys (Montgomeryshire, Radnorshire and Breconshire)* (London, 1979; 2013) (rev. R. Scourfield and R. Haslam), pp. 59-60.
[71] E. Hubbard, *The Buildings of Wales: Clwyd (Denbighshire and Flintshire)* (Harmondsworth, 1986), pp. 57-8.
[72] Cadw Listed Building Description. URL: http://www.coflein.gov.uk/pdf/CPG057/ [accessed 21.3.15].
[73] H.M. Colvin, *A Biographical Dictionary of British Architects 1600-1850* (New Haven, Conn., 1954), p. 23.

operation at Bodorgan.[74] In south Wales, Anthony Keck (1726-97) of Gloucestershire, worked on several notable houses in the last quarter of the eighteenth century, and Thomas Baldwin of Bath (c.1750-1820) was brought by Thomas Johnes to design Hafod in 1786.[75] The building, and rebuilding of Hafod provided an opportunity for skilled craftsmen, based permanently in Cardiganshire, to establish reputations as competent tradesmen, which may have contributed to the development of Aberystwyth as a fashionable town on the west coast, with seaside villas, town houses and commercial development. This type of building pattern can be seen in towns such as Beaumaris, Bangor, Caernarfon, Porthmadog, Aberaeron, Abergele and so on.

The Myddletons of Chirk Castle were of Welsh descent, having adopted the anglicised surname during the fifteenth century.[76] They purchased Chirk Castle, Chirk, Wrexham, from Lord St. John in 1595, and proceeded to convert the medieval fortress into a country house.[77] Centuries later, within the medieval remains of Ruthin Castle, Ruthin, Denbighshire, the Ruthin heiress, Maria Myddleton (d.1843) built a Gothick-revival house, dated 1825-6.[78] Maria's son, Frederick Richard West commissioned Henry Clutton to remodel and enlarge his mother's house.[79] Between 1848 and 1853, Clutton dwarfed the gothick mansion, raising a new castle in red sandstone with a mixture of Gothic and Tudor revival styles.[80] Despite being from an old Welsh family, very little reference was made by West to this identity in the decoration of the house. In south Wales, adaptation of medieval remains can be seen at Cardiff Castle, which was redeveloped post-1776 by Henry Holland,[81] following unexecuted designs by Robert Adam. Capability Brown was employed to re-

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[74] V.E. Mapp, 'The rebuilding of Bodorgan Hall', *Transactions of the Anglesey Antiquarian Society* (1983), pp. 41-85.
[75] J. Orbach & R. Scourfield, *The buildings of Wales: Carmarthenshire and Ceredigion* (London, 2006), p. 66.
[76] J.E. Griffith, *Pedigrees of Anglesey and Caernarvonshire Families* (London, 1914), p. 285.
[77] Ibid. Between 1835-37, A.W. Pugin undertook alterations in the east range.
[78] P. Howell, 'Country Houses in the Vale of Clwyd II', *Country Life* (29.12.1977), pp. 1966-9.
[79] P. Hunting, 'Henry Clutton's Country Houses', *AH*, 26 (1983), p. 96.
[80] Ibid., p. 97.
[81] D. Watkin, 'Holland, Henry (1745–1806)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Sept 2013 [URL: http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/13524, accessed 27.11.2014]

landscape the grounds within the Roman and medieval walls, but the house lost a great deal of historic fabric in the process.[82] William Burges was employed in 1866 to remodel the apartments in high Victorian Gothic for the 3rd marquess of Bute, who also restored nearby Castell Coch.[83] The building of these castellated mansions within existing medieval castles, has been suggested by R.M. Pears as being a deliberate decision emphasising families' lineage and regional identity, with their alignment to national, classically-influenced tastes indicated by added structures and refitted interiors, which was also the case in northern England and Scotland.[84] Even in mid-nineteenth-century Wales, these fundamentals of gentry life were reflected in new build architecture. Near Pwllheli, Gwynedd, Plas Glyn-y-Weddw, which translates as the 'widow's glen mansion', was dower house to Madryn Castle. Henry Kennedy, a Bangor-based architect, designed the mansion in 1857 for Lady Elizabeth Love Jones Parry.[85] Kennedy and his client were influenced by the publication of the *Mabinogion* (which appeared in several volumes in 1838-1849), whose legendary tales centred on hospitality and the importance of the great hall in early medieval Wales. Respecting this principle, the house is arranged around a central, hammer beamed great hall, prominently displaying the heraldry of the Love Jones Parry family. The Perpendicular windows, with vibrant stained glass headers, were of especially high quality. They followed Thomas Rickman's pattern, as used at Gwrych Castle, Abergele, where Kennedy had previously worked extensively.

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[82] J. Newman, *The Buildings of Wales: Glamorgan* (London, 1995), p. 194.
[83] Ibid., p. 195.
[84] R.M. Pears, 'William Newton (1730-1798) and the development of the architectural profession in north-east England', Newcastle University PhD Thesis (2013), p. 14.
[85] URL: http://www.britishlistedbuildings.co.uk/wa-19237-plas-glyn-y-weddw-llanbedrog/ [accessed 2.1.15].

Industrialists and Country House Development

The newly-built houses of industrialists and incomers to Wales began to change the architecture of Welsh country houses, as new ideas and wealth entered the country. The Edisburys moved the short distance from Cheshire to Marchweil, Wrexham, in the sixteenth century, but it was not until the mid-seventeenth century that the family purchased the Erddig estate.[86] Erddig, near Wrexham, was designed in 1684 for Joshua Edisbury, High Sheriff of Denbighshire, by the 'obscure' architect, Thomas Webb of Middlewich, Cheshire.[87] Another early example is Pontypool Park, Pontypool, first built in 1694 by Major John Hanbury (1664-1734). Hanbury is acknowledged as being a pioneer of the tin-plate industry, and it was from this fortune that the picturesque parkland was formed.[88] The house was firstly extended in 1752-1765 but was then doubled in size during the late 1820s.[89] Hanbury also purchased the Jacobean mansion of Coldbrook, near Abergavenny in 1730.[90] It was radically altered by his fourth son, Sir Charles Hanbury-Williams in 1746, who had inherited the estate.[91] Sir Charles proceeded to modernise Coldbrook by adding a symmetrical Georgian facade, broken by a central Doric portico and a Venetian window above, but retaining the seventeenth century towers at each corner.[92] Cyfarthfa Castle, Merthyr Tydfil, by Richard Lugar, was built for the iron foundry masters, the Crawshays, in 1824-1825, as an architectural statement over Merthyr Tydfil and their nearby iron works.[93] Built of Pennant sandstone with a large stables and service section, the main reception rooms are, in contrast

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[86] T. Nicholas, *Annals and Antiquities of the Counties and County Families of Wales* (London, 1872), p.397.
[87] A. Gomme & A. Maguire, *Design and Plan in the Country House: from Castle Donjons to Palladian Boxes* (Oxford, 2008), p. 248-249.
[88] E. Whittle, *The Historic Gardens of Wales: An Introduction to Parks and Gardens in the History of Wales* (London, 1992), p. 41, p. 71.
[89] J. Newman, *The Buildings of Wales: Gwent/Monmouthshire* (London, 2000), p. 31.
[90] Ibid., p. 108.
[91] M. M. Stewart, 'Williams, Sir Charles Hanbury (1708–1759)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Jan 2008 [URL: http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/29488, accessed 28.11.2014]
[92] P. Smith, 'Coldbrook House' *AC*, 106 (1957), p. 64-71.
[93] J. Newman, *The Buildings of Wales: Glamorgan* (London, 1995), p. 65.

to the exterior, all neo-classical in detail except for a baronial entrance hall.[94] Maesllwch Castle, near Hay-on-Wye, Powys, is also by Lugar, and is comparable in plan to Glanusk, near Crickhowell, Powys.[95] Another picturesque-inspired house and landscape, situated on a hillside above Neath, was Gnoll Castle, outwardly similar to Robert Adam's Wenvoe Castle,[96] (situated southwest of Cardiff). Gnoll was remodelled in Robert Adam's castellated style in 1776 by John Johnson for Sir Herbert Mackworth.[97] The parkland surrounding the house was famed for its follies and water features.[98] When a new family purchased the estate of Middleton Hall, Carmarthenshire, the old house was converted into a farmhouse, and a new mansion was erected nearby.[99] This was designed by Samuel Pepys Cockerell for the Scottish merchant and banker, Sir William Paxton (1743/4-1834), between 1793 and 1795.[100] It was built with two grand facades: one with an imposing neo-classical pediment dominated by ionic columns and the other with a Venetian porch flanked by bronze statues.[101]

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[94] Cadw Listing Description, URL: http://www.britishlistedbuildings.co.uk/wa-11396-cyfartha-castle-brecon-road-park [accessed 28.11.14].

[95] J.B. Hilling, *The Historic Architecture of Wales* (Cardiff, 1976), p. 178.

[96] J. Newman, *The Buildings of Wales: Glamorgan* (London, 1995), p. 645.

[97] Ibid., pp. 461-3.

[98] E. Whittle, *The Historic Gardens of Wales: An Introduction to Parks and Gardens in the History of Wales* (London, 1992), p. 40.

[99] T. Lloyd, J. Orbach & R. Scourfield, *The buildings of Wales: Carmarthenshire and Ceredigion* (London, 2006), p. 234-5.

[100] Ibid. and Willem G. J. Kuiters, 'Paxton, Sir William (1743/4–1824)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004, URL: http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/53259 [accessed 27 .11.2014].

[101] T. Lloyd, J. Orbach & R. Scourfield, *The buildings of Wales: Carmarthenshire and Ceredigion* (London, 2006), p. 235.

The Development of Brynkir by the Huddart Family

As Thomas Lloyd states, 'after 1800, a clear pattern emerges. London architects make occasional appearances, usually for a rich client […] English provincial architects on the borders coalesced into small group[s]'.[102] The following three case studies look in-depth at how houses once owned by *yr uchelwyr* were rebuilt by their new owners, who completely redeveloped their newly purchased properties. The first study is an example of a new owner using artisan craftsmen/a provincial architect to build a Regency villa at Brynkir. It examines in detail the way in which the new house at Brynkir was built, particularly analysing the way in which the Huddart family managed the building project.

Captain Joseph Huddart (1741-1816) in 1809 purchased part of the Brynkir estate, whilst surveying coastal towns for the most suitable route for running the mail packet to Ireland.[103] Land ownership enabled a safe investment of wealth, as well as cementing a social position. The land market was competitive, and the desire for local dominance strong, particularly for a newly rich family, who had money but no kinship connections. Huddart was a polymath and a well-respected cartographer who had amassed a fortune and wanted to provide his family with a seat in north Wales. Porthmadog was by no means a backwater, and had been made famous by the work of William Maddocks, who had created a model town on an area of barren marsh, and called it Tremadoc. Captain Huddart and his son Sir Joseph (1767-1841) were both friends of Maddocks, who lived at Tan-yr-Allt, Tremadoc which he had bought in 1798.[104] The appearance of Huddart's villa has parallels with Maddock's Tan-yr-Allt, a pattern-book villa which would have been very familiar to Huddart and his building team. Maddocks had purchased an existing cottage, presumably for its views, and built a

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[102] T. Lloyd, 'The emergence of the architectural profession in Wales', *AC*, 157 (2008), p. 6.
[103] Porthmadog was being considered as part of a scheme involving its terminal at Porth Dinllaen, but Holyhead was chosen instead.
[104] The Huddarts had first met Maddocks when he was reclaiming the land at Traeth Mawr from the sea, with the building of the Cob, envisaging a shipping route to Ireland. The Huddart family played a major role in the Industrial Revolution in this part of Wales, and invested in the Ffestiniog Railway and numerous quarrying and mining ventures, including largely unsuccessful ones in and near Cwm Pennant.

Regency villa around it *c.*1800.[105] Tan-yr-Allt could be one of the first villas to be built in Wales. It was much copied, as the picturesque movement swept through Wales. The house was described by Percy Bysshe Shelley as a 'cottage extensive and tasty enough for the villa of an Italian Prince.'[106] Shelley found life in northwest Wales quite difficult, referring to the local society as 'very stupid. They are all aristocrats and saints […] the unpleasant part of the business is, that they hunt people to death, who are not so likewise.'[107] A purpose built villa, Hendre House, Llanrwst, was constructed around 1811/12, and is based on a design from a pattern-book, specifically plates 79 and 80, in *Modern Finishings for Rooms: a Series of Designs for Vestibules, Staircases, Libraries, etc.* by London-based William Fuller Pocock (1779–1849).[108] Pocock's first pattern-book was first published in 1807, and was followed by *Modern Finishings* in 1811.[109]

Concurrently with the erection of Hendre, a house was being constructed on the other side of Snowdon, at Brynkir. This villa is first referred to in an estate account book held in Bangor University Archive, beginning in May 1812 and ending in December 1814. Previous account books, which would begin with the purchase of the estate in 1809, do not survive.[110] Analysis of the account book shows a John Norton acting as clerk of works, under the direction of Joseph Huddart, son of Captain Joseph Huddart.[111] It is suggested by this thesis that the Huddarts used a pattern-book design which was executed by local building firms, and tradesmen. It is probable that the site was prepared in 1809/10 soon after purchase, with the walls being raised in 1811, principal timbers inserted and essential fittings and fixtures in place before the roof was finished, or the windows glazed. Monies appear to have been paid

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[105] Cadw Listing Description for Tan-yr-Allt.
[106] R. Ingpen Ed., *The Letters of Percy Bysshe Shelley*: *vol. I* (London, 1909), p. 381.
[107] Ibid., p. 367
[108] W.F. Pocock, *Modern Finishings for Rooms: a Series of Designs for Vestibules, Staircases, Libraries, etc* (London, 1811), plates 79, 80.
[109] R. Bowdler, 'Pocock, William Fuller (1779–1849)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 URL: http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/22428, [accessed 4.4.15].
[110] Bangor (General Collections) 809-811
[111] Norton appears to have been Scottish based on later census returns.

retrospectively, and were dependent on the receipt of an invoice, so, in some cases, work may have been carried out a month or more previously.[112]

What we can discern from the documents is that the house's construction was already well underway, as quantities of lead, slates and slater's nails had been purchased for the roof by the summer of 1812. By July 1812, the 'new house' had been slated, and the interiors were being plastered. A receipt from John Jones, the slater, dated 18th July, states that just over 353 yards of slates were used for the 'new house', and that 3 ½ days were spent stripping off old slates.[113] It is possible that Huddart may have purchased an unfinished house, as he was to do at nearby Wern. References to the repair of slates may refer to one of three things: the upper house, which continued in use well into the mid-nineteenth century; repairing slates on the house being erected, or repairing a house onto which Huddart was building. Internally, work was progressing, with 29 feet of oak being purchased, presumably for flooring. Both sawyers and carpenters were employed. Specialist woods, such as mahogany, were singled out, as well as laths, which were both purchased locally from a Robert Morris. Stucco is mentioned in the expenses, as well as window weights for sashes. Hair was purchased for plastering the new house and paints and other 'sundry furnishings' for the interiors. Timber veranda columns were 'turned' on a lathe. Sixty yards of paving slabs were laid by masons for the veranda, and it is possible that it was thatched, as was popular in this period of the *cottage orné*.[114]

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[112] Bangor (General Collections) 3654-3868. The Porth-yr-Aur Manuscripts Collection at Bangor University includes several letters from Norton, and covers the period of the villa's erection.
[113] Bangor (General Collections) 809/15
[114] It was also popular, especially in Northwest Wales, for verandas to be built with rustic logs, as seen at Plas Crug, near Caernarfon.
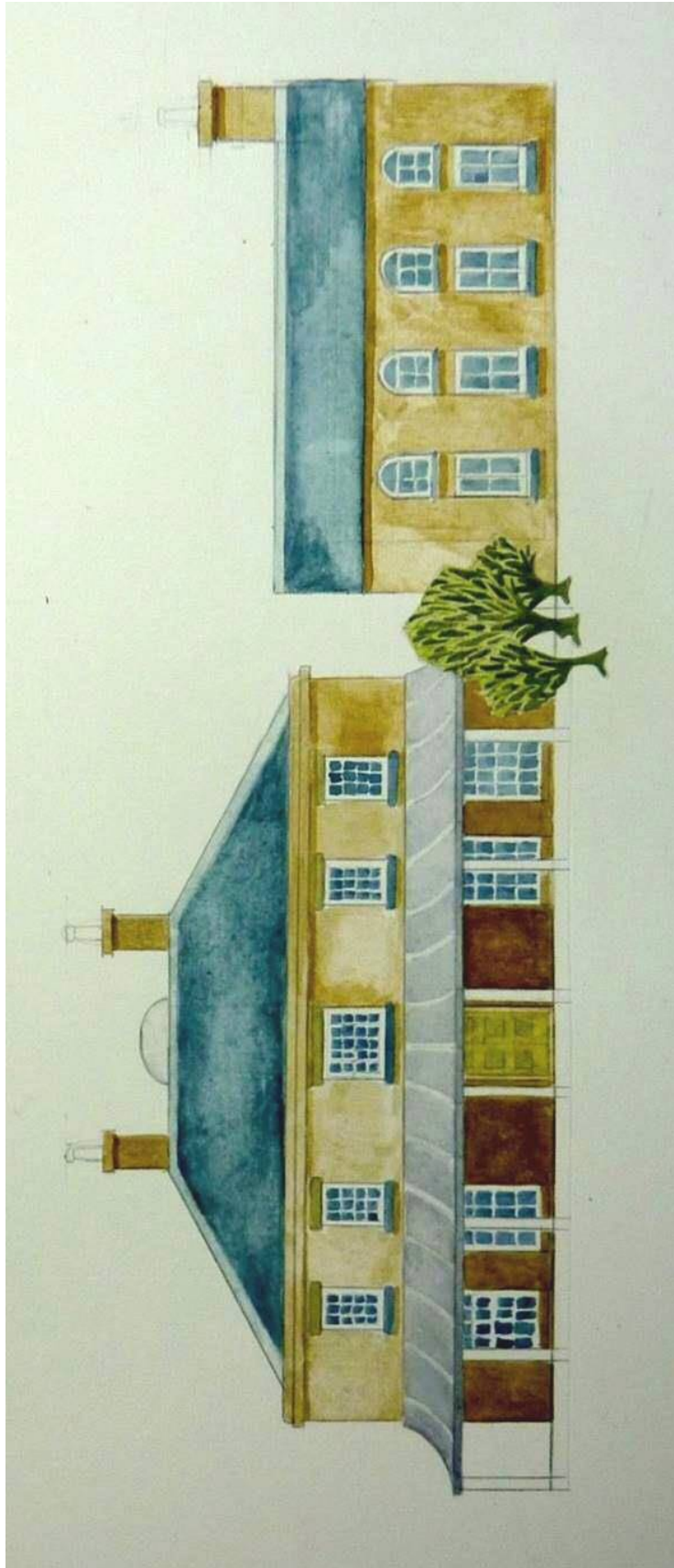
Figure 40: *A reconstruction of Huddart's villa, showing the detached kitchen and service range.* Ceri Leeder.

Several entries note cement plasterers, representing stucco work. A stone cutter is also mentioned, retrieving the stone by blasting, which explains the extensive use of the plug and feather technique seen all over the buildings. More stone flags were purchased from Merionethshire, and were brought by sea. By November 1813, locks and hinges were being bought, together with huge quantities of nails, and bushels of hair for plastering. Doors were from Llystyn Gwyn, a farm in the next valley, and doors had started to be hung throughout the house. Gravel was excavated, probably from the bed of Afon Dwyfor, which flows through Cwm Pennant, and was wheeled to Brynkir to be used in the mortar mix, and for the garden paths. A Robert Roberts was paid for 'sifting sand', again for the mortar mix and external stucco. The offices of the new house were slated and rendered, together with their veranda. References to the building of the house end in December 1813, and the rest of the account refers to the gardens, outbuildings and home farm.[115] We can assume that work on the house had finished by this date.

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[115] Lawns were planted with grass seed, and scythers were employed to tame the grounds. A John Nicholas was paid for the purchase of trees for the garden and park. 168 moles were caught by the molecatcher, and seeds were purchased from Glasgow via a dealer from Caernarfon.

Figure 41: An extract from the surveyor's tithe map for Brynkir. PRO: IR30/48/43

The tithe map for Llanfihangel-y-Pennant parish is the earliest known detailed map of Brynkir to survive (see figure 41). The house and pleasure gardens occupied plot 264.[116] A walled enclosure, plot 267, to the southeast, is recorded as a garden, and it is assumed from the location and the path arrangement that this was a walled, formal garden, possibly in use as a kitchen garden. A new drive appears to have been constructed to create a more direct approach to the main house, connecting up to the original turning circle. The kitchens and multi-storey block appear distinctly connected to the villa. Unfortunately, tithe maps rarely record small passages and outdoor areas, so the protrusion out of the multi-storey block may actually be the lost range shown on later plans.

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[116] Public Record Office: IR30/48/43
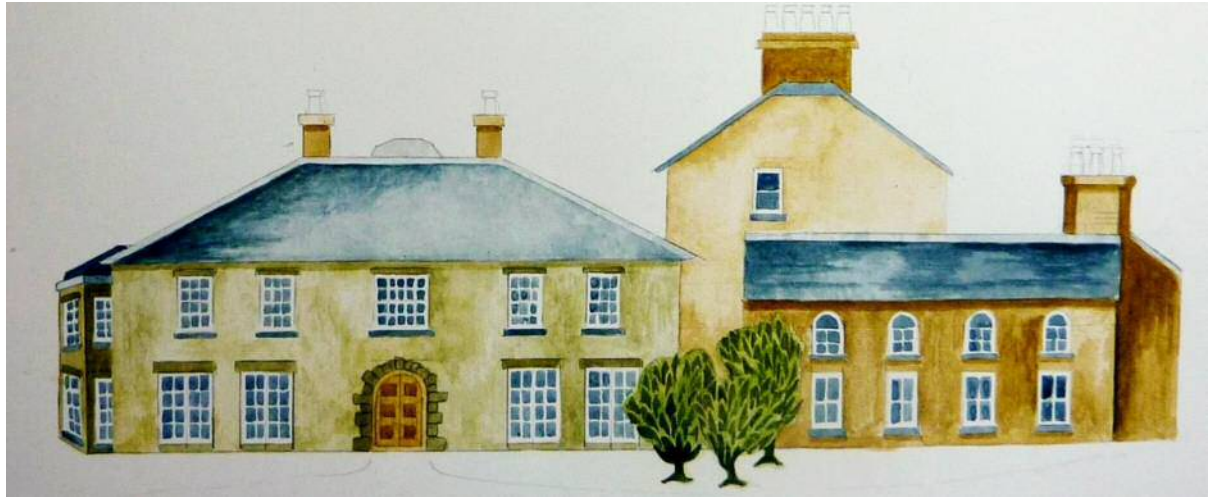
Figure 42: *A reconstruction by Ceri Leeder of Brynkir during the 1860s, showing the multi-storeyed wing and the curved ashlar bay.* Ceri Leeder.

On the death of Sir Joseph in 1841, the estate passed to his eldest surviving son George Augustus Huddart (1822-1885). It is not known when the fine dolerite ashlar facades were built at Brynkir; they could feasibly be from the original 1811-1813 build, or from a later alteration by Sir Joseph Huddart, who appears to have been the most prolific builder at Brynkir (see figure 42). George Augustus Huddart is known to have heightened the banqueting tower, and may have had added a new front onto the house to provide a new entrance hall, with reception rooms either side. Building joins between the ashlar work of the drawing room and the later extension may support this.
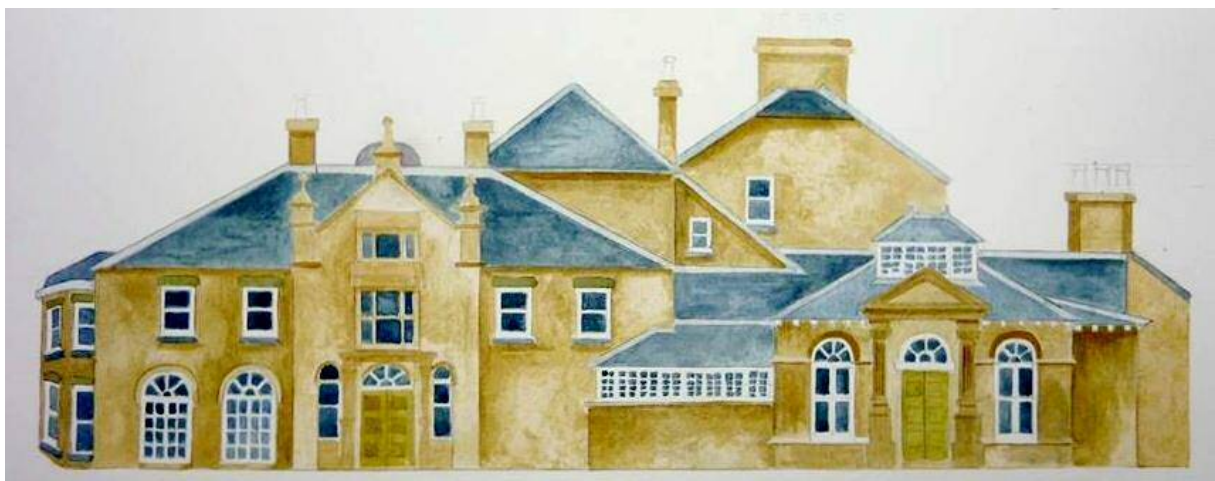
Figure 43: *Brynkir as it would have appeared in 1900, showing the addition to the earlier house of a porch and billiards room.* Ceri Leeder.

The rough ashlar work, underneath the late-nineteenth century render, is similar to estate buildings known to have been built during the mid-nineteenth century. George Augustus Huddart's son, George Augustus Ward Huddart (1845-1908) added considerably to his father's house, and had tried to return Brynkir to being a home in the late-1880s, going as far as completely refurbishing the interior of the house, erecting a new porch and Billiard Room with a separate entrance, lit from above by a lantern. Work began in 1889 on repairing and improving the mansion and farm buildings, and the sum spent exceeded £8,000 (see figures 42, 43 and 44).[117]
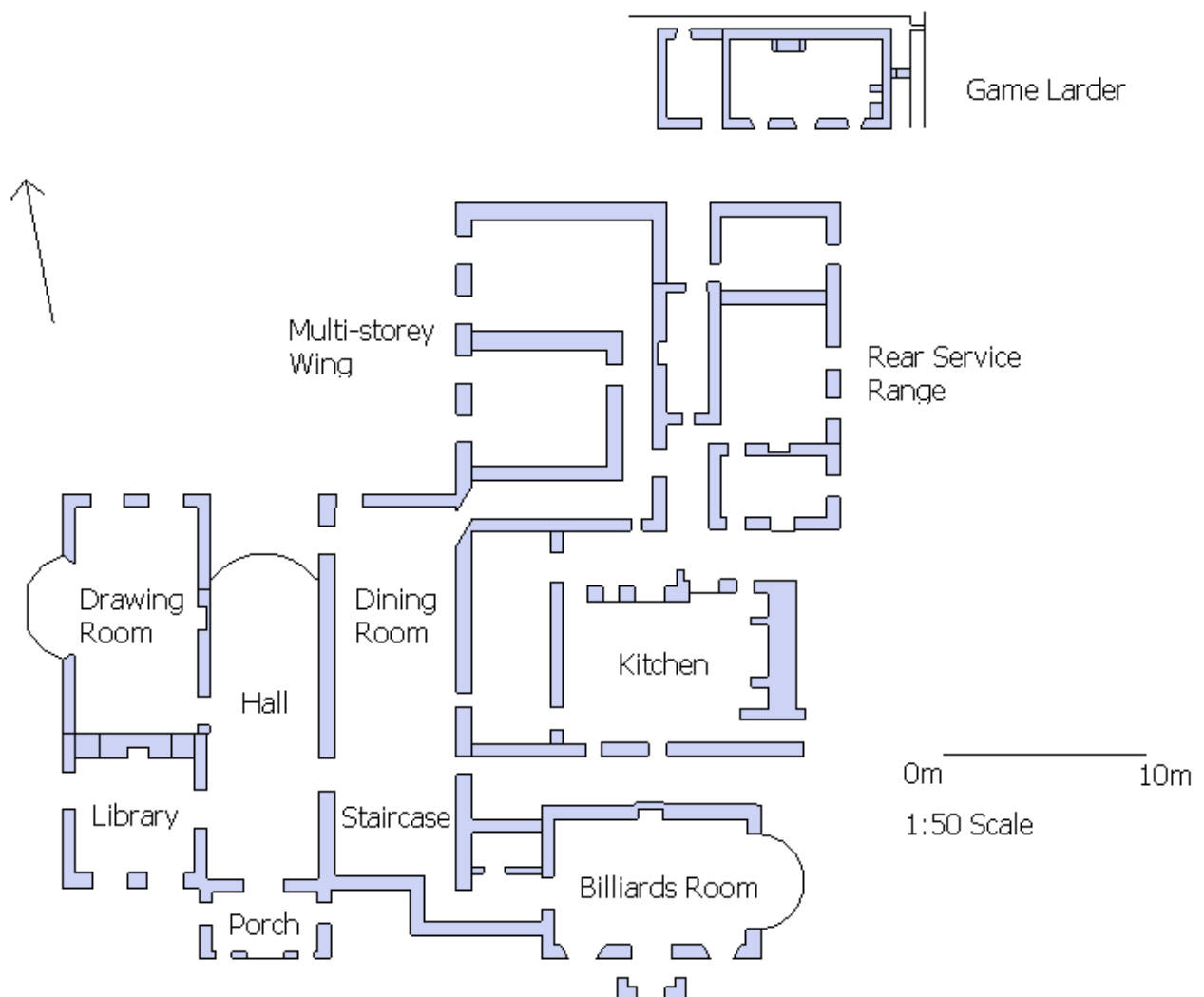
Figure 44: *Plan of the lower house at Brynkir, based upon a measured survey carried out between 2012 and 2014*. Mark Baker.

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[117] GA/XD96/3/12

Llantysilio, Llangollen, Denbighshire and its re-building by S. Pountney Smith
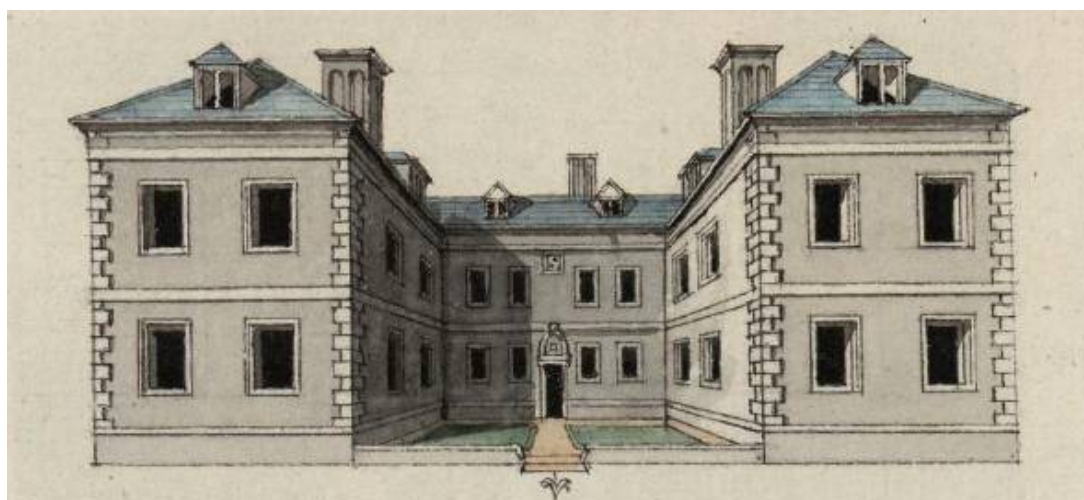
Figure 45: *The principal elevation of Llantysilio, painted by Moses Griffiths for Thomas Pennant's 'A Tour in Wales'.* Bangor (Rare Books) X.AA7.

Llantysilio, like Brynkir, passed out of the hands of its original family and was re-built by a new owner during the nineteenth century. Llantysilio was a 'large brick building', whose design had been copied from the engravings and pattern books of the early eighteenth century, for Thomas Jones in 1723, on the site of an earlier house (see figure 45).[118] Llantysilio had been built on an elevated spot in the Dee valley, near Llangollen. Vistas and avenues were aligned to key points in the landscape, such as the river itself, the mountains and the ancient church, cementing the mansion firmly in the locality. Thomas Pennant goes on to say that the 'previous possessors were the Cupers or Cuppers - styled even so early as the time of Henry II the ancient Cuppers of the north'. A Benjamin Cupper of Llantysilio had been librarian to Sir Thomas Middleton of Chirk Castle in the 1660s and early 1670s.[119] But it was through a marriage to an heiress, Margaret Cupper, in 1715 that the estate entered the hands of the Jones family.[120]

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[118] Cadw, *Register of Landscapes, Parks and Gardens of Special Historic Interest in Wales: Clwyd* (Cardiff, 1995), p. 165.
[119] W. M. Middleton, *Chirk Castle Accounts A.D. 1666-1753* (Manchester, 1931) p. 15.
[120] Major Robert John Harrison (1779-1844) married Sophia Maria (d.1836), the daughter of William Ilbert of Bowringsleigh, in Devon, in 1810. Harrison took possession of the Llantysilio and Llanlloddian estates, Montgomeryshire, around 1822 on the death of Thomas Jones (fl. 1800-1816) of Llantysilio Hall, who died

A similar building to the original Llantysilio can be seen at Trevor Hall, situated at the eastern end of the Dee Valley, where there is a date stone bearing the inscription '1742 John Roberts, Mason, Anno Domini, *Dum spiro spero*.'[121] In Gwynedd, Bodwrdda, one of the Llŷn's oldest *yr uchelwyr* houses, has a striking clash of red brick and stonework typical of seventeenth-century Welsh houses, where display was key.[122] In northwest Wales, brick was expensive, rare and a proclamation of status.

Figure 46: *A late nineteenth century photograph showing the rear of the new house.* Mark Baker.

Llantysilio's sales particulars, dated September 1867, record in detail the early-eighteenth-century brick house before its demolition, and provide a comprehensive record of the house.[123] Charles Frederick Beyer (1813-1876) purchased Llantysilio and set about re-

intestate. It appears that a dispute over possession of the estate was settled at the Shrewsbury Summer Assizes, 1823, and the Ruthin Summer Assizes, 1831. Major Harrison's son, the Rev. Robert John Harrison (d. 1872) of Caerhowel, Montgomeryshire, was rector of Forden. He married Elizabeth (d. 1858), daughter of the Rev. Devereux Mytton of Pen y lan, Montgomeryshire. Their son, Robert John Harrison (b. 1852) of Caer Howel married Charlotte Henrietta, third daughter of Hugh Montgomery of Grey Abbey, County Down, Ireland, in 1874. In 1822, the housekeeper of the vicar of Oswestry dreamt that the will of Thomas Jones had been buried with him. Because of this dream, a party of seven or eight people, including a lawyer and a surgeon, broke into the tomb and opened the coffin, although it would appear that the will was not found.
[121] Cadw Parks and Garden Register. URL: http://www.coflein.gov.uk/pdf/CPG106/ [accessed 21.2.15] and Hubbard, *Clwyd,* pp. 291-92.
[122] Bodwrdda's early seventeenth century woodwork, and the elaborate screen passage in former great hall have all survived.
[123] DRO/DD/LH/150

landscaping the approach to the hall, but did little to the house at first.[124] In 1872, Beyer

employed a provincial architect, S. Pountney Smith (1812-1883) of Shrewsbury to design a

new mansion built of high quality ashlar in a neo-Elizabethan style to replace the old brick

house (see figure 46).[125] The house consisted of three-storeys, aligned north-south, with the

servants' quarters, billiard room and a walled yard at the north end, and with the main

entrance on the east side, consisting of a porch with the initials 'C F B' over it.[126] Over the

back door is a sandstone carving of three stallions' heads - the crest of the Jones family.[127]

Figure 47: *Palé Hall, the Seat of Henry Robertson, designed by S. Pountney Smith of Shrewsbury and London and completed in 1871.* The Illustrated London News.

The involvement of S. Pountney Smith was through introduction by Beyer's closest

friend, Henry Robertson (1816-1888), who rebuilt Palé Hall, near Bala (see figure 47).[128]

Henry Robertson, a Scotsman, first came to North Wales to assess the potential for the

development of minerals in the Brymbo area for a Scottish bank. Following his assessment,

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[124] DRO/DD/LH/52
[125] Cadw Parks and Gardens Register. URL: http://www.coflein.gov.uk/pdf/CPG080/ [accessed 21.3.15]/
[126] Site visit to Llantysilio 1.4.11. See also Cadw's listed building description URL:
http://www.britishlistedbuildings.co.uk/wa-1319-llantysilio-hall-llantysilio [accessed 22.3.15].
[127] Site visit, 2.1.10.
[128] Ibid.

the bank offered to lend him the capital to take part in exploiting the mines himself.[129] Several other young Scotsmen joined him, and they formed the Brymbo Mineral Railway Company, which purchased the Brymbo Hall estate, including Brymbo ironworks.[130] On his election to parliament, he purchased a house in London and a country residence called Crogen, a house situated on the Dee between Bala and Corwen.[131] Beyer died suddenly on July 2nd 1876 and left the estate to his godson, Sir Henry Beyer Robertson, and the house remained in the Robertson family until the late-twentieth century.

The re-building of Hafodunos, Llangernyw, Conwy by Sir George Gilbert Scott

The majority of Welsh sixteenth and seventeenth century mansions continued in the hands of the same family until the nineteenth-century. Through inter-marriage, many estates were joined, or even, in some cases, separated from their families, due to marriage settlements. Early deaths often left an estate being run for a minor, by a widow or other custodian, as at Brynkir and Hafodunos. Another feature of British country houses, was a penchant for builders to be on a site which had purported early origins, which were sometimes mythical. At Hafodunos, a large early-seventeenth-century mansion, which was situated at the base of a slope, with its back to the hillside so to protect it from the elements. The foundation myth of Hafodunos involved one of north Wales's most famous saints:[132]

> The name Hafod-unos is said to have been given by the circumstances that the formal train of Saint Winifred rested here for one night (unnos) on its way from Holywell to Gwytherin, a little village 4 miles distant, where the saint is said to have been buried.

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[129] R.M. Birse, 'Robertson, Henry (1816–1888)', rev. Mike Chrimes, Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Jan 2008 URL: http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/37901 [accessed 22.3.15].
[130] Ibid.
[131] T. Nicholas, *Annals and Antiquities of the Counties and County Families of Wales* (London, 1872), p. 668.
[132] Powys Record Office: MS M/D/SAND/4/4

The Lloyds of Hafodunos were descended from Bleddyn Llwyd (*the grey*) who was described in 1280 as being the founder of the 'House of Hafodunos'.[133] There is mention of a mansion house and outbuildings at Hafodunos in a grant dated 1615, but little is known of this earlier building except for the survival (before the 2004 fire) of a staircase, panelling and fireplace surround which was pre-1650 in origin.[134] In 1674, the house was remodelled again, this time with seven gables, which made it a relatively large manor house. A date stone was placed upon the porch gable at the front of the building, inscribed with the Lloyd Stag, the initials of Hedd Lloyd and the year, 1674. Constructed nearby were a set of ancillary buildings including stables and other outbuildings. Major building works were implemented by another Hedd Lloyd in 1771, including remodelling and extension of the house, with refashioning of the stable block, and creation of a bailiff's office and cartsheds.[135] Jinny Jenks visited Hafodunos in 1772 during a summer tour around North Wales, and was received in the tradition fashion of *yr uchelwyr*:[136]

> The road to Havordunos is very pleasant and pretty from the woods tho' low, and we cross'd the river Elwy several times in the six miles. Havordunos is a very good old white house, and pleasantly situated on an eminence, but will not bear describing after the fine prospects we have [already] seen, and is indeed the only part of Wales I do not admire. Here we liv'd in the stile [sic.] as at Mr Wynne's with a continual round of Company, and being a larger family themselves we always had two tables very genteelly covered. We had an exceeding good harper a blind woman; and Mr Lloyd's servant out of Livery, plays very well on the Violin, (so we had little dancing several times) and very finely on the French Horn and Trumpet both which last he accompanied the Harp with, in the Hall at Meal times, and which improves the Harp by taking the sharpness of its tones, and he always attended us in our walks in the woods, and in several fishing parties under Llangerney [sic.] bridge, and in some part of the wood, and Garden, there was a double echo, and it seemed like an accompaniment.

[133] J.R. Smith, *The Cambrian Journal* (Tenby, 1855), p. 187. J. Y. W. Lloyd, The history of the princes, the lords marcher, and the ancient nobility of Powys Fadog
and the ancient lords of Arwystli, Cedewen, and Meirionyddvol 5 (London, 1881), p. 182 and J.E. Griffith, Pedigrees of Anglesey and Carnarvonshire Families (London, 1914), p. 215 and p. 329. He was a direct descendant of Hedd Molwynog or Hedd ap Alunog, founder of the ninth noble tribe of North Wales and Powys. His son Cynwrig ap Bleddyn was also recorded to be dwelling there with his wife Angharad during the late-medieval period, as well as their descendants, as preserved in the various published pedigrees.
[134] FRO/D/BC/3034
[135] Extant date stone on outbuildings at Hafodunos. Visited 14.6.2014. From Cadw listing description 'Dated 1771 with initials 'LL H D'; at the top of the datestone is a stag.'
[136] NLW/MS/22753B

Late-eighteenth-century alterations and additions included the rotation of the whole layout's orientation. Formerly, the main front's aspect had been northern, therefore receiving little sun. However, due to changing fashions, an extension was added to the southerly portions, providing a new entrance front with a canted two-storey bay and adjoining sections; interestingly conjoined to what was presumably the old dining room is a single-storey annexe, which was added before the Georgian remodelling. Neo-Palladism favoured the canted or three-sided by window, in contrast to the curved bows used by Robert Adam and James Wyatt, which had become highly fashionable in north Wales. The addition of a curved bay could easily elevate a plain façade, and provide an interesting internal arrangement. Giles Worsley suggested that the use of canted bays was an architectural feature of the 1760s, which was then superseded by the neo-classicism of Adam and Wyatt.[137] Other eighteenth-century additions include a pair of round window oculi, inserted into the second floor recesses of the old entrance front, and hoodmoulds with tablets above principal windows. There is also the possibility of a date stone above the former front door. The E-shaped front overlooked meadows and the uncultivated valley below. Moses Griffiths painted the whitewashed house during the 1770s for Thomas Pennant, showing a building that had borne the scars of its history well, including blocked up windows, Georgian extensions and a re-orientation of entry are such that one would no longer have entered through the multi-storeyed porch (see figure 48).

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[137] R.M. Pears, 'William Newton (1730-1798) and the development of the architectural profession in north-east England', Newcastle University PhD Thesis (2013), p. 226.

Figure 48: *A watercolour of Hafodunos by Moses Griffith, for Thomas Pennant's 'A Tour in Wales', late-1770s, showing the reorienting of the house to face east.* NLW: (original drawings vol. 27, no. 57).

The last of the Lloyds died in 1815, and the estate was passed sideways to a collateral branch of the family.[138] Hafodunos was purchased for Henry Robertson Sandbach (1806-1895) and his wife, Margaret (1812-1852), by Henry's father, Samuel Sandbach (1769-1851), soon after their marriage in 1833. Henry and Margaret attempted to make sense of the house by removing the Georgian additions, notably the canted bays. Griffith's watercolour shows a typical north Wales late-seventeenth-century country residence, three storeys high with a five window range, symmetrically planned.[139] Three gables can be seen. Two are larger, positioned either side of an entrance projection, which would originally have allowed ground-floor access into the main hall of the house. The parlour wing, situated in the left-hand section of the building, had a lateral chimney, which indicated the location of the hall. It also contained fine mid-seventeenth-century oak panelling and a fireplace surround, as well as a magnificent staircase (all reused from the earlier structure in the 1860s house).[140] The

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[138] J.Y.W. Lloyd, *The history of the princes, the lords marcher, and the ancient nobility of Powys Fadog and the ancient lords of Arwystli, Cedewen, and Meirionydd* (London, 1881) Vol. 5, p. 388.
[139] NLW (Original Drawings) vol. 27, no. 57.
[140] An undated newspaper clipping, presumably from the North Wales Chronicle, *c.* 1860.

staircase would have been arranged around an open well, at the rear of the house, whereas the right-hand wing contained the dining room, with the rear housing the domestic sections, including the kitchens and servants quarters. Externally the house was rendered white with a slate roof; four windows had been blocked up due to the Windows Tax, and the primary main door had been removed and replaced with a tripartite window. As a newcomer, and from a wealthy industrialist English family, Margaret Sandbach describes Hafodunos in a romantic way, as being:[141]

> Situated at the head of a little dingle, and nestled in trees the old house stands - it might almost be called 'the house with the seven Gables'. It is very old and when almost falling down was repainted not in a manner consistent with its antiquity and therefore lost something of its remarkable look. This dear old house is surrounded on the sides by garden and pleasure ground - the fourth side is built against a rock. It is said that many years ago some fine old oak trees were cut down by a former proprietor […] One yet remains, a venerable tree, called 'the philosophers oak'. His magnificent grey trunk is now hollow, but he still spreads his green branches in the spring time, and seems to renew his youth. In the centre of the garden near the house stands a group of magnificent yew trees, whose grateful shade in summer and rich green foliage in winter make them always delightful […]

The Sandbach family were patrons of Welsh sculptor, John Gibson (1790-1866), who advised them on evolving old Hafodunos to house their growing collection of sculptures; their art collections dictated the way in which the house was developed. Unlike Brynkir, which was extended in response to the ever growing Huddart family, the Sandbachs were childless. Gibson advised on building an octagonal gallery - which was top-lit so as to best show off the marbles. Following the demolition of the old house, this sculpture gallery was the last of the original buildings to be replaced, being used for storage before the Sir George Gilbert Scott mansion was complete.[142]

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[141] PRO/M/D/SAND/4/4
[142] PRO/M/D/SAND/1/ Diary of Henry Robertson Sandbach entry for 3.2.1863.
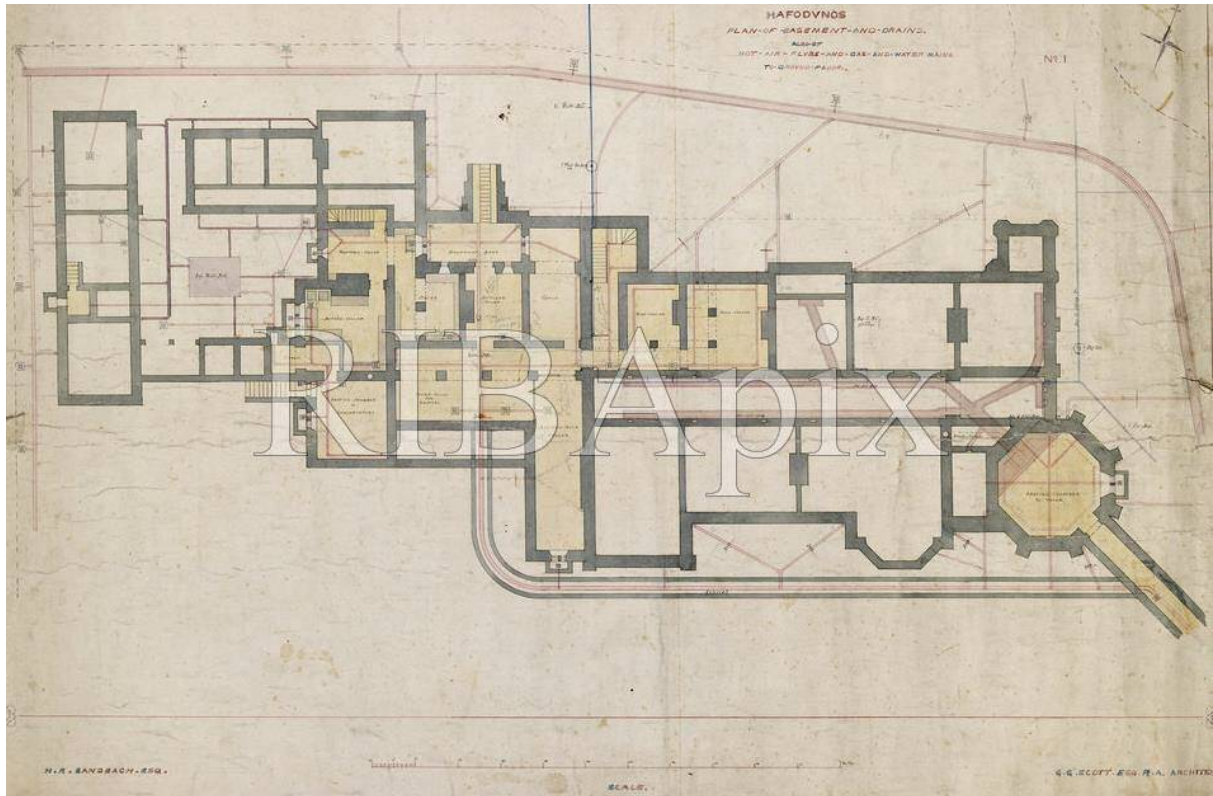
Figure 49: *Design for Hafodunos House, near Llangernyw: plan of basements showing gas and water supply. Unfortunately, the ground floor plan by Scott is missing.* RIBA: RIBA53508.

Hafodunos was rebuilt during the mid-nineteenth century, as architectural practices began to become mainstream, and the great wealth of the industrialists was often spent on architectural commissions. After the death of Margaret, the newly remarried Henry Robertson Sandbach embarked in 1860 on a six-year project to create Hafodunos as a permanent memorial to his first wife, as well as to have a house large enough for his second wife, their five children, and a large retinue of indoor staff. He entrusted the design to London-based Sir George Gilbert Scott, and the house was to be Scott's only example of domestic architecture built in Wales (see figure 49). [143] Scott was a prolific architect, designing partly or wholly eight hundred buildings in his career. [144] At the time of the commission, Scott had already been appointed architect at Westminster Abbey, and was later

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[143] J. Hilling, *Plans & prospects: architecture in Wales, 1780-1914* (Cardiff, 1975), p. 28.
[144] J. Jokilehto, *History of Architectural Conservation* (London, 2007), p. 159.

to design the Midland Grand Hotel at St Pancras Station and the Albert Memorial (for Queen Victoria).[145]

Figure 50: *Gilbert Scott's Hafodunos, shortly after its completion in the late-1860s.* Private Collection.

Hafodunos's construction took at least six years to complete, and included an imposing clock tower, sculpture gallery and large service areas.[146] Not only would Sandbach have had to budget for the costs of construction, and supervision by Gilbert Scott; he would have to have funded alternative accommodation for his family during the building works - another expense to be factored in. The new Hafodunos was innovative, and was to be everything that the old home was not. Gone was the vernacular artisan architecture, nestling into the hillside (see figure 50). This was an ultra-modern home. It was personal in the sense that it was catering specifically for an informed client and his family. Its design employed the

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[145] S. Bradley, *St. Pancras Station* (London, 2011), p. 17.
[146] RIBA Sir Gilbert Scott Drawings, PA1709/ScGGS/1-3. Designs for Hafodunos House, near Llangernyw: east elevation and section through the entrance hall and sculpture room looking west.

latest construction methods and used materials gathered from abroad;[147] the building fabric referenced the Sandbach family's links to the West Indies, where their fortune had come from plantation ownership and a mercantile shipping business.[148] A contemporary description records the impression of the finished building:

> The hall stands on a terrace overlooking a most charming glen, where tulip-trees, great magnolias, hemlocks, and other pines from America mix with native oaks and beeches; where ferns from all parts of Great Britain, Ireland, Switzerland, and New Zealand grow with curious hardy plants from the Continent, and a winding walk leads to the old kitchen-gardens, with their clipped yew-hedges. The interior of the house is in exquisite taste; no paint is allowed, the woodwork and the furniture being of pitch-pine, red cedar, or dark buace from Demerara, whilst the capitals of the columns leading to and on the grand staircase are deftly carved with roses, lilies, snow- drops, and other British flowers.[149]

[147] H. Smith, *Decorative Painting in the Domestic Interior in England and Wales, c. 1850-1890* (London, 1986), p. 45.

[148] D. Sunderland, *Managing the British Empire: The Crown Agents, 1833-1914* (London, 2004), p. 265-266.

[149] M. Howitt, *Mary Howitt: An Autobiography* (Mifflin, 1889), vol.2, pp. 178-180.

Chapter 5: Women and Welsh houses during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries

Introduction

The primary aim of this chapter is to discuss whether female owners of property influenced the form and layout of Welsh country houses differently from the ways male owners influenced them, given the prominence of heiresses and widows noted previously. This chapter opens with a discussion of women and gender, asking how women historically may have influenced architecture, notably through their patronage of artisan craftsmen, provincial and 'national' architects. By contrasting the legal framework of female property ownership in England and Wales, the impact of the Welsh laws are considered. Using case studies of female architectural patronage exercised in the construction or alteration of country houses, the chapter questions whether, by virtue of their sex, this impact made by women differed from that of their male counterparts. It is suggested that the connections between patrons, such as kinship and friendship, reveal much about the framework of society in Wales. It is posited that it was these connections, rather than a desire for innovative design, that influenced the choice of architect. The chapter builds on earlier chapters, adding the theme of gender and female patronage to themes of nationalism, pedigree and precedence, archaeology and ancestry, asking how gender is expressed through architecture.

The previous chapters examined the development of Welsh country houses from being built by artisan craftsmen towards architectural professionalism and the employment of trained architects. The purpose of this chapter is to demonstrate, through female patronage, that the choice of artisan craftsmen, provincial and 'national' architects, enabled women to take control of their physical surroundings. Even though 'national' forms of architecture had existed in Wales from the early-seventeenth century onwards, *yr uchelwyr* were not always ready to adopt the latest fashions, and some deliberately resurrected historic styles to reaffirm

their position in Welsh society. This chapter uses case studies to investigate how elite women fit into Welsh architectural history and how, through investigating relevant areas of their personal lives, we can attempt to understand their architectural motives and objectives.

The selection of women used in this analysis was founded upon two principal factors: a) their Welsh ancestry and b) the fact that these women had chosen to make Wales their primary home for significant portions of their lives.[1] In effect, this chapter asks what were their motivations for building or altering their homes? How concerned were they about their ancestry and family history? Was this expressed through the architecture of their houses? All of the women studied appear to have been adept at using their status and wealth to play active public roles as architectural patrons, as well as employing their skills and talents in a plethora of other activities. The major sources for this chapter are Griffith's *Pedigrees of Anglesey and Caernarvonshire Families*[2], and Nicholas's *Annals and Antiquities of the Counties and County Families of Wales*.[3] Archival material, together with its associated buildings, survives to varying degrees, but enough can be assembled from the evidence to establish such concepts as personal choice and temperament, which are essential variables, according to Rapoport's methodology.

The activities of women - their rights within marriage, their responsibilities within their homes, and the architectural patronage that they dispensed, will be examined. The scale of the houses studied here varies from the vast to the relatively small. Historians have questioned how such large houses were restricted to the domestic function, asking whether a country house was a home or not. The *Oxford English Dictionary* definition of the noun 'gender' refers to its grammatical usage and distinction of, and absence of sex in the objects denoted. Its most significant usage is that of determining sex:

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[1] Many wealthy families also had London townhouses, and there is evidence for Welsh families having converged in certain areas of London, such as Portman Square and its immediate streets.

[2] J.E. Griffith, *Pedigrees of Anglesey and Caernarvonshire Families: With Their Collateral Branches in Denbighshire, Merionethshire and Other Parts* (Horncastle, 1914).

[3] T. Nicholas, *Annals and Antiquities of the Counties and County Families of Wales* (London, 1872).

b. In mod. (esp. feminist) use, a euphemism for the sex of a human being, often intended to emphasize the social and cultural, as opposed to the biological, distinctions between the sexes. [4]

This definition, and its examples, highlight the distinction between the sex of a person which is termed 'natural' and the differences that arise in cultural and social spheres. Gender is described by Daphne Spain in *Gendered Spaces*, as being:

'the socially and culturally constructed distinctions that accompany biological differences associated with a person's sex.' [5]

Sociologists agree that, historically, status is unequally shared amongst members of society, and that men have been accorded higher status than women.[6] The scope of this thesis is to look at country houses in Wales, critically discussing their owners and designers in terms of their respective influences upon the form of architecture chosen. The role of women in Wales, like the study of country houses, is an under-researched subject. There is substantial blurring of boundaries between women's history and gender history as, to some extent, they can be seen as synonymous.[7]

Assessment is made in this thesis of the forces that made certain spatial arrangements desirable to the decision makers in the creation of houses, taking into account the specific historical circumstances that produced them, and finally, the social effects those spaces once produced. Attention is given to the social conditions in which patronage was possible and even sustained, and also the purposes and functions of female patronage. Country house studies have so far failed to fully appreciate the role of women. Yet the contribution of women in terms of marriage, domestic life or acts of 'femininity' *has* been explored. Dana

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[4] Oxford English Dictionary Online: URL:
<http://dictionary.oed.com/cgi/entry/50093521?query_type=word&queryword=gender&first=1&max_to_show=10&sort_type=alpha&result_place=1&search_id=jH2D-hrhaUw-6093&hilite=50093521> [accessed 20.11.2009].
[5] D. Spain, *Gendered Spaces* (Chapel Hill, 1992), p. 3
[6] Ibid.
[7] J. Bailey, *Is the Rise of Gender History 'Hiding' Women From History Once Again?*, Created Spring 2005 by the Institute of Historical Research. URL: <http://www.history.ac.uk/ihr/Focus/Gender/articles.html> [accessed 20.11.2009].

Arnold suggests that, due to this fact, women have been marginalised in history or associated with other sub-groups, such as servants or children, rather than presented on a par with male-based established historical studies.[8] The very notion of house and family immediately carries feminine associations - associations which have, to a certain extent, failed to be appreciated as 'valuable' or 'important'. A range of religious, ideological and cultural motives have been used throughout history to justify gender segregation; this reached its zenith in the Victorian home, where women were principally afforded the 'drawing room' and men the 'billiard's room'. Libraries and the study too, were seen to be the concerns of men, and feminists have argued that this restriction of access to knowledge and resources, through the control of space, helped to maintain a male advantage over women. Daphne Spain argues that, for women to become knowledgeable, they must also change places.[9] Bourdieu proposes that the power of a dominant group lies in its ability to control constructions of reality that reinforce its own status, so that subordinate groups accept the social order and their own place in it.[10]

It was during the last quarter of the twentieth century that there was a shift in the place, perception and status of women, which in turn led to a rethinking of traditional gender roles.[11] Archaeological discourse has also been influenced by this doctrine - according to which emphasis lies with discussion of masculinity and femininity, rather than male and female. Dennis Whitley argues that gender is at least a two-part conceptual division that does not exclusively focus upon women. However, feminist scholarship has been an important factor in challenging traditional representations of a less-than-objective androcentric universalism. Peter Mandler has written that 'country houses only became homes in the late nineteenth century, when the aristocracy retreated from public duties'; thus prior to this date

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[8] D. Arnold (ed.), *The Georgian Country House: Architecture, Landscape and Society* (Stroud, 2003), p.79.
[9] D. Spain, *Gendered Spaces* (Chapel Hill, 1992), pp. 15-16.
[10] Cited in ibid., p. 17.
[11] D.S. Whitley (ed.), *Reader in Archaeological Theory: Post-processual and Cognitive Approaches* (London, 1998), p. 219.

country houses provided a poor environment for emotional development in both sexes.[12] The implication of this is that both the 'upstairs' and the 'downstairs' dwellers of country houses were essentially homeless in all the centuries prior to the nineteenth. This position is rather unconvincing, and is rejected by this thesis.

Ann Laurence writes that a motivating reason for women to embark on building projects was the commemoration of a family, rather than an individual.[13] Criticism has been levelled at patronage studies with regard to singular 'exceptional' women, whose undertakings 'are portrayed as innocent of the muddy compromises of familial and urban politics.'[14] Helen Hills argues that these studies risk interpreting architecture as the 'inspired product of one or two exceptional individuals [...] whose capacity for innovation is explained in terms of their exceptionality, their disconnection to their context, effectively de-historicising them [...] rather than as participants in broader social forces, subject to (not separate from) specific historical circumstances.'[15] Work on Henrietta Cavendish and the remodelling of Welbeck Priory, as researched by Lucy Worsley, has examined how an early eighteenth-century female architectural patron was able to fulfil her role.[16] Critiques of eighteenth-century society's consumerism represented women as being indifferent to their country houses, preferring life outside their homes, and resulted in wealthy women being portrayed as undomesticated.[17] It may be questioned how far architectural form can be justifiably claimed to express a patron's own taste, as this assumes that 'taste' already existed fully formed in a personal expression, before being developed into architectural reality.

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[12] P. Mandler, *The Rise and Fall of the Stately Home* (London, 1997), p. 129.
[13] A. Laurence, 'Women Using Building in Seventeenth-century England: A Question of Sources?' *TRHS*, 13 (2003), p. 302.
[14] H. Hills, *Architecture and the Politics of Gender in Early Modern Europe* (Aldershot, 2003), p. 10.
[15] Ibid.
[16] L. Worsley, 'Female architectural patronage in the eighteenth century and the case of Henrietta Cavendish Holles Harley', *AH*, 48 (2005), pp. 139 -162.
[17] J. Lewis, 'When a House Is Not a Home: Elite English Women and the Eighteenth-Century Country House', *JSB*, 48 (2009), p. 337.

The Legal Framework and Female Property Ownership

For nearly eight hundred years, English law maintained a set of inheritance laws which remained virtually unchanged until 1925. At the time of their replacement, they were seen to be unrealistic and unsatisfactory, particularly as they enacted the descent of property to the eldest son, to the exclusion of siblings. Yet in the absence of a male heir, land could descend to a daughter. Common Law was in the main biased against families' needs, promoting primogeniture and the restriction not only of women's legal rights but also those of younger children of both genders. However, it did promote the choice of a female inheritor over that of a distant, collateral, male relation. Female inheritance did pose a problem for the retention of family names and titles which often disappeared.

The ennoblement of women, either through inheritance, marriage or conferment, separates those women who lived in country houses from the rest of their gender. During the eighteenth century, the number of title-bearing women far outnumbered men.[18] The female nobility, through years of both passive and active emancipation, were actually in a stronger position than their male equivalents; for instance if a woman married a man of lower rank, she retained her title regardless, and was <u>not</u> demoted to equal her husband.[19] More importantly, if a woman married a man of higher rank, she took the her husband's title. In the United Kingdom, the introduction of The Representation of the People Act 1832 (Great Reform Act) became a pivotal lever in the emancipation movement as the marital rights of women were diminished. Persuasion of Parliament to pass a series of statutes, recasting the

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[18] See J. Stone & L. Stone, *An Open Elite? England 1540-1880* (Oxford, 1988), p. 123 tables 4.2, 4.3 and J.B. Burke, *The Rise of Great Families* (London, 1873) for a general discussion on the topic.
[19] A notable case was Princess Louise (1848-1939), fourth daughter of Queen Victoria, who married the Marquess of Lorne, later Duke of Argyll (1845-1914). Even though Lorne had married a Princess, he did not become a Prince, whereas Louise remained a Princess, but took on the additional titles of Marchioness of Lorne, and later Duchess of Argyll.

laws governing divorce, married women's property, child custody, wife abuse and the action of restitution of conjugal rights, dominated the last three-quarters of the nineteenth-century.[20]

The definition of what an heiress could be was, for J.B. Burke, Victorian genealogist and founder of Burke's Peerage, 'a lady who is representative or co-representative in blood of her father', which discounted the female line.[21] Eileen Spring states that heiresses, through the law of nature, were biologically common, and consequently, as the law of succession stated, females could succeed in the absence of a male heir.[22] If there were more than one daughter, they were equally heirs under Common Law. Under these circumstances, property owners were desirous to ensure patrilineal, rather than lineal descent. Between 1300 and 1800, female inheritance in England actually declined, even though there was a surge in the number of heiresses during the eighteenth century.[23] The emergence of the strict settlement, a device used to keep property within a family by preventing the breakup of an estate, provided a device for the preservation of primogeniture and patrilineal inheritance through the limiting of charges, or interest in property, for other family members apart from the heir. The strict settlement enabled women to become better portioned in order to enlarge their estates through marriage. It made land inalienable, and the inheritor was unable to dispose of the inherited land without lengthy legal work to break the 'entail'.

In the largest landowning families, heiresses were prevented from succeeding, yet smaller landowners continued to allow succession. At the end of a patriline, inheritance could not go to a woman; it had to go through her to a male, who would then be able to trace his inheritance through the female line.[24] Historians differ in their opinion on the implications of this form of descent, Lawrence and Jeanne Stone arguing that it demonstrated how important

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[20] M.L. Stanley, *Feminism, Marriage and the Law in Victorian England, 1850 – 1895* (Princeton, 1989), p. 3.
[21] J.B. Burke, *The Rise of Great Families* (London, 1873), p. 23.
[22] E. Spring, *Law, Land and Family: Aristocratic Inheritance in England, 1300-1800* (Chapel Hill, 1993), p. 183.
[23] Ibid.
[24] E. Spring, *Law, Land and Family: Aristocratic Inheritance in England, 1300-1800* (Chapel Hill, 1993), p. 15.

the female role was.[25] Eileen Spring, however, deduces that this legal device essentially showed 'the extraordinary decline of female succession.'[26] In England, it has been estimated that a third of estates had women as direct heirs of their fathers, yet more than three-quarters of these rejected the daughter in favour of a collateral male.[27]

Common Law rules dictated that a wife's personal property, and the use of her landed property, went to her husband. This meant that, under coverture, a woman's legal personality was subsumed in that of her husband. It was not until the end of the nineteenth century that a wife who was also an heiress was able to enjoy the use of her inherited property. Despite the Act of Union with England in 1536, medieval Welsh marriage customs, such as the widow's third, continued to be practised, being frequently cited by wives and widows in legal cases. However, by the end of the seventeenth century, local practices - which had been integrated into an English legal environment - began to decline. This thesis suggests that precedence, memory and custom did continue within those families in North Wales whose histories stretched back far enough, chiefly among families who claimed descent from the Noble Tribes of Wales. The persistence of customary rights to personal property enabled a legal ambiguity which, according to Katherine Warner Swett, 'preserved a measure of additional financial support and some vital tactical space [...] until the abolition of these rights at the end of the seventeenth century.'[28] This suggests that legal protection was uneven and was not guaranteed. Professor Glanmor Williams notes that double marriages drew on late medieval custom in north Wales to bind two families together even more closely and to reinforce existing alliances between cousins.[29] A particularly late example of this could be seen in the mid-nineteenth century at Bodelwyddan.

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[25] L. & J. Stone, *An Open Elite? England 1540-1880* (Oxford, 1988), p. 119-20.
[26] E. Spring, *Law, Land and Family* (Chapel Hill, 1993), p. 15.
[27] L. Bonfield, Marriage, 'Property and the Affective Family', in *Law and History Review*, 1 (1983), p. 305.
[28] K.W. Swett, 'Widowhood, Custom and Property in Early Modern North Wales', *WHR*, 18 (1996), p. 191.
[29] G. Williams, *Recovery, Reorientation and Reformation: Wales c. 1415-1642* (Cardiff, 1987), p. 108.

Widows, in the early modern period, were the most powerful members of their sex, forming a large and influential group. Until widowed, an heiress could not control her own property. Common Law ruled that a widow was entitled to a third of her husband's property for life, by her right of dower. Dower could extend over all lands owned by the husband, even land that had been entailed, forcing heirs to wait until the widow's death before they could enjoy the use of their inheritance. There was a decisive shift in early modern society away from the medieval dower to the jointure as the primary form of provision for widowhood. Jointure provides for a wife after the death of her spouse. It could be formed as a post-nuptial agreement, and differs from dowry, which is a transferal of property on marriage, rather than death.[30] The transitional period did however create uncertainties. Generally, it can be said that widows of childbearing age remarried while older widows did not. A second marriage could provide a measure of prearranged legal and financial security, which may not have been sought during the first. These sorts of issues were shared between many western European women, who, at a husband's death, had to begin to cope with property and financial matters immediately. Many had - for the first time in their lives - real authority and in some cases autonomy in their personal and private affairs.

Women in Welsh Country Houses

Hail Ladies of Cymru with loveliness blest…
Beauties, and Martyrs, and Heroines – your tales
As Glory's rays shine round the Genius of Wales.[31]

The lives of women in Wales have generally been under-researched by historians, as emphasised by Katherine Warner Swett.[32] Investigation is needed to assess whether their

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[30] J. Goody, *Production and Reproduction: A Comparative Study of the Domestic Domain* (Cambridge, 1976), p. 8.

[31] T.J.L. Prichard, *The Heroines of Welsh History: Comprising Memoirs and Biographical Notices of the Celebrated Women of Wales* (London, 1854), title page.

[32] See K.W. Swett, 'Widowhood, Custom and Property in Early Modern North Wales', *Welsh History Review*, 18 (December, 1996), pp. 189-227.

lives differed from, or ran parallel to, the lives of English women. Even in key works on the gentry in Wales, such as Philip Jenkins' *The Making of a Ruling Class; the Glamorgan Gentry, 1640-1790*, little consideration is given to the role of women. Their role as architectural patrons has similarly not been not discussed. Warner Swett's article in the *Welsh Review* was a pioneering piece of academic research, analysing for the first time the financial and legal position of widows from the late sixteenth to the late seventeenth century in north Wales. Focus was given to the widows of three prominent Welsh families; the Mostyns of Flintshire, the Bulkeleys of Anglesey and the Wynns of Gwydir, Caernarfonshire.[33]

Academic research has been undertaken reassessing the masculine narratives of Welsh history. *Women and Gender in Early Modern Wales* examines various aspects of women's lives, from religion and education to cultural pursuits such as needlework and poetry.[34] It is the first study to deal with shifting gender identities, and also the first to deal with early modern womanhood in Wales. It has provided a basis for comparative study of gendered experience and further enlarged Welsh historiography. As Simone Clarke points out:

> The redefinition of Welsh national and cultural identity over the course of [the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries] was paralleled by a redefinition of female roles which made the socialization of girls a process of negotiation between competing models of both Welshness and gentility. There were opportunities for improvisation and creativity here which we need not reduce to the single option of piety. [35]

With this in mind, this chapter examines the role of women in country house patronage by using a number of case studies, in particular those of a mother and daughter, Ellen and Winifred Bamford-Hesketh, later countess of Dundonald. The question is posed how women in Wales dispensed patronage through art and architecture, as well as displaying their own unique identity. There are examples in Wales of women taking the lead and control

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[33] E. Roberts, 'Everyday Life in the Homes of the Gentry', in J.G. Jones (ed.), *Class, Community and Culture in Tudor Wales* (Cardiff, 1989), pp. 39-78; R. Gwyndaf, 'Some References in Welsh Poetry to Sixteenth and early-Seventeenth Century New and Rebuilt Houses in North-East Wales', *DHST*, 22 (1973), pp. 87-92.
[34] See S. Clarke & M. Roberts, *Women and Gender in Early Modern Wales* (Cardiff, 2000).
[35] S. Clarke, 'The construction of genteel sensibilities: The socialization of daughters of the gentry in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Wales' in *Our Daughters' Land: Past and Present*, ed. by S. Betts (Cardiff, 1996), p. 59.

over estate matters, as well as making decisions in such areas as building projects and the dispensation of architectural endeavours.

W.G. Evans proposed that, 'with the possible exception of Madam Bevan and Lady Llanover, women have hardly figured at all in accounts of Welsh educational history.'[36] Yet, during the early modern period, greater access was afforded to literature and learning. Aspirations and opportunities for education varied greatly. According to their social status, daughters of the wealthy were usually expected to learn housewifery, needlework, dancing and music, in addition to the basic skills of reading and writing.[37] Welsh gentry women were, on the whole, unable to partake in the expanding educational world which was developing around them. Many male members of the gentry left Wales in search of education at the Inns of Court in England and at the increasing numbers of grammar schools and, after 1826, universities. Meanwhile, their female counterparts remained at home. Trips to London by women become more frequent during the eighteenth century, as testified by the début of Margaret Owen, the Penrhos heiress, into society during the early 1760s in order to find a suitable husband. Other social centres, such as Bath, Bristol and Cheltenham were also becoming locations for holidays, secondary homes and the marriage market. In Wales itself, town houses were to be found in key areas such as market towns and administrative centres, but also in towns like Llandrindod Wells or Tenby, where their building was primarily motivated by health and socialising. These trips, either prolonged or brief, enabled women to move outside their own family circles, to visit libraries, view art, learn about architecture and to find a husband.[38]

After marriage, mixing in cultured society, through their husband's connections, was also another way in which women broke from their restricted social circles. From dinner

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[36] W.G. Evans, *Education and Female Emancipation: The Welsh Experience 1847-1914* (Cardiff, 1990), p. 1.
[37] E.M. White, 'Women, Religion and Education in Eighteenth-Century Wales', in *Women and Gender in Early Modern Wales*, ed. by S. Clarke and M. Roberts (Cardiff, 2000), p. 214.
[38] M. Chadwick, National Identities in the Literary and Manuscript Culture of the North Welsh Gentry *c.*1776-1817', unpublished Aberystwyth University PhD Thesis (2013), p. 223.

parties to balls, women from all levels of the gentry were expanding their horizons beyond the home. These connections and influences were often carried on into widowhood. 'Learning through experience' was a consequence of learning through instruction – through a parent, for example - which is some way between formal education and life experience. Gentry women had much more time on their hands (than working class women) to educate themselves through reading and the pursuit of interests. For some gentry women, it was learning through experience, either from their fathers or other relatives, or more commonly from their husbands.

Genealogy and pedigree played a continuing and decisive role in forming a sense of place and importance to country house owners. Kinship, in Welsh society, was seen as one of the strongest and most valuable of ties. Special attention was often given to key female figures noted for their unions and links to other gentry families. Yet it is important to remember that girls rarely inherited the houses in which they were born and raised. And, upon marriage, they resided at their husband's home. All of these factors indicate that a woman's emotional experience of life might have been rather a disagreeable one.

One of the most famous examples of such a life was that of Katheryn of Berain (1535-1591), daughter and heiress of Tudor ap Robert Vychan of Berain, so called *Mam Cymru*, 'Mother of Wales'.[39] Another, less celebrated Welsh ancestress was Emma Dolben, who counted amongst her direct descendants: the William Wynns of Wynnstay, Ruabon, Wrexham; the Williams of Bodelwyddan, Denbighshire; the Bulkeleys of Baron Hill, Beaumaris, Anglesey; the Williams of Penbedw, Cilcain, Flintshire; and, through the female line, Owen of Orielton, Pembrokeshire, and Owen of Penrhos, Holyhead, Anglesey.[40] Emma was the daughter and heiress of John Dolben, of Caegwynlon, Denbighshire, and niece to the

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[39] E. Roberts, 'Katheryn of Berain [Mam Cymru] (*c.*1540–1591)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, May 2008 [URL: http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/67988, accessed 25.11.2014]
[40] J. Griffith, *Pedigrees of Anglesey and Caernarvonshire Families: With Their Collateral Branches in Denbighshire, Merionethshire and Other Parts* (Horncastle, 1914), p. 18.

Bishop of Bangor.[41] She married, around the year 1650, the Rev. Dr Hugh Williams, Rector of Llantrisant, Anglesey.[42] Lady Margaret Stanley (née Owen) of Penrhos took great interest in her ancestry and acquired a portrait of Emma Dolben. It was given pride of place in the entrance hall at Penrhos, and was important enough for Edward Pugh to include an account and an engraving of it in *Cambria Depicta*.[43] Lady Stanley's descendants were also well aware of the significance of Emma Dolben. When writing in the early twentieth-century, Jane Henrietta Adeane recorded that Emma:

> was the ancestress of several Welsh families of importance, among whom was the family of Owen, and we used to believe that if the portrait were moved then calamity would happen to the family at Penrhos […][44]

Nearly every major estate in North Wales passed through the female line at least once (as described in Griffith's pedigrees). An example of female landownership and also a direct descendant, through the female line, was Hester Lynch Salusbury (1741-1821), later Mrs Thrale, and then Mrs Piozzi.[45] Hester was an heiress in her own right, inheriting the Bachegraig estate in the Vale of Clwyd from her mother.[46] While her father's neighbouring property, Lleweni - one of North Wales' most famous and largest private houses - passed via the laws of primogeniture, to a male relative, Hester, desirous to re-establish her family on their ancestral lands, built Brynbella on Bachegraig land, in the Vale of Clwyd, to create a Welsh idyll. Work began in 1792 to the designs of Charles Mead and took three years to

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[41] Stephen K. Roberts, 'Dolben, David (1581–1633)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Oct 2008 [URL: http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/7773, accessed 26.11.2014]

[42] T.J. Llewellyn Prichard, *The Heroines of Welsh History: Comprising Memoirs and Biographical Notices of the Celebrated Women of Wales* (London, 1854), pp. 183-4.

[43] E. Pugh, *Cambria Depicta: A Tour through North Wales* (London, 1816), p. 62.

[44] Bangor (Penrhos VII) 1013. '*The Life of Margaret Owen, Lady Stanley (1742-1816) by her great-granddaughter, Jane Henrietta Adeane of Plas Llanfawr, Holyhead*', pp. 4-9.

[45] M.J. Franklin, 'Piozzi , Hester Lynch (1741–1821)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [URL: http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/22309, accessed 25.11.2014]

[46] J.E. Griffith, *Pedigrees of Anglesey and Carnarvonshire Families* (London, 1914), p. 222.

complete.[47] Brynbella, itself an amalgam of Welsh, (*bryn*: hill) and Italian (*bella*: beautiful), reflects - not only through its architecture but also its name - Hester's marriage to her second husband, the Italian, Gabriel Piozzi.[48]

Since the late seventeenth century, the Welsh estates of the Trevor family had not been the family's principal seat. John Trevor (1716-1743), only son and heir to John Morley Trevor (1681-1719), inherited two large estates in Wales; Plas Teg and Trevalyn in Flintshire and also his grandmother's property, Glynde Place, Sussex. John Morley Trevor's early death, quickly followed by that of his wife, Lucy Montagu in 1720, left his brother Thomas Trevor as guardian of the children.[49] John Trevor made his final will on 5th April 1743, during a heightened state of mental distress, the physical effects of which contributed to his death on 9th September.[50] He bequeathed Glynde Place to his cousin Richard Trevor, then a canon of Christ Church, Oxford, afterwards bishop of St. Davids and later of Durham, begging that he would 'have a care of the Miss Trevors', and the Welsh estates were jointly settled between seven of his eight surviving sisters: Grace (1703 -97), Mary (1708-80), Anne (1709-84), Margaret (1710-69), Ruth (1712 -64), Gertrude (1713-80) and Arabella (1714-89).[51] The sister excluded was Lucy (1706-?), who had married Edward Rice of Newton (d.1727), Llandeilo, M.P. for Carmarthen.[52] Lucy had accepted an annuity during her brother's lifetime and, in return, relinquished her claim to a share of his property. The Trevor sisters, including Lucy, contested the will, alleging that 'the testator did not make the will of

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[47] Cadw, Register of Landscapes, Parks and Gardens of Special Historic Interest in Wales. Part 1: Parks and Gardens: Clwyd (Cardiff, 1995), pp. 2-4.

[48] M.J. Franklin, 'Piozzi , Hester Lynch (1741–1821)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [URL: http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/22309, accessed 25.11.2014]

[49] Lewes, East Sussex Archives, MS GLY/826. 27.5.1719 Probate (P.C.C.) of will, dated 28.10.1718, of John Morley Trevor of Glynde.

[50] Letters from family and friends detail his deep depression on the death of his wife, and his subsequent suicide attempts.

[51] Will of John Trevor of Glynde, Sussex. Dated 17.9.1743. PRO PROB 11/729/72.

[52] P.D.G. Thomas, 'Rice, George (1724?–1779)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, May 2006 [URL: http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/23477, accessed 26.11.2014]

sound mind' but without success.[53] It appears that, with the loss of Glynde as their principal home, Plas Teg was in use once again, and the sisters took up residence. Ruth died there in 1764, and was buried in 1764 at Gresford Churchyard.[54] One of the Trevor sisters' personal maids lies buried in Hope, further suggesting a reoccupation of the old family home. The Trevor sisters made little, if any, impact on the architecture of Plas Teg; this may be accounted for by their shared inheritance - it must have been difficult to achieve consensus, particularly over financial matters, when decision making was split between seven people.

Another notable heiress was Jane Silence Williams, whose family owned the Pwllycrochan and Bodlondeb estates, near Colwyn Bay and Conwy respectively, as well as the ferry across the Menai Strait.[55] When the road bridge across the Strait in opened in January 1826, she was awarded £25,557 in compensation for loss of income.[56] With such a huge amount as a dowry, she was a very eligible heiress. She met Sir David Erskine and, after the couple married, they decided to live at their north Wales home.[57] The Pwllycrochan estate included most of what is now known as Colwyn Bay. Sir David was a well-respected landlord who, before he died in 1841, initiated a great deal of work on the estate to the benefit of his tenants. The dowager Lady Erskine stayed on at Pwllycrochan, playing an active part in the cultural life of the county and rebuilding Pwllycrochan in the 1840s.[58] The architect has not been identified, but the house bears some resemblance to the work of the Welch brothers. The new house was substantial but restrained, and did not continue in the family's hands for long. In 1865, the eldest son, Sir Thomas, decided to sell the estate and concentrate his

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[53] Lewes, East Sussex Archives GLY/828. Dated 12.7.1744. Inspeximus (Letters Patent) of Chancery proceedings between Richard Trevor, D.C.L. canon of Christchurch, Oxford, pl., v. Lucy Rice, Grace Trevor, Mary Trevor, Hon. George Boscawen and w. Anne, Margaret Trevor, Ruth Trevor, Gertrude Trevor and Arabella Trevor, def.
[54] Information from Mrs. Cornelia Bayley, of Plas Teg, interviewed 11.11.14.
[55] Sale of Pwllycrochan and Bodlondeb Estates, 15th-16th September, 1865. Gwynedd Archives, XD2/14352.
[56] A. Fletcher, 'Rhyl – The Evolution of Resort', *FHSJ*, 33 (1992), p. 129.
[57] A. Fletcher, 'The Role of Landowners, Entrepreneurs and Railways in the Urban Development of the North Wales Coast during the Nineteenth Century, *WHR*, 16 (1992-93), p. 535.
[58] E. Hubbard, *Clwyd: Buildings of Wales* (London, 1986), p. 140.

attention on the ancestral estates in Scotland.[59] Lady Erskine had, by this time, moved to Torquay, and her home was nostalgically called 'Conway House'.[60] The case of Pwllycrochan is unusual, as Lady Erskine did not force her children to remain in Wales, choosing rather to let them follow their paternal ancestry in Scotland, and return to their ancestral seat at Cambo House, Fife. This case study contrasts with that of Winifred, countess of Dundonald, who made every effort to ensure that her inheritance was not squandered and spent in Scotland after her death.

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[59] G. Porter, *Colwyn Bay Before the Houses Came* (Colwyn Bay, 1938), pp. 18-28.
[60] A. Fletcher, 'The Role of Landowners, Entrepreneurs and Railways in the Urban Development of the North Wales Coast during the Nineteenth Century, *WHR*, 16 (1992-93), p. 535.

The Owens and Stanleys of Penrhos, Holyhead, Anglesey
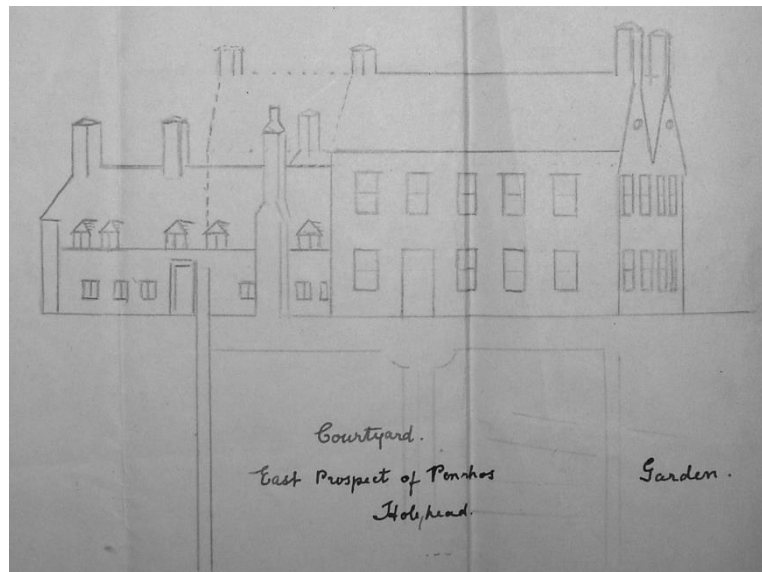
Figure 51: *Copy of a drawing c.1720 by Lewis Morris, held in the British Museum, showing part of the sub-medieval mansion of Penrhos, extended with an early eighteenth century double pile range. The dotted outline shows the placement of the eighteenth century extension. Note that this copy is incorrectly labelled the 'East Prospect' as on the original it is clearly marked 'West Prospect'.* Bangor University Archives: Penrhos/VI/904a.

Penrhos represents a historic Welsh house, owned by *yr uchelwyr*, which was altered by its female owners. It broke with traditional forms of Welsh architecture which - as outlined in Chapter 3 - largely chose plain classical designs for their alterations, masking the earlier structure. The Penrhos estate, during the eighteenth century, was dominated by three generations of Welsh women, each of whom stamped their personality on their home. Two were strongly willed wives and subsequently widows, and the third a wealthy heiress who, despite marrying an English peer, maintained her property in Wales as her own.

> When the traveller arriving from England reached Penrhos, he found a grey house rough cast, a long plain building with a steep slated roof and a complete absence of architectural pretension. As a rule the dwellings of the country gentlemen of Anglesey were plain oblong houses with small low rooms and deep windows admitting but little light, situated amongst trees so as to obtain as much shelter as possible from the wind. They are very different from the country houses to be met with in England and from the Scotch mansions which however have a dignity and picturesqueness of their own, with their corbin stones and pepper box turrets [...][61]

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[61] Bangor (Penrhos VII) 1013. '*The Life of Margaret Owen, Lady Stanley (1742-1816) by her great-granddaughter, Jane Henrietta Adeane of Plas Llanfawr, Holyhead*', pp. 4-9.
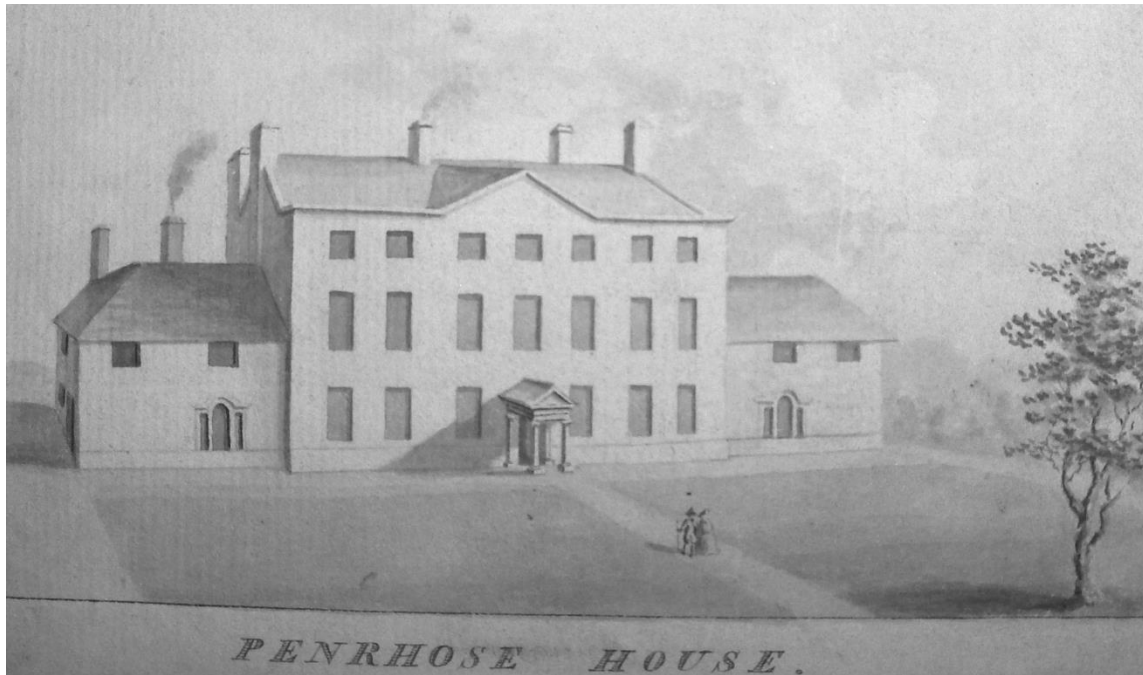
Figure 52: *Detail of the west elevation or entrance front of Penrhose (sic) House from Boydell's Estate survey in 1769, drawing executed by J. Caloeley.* Bangor University Archives: Penrhos/II/772.

The only known drawing to survive that illustrates part of the sub-medieval house is a line drawing of 1720 by Lewis Morris of Holyhead, antiquary and Welsh scholar (see figure 51).[62] On the basis of this drawing and the surviving structures, it seems probable that Penrhos was a unit-system house, which housed the entire Owen family, without the need for building a dower house for the widow, or another house for the heir. A Royal Commission survey dated much of the eighteenth-century interior, particularly the staircase, to the middle of the century. At this time, the house appears to have been raised by a storey and enriched with a pediment and balancing two-storey wings, enlivened by tripartite windows.[63] It is questionable, however, whether the pediment was in actuality built, as it appears neither on a painting dated 1799 nor on a pencil sketch of Penrhos, dated 1818.[64] Ann, daughter of Chancellor Edward Wynn of Bodewryd, married Robert Owen of Penrhos, who, on his death

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[62] Bangor University Archives: Penrhos/VI/904a.
[63] RCAHMW, *An Inventory of the Ancient Monuments of Anglesey* (London, 1937), p. 210.
[64] Bangor University Archives: Penrhos/VIII/266 and Bangor University Archives Penrhos/VII/1002.

in 1731, left the estate in debt as a result of his poor management.[65] The house in which Ann lived was an early eighteenth-century double-pile structure, added on to the sub-medieval three-unit Snowdonia house. The house depicted on the 1769 estate map (see figure 52) was the result of improvements made by Ann Owen prior to her death in 1748.[66]

Figure 53*: From a painting of Penrhos, dated 1799, by Edward Stanley, later Bishop of Norwich*. Bangor University Archives: Penrhos/VIII/266.

Ann was forced out of necessity to undertake farming operations directly until Penrhos was once again on a sound financial footing.[67] Her sons, who may have had some impact on Penrhos's development, all predeceased her. William (d.1733), who was a gardening enthusiast, is historically associated with the building of the centre portion of the mansion but, as his mother was in charge of the estate, she seems most likely to have been making the critical decisions. Edward (d.1741) was an artist of great ability and was apprenticed to Thomas Gibson the limner. The third son, Hugh, who was a barrister, married a noted local beauty, Margaret Bold of Beaumaris (*c.*1723-1800). In 1742, Margaret Bold was widowed at the age of nineteen. From 1748 onwards, Margaret, known amongst the Penrhos estate papers as 'Madam Owen', managed the property on behalf of her infant

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[65] L. Williams, *Introduction to Penrhos Catalogue: Volume 1* (Bangor, 1940), p. ix.
[66] Bangor University Archives: Penrhos/II/772.
[67] Ann was supported by her brother, Dr Wynn of Bodewryd, chancellor of Hereford, who, in the absence of any surviving children of his own, took on a paternal role with his nephews. It is apparent from their letters that they were fluent in their native tongue, and her writing 'some vigorous Welsh words used in writing English, suggests that [Ann] thought in Welsh.'

daughter and ensured that she was to marry well.[68] A wealthy heiress, Margaret Owen (1742-1816) married Sir John Thomas Stanley (1735-1807) of Alderley, Cheshire in 1763.

References in the Stanley letters at both Bangor University and the Cheshire Archives allude to Lady Stanley carrying out improvements in 1788, but no details are given (see figure 53).[69] Further building activity was carried out between 1802 and 1807, and in the floor of a porch on the garden side of the house was the date 1802, laid out in white cobblestones, probably by James Defferd.[70] Defferd (*c.*1750-1813), originally of Somerset, settled in Bangor *c.*1790, and was one of the first professional architects to live and practise in North Wales. He was County Surveyor for Caernarfonshire, and the designer of the new hall at Faenol, Bangor.[71] For a patron such as Lady Margaret Stanley, the choice of a provincial architect afforded a modest cost. The influence of an architect like Defferd in northwest Wales can be summed up by a quote from John Summerson: 'Most provincial centres at this time had one leading figure, usually a mason who had 'left off his apron', who led the way in design, who designed and built the bigger houses in the town and the district and whose manner was copied by lesser men.'[72] The building of Faenol was the flagship for Defferd's abilities, and 'consumer reaction' followed with recommendations from pleased customers and evidence of practical competence through the execution of building work as County Surveyor.

Lady Stanley died at Penrhos on 1st February 1816.[73] An inventory of rooms taken at the time of her death illustrates how she utilised the house towards the end of her life. On the ground floor were the public or reception rooms, which consisted of the Hall, the White and

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[68] J.H. Adeane (ed.), *The early married life of Maria Josepha, Lady Stanley, with extracts from Sir John Stanley's Praeterita* (London: 1899), p. 202.
[69] Ibid.
[70] Bangor (Penrhos VIII) 273. Quoted as having worked at Penrhos for Lady Stanley in 1812 by Rev. J. Evans, *The Beauties of England and Wales, or, Delineations, topographical, historical, and descriptive, of each county, North Wales* (London, 1812), p. 245.
[71] R. Haslam, J. Orbach, and A. Voelcker (eds.), *The Buildings of Wales: Gwynedd* (New Haven, 2009), p.373.
[72] J. Summerson, *Architecture in Britain, 1530-1830* (Harmondsworth, 1953) p. 222.
[73] J.H. Adeane (ed.), *The Early Married Life of Maria Josepha, Lady Stanley, with Extracts From Sir John Stanley's Praeterita.* (London, 1899), p. 357.

Gold Boudoir, the Saloon, the Breakfast Room and Dining Room. To the north stood the service quarters, which consisted of a Tenant's Hall, behind which were the kitchens and domestic offices. On the first floor was the Library and another Drawing Room, which was centrally placed, with views looking out over the principal front. Lady Margaret's bedroom, together with the 'Best Room' and seven other bedrooms, were on this level. The second floor contained the servant's bedrooms and attics. [74]
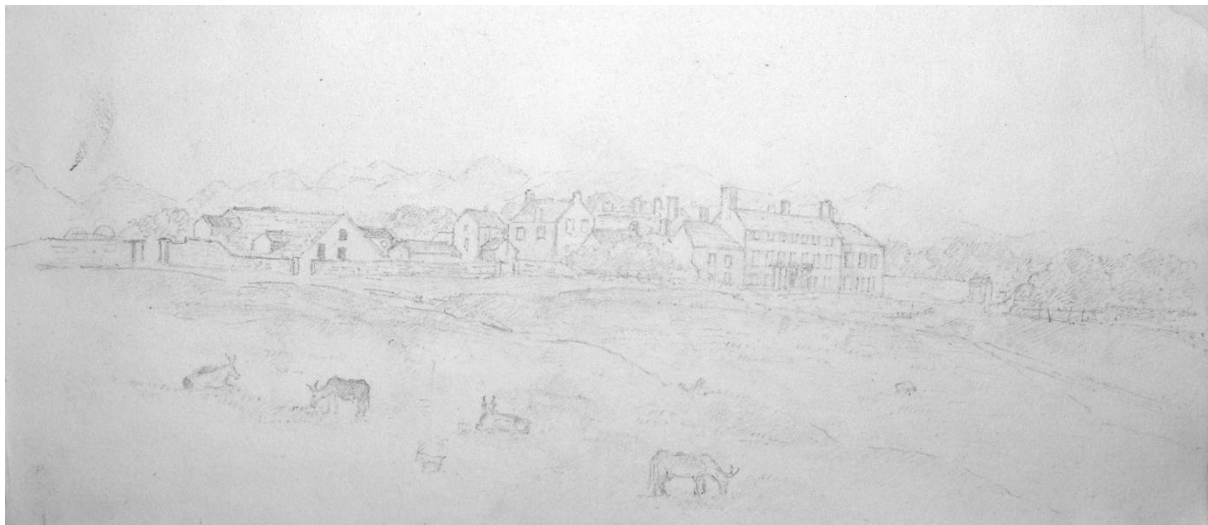
Figure 54: *Penrhos as it appeared soon after the death of Lady Margaret Stanley. This sketchbook is dated 1818, apparently belonging to Isabella Louisa Stanley (ob. 1839), daughter of Sir John Thomas Stanley, later 1st Baron Stanley of Alderley.* Bangor University Archives Penrhos/VII/1002.

The Royal Institute of British Architects Library Drawings and Archive Collections hold six original architectural plans of Penrhos. Three drawings, by Hansom and Welch, one of which is dated 2nd April 1829, represent proposals for remodelling, which included extending and castellating the house. [75] SC101/72/3 is of special interest, as it has an illustration of the 'garden front' of Penrhos prior to alteration by Hansom and Welch, and also confirms the use of a first-floor drawing room. A fourth drawing, showing a ground floor plan entitled 'Design 1', contains a detailed sketch of the main front, with crenellations and turrets. This, however, only exists as an incomplete photocopy, and its original whereabouts

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[74] Ibid., pp. 357-358.
[75] London, RIBA Library SC101/72/1-3

are currently unknown. These plans were produced for Sir John Thomas Stanley, who had inherited Penrhos from his mother in 1816. Jane Henrietta Adeane records that her grandfather had carried out the alterations to his mother's property to cater for the needs of his expanding family (see figure 54):

> He also built the small towers as means of communication between the upper and lower stories. They gave an appearance of importance to the front of the house and broke the monotony of the flat grey building as it then appeared.

> Sir John did a great deal to the buildings which form a picturesque [...] village of barns and outhouses round a large courtyard on the north side of the dwelling house. He added the large square tower with battlements and the many walls and gates which give Penrhos an appearance of great extent as approached from the lodge gates.[76]

Edward Welch (1806-1868) was born in Overton, Flintshire, and became a pupil of John Oates at Halifax, West Yorkshire.[77] Here he met Joseph Aloysius Hansom (1803-1882) and they entered into an architectural partnership in 1828. One of their most famous Welsh commissions was Beaumaris Gaol, Anglesey (1828-9), which was swiftly followed by private commissions along the north Wales coast.[78] Their country house practice was given a much needed boost through their employment by Sir John Hay Williams (1794-1859) of Bodelwyddan Castle, and he records in his diary for September 1828, '[…] My father & mother gave me Bryn Helyn in Anglesey. I was full of plans with Mr Welch to build a villa there.'[79] This land, on the shores of the Menai Straits, had formed part of Lady Margaret William's inheritance as heiress of the Tŷ Fry estate, but was not developed until 1848.[80] However, an entry for 10th January 1829 records 'Mr Welch came to us & with my father's

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[76] Bangor (MS Penrhos VII) 1013. '*The Life of Margaret Owen, Lady Stanley (1742-1816) by her great-granddaughter, Jane Henrietta Adeane of Plas Llanfawr, Holyhead*', pp. 4-9.
[77] P. Harris, *The Architectural Achievement of Joseph Aloysius Hansom (1803-1882), Designer of the Hansom Cab, Birmingham Town Hall, and Churches of the Catholic Revival* (Lampeter, 2010), p. 11
[78] G. C. Boase, 'Hansom, Joseph Aloysius (1803–1882)', rev. Denis Evinson, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Sept 2013 [URL http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/12225, accessed 26.11.2014]
[79] Prestatyn, GCPTA/6 MSS Photocopy of a diary belonging to Sir John Hay Williams.
[80] Haslam, Orbach, and Voelcker (eds.), *The Buildings of Wales: Gwynedd* (New Haven, 2009), p. 150 and
 H. E. D. Blakiston, 'Verney , Margaret Maria, Lady Verney (1844–1930)', rev. H. J. Spencer, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Oct 2006 [URL: http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/36644, accessed 26.11.2014]

consent we began to make the alterations at Bodelwyddan & to build the new room.'[81] It appears to be the case that Welch at both Bodelwyddan and Penrhos was dealing with the proposals and alterations directly, producing the plans himself and conducting site visits personally.[82]

The female owners of Penrhos firmly remained on their ancestral lands, speaking Welsh and maintaining the family heirlooms. The wealth of literature, written largely by members of the Penrhos family, supports the thesis's argument that gentry families held their female ancestors in high regard, and that women took control of estate management and architectural patronage, to the exclusion of their male relatives. The society's previously-rigid rules regarding masculinity and femininity became blurred, with women taking on aspects of the male persona, running estates and commissioning buildings whilst also maintaining aspects of the traditionally 'female' roles, by raising children and providing a family home. In Wales, through the Eisteddfodau, literature, language, art and strands of mysticism were woven into daily life, mixing Celtic revivalism and Christianity elements. Here, archaeology played an important role - especially in north Wales, where the physical evidence of past societies was inescapable. As providers, both to the family and community, gentry women could excel, and they received recognition for this. The theme of maternal responsibility, which echoed Katheryn of Berain or *Mam Cymru* was an evocative, if romanticised, model to which many women turned. [83] This self-conception manifested itself in ways - like architectural or decorative choices - that are still visible today.

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[81] Ibid.
[82] London, RIBA SC101/72/1. This particular ground plan is signed and dated by E. Welch 2.4.1829.
[83] Nicholas, T., *Annals and Antiquities of the Counties and County Families of Wales Two Vol.* (London, 1872), p. 393.

The Development of Llys Dulas, Dulas, Anglesey and Kinmel, St. George, Conwy

Figure 55: *A view of Samuel Wyatt's Kinmel Park from the park, showing the main house and service wing behind; drawn by John Ingleby in 1794.* NLW: PD9110

This next section considers how women who were not Welsh by birth approached the architecture of the houses, against the backdrop of traditional buildings and the practices of *yr uchelwyr*. The first case study analyses the building activities of the Hughes family of Llys Dulas, Anglesey - later owners of Kinmel, St George, Conwy - and in particular the Irish second wife of William Lewis Hughes, Lord Dinorben. It questions whether any of their shared or solo architectural activities continued a tradition of Welsh architecture, as outlined in Chapter 3. It is proposed that the choice of 'national' architects was a conscious action undertaken in order to assert social position as a second wife, and subsequently, a widow. The second case study provides contrast by narrating the development of a small country house, Plas Dulas, Llanddulas, Conwy, and its satellite buildings - which were developed by an English heiress, Elizabeth Easthope, during the mid-nineteenth century, using artisan craftsmen and advice (at the very least) from a provincial architect. It attempts to place Plas

Dulas within the architectural typology put forward by Peter Smith's *Houses of the Welsh Countryside* by analysing its layout, structure and decoration.
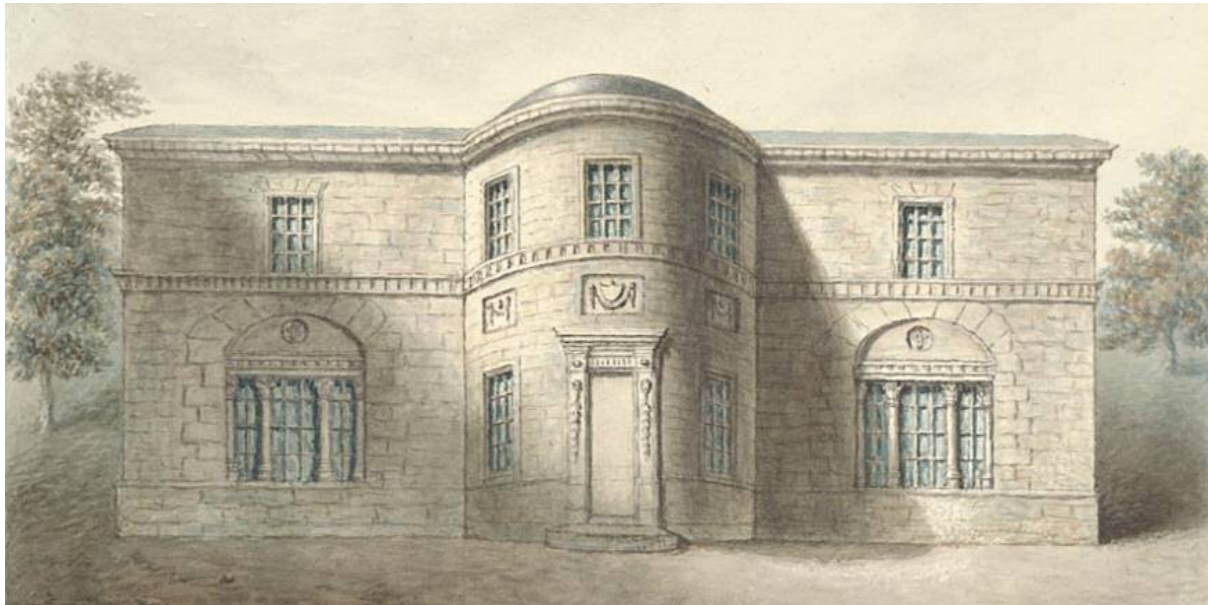
Figure 56: *The north elevation of Samuel Wyatt's Kinmel Park, drawn by John Ingleby in 1794.* NLW: PD9111

Llys Dulas and Kinmel were two of the largest houses in north Wales. In 1791 work began on Rev. Edward Hughes's new Kinmel, designed by Samuel Wyatt (1737-1807) in the Greek style, departing from any traditional form of Welsh architecture (see figures 55 and 56).[84] Wyatt was already established in north Wales, having worked for the Bulkeley family at Baron Hill, Anglesey during the 1770s, and it was this house that brought neo-classical architecture into north Wales (see Chapter 4).[85] The original Kinmel was deemed to be unsuitable for one of the richest families in Wales to inhabit. The sub-medieval house of the Holland family was not demolished, but rather retained in the grounds of the Wyatt house, with a walled garden created around it (see figure 57). By the 1850s, old Kinmel was a ruin and kept as a curiosity for visitors. J.B. Burke records seeing 'this venerable pile' and a room

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[84] Samuel Wyatt had been also employed at Baron Hill, Beaumaris and Penrhyn Castle, Bangor, prior to his work at Kinmel.
[85] G.H.L. Le May, 'Wyatt, Samuel (1737–1807)', rev. John Martin Robinson, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [URL: http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/38159, accessed 25.11.2014]

thirty feet by eighteen feet wide, said to have been occupied by Oliver Cromwell.[86] He mentions an outer oak door, studded with nails, which spelt out the initials D L H, and the date 1615.[87] Similar doors were found at the Clough houses of Bachegraig and Plas Clough.[88]
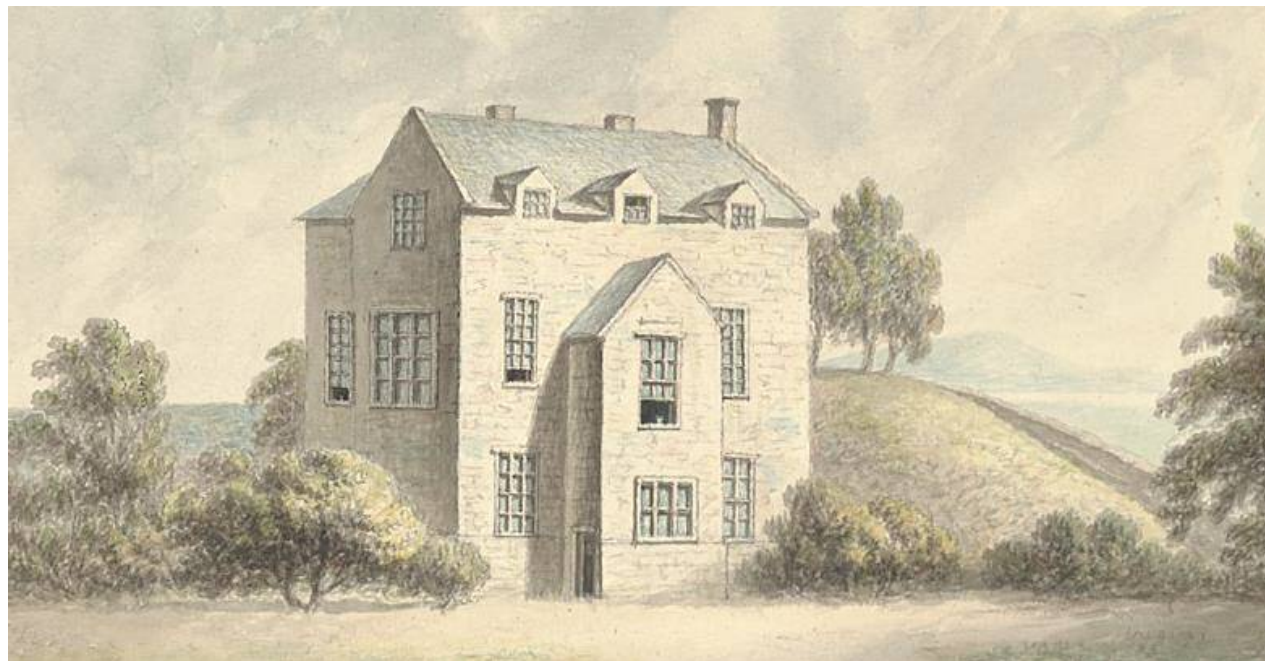
Figure 57: *Old Kinmel, converted to a farm house during the 1790s. Illustrated by John Ingleby in 1795.* NLW: PD9111

It was through Mary Lewis (1740-1835), heiress of the chancellor of Bangor Cathedral, that the Llys Dulas estate entered the Hughes family's hands. The Hughes family claimed descent from Hwfa ap Cynddelw, possessor of the lordship of Llysllifon and founder of the first of the fifteen Noble Tribes of Wales, placing them amongst the elite of north Wales[89]. Mary Lewis's inheritance included a portion of Parys Mountain, an area of Anglesey immensely rich in copper - the source of the Hughes family's vast yet sudden income.[90] The Hughes dynasty was founded by Hugh Hughes (1705-1773), who had entered the employ in 1725 of Dr Edward Wynn of Bodewryd, chancellor of Hereford.[91] Hugh rose

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[86] J.B. Burke, *Seats of Great Britain* (London, 1855), p. 1.
[87] Ibid., p. 2.
[88] T. Nicholas, Annals and Antiquities of the Counties and County Families of Wales (London, 1872), p. 46.
[89] J. Griffith, *Pedigrees of Anglesey and Caernarvonshire Families: With Their Collateral Branches in Denbighshire, Merionethshire and Other Parts* (Horncastle, 1914), pp. 64-65.
[90] See B.D. Hope, *A Curious Place: The Industrial History of Amlwch 1550-1950* (Wrexham, 1994) and J.R. Harris, *The Copper King* (Ashbourne, 2003).
[91] E. Gwynne Jones, *A schedule of the Kinmel Manuscripts and Documents*, 1955 (typescript), pp. 8-9.

from servant to landowner during the mid-eighteenth century, acquiring the Lleiniog estate, Beaumaris.[92] His son, Rev. Edward Hughes (1739-1815) married Mary Lewis of Llys Dulas in 1765, shortly before copper was discovered at Parys Mountain on 2nd March 1768.[93] With their fortune, the Hugheses spent lavishly on acquiring property. The Kinmel estate was purchased in 1786 for £42,000, and became the principal residence of the family.[94] They had three sons. The eldest, William Lewis Hughes (1767-1852), was made the first Lord Dinorben in 1831, and became colonel of the Anglesey Militia and MP for Wallingford from 1802 to the time of his elevation to the peerage.[95] He married first Charlotte Margaret Grey, but it was his second wife, Gertrude, who had the greatest impact upon the architecture of their houses.

Gertrude Smyth, the youngest daughter of Grice Smyth of Ballynatray House, County Waterford, grew up in a neoclassical Georgian house (see figure 58). Ballynatray had been built between 1795 and 1797 by an unidentified architect, enlarging an earlier Elizabethan house. Grice Smyth is known to have employed Alexander Deane (father of Sir Thomas Deane), and work was still ongoing in 1806, the time of Alexander's death. It has been suggested by Frederick O'Dwyer that the works may have been concluded by his widow, 'the redoubtable Elizabeth Deane.' [96] The family had come to national (even international) prominence due to the marriage of Gertrude's sister Penelope (1805-1880) to the prince of Capua, brother to the king of the Two Sicilies. This was a controversial elopement that, for a short time, scandalised society and was hugely satirised by the press. Nicknamed 'Princess Pen' or 'Mrs Pen' by the newspaper *The Age*, the royal couple were friends with Queen Victoria's uncle, the duke of Sussex. The duke frequently stayed with his good friend,

[92] Ibid., p. 10.
[93] Ibid., pp. 10-11 and J.R. Harris, 'Williams, Thomas (1737–1802)', rev. *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, May 2005 [URL: http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/38133, accessed 25.11.2014]
[94] A. Nicholson, *The Gentry: Stories of the English* (London, 2011), p. 315.
[95] *The London Gazette*, 9.9.1831.
[96] F. O'Dwyer, *The Architecture of Deane and Woodward* (Cork, 1997), p. 417.

William Lewis Hughes at Kinmel. It was at one of these visits in December 1839 that the prince and princess of Capua introduced Gertrude to Lord Dinorben.[97] Within days of the visit concluding, a marriage between Gertrude and Hughes was announced. Rumours circulated within the press that Lady Gardner, Dinorben's daughter, disapproved of the match and that a family rift had ensued. A libel was also brought against the *Morning Post*, which had printed an article insinuating that Lady Gardner had conducted an illicit affair at Kinmel with the prince of Capua. This, amongst other problems, had caused Lord and Lady Gardner to separate and Lord Dinorben to cease contact with Lord Gardner.[98] The marriage took place at Kensington Palace in February 1840 by special licence, and the bride was given away by the duke of Sussex.[99] It was a controversial match in many respects: first, comment was made on the age gap between husband and wife, a span of over forty years; and secondly, Gertrude was Irish. The press, chiefly *The Satirist*, made extensive and lurid comments regarding Lord Dinorben's age and his virility, speculating, for instance, 'Lady Dinorben says she cannot find a single inch of pleasure in matrimony. We should much wonder if she could!'[100] Nonetheless, Gertrude gave birth to two daughters, Gertrude Cecilia (born and died 1843) and in 1845, Gwyn-Gertrude.[101]

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[97] *The Age*, 8.12.1839 .

[98] *The Times*, 24.1.1840.

[99] Lord Dinorben firstly married Charlotte, daughter of Ralph William Grey of Backworth, Northumberland in 1804, and had eight children: two boys and six girls. Charlotte died in 1835 having lost four of her offspring already.

[100] *The Satirist*, 8.3.1840.

[101] Interview with D. Fetherstonhaugh, 12.3.2009.

Figure 58: *An engraved portrait of Lady Dinorben, from a painting by Sir George Hayter. Published 1849.* Mark Baker.

Wyatt's Kinmel was gutted by fire in 1841, with the exception of the main walls and a

portion of the offices. The damage was estimated to have a repair cost of between £35,000

and £50,000; this loss was made doubly worse, as Kinmel had not been insured.[102] The

question arose as to whether Kinmel should be rebuilt or not. Lord Dinorben debated the

possibility of rebuilding Kinmel with his brother James on 29th June 1842:

> […] It is obvious that a House on the Estates will be a benefit to all who come after
> me and may survive William. At present the outward walls are sufficiently perfect and
> a permanent building may be established upon them at a cost comparatively small to
> what would be done if a few winters' storms were allowed to pass over them. The
> estates you know are strictly entail'd and my power over them for the maintenance of
> younger children so small, as to make it urgent at my time of life to lessen my means
> of providing for them by an outlay on buildings. My object therefore is to obtain
> through an Act of Parliament a power to charge the estates with a certain sum to
> enable me to restore the mansion. I think I have got rid of all parliamentary
> difficulties but the consent of parties interested is necessary & amongst them [...][103]

Monies were raised through an Act of Parliament and from family members, totalling

some £20,000, which was to be paid back at £1,000 per annum.[104] Thomas Hopper, who had

been previously employed at Penrhyn Castle and Bryn Bras Castle, was appointed to raise the

new Kinmel from the ruins of the old.[105] The Dinorbens were able to return to Kinmel on 14th

November 1844, some three years after the fire. A detailed description of Hopper's Kinmel

was given by E. Parry in 1848 and J.B. Burke in 1855 (see figure 59).[106] Burke's description

is the most useful for reconstructing what Gertrude's house looked like:

> […] It is constructed of excellent freestone, from the Stourton Hill quarries, in
> Cheshire. The eastern front, which is the principal, is one hundred and eighty feet in
> extent, relieved by a portico with four massive Ionic columns. At right angles to it, but
> on a higher elevation, stand the stables, which are built of the same stone as, and in a
> corresponding way with, the house […] The western front is relieved by another
> portico of the same dimensions as the principal front, and as well as the northern
> front, opens upon a spacious terrace […][107]

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[102] E. Boxhall, *Kinmel Characters: 12th -20th Century* (St. George, 1990), pp. 43- 44. Quoted from two unnamed and undated newspaper reports.
[103] Bangor, (Kinmel Papers) 1606. Letter from Lord Dinorben dated 28.6.1842 to his brother, James Hughes.
[104] Elaine Boxhall, *Kinmel Characters: 12th -20th Century* (St. George: Kinmel Publishing, 1990), p. 44.
[105] M. H. Port, 'Hopper, Thomas (1776–1856)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Jan 2008 [URL: http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/13763, accessed 25.11.2014]
[106] E. Parry, *Cambrian Mirror* (London, 1848), pp. 116-118.
[107] J.B. Burke, *Seats of Great Britain* (London, 1855), p. 2.
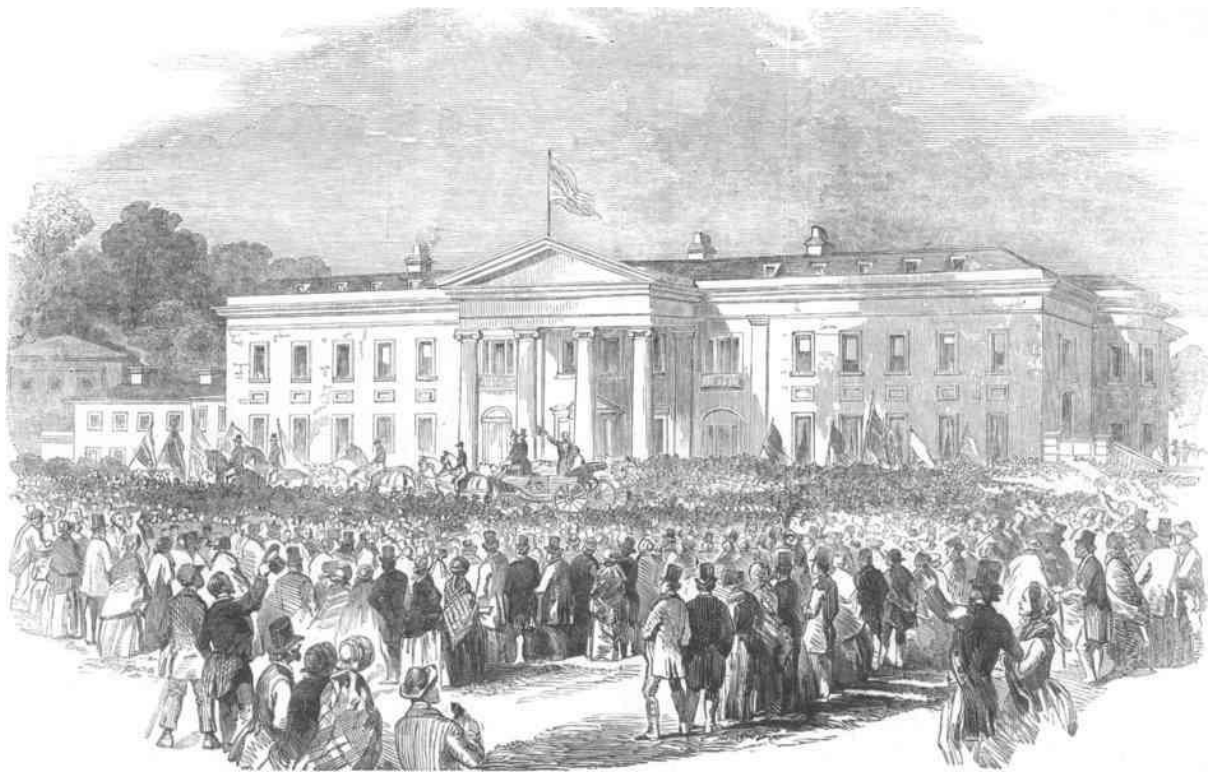
Figure 59: *The entrance front of Thomas Hopper's Kinmel Park. This engraving was prepared in 1853 for the Illustrated London News.* Mark Baker.

As Kinmel eclipsed the family's ancestral Anglesey estate during the 1790s, Llys Dulas was used as a dower house and occasional retreat for the Hugheses. Mary Lewis, mother of Lord Dinorben, had in her widowhood retired to Llys Dulas.[108] The house at Llys Dulas had been last used as home in 1835 by Lord Dinorben's mother, and was in need of repair when Lady Dinorben and her young daughter took up residence in the early-1850s. Architect William Burn (1789-1870) had carried out alterations at Llys Dulas *c.*1840 in a Jacobean revival style, clearly visible in figure 60. William Burn's remodelling of the main building Llys Dulas resembles closely his work at South Rauceby (1842) for Anthony Willson and Burn's conservatory for the Dinorbens is remarkably similar to the orangery at Stoke Rochford (1841) for Christopher Turner.[109] It may have been the case that the expenditure on Llys Dulas was sourced by mortgaging Kinmel. On the death of Lord Dinorben, his young widow and daughter were given the Llys Dulas estate, whilst Kinmel

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[108]*North Wales Chronicle*, 24.1.1828.

[109] D.M. Walker, 'Burn, William (1789–1870)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, May 2007 [URL: http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/4044, accessed 26.11.2014]

was bequeathed to Dinorben's nephew, Hugh Robert Hughes. Lord Dinorben disliked his

nephew enormously, and this bitterness was shared by his widow.[110] Hughes began litigation

against Lady Dinorben for £12,000, the remainder outstanding of a £20,000 mortgage

undertaken to build Hopper's Kinmel.[111]

Figure 60: *An engraving of Llys Dulas prior to Deane and Woodward's extension.* NLW: MS 12441B.

Around 1856, Lady Dinorben decided to extend and re-fashion Llys Dulas.[112] It is not

clear why she did this, given that the house had been extensively modelled only fifteen years

earlier. By this time, Thomas Hopper was dead, so it was to her Irish roots that she turned

when looking for an architect. The practice of Deane and Woodward were employed to

enlarge Llys Dulas. Frederick O'Dwyer, author of the definitive work on Deane and

Woodward, describes Llys Dulas as being one of their most important private projects, as it

established a precedent for a covered central courtyard, a concept famously employed at the

Oxford University Museum of Natural History.[113] Its date of completion must have been

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[110] A. Nicholson, *The Gentry: Stories of the English* (London, 2011), pp. 316-320.
[111] Ibid., p. 321.
[112] C.L. Eastlake, *A History of the Gothic Revival* (London, 1872), p. 394. Estimated to have cost £6,000.
[113] F. O'Dwyer, *The Architecture of Deane and Woodward* (Cork, 1997), p. xxv.

before the end of 1858, as it was mentioned by the *Building News* as being finished.[114] The contractors, Cockburn and Sons, supervised the work from Dublin, which was less arduous than an English contractor travelling across land to reach Anglesey.[115] Llys Dulas was also convenient for Deane and Woodward, who took the Irish packet from Dublin to Holyhead whilst en route to Oxford to oversee the building of the museum.[116]
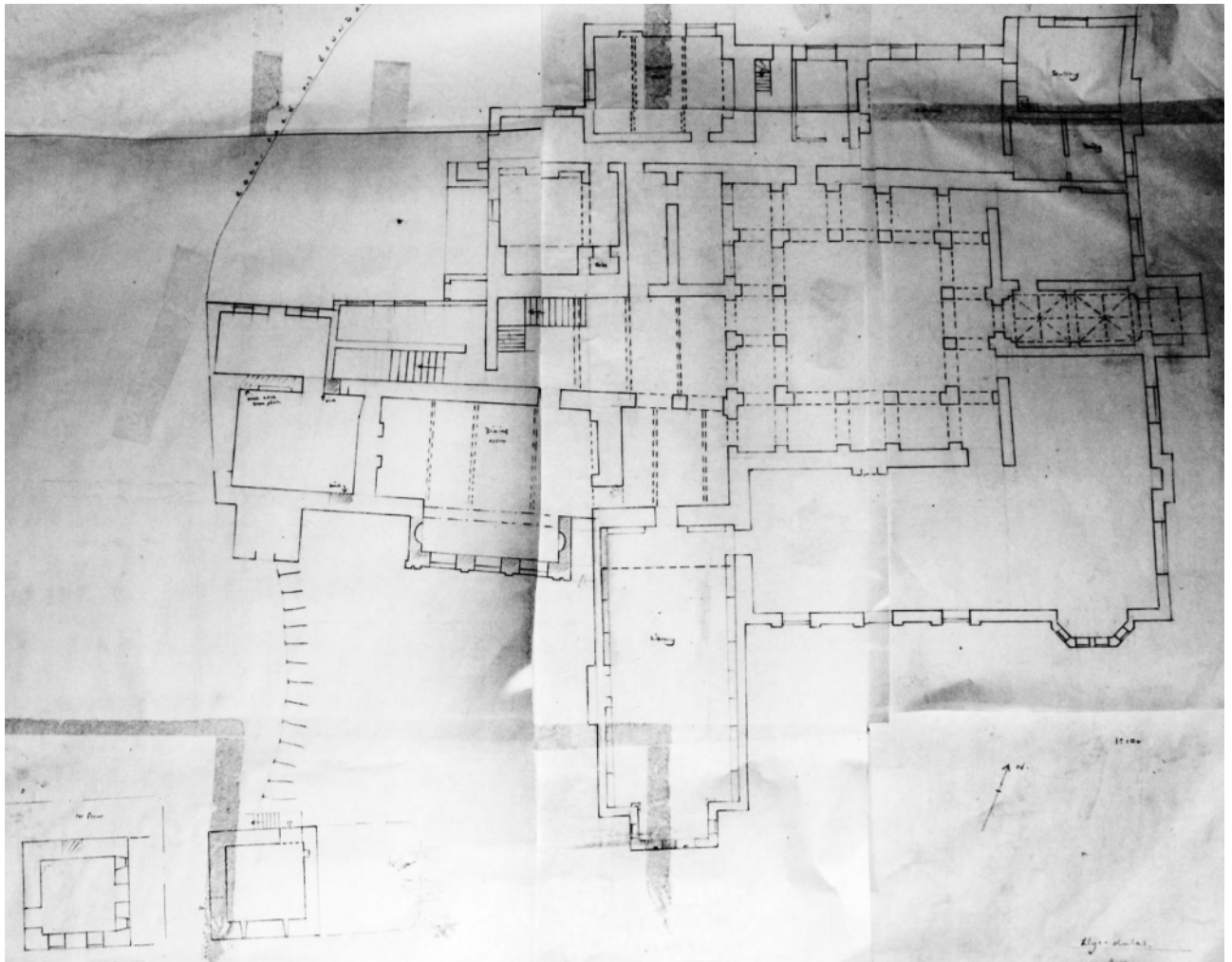
Figure 61: *A.J. Parkinson's plan of Llys Dulas. Deane and Woodward's extension can be seen to the right of the central courtyard.* RCAHMW: C8070.

The original Llys Dulas was an L-shaped house, Jacobean in detail and built against a rock face. Deane and Woodward added an inverted L-shape wing to form an internal

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[114]*Building* News, 24.91858.
[115] Ibid., pp.420-421.
[116] F. O'Dwyer, 'Deane, Sir Thomas (1792–1871)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [URL: http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/7390, accessed 25.11.2014] and Frederick O'Dwyer, 'Woodward, Benjamin (1816–1861)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [URL: http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/29941, accessed 25.11.2014]

courtyard, around which the new house was formed (see figure 61).[117] To match the new with

old, the entire building was cement rendered, leaving only the vaulting of the porch exposed

to show the bright red Ruabon brick. The dressings, balconies, shafts and columns were all of

limestone, featuring naturalistic animals, birds and plants, executed by the form of Purdy and

Outhwaite or the sculptor, Charles William Harrison.[118] In the central courtyard, 'stars' were

inserted into the roof timbers, but they were expressed as rectangular glass 'slates' on the

exterior.[119] O'Dwyer suggests that Woodward's stars may have been inspired by the roof

lighting of the Hall of the Baths at the Alhambra Palace, Granada.[120] Despite all of the

Moorish detailing, at the core was kept the historic fabric of the Lewis house, respecting the

physical remains of the home of her late husband's family. The Dinorben coat of arms,

reused from the earlier house, was incorporated into the gable above the main entrance. Such

a radical departure from the neo-classical Kinmel is an interesting choice and, given the

difficult relationship with Hugh Robert Hughes, it is not surprising that Lady Dinorben chose

the then fashionable gothic mode for the new Llys Dulas (see figure 62).

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[117] RCAHMW C8070, a sketch plan of Llys Dulas by A.J. Parkinson.
[118] See RCAHMW C42781, a letter from Peter Harbison to A.J. Parkinson suggesting link between a Kildare Street Club sculptor and a masonry firm called Purdy and Outhwaite and, and sculptures at Llys-Dulas.
[119] F. O'Dwyer, *The Architecture of Deane and Woodward* (Cork, 1997), p. 344.
[120] Ibid.
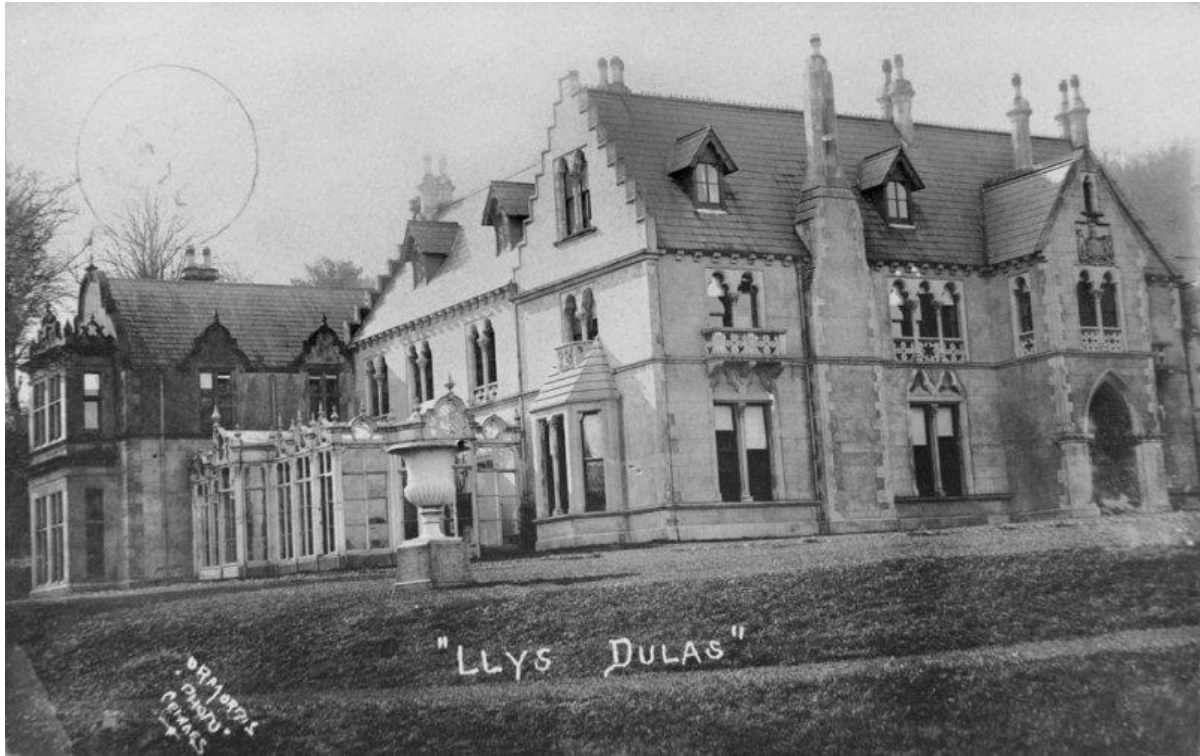
Figure 62: *Deane and Woodward's Llys Dulas, c.1909.* RCAHMW: C428986

The adoption of vernacular architecture and historic styles was a popular form of expression in country house building in Wales during the nineteenth century. Owners turned to local building types in order to integrate their homes into the region in which they were constructing their homes. In north Wales, sixteenth- and seventeenth-century buildings were copied and incorporated into existing and new build-houses. Examples of this can be found at Bodysgallen, Llandudno, Conwy, where a new dining room was added in 1894 by Lady Augusta Mostyn (1830-1912), for her second son, Henry Mostyn.[121] Augusta also spent lavishly at nearby Gloddaith weaving additions seamlessly into the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century fabric.[122]

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[121] Architect unknown. Information by Richard Broyd, then owner of Bodysgallen. Visited 12.9.11.
[122] S.R. Evans, *Masters of their Craft: The Art, Architecture and Garden Design of the Nesfields* (Cambridge, 2014), p. 187.

The Nineteenth Century Development of Plas Dulas, Llanddulas, Conwy

Figure 63: *Eastern elevation of Plas Dulas, showing the early nineteenth century farmhouse on the left-hand side, with the farmhouse extension in the centre and the mid-nineteenth century villa on the right-hand side, 2009.* Mark Baker.

A similar approach was taken at Plas Dulas, Llanddulas, Conwy - a substantial multi-period house and former farmhouse (see figure 63). It is located to the south-west of the historic core of Llanddulas village centre, on the steep slopes of Pen-y-Gopa, on lands historically owned by the Wynnstay and Garthewin estates.[123] The positioning of the 1840s villa at the northern end of the building complex afforded extensive views out over Llanddulas and the north Wales coast. Plas Dulas is a stone-built house with outstanding masonry and local craftsmanship, being constructed out of high-quality limestone from the Llanddulas Quarries. As the house was built on terraces over several levels, the basement under both the early nineteenth-century farmhouse and the 1840s villa have basements that are entered from the ground floor on one side (see figure 64).

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[123] Colwyn Borough Historic Settlements Survey, Clwyd and Powys Archaeological Trust Report 93, March 1994.

Figure 64: *Western elevation of Plas Dulas illustrating the three main series of construction from right to left: late-eighteenth, early-nineteenth and mid-nineteenth century, 2009.* Mark Baker.

Access to the interiors of Plas Dulas was, during the writing of this thesis, restricted by an obstruction just off the entrance hall. Most of my site visits were made during the late summer and early autumn of 2009, when a detailed photographic survey was undertaken. Two principal approaches have been taken in the process of understanding this complex site: firstly, critical analysis of the structures themselves and secondly, documentary research. Documentary evidence exists for eighteenth-century structures, including a barn and outbuildings, marked on a tithe map, possibly forming part of the seventeenth-century Llindir Farm. [124] The land was once owned by the Wynnstay Estate, and was purchased piecemeal, with the main farm entering Garthewin ownership by the late-eighteenth century. [125] References in title deeds and wills name properties that once stood on Llindir farm land, such as Llindir Cottage, which was leased by a wealthy patron of Liverpool Railway. The area on which Plas Dulas was built is numbered 101 on the 1839 tithe map, and was, at this time, belonging to Robert Wynne Esq., of Garthewin, Llanfairtalhaiarn.[126] A building appears on the 1840 Ordnance Survey Map on the site of Plas Dulas.[127] As with many vernacular farm buildings, their appearance on official plans and maps is somewhat haphazard, and this is the

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[124] Bangor (Garthewin Un-catalogued) Garthewin Estate survey dated 1784.
[125] Bangor (Garthewin Un-catalogued) Llannerch Estate survey.
[126] 1839 Tithe Map held at Denbighshire Record Office. Ann Stack, the long term lessee of Llindir died circa 1845 and her will is held at the Public Record Office, SA/1845/73. The area on which Plas Dulas was to be developed consisted of numbers 100, 79 and 175.
[127] Bangor (Maps) 2/1/208 and 2/1/289.

case with the site of Plas Dulas. On an undated annotated plan in the Garthewin Manuscripts at Bangor University, numbers 71, 79 and 100 were to form part of Plas Dulas; 71 was already sold and coloured brown, 79 had been recently sold and was marked but 100 was coloured yellow and in separate ownership.[128]By 1839, a farmhouse must have been built - substantial enough for it to be marked on a north Wales map, it shows a property on the site of Plas Dulas yet mislabelled Dyffryn-dulas, which actually stands on the opposite side of the Dulas Valley.[129]

A barn and granary store were identified from the first building phase. Most complete is the latter, with a threshing loft over the store room with a cart shed to the right. A lean-to on the right hand side contains early window openings. The large lintels over the doorway and window openings, together with the segmental arch over the cartshed, do not appear elsewhere on the site. To the left of the central portion is another lean-to, clearly a much later addition, as there is a definite building break, with a different form of limestone construction. This suggests that a lost structure - possibly a timber structure - was originally on this side. Green limestone is used as coping along the gables, and it appears that it was either re-laid or added at a later date, as it lies over slating. At the southern end of the walled garden stands a small rectangular structure known locally as the chapel, but which appears to have been later used as a garden bothy. Surviving in part are the remains of stone tiling, a roofing material that does not appear on any other structure on the site. Credence cannot be given for use as a chapel but, on late nineteenth-century Ordnance Survey maps, it appears to be part of a larger complex of buildings, some of which have been recently demolished. This building, together

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[128] Bangor (Garthewin Additional) 531. This is an interesting document as it has been annotated by at least two hands over time. The original plan was on thin tracing paper which was pasted onto thick paper, watermarked 1854, to prevent further deterioration. There are fragmentary remains of an inscription to W. Wynne, probably Robert William Wynne (1766-1842). This map does not correspond precisely with the 1839, seemingly predating it by some time.
[129] Bangor (Maps) 2/1/289.

with the opposite barn, suggests agricultural (arable) use during its ownership by the Williams-Wynn family of Wynnstay or the Wynnes of Garthewin.

A small two storey farmhouse, with a single storey extension projecting to the south, was built at the eastern end of the agricultural yard. Its elevated position, onto a higher terrace, took full advantage of the views out over the North Wales coast. This building's primary function was to provide living accommodation on site, with a rear extension (possibly later) built at a lower level for service facilities. In view of the general agricultural use of the site, it seems the southern single storey extension may well have seen use as a small cattle shed or dairy. An intriguing section of Plas Dulas is the central portion which connects the early agricultural set of buildings with those of the 1840s villa. It appears to be the case that the central wing predates the mid-nineteenth-century villa, which is built on to the northern gable end rather clumsily, but which stands entirely free of the barn and farmhouse. One proposal is that this section formed an extension to the existing farmhouse, providing either further working space or accommodation. The centrally placed chimney, together with its elongated plan, is reminiscent of traditional Welsh longhouses in the locality, and may well be an attempt at replicating seventeenth century vernacular architecture.

Figure 65: *Proposed phased development at Plas Dulas. Mark Baker*

Blue – c.1800 barn and granary store
Green – c.1830s farmhouse/later service wing
Yellow and Pink – c.1830s farmhouse
Light Purple – c.1840s primary villa (bay windows may be later)
Dark Purple – c.1850s
Red and Brown – c.1910 alterations including conservatories
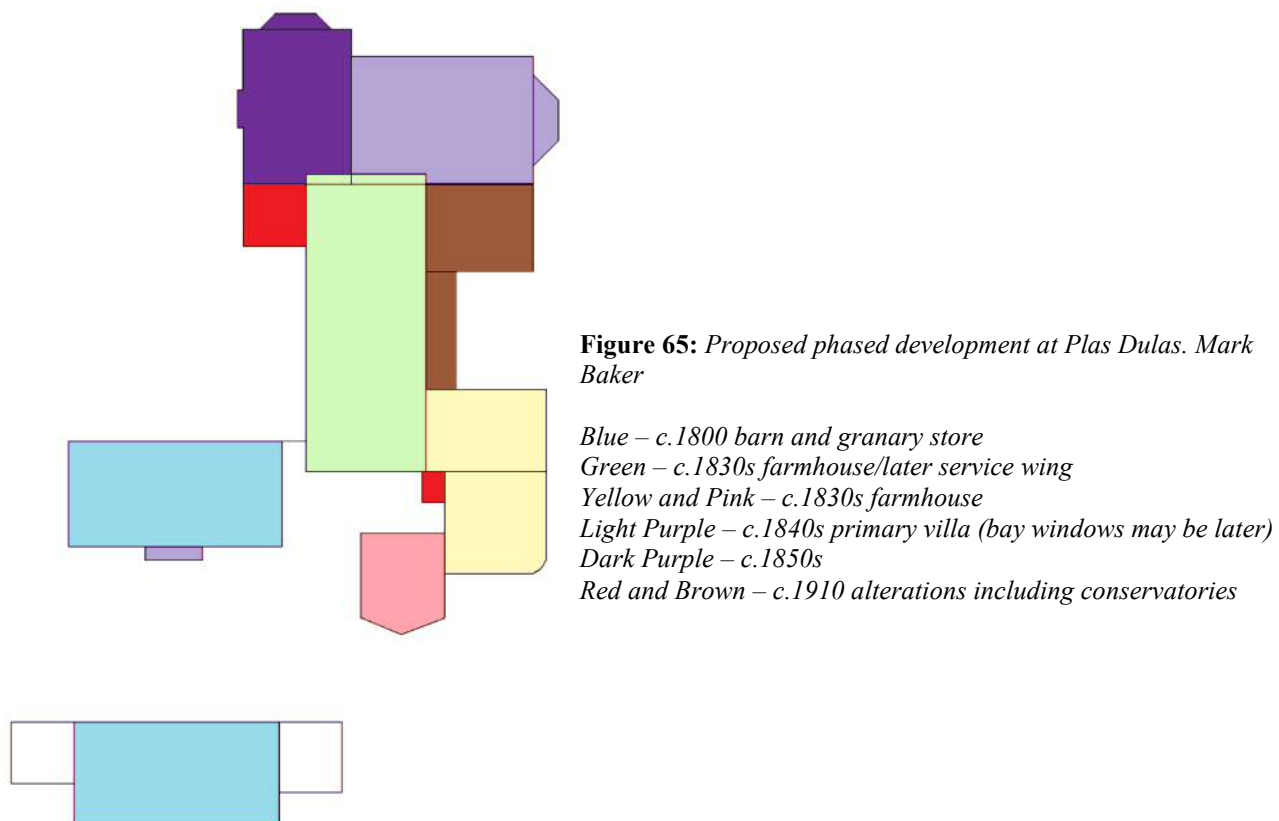
The site of the house was part of Llindir Farm, which thrived during its ownership by the Wynnes of Garthewin. However, due to its vernacular and agricultural origins, the buildings do not appear on all the early maps. Determined development on the site of Plas Dulas was carried out by the Englishwoman Elizabeth Easthope (1810-1868), second daughter of Sir John Easthope (1784-1865) and his first wife Ann Stokes.[130] Elizabeth is a rather obscure figure, surviving as a rather minor entity in documentation. Her personal and business papers have disappeared, but it has been possible to reconstruct a basic outline of her building activities. Elizabeth was born *c*.1810, the second of four daughters.[131] A scrapbook is in existence belonging to Elizabeth, containing 'numerous autographs cut from invitations, notes, and letters describing the wide variety of guests that frequented their father's house or carried on correspondence with him [...] Tom Moore [...] entertained them with his romantic

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[130] G. C. Boase, 'Easthope, Sir John, baronet (1784–1865)', rev. Anita McConnell, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [URL: http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/8413, accessed 26.11.2014]

[131] As listed on the census returns.

and haunting melodies.' [132] Plas Dulas' mid-nineteenth-century development forms an essential constituent of a resolute building programme by Elizabeth Easthope in Llanddulas. She appears to have been buying property to the south of Llanddulas piecemeal from the late 1840s onwards. Elizabeth opportunistically took over the leases of properties such as Bodhyfryd, and spent significant sums improving them. At Plas Dulas she purchased outright a large plot of land which contained an early complex of buildings, and developed them into the ideal compact country house estate with service wing, stables, coach house, landscaped grounds, walled garden and entrance lodge.

Elizabeth and her brother John Easthope lived with their father until his second marriage in 1843.[133] Thereafter, brother and sister chose to live together in a house nearby. John practised as a stock-broker with his father in London, and managed all of his business. Under Sir John's will, he was appointed as executor. Following the remarriage, a memorandum was prepared and signed agreeing that all profits of the business would be John's and, in the event of a marriage, proper provision would be made for Elizabeth. John died suddenly and his Will was lost by his father, Sir John. The provisions offered by Sir John to his now homeless daughter were not satisfactory to Elizabeth, who was anxious for a settlement of £5,000 on herself. A long legal battle ensued. Elizabeth was an unusual Victorian woman, in that she attempted to prosecute her father for allegedly destroying her brother's will.[134] She was given a large amount of money from the inheritance settlement, which allowed her to invest further into property in Llanddulas and to enable the

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[132] Interview, Cllr. P. Jenkins, 21.6.10.
[133] Describing his great-grandfather, Dawkins recalls that Easthope was known as Blasthope by his staff on the Morning Chronicle 'from his discouraging manners'; he also says that 'John Easthope - at home as well as at the office - seems to have had some of the tyrannical qualities of many successful Victorians.'[133] According to Dawkins, Sir John Easthope cut out his eldest daughter Anne from his will because her daughter (Dawkins' mother) refused to marry a cousin. Easthope had wanted to keep their money in the family. Family tradition asserts that, some one hundred years after the events recalled, Easthope's son John died early, leaving money to Elizabeth, whereupon Easthope tore up the will; eventually, though, victory went to Elizabeth, and the judge's final lecture on the duty of living peaceably was published in *The Times*.
[134] *The Times*, 16.6.1852

development of what was already owned.[135] One such expenditure was for her sister's family at Bodhyfryd, which was extended after the trial's conclusion in 1852 to accommodate further staff and guests.[136] These additions suggest that the work at Plas Dulas must have been near completion by this time, to allow Elizabeth to take up residence.[137] The bay windows on both the garden fronts at Bodhyfryd and Plas Dulas are similar in terms of their construction, detailing and general appearance, suggesting similar dates and the same designer. Bodhyfryd had been previously leased in the late 1840s by Andrew Doyle, Poor Law Inspector, and his sister-in-law, Elizabeth Easthope whilst nearby Plas Dulas was undergoing extensions and redevelopment.[138] Doyle first appears in records in North Wales for 1847/1848, at the Bangor and Beaumaris Union as a Poor Law Inspector.[139] He was often attending meetings at St Asaph, a distance of some thirty miles from Bangor.[140] Doyle is listed as being at Bodhyfryd by the Vicar of Llanddulas by 1850[141] and the family had, by the summer of 1852, become part of local society.[142] Architecturally, the complexity of the buildings at Plas Dulas is of great interest. The organic nature of growth, with a multitude of accretions, displays several phases of construction in rapid succession, the earliest of which may have formed structures for arable agricultural use. Both the barn and cart shed are reminiscent of local estate architecture seen at Bodelwyddan and Gwrych Castles, and there are parallels between their construction and the dovecote at Garthewin, Llanfairtalhaiarn. In terms of gender history, Elizabeth's building programme is quite unusual, especially for a

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[135] *The Times*, 13.7.1852.

[136] J.R. Ellis, *A history of Abergele and District* (Abergele, 1948), p. 36. This was taken from a register written by Rev. O.J. Humphreys, Rector of Llanddulas, between 1849-58. Reference to Elizabeth Easthope building Plas Dulas pre-1853.

[137] J.R. Ellis, *A history of Abergele and District* (Abergele, 1948), p. 36.

[138] M.E. Chamberlain, 'Doyle, Andrew (1809–1888)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Jan 2008 [URL: http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/66722, accessed 26.11.2014]

[139] *North Wales Chronicle*, 6.6.1848.

[140] Andrew Doyle is featured in a newspaper article on St. Asaph Board of Guardians, as Assistant Poor Law Commissioner. *North Wales Chronicle*, 1850.9.21

[141] Conwy Archives, PD/51/1/16

[142] *North Wales Chronicle*, 1853.6.10

single woman in mid-Victorian Britain. It is reasonable to propose that she acted as her own architect, employing directly local labour to implement her designs, which were dictated by the local vernacular. This is most evident in the choice of tall, slender chimneys - reminiscent of the seventeenth-century gentry houses in north Wales. Elizabeth Easthope's 1840s villa has three chimney types of this seventeenth-century type.[143] The most impressive is a gable-end three-storey chimneystack, which rises far above the roofline, with shafts turned forty-five degrees, set diagonally to the roof.[144] This distinctive form of chimney construction appears on many sixteenth- and seventeenth-century houses in northwest Wales.

No named architect has been associated with any of Elizabeth's properties in Llanddulas, but it is possible that advice may have been sought on technical issues, as was the case at nearby Bodelwyddan Castle - where Sir John Hay Williams employed Hansom and Welch[145] as practical advisors, and at Gwrych Castle - where Lloyd Hesketh Bamford-Hesketh recruited Thomas Rickman.[146] Through Sir John Easthope's elevated position in society, his daughters and their families were brought into close contact with many of the prominent politicians, artist and intellectuals of the day. Letters survive to Sir John and his son-in-law, Andrew Doyle, from Benjamin Disraeli, Lord Palmerston, Lord John Russell, Lord Shaftesbury, Louisa Sheridan, Lord Stanley (later earl of Derby), Henry Warburton, and William Wilburforce, to name but a few.[147]

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[143] P. Smith, 'Rural Building in Wales' in *Agrarian History in England and Wales: Volume 5, The Buildings of the Countryside, 1500-1750,* ed. by M.W. Barley and others (Cambridge, 1990), p. 329.

[144] P. Smith states that this is a pan-Wales phenomenon, particular to the seventeenth century. P. Smith, *Houses of the Welsh Countryside: A Study in Historical Geography* (London, 1988), p. 270.

[145] G. C. Boase, 'Hansom, Joseph Aloysius (1803–1882)', rev. D. Evinson, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Sept 2013 [URL: http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/12225, accessed 26.11.2014].

[146] M. Aldrich, 'Rickman, Thomas (1776–1841)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, May 2009 [URL: http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/23607, accessed 26.11.2014].

[147] Sir John Easthope Correspondence and Papers. Duke University: William R Perkins Library
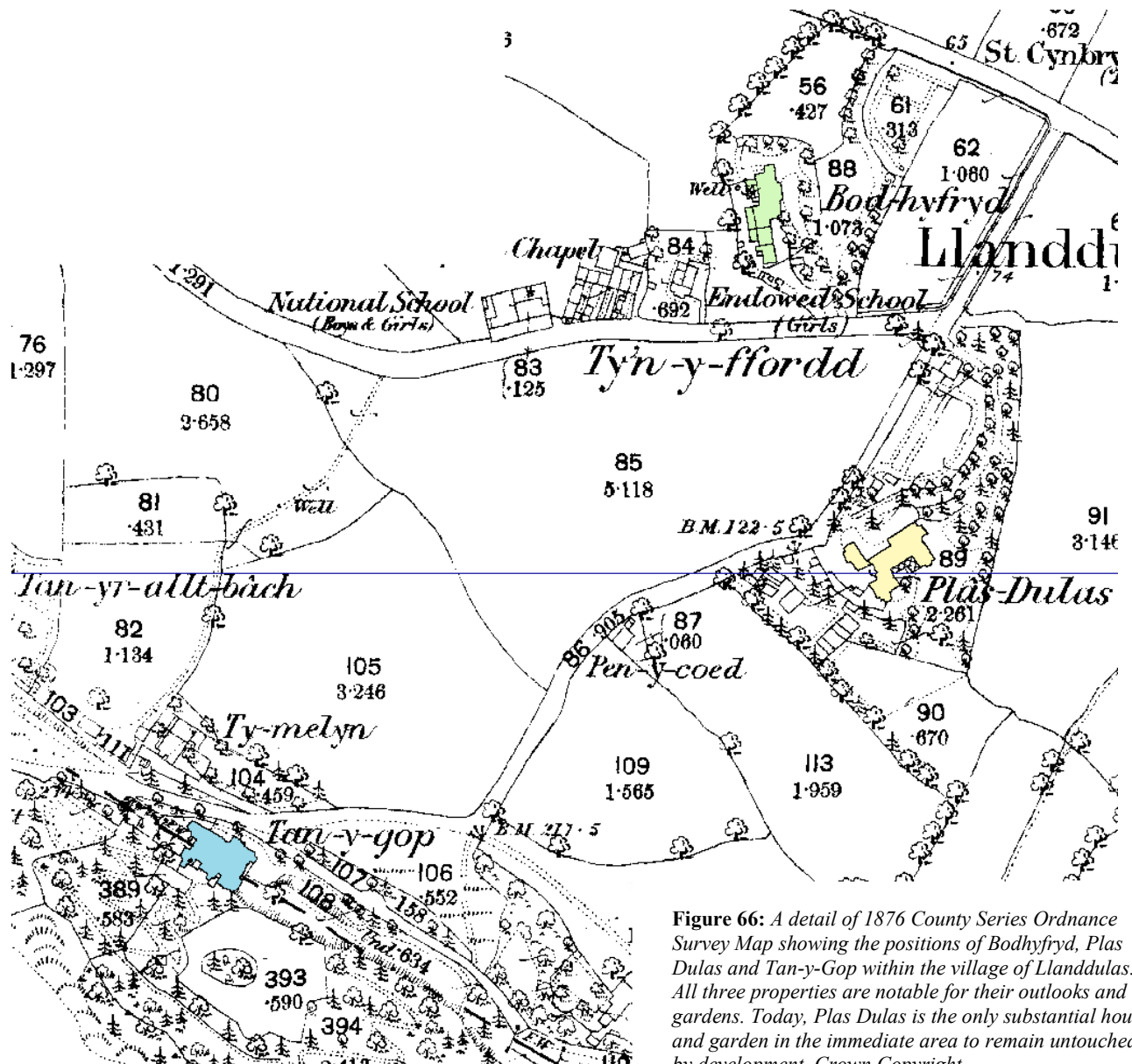
Figure 66: *A detail of 1876 County Series Ordnance Survey Map showing the positions of Bodhyfryd, Plas Dulas and Tan-y-Gop within the village of Llanddulas. All three properties are notable for their outlooks and gardens. Today, Plas Dulas is the only substantial house and garden in the immediate area to remain untouched by development. Crown Copyright.*

In conjunction with her preference for Welsh vernacular architecture, it is interesting to note that Welsh names were chosen for Elizabeth's houses. Their names - in typical Welsh tradition - accurately reflect their situations: *Tan-y-Gopa* for example translates to 'below the hilltop' (see figure 66). This use of Welsh language and adoption of traditional culture thoroughly ensured that the family were welcomed to the area. Elizabeth Easthope appears to have named Plas Dulas (which translates directly as 'Dulas Hall') during the late 1840s, whilst overseeing work from her sister and brother-in-law's house at Bodhyfryd in 1854 and

1856.[148] It is clear from figure 66 that a keen interest was taken in the designed landscapes that encased the three properties; all had large formal gardens, but Plas Dulas alone incorporated a full size kitchen garden and numerous 'hot houses'. It is feasible that this working garden provided produce for both Tan-y-Gop and Bodhyfryd.

For a period of twenty years or more, Elizabeth continually added to her properties and developed her assets in Llanddulas. She is listed as an interested party in a document relating to Agriculture, Fisheries and Food Departments and related bodies: the Awards of Exchange of Glebe Lands: Llanddulas on May 1st 1856.[149] Operating within a Garthewin Estate rental contract, Elizabeth Easthope was leasing extra land in addition to what she owned at Plas Dulas. She appears firstly in records for 1858, renting a field, adding to this in 1865, with the old school at Llanddulas - at a cost of £8 5s.[150] The 1868 Directory lists Andrews Doyle at Plas Dulas and Elizabeth Easthope at Tangop, Llanddulas.[151] Tan-y-Gop was later to become Arnold House, and was in use as a school from the 1870s onwards. An advertisement appeared in the North Wales Chronicle offering for lease one of Elizabeth's properties in Llanddulas. The property is not named, but is most likely to have been Tan-y-Gop, which would have been renovated by this time. The advertisement described it thus: 'furnished, an excellent family residence, well appointed [...] beautiful grounds, on moderate scale; very attractive.'[152]

Elizabeth extended her property portfolio by purchasing a house in Llangenny, near Abergavenny, south Wales, pooling capital with her nephew, John Andrew Doyle, who was

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[148] *North Wales Chronicle*, 2.12.1854 and North Wales Directory 1856
[149] Public Record Office, MAF 14/4.
[150] Bangor (Garthewin Additional) 244, Llanddulas Rentals. The school at Llanddulas had been closed in 1863 by the Wynnes of Garthewin following a negative inspector's report.
[151] Tan-y-Gop was later renamed Arnold House and was used a school. It was here that Evelyn Waugh taught during the 1920s.
[152] *North Wales Chronicle,* 7.9.1867. The rental terms offered were either by month or year, and enquirers were to seek details from Mr Scholes, Plas Dulas, who was employed by the family.

the chief beneficiary of Sir John Easthope.[153] Pendarren Cottage was bought as early as April 1868. It was a small house near the village centre. It was rented at the same time as a farm of some eighty-four acres named Pengilvach, and two smaller farms known as Panteg and Penybailey, amounting to sixty-four acres. It was at Pendarren Cottage that Elizabeth died on 31 October 1868, and was buried in a newly created family grave at Llangenny. On the tombstone she is described as being 'of Plas Dulas'.[154]

Recent research undertaken at the Bodleian Library has revealed, through the letters of Elizabeth's great-nephew Professor Richard MacGillivray Dawkins, some fascinating information regarding Plas Dulas and Elizabeth's other properties.[155] There appears to have been some issues with the nearby Llanddulas quarries and the land on which Elizabeth built her houses. We do not know to which building in Llanddulas Dawkins refers, but it can be safely assumed to be Plas Dulas, as it was there that he chose to reside. It appears from the letters that the quarry had attempted to enforce an early agreement made with Elizabeth to acquire the land for quarrying purposes.[156] Further work is required to establish the role that Plas Dulas played within the Easthope family and successive families. Likewise, a detailed study is required of the contents of the house, which were dispersed in the late 1950s by Sotheby's. Major bequests were made to the Bodleian Library, Victoria and Albert Museum and the British Museum, while the extensive art collection was sold more widely. Key items, such as works by Poussin and Lorenzo Lotto, were purchased by the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, and the National Gallery of Art, Washington.

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[153] *The Times*, 17.8.1866. In December 1865 Sir John Easthope died and Andrew Doyle was made one of the executors. At this time, the family were all residing at Plas Dulas.

[154] Interview, M. Roberts, 13.8.11.

[155] Prof. P. Mackridge, St Cross College, University of Oxford very kindly supplied me with this information.

[156] Letters written by Professor Dawkins from Crete to his colleague and friend F.W. Hasluck (Shelfmarked f.Arch.Z.Dawk.15(3)): 'I don't hear yet whether the quarry company is really going to destroy my North Wales place; if it does and I get the Oxford job I shall settle near Oxford.' (19.2.1918). 'It seems less likely now that my house will be devastated by the quarry company or at least I hear no more of the plan; but why my great aunt built on such terms I can't think.' (17.4.1918).
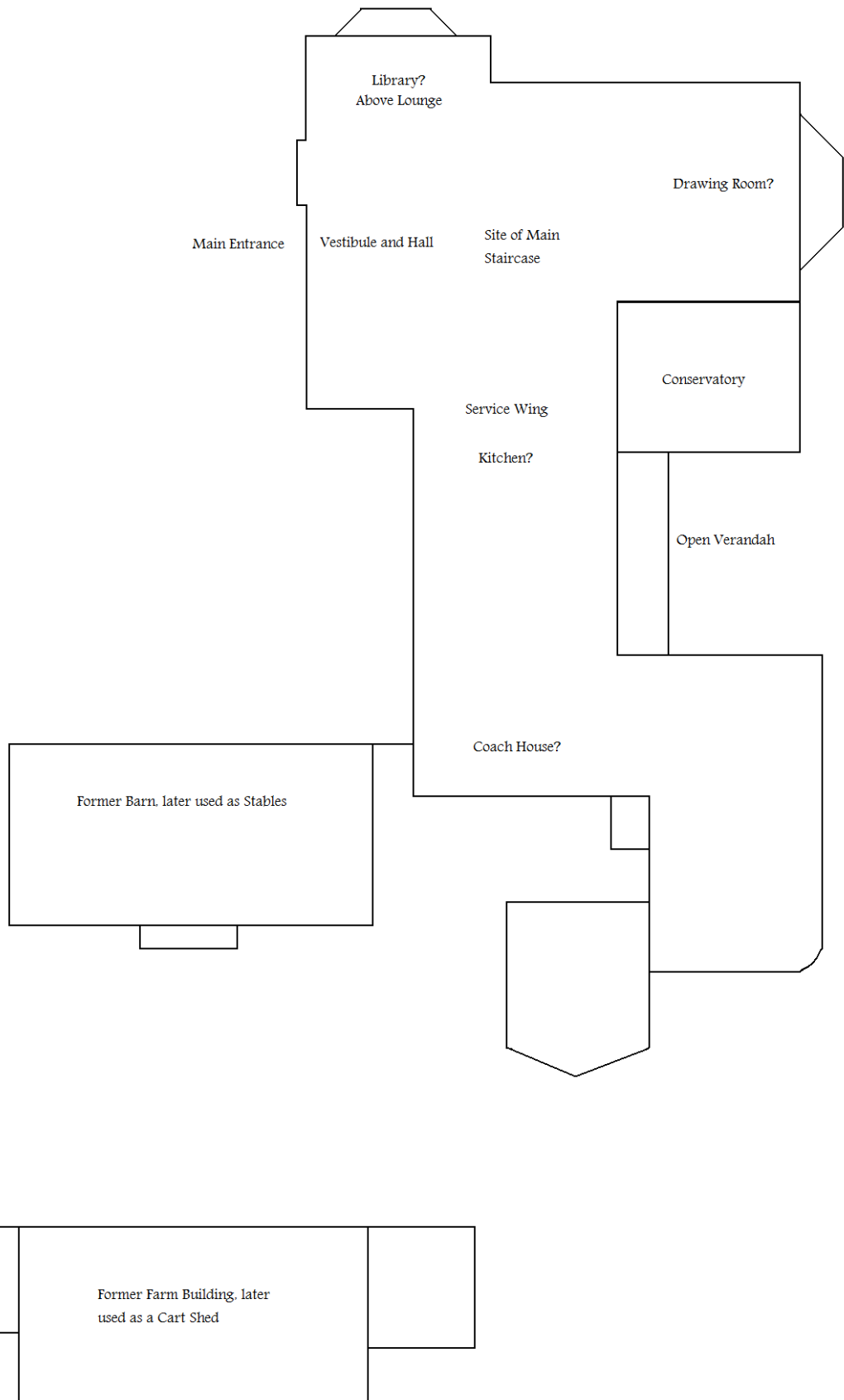
Figure 67: *Plas Dulas room uses based upon a 1911 sales catalogue*. Mark Baker.

Gwrych Castle and its Development by Ellen Bamford-Hesketh and Winifred, Countess of Dundonald

This next section examines a dynasty of female patrons whose pursuit of architectural expression resulted in the last remaining member of the Lloyd family of Gwrych dramatically yet remarkably remodelling her family home. Ellen Bamford-Hesketh and her daughter, Winifred, both came from families who took a keen interest in architecture, and were pragmatic in their appointment of architects, using practitioners of both provincial and national standing for different projects. Their patronage displays two different forms of expression, in which women could took part. Ellen's interest lay in ecclesiastical, educational and medical building, whilst her daughter's took on a nationalistic expression, seeing her converting the family home into a potential royal residence. Ellen's identity - as a wife, mother and benefactor - was defined by her architectural commissions and expenditure of her husband's wealth. She neither owned her property nor had her own source of income; yet, due to an unusual set of circumstances, she was given free rein to spend her husband's fortune and instruct eminent 'national' architects George Edmund Street and Sir George Gilbert Scott, to materialise her ambitions. Her daughter, Winifred chose to highlight her Welshness, as the last representative of an ancient noble family whose legacy could be traced over a thousand years. As an heiress, she was pursued by a penniless Scottish nobleman, whom she was to reject soon after inheriting her family's wealth. Unlike her mother, Winifred was wealthy in her own right, with Abergele's Gwrych Castle forming the core of this fortune. The estate stretched across most of north Wales into Cheshire, Lancashire, Staffordshire and Derbyshire. It was through Winifred's friendship circles that she was to appoint her own architects: provincial Charles Ernest Elcock, whom she met through shared archaeological and Welsh culture activities in north Wales, and Detmar Blow, whose 'national' standing, and proponent of the fashionable Arts and Crafts movement, were introduced to Winifred in London.

Figure 68: *The south front of Plâs yn Gwrŷch in 1815, showing the Georgian bow.* NLW (Gwrych Castle Documents) Box 3/Abergele Parchalia.

The Lloyds had greatly extended their ancestral home of Plâs yn Gwrŷch, imitating the work of Samuel Wyatt. A three window, centrally placed, bay was added on to the seventeenth-century gabled house, and it is possible that it was designed by John Cooper, Wyatt's assistant at Baron Hill, whose first commission at Bodorgan, Anglesey, for Owen Meyrick (between 1779 and 1784), propelled him to set up his own north Wales architectural practice (see figure 68).[157] As the Lloyds were middling gentry, it seems probable that they would have chosen Cooper because, though less costly than Wyatt, he was nonetheless well versed in the Adam and Wyatt style.[158] The Lloyds of Plâs yn Gwrŷch, through an impressive ancestry, descended from Marchudd ap Cynan, founder of the eighth noble tribe of Wales.[159] This ancestry was prestigious, even though their origins were not well documented: 'there is neither deed, nor record, nor tradition extant to show that any other family had ever possessed it save that of the Lloyds of Plâs yn Gwrŷch, now merged in that of Hesketh by marriage of

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[157] Bodorgan, Parks and Gardens Register [URL: http://www.coflein.gov.uk/pdf/CPG044/ accessed 26.11.14].
[158] NLW (Gwrych Castle Documents) Box 3/Abergele Parchalia.
[159] J. Griffith, *Pedigrees of Anglesey and Caernarvonshire Families: With Their Collateral Branches in Denbighshire, Merionethshire and Other Parts* (Horncastle, 1914), p. 400.

the last heiress.'[160] It was from this wealthy marriage that Plâs yn Gwrŷch was altered for Frances Lloyd (1751-1797), daughter of the Rev. John Lloyd and co-heiress of Gwrych. In 1787 she married Robert Bamford-Hesketh of Bamford Hall and Upton.[161] The Wyatt-inspired house at Plâs yn Gwrŷch was not to last, as Frances died suddenly and the family departed to Chester, leasing out the property.[162] Frances's eldest son, Lloyd, returned to Wales and resumed residence at his ancestral seat, finally inheriting the Gwrych estate in 1815.[163] He decided to take down the Elizabethan and Georgian additions of Plâs yn Gwrŷch, returning it to its sub-medieval core, renaming it Hen Wrych.[164] In building his new home, Gwrych Castle, he acted mostly as his own architect, as demonstrated by the drawings held at the National Library of Wales. However, without any formal architectural training, Lloyd sought the advice of 'national' architects Charles Augustus Busby and Thomas Rickman for developing specific elements, such as the cast iron windows and the construction of a prototype round tower.[165] Tensions are apparent in Rickman's diaries, which recall Robert Adam's views on clients being too involved in the design process: 'All the gentry in this country are architects. They know, or think they know much more than any professional man be he ever so eminent; it has been my constant study to root out this absurd idea of theirs and I flatter myself that I am gaining ground on them.'[166] In later years, Lloyd employed provincial architects for major alterations, such as John Welch and Henry Kennedy, who added a new staircase and bedroom wing, respectively.

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[160] J.Y.W. Lloyd, *The history of the Princes, Lords Marcher and the ancient nobility of Powys Fadog and the Ancient Lords of Arwystli, Cedewen and Meirionydd* (London, 1882-7), p. 343.

[161] J.B. Burke, *A Genealogical and Heraldic Dictionary of the Landed Gentry of Great Britain & Ireland for 1852* (London, 1852), p.566.

[162] Nanora Sweet, 'Hemans, Felicia Dorothea (1793–1835)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, May 2008 [URL: http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/12888, accessed 26.11.2014]

[163] J. Griffith, *Pedigrees of Anglesey and Caernarvonshire Families: With Their Collateral Branches in Denbighshire, Merionethshire and Other Parts* (Horncastle, 1914), p. 400.

[164] NLW (Gwrych Castle Documents) Box 3/Abergele Parchalia.

[165] M.D.W. Jones, 'Busby, Charles Augustin (1786–1834)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Jan 2008 [URL: http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/62920, accessed 25.11.2014]

[166] R. Graham, *Arbiter of Elegance: A Biography of Robert Adam* (Edinburgh, 2009), p. 320.

Lloyd's eldest son, Robert Bamford-Hesketh, married Ellen Jones-Bateman, Pentre Mawr, Abergele, in 1851, uniting two gentry families of the Abergele area.[167] Pentre Mawr, a sixteenth-century manor was situated little more than a mile from Gwrych Castle, and was one of the oldest gentry houses in the district. The marriage was a decisive dynastic match on two fronts; firstly it ensured that the two families were still dominant in the neighbourhood against the growing might of the Kinmel estate. The Kinmel family were still seen as relative newcomers, having moved from Anglesey during the late eighteenth century. Secondly, it was advantageous to marry into the Hesketh family who, despite a name change due to marriage, were firmly rooted in the locality.

The Jones-Batemans, who had assumed the additional surname Bateman by Royal Licence in 1834, claimed descent from Cynfyn, prince of Powys, and a younger branch of the Joneses of Trewythen, Montgomery.[168] Ellen's father, John Jones-Bateman, had chambers at 2, New Square, Lincoln's Inn.[169] These chambers were destroyed by fire in January 1849.[170] He died seven months later at the family's town house in Portland Place.[171] His wife, Marianne took over the estate, reeling not only from the loss of her husband, but also that of her youngest son.[172] Then, on 11th May 1850, Pentre Mawr, was badly damaged by fire, as described here in *The Morning Post*:

> [...] the almost total destruction by fire of Pentre Mawr [...] the beautiful marine residence of Mrs. Jones-Bateman [...] The fire was discovered about four o'clock on Saturday afternoon, and an engine from Pengwern was almost immediately on the spot, but, in spite of all the efforts that could be used, it was found impossible to save the house, which in a few hours was completely gutted [...] a considerable portion of the furniture, with some valuable paintings, and the greater part of the library, were saved from the flames; some very beautifully painted windows were also with great

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167 20th February at Trinity Church, Marylebone. *Daily News*, 25.2.1851.
168 T. Nicholas, *Annals and Antiquities of the Counties and County Families of Wales* (London, 1872), p. 411.
169 Successive generations of Welsh clergy, together with lawyers, formed the professional ancestry of the family.
170 *Derby Mercury*, 17.1.1849.
171 *Manchester Times*, 18.7.1849.
172 Further misfortune befell the family on 18.8.1849 when the youngest son of John Jones-Bateman, Philip Wythen, drowned whilst bathing off the coast of Abergele. *The Annual Register* (London, 1850), p.263. *North Wales Chronicle*, 14.5.1850.

difficulty preserved, through the active exertions of the worthy vicar of Abergele, whose energy and presence of mind on the occasion was beyond all praise.[173]

Marianne oversaw the rebuilding of Pentre Mawr between 1850 and 1853, possibly by John Welch, who, being based in St Asaph, had worked on many of the local mansions.[174] The house had undergone alteration during the 1830s, which included fine plaster vaulting, possibly by William Sillitoe, who was acting as estate surveyor, and whose brother Richard was a locally practising architect.[175] Pentre Mawr, despite the fire, was described in the 1870s as housing 'many interesting specimens of works of art, and among them several family portraits, valuable through having been painted by [Richard] Wilson, and one by Beechey of Barbara Lisle Bowles, the great-great-niece of Sir Isaac Newton.' [176]

Ellen Bamford-Hesketh was a religious and devout woman, whose life centred on the church and its associated charities. This fervour was no doubt doubled by her family's tragedies of 1849 and 1850, and so it was out of this strained situation that the marriage between Robert and Ellen was sought and forged. It appears that Robert had become bored with his wife, claiming that she 'is for religion; I'm for gaiety.'[177] It was perhaps these differing priorities that motivated Robert to pursue an extra-marital affair, and return to his wife only after a public scandal ensued. Robert and Ellen's only surviving child, Winifred Bamford-Hesketh, was born in 1859. An elder daughter, Eleanor, died in 1860, spurring an outpouring of architectural patronage and commissions. This thesis argues that these were initiated by Ellen as compensation for her husband's infidelities, causing ecclesiastical and educational architecture in the centre of the north Wales coast to be recast.

Ellen's first foray into building was Llanddulas School and the Schoolmaster's House in 1868, but the most notable example of her architectural patronage was a significant

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[173] *The Morning Post*, 16.5.1850.
[174] See letters in NLW (Pentre Mawr).
[175] NLW, (Pentre Mawr), 122.
[176] T. Nicholas, *Annals and Antiquities of the Counties and County Families of Wales* (London, 1872), p. 411. Through Marianne's maternal descent she was one of the nearest descendants of Sir Isaac Newton.
[177] *Trewman's Exeter Flying Post*, 24.2.1865.

statement – one expressed through her choice of architect and building type. The old church at Llanddulas, which had been patronised by the Bamford-Heskeths since the 1820s, had been altered by Lloyd Hesketh Bamford-Hesketh in the 1840s, but, some twenty years later, was in need of refurbishment. George Edmund Street (1824-1881) was employed to design St Cynbryd's, the contractors being locally-based.[178] Street was influential in forming the architectural style later called 'High Victorian', being one of the most thoughtful architectural theorists of the mid-nineteenth century.[179] He was articled to Owen Carter of Winchester, an archaeology enthusiast, before moving to the offices of Sir George Gilbert Scott in 1844. Together with his fellow assistants, George Frederick Bodley and William White, he moved away from Pugin's purist gothic revival to incorporate various elements that in turn led to eclecticism and 'High Victorian'. Street set up his own practice in 1849, having by the mid-1850s established a national reputation. Street's designs and writings defined mid-nineteenth century architecture in Britain, being firmly rooted in a theoretical framework which viewed architectural history as a dynamic system in which elements from different periods and places could be reformed for a contemporary context. This process, termed 'development' was borrowed from theological rhetoric, in which Street was well-versed. Three seminal articles were published in *The Ecclesiologist* between 1850-53, setting out his rationale, providing a platform for his eclecticism to be put into practice. Street appears to have often followed John Ruskin, complementing his views and developing them further for his own architectural practice.[180] Italian architecture was to be hugely influential on Street's designs, as evidenced in his use of polychromy and marble. Ecclesiastical and educational architectural designs were the core of Street's practice, yet it is his most famous commission, the Royal Courts of

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[178] *North Wales Chronicle,* 4.7.1868.

[179] D.B. Brownlee, 'Street, George Edmund (1824–1881)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Jan 2008. URL: http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/26659, [accessed 21.6.2011]

[180] G.E. Street, *Brick and marble in the Middle Ages: notes of a tour in the north of Italy* (London, 1855) and G.E. Street, *Some Account of Gothic Architecture in Spain* (London: John Murray, 1865).

Justice, London, won by competition in 1866-7, for which he is most well-known. It is important to note, especially in the context of Winifred's own architectural patronage, some fifty years later, that three further leading designers, who propagated the Arts and Crafts movement, were employed in Street's office between 1852 and 1862: Philip Webb, William Morris and Richard Norman Shaw.

St Cynbryd's, like many of Ellen's other commissions, was built of Llanddulas limestone, from the Gwrych Estate quarries, with the plinths, pointings and window dressings of white Cefnmawr stone; the roof was steeply pitched with a distinctive zig-zag pattern of green Whitland Abbey slate, topped with a ridge of red ornamental tiles. No expense was spared, with a flamboyant Crucifixion reredos by Thomas Earp of London, and five windows filled with stained glass by Messrs Pepper of London, depicting scenes from the life of Christ. Street's use of interior metalwork was elaborate. It included the chancel gates, seven brass coronae and elaborate door hinges.[181] Ellen deputised to her daughter, Winifred, to lay the mortar of the foundation with an inscribed silver trowel 'which was accomplished in a most graceful and workmanlike manner - indeed the handling of it was most universally and especially admired.'[182]

Street was engaged again by Ellen to build Abergele National School and Schoolmaster's House in 1869-70, employing polygonal masonry and polychromatic slates.[183] St Cynfran, Llysfaen was substantially altered by Street in 1871, adding the south porch, bellcote and replacing all the windows.[184] Much of the earlier church was retained, with elements of the original arched braced roof reused, unlike the complete rebuild at nearby St Cynbryd's. South-west of Llysfaen church, Street built a school and school master's house,

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[181] E. Hubbard, *The Buildings of Wales: Clwyd* (London, 1994), p. 191. The estimated cost of construction was about £6,000.
[182] *North Wales Chronicle*, 4.7.1868.
[183] E. Hubbard, *The Buildings of Wales: Clwyd* (London, 1994), p. 99-100.
[184] Ibid., p. 249-250.

incorporating tile-hung gables.[185] The culmination of Ellen and Street's creative partnership was the building of Towyn's St Mary's church, Vicarage, National School and schoolmaster's house between 1872 and 1873.[186] On a more monumental scale than St Cynbryd's, the saddleback tower dominates the complex, which, when first built, must have been impressive, rising out of the flat, coastal landscape. The cohesion of the group was certainly intended to impress onlookers. It demonstrated not only the wealth of the Bamford-Heskeths, but also their refined taste and commitment to the established Church. Ellen had supported the erection of St Thomas' Church, Rhyl, which was designed by Sir George Gilbert Scott in 1860 but which was not completed until 1869, having been built in stages as funds allowed.[187] The reredos was a specific gift from the Bamford-Heskeths and was designed by Scott. Again, in 1871, Scott whilst renovating St Asaph Cathedral was commissioned to design '[...] a magnificent reredos has now fully completed the ornamentation of the choir and chancel of St Asaph's Cathedral. The design is by Mr Gilbert Scott, R.A., and the sculpturing by Mr. Earp of London. It consists of an entablature in alabaster, with arcading on either side. The sculpturing which adorns the entablature represents the procession to the place of crucifixion. The cost of the reredos is about £600.'[188] Thomas Earp was employed in 1877 at St Mary's Church, Denbigh, where Ellen and Robert were major donors towards the reredos - which was actually designed by Lloyd Williams and Underwood, but was carved by Earp.[189] Other building projects in which Ellen was involved include: Llangystennin National School, near Llandudno Junction (1877) where she is listed as a major donor towards the school's construction;[190] a mission church at Pont-y-Gwyddel,

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[185] Ibid., p. 250.
[186] Ibid., p. 286.
[187] Scott appears to have been introduced to the Bamford-Heskeths by Henry Robertson Sandbach, of Hafodunos. During the building of Hafodunos, Sandbach and his family stayed in rented accommodation in the Abergele area. And in the Sandbach MSS at Powys Records Office, there are references to the Sandbach family visiting Gwrych.
[188] *Western Mail*, 24.1.1871.
[189] *North Wales Chronicle*, 3.11.1877.
[190] *North Wales Chronicle*, 17.11.1877.

Llanfairtalhaiarn (1882-3);[191] '[...] A new and splendidly carved oak reredos, the gift of Mr and Mrs R. Bamford-Hesketh' at St Asaph parish church (1889)[192]; and a brass altar rail, communion table and chapel font for St Asaph workhouse (1890/1).[193] In a private setting, Street designed the family chapel at Gwrych Castle in 1870/1 out of the old carpenter's workshop. To date, no designs or drawings have been discovered. 1920s descriptions describe the room being of panelled oak. It is difficult to understand how this space could be utilised as a chapel, as it is narrow yet comparatively long, with a large gothic window facing north.

We cannot underestimate the effect her husband's affair had upon Ellen, her relationship with Robert, and that of their only surviving daughter, Winifred. We do not know how Ellen first dealt with the situation, but she took on the traditional role of a gentry wife as philanthropist, asserting this position to develop herself as an architectural patron. The local press capitalised on the differences in personality and priorities of husband and wife, commending Ellen as our 'charitable benefactress' whose 'charities are only limited by her discrimination in dispensing them.'[194] The *North Wales Chronicle* especially made subtle criticisms of Robert through his wife's actions: '[...] thus we see that the best interests of society are promoted and the best feelings of the heart opened by this sympathy of class with class.'[195]

As sole heiress of the Gwrych state, Winifred's marriage was an important move in the advancement of the Bamford-Hesketh family. In 1878, she married a Scottish nobleman, Douglas, Lord Cochrane, who was to become 12th earl of Dundonald in 1885.[196] Winifred

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[191] Hubbard, *Clwyd,* p. 210.
[192] *North Wales Chronicle*, 11.5.1889.
[193] *North Wales Chronicle*, 10.1.1891.
[194] *North Wales Chronicle*, 22.2.1868.
[195] *North Wales Chronicle,* 22.2.1868.
[196] The earl of Dundonald had acquired international fame by leading the charge at the Relief of Ladysmith during the Boer War. The marriage was not happy, and the earl spent most of his time in Scotland or abroad.

inherited the Gwrych Castle Estate on the death of her father in 1894.[197] She made an unusual move, choosing to follow her father's precedent, running her landed estates herself (with the help of an agent) - a rare choice for a Victorian woman. This work covered an area totalling several thousand acres, and was to involve two offices: one in Abergele and the other in Manchester. Robert had provided in his daughter's marriage settlement that she was to use and dispose of the family's wealth and land as she so chose, resulting in her husband having little, if anything, to do with her estate.[198] There is evidence that the countess contemplated divorce, for she requested London based solicitors, Rowcliffes Rawle & Co., to report as to the law relating to custody of children as between father and mother in 1901.[199] Yet the countess continued to owe much to her husband, whose title she proudly used. The earl of Dundonald's rise to fame placed his wife in national prominence, allowing her to enjoy much of his celebrity, but not to be beholden to him.

`   Winifred was a Welsh speaker with an academic interest in Wales's society and language; she saw herself principally as a Welsh woman and the last of the Lloyds of Gwrych. Winifred was inducted as a bard at the National Eisteddfod of 1910 at Colwyn Bay, taking the bardic name 'Rhiannon' immortalised in the *Mabinogion*. These eleven stories collated from medieval Welsh texts contained pre-Christian legends from Celtic Wales. Some stories, featuring the Goddess Cerridwen, were believed to have been centred on the Colwyn Bay area, where place names were related to figures in the story. Lady Charlotte Guest had translated the *Mabinogi* into English, publishing them in a series of volumes between 1839

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[197] Robert Bamford Hesketh's career aspirations outside North Wales were curtailed by the scandal, but this did not stop his nominations as High Sheriff for Denbighshire in 1864 and 1865. He finally acceded to the position in 1866. His attention seems to have turned inwards, rather than outwards, focusing on the Gwrych Estate and local politics, in particular his appointment as a magistrate at the Denbighshire Quarter Sessions. Robert appears to have been an outspoken landowner, frequently coming into conflict with those around him. At a public meeting in Abergele to discuss the adoption of the Local Government Act, he strongly opposed it, even going to the point of engaging in a heated debate with his wealthy neighbouring landowner, Hugh Robertson Hughes of Kinmel, and eventually being forced to make a public apology.

[198] This situation proved to be intolerable for the earl of Dundonald, who did not reside at Gwrych Castle, choosing to stay in London or, from 1912, at his Scottish estate, Lochnell Castle, Argyll.

[199] National Archives of Scotland, GD233/134/6/3/1

and 1849. To mark the 1910 Eisteddfod, an exhibition was mounted at Colwyn Bay, displaying various works of art and rare historic manuscripts, tracing the history of the Lloyds back some six hundred years.

In an attempt to seek out the physical link with her ancestors, the countess was an early protagonist of archaeology, and was active with several historical and archaeological societies, giving permission for extensive excavations to be carried out on monuments she owned and then financing the publication of their findings. Winifred became the President of the Abergele and District Antiquarian Association, which had been founded in 1905.[200] The association's first major excavation was at Pen-y-Corddyn Mawr Hillfort, near Llanddulas, which was excavated under the supervision of Willoughby Gardner (1860-1953) over the winter of 1905 and 1906.[201] The countess 'readily granted' permission as the land owner, and was an enthusiastic supporter.[202]

The Cambrian Archaeological Association had been founded in 1846, with a view to 'examine, preserve and illustrate the ancient monuments and remains of the history, language, manners, customs, arts and industries of Wales and the Marches and to educate the public in such matters.'[203] The society held its annual meeting at Abergele between August 28th and September 2nd 1911.[204] The president of the association, Professor Boyd Dawkins,

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[200] DRO, NTD/338/6.

[201] Gardner's interest in archaeology, particularly in the surveying and excavation of Welsh hillforts, led him to work closely, during his early years in archaeology, with Harold Hughes, excavating Pen-y-Gaer Hillfort, near Llanbedr, Gwynedd and publishing a report in *Archaelogia Cambrensis* in 1906. The excavation of Pen-y-Corddyn Mawr was one of his first excavations, and was followed by notable work on Dinorben and several other hillforts. In later life, he was to become President of the Cambrian Archaeological Association, an original member of the Ancient Monuments Advisory Board for Wales, a member of the Wales Advisory Committee of the National Trust and of the Board of Celtic Studies of the University of Wales. Harold Hughes (1864-1940), a member of the Cambrian Archaeological Association's committee, published a short report on Pen-y-Corddyn Mawr for the journal *Archaeologia Cambrensis*, after twice visiting the site during excavation. Gardner also had an interest in architecture, developing a model housing estate in North Wales. After moving to Deganwy, Gardner purchased a piece of land on which he developed the Gannock Park Estate. His specifications for building provided that each purchaser of each plot 'already planted with desirable trees and flowering shrubs to guard his own and his neighbour's privacy – should build a house of architectural character in keeping with its beautiful site and surroundings.'

[202]*Archaeologia Cambrensis*, 1910, p. 80.

[203] URL: http://www.orchardweb.co.uk/cambrians/aboutus.html [accessed 25.7.2011]

[204] DRO, DD/DM/437/1

was the guest of Lady Dundonald at Gwrych Castle. Winifred had joined the Cambrians, without a formal recommendation, in 1906, appearing in the members list of 1907.[205] She was part of the organising committee for the annual meeting, working with the Rector of Llanddulas in drawing up a list of properties and sites to visit. Harold Hughes (1864-1940), who despite being a qualified and much practised architect, is better recognised as an archaeologist, having spent many years with the Cambrians.[206] Through the excavations at Pen-y-Corddyn Mawr, Hughes came into direct contact with the countess. In February 1912, he was commissioned by her to design a memorial cross in memory of the Lloyds and Heskeths of Gwrych. The cross was to be erected in the centre of the Hesketh burial plot at St Cynbryd's church, Llanddulas, following the grant of a faculty to increase the extent of the original plot and to construct the memorial cross. Hughes was already familiar with St Cynbryd's, having in 1899 designed the lych-gate for the millionaire, Arthur Jones of Pendyffryn, Llanddulas.

The countess, simultaneously assimilating her ancestry and employing a contemporary approach, embraced the Arts and Crafts movement with her patronage. Theorists of the Arts and Crafts Movement such as John Ruskin (1819-1900) gave the countess the framework in which to express nationhood and alter her family home. Ruskin had argued that new life should be injected into all aspects of architecture, from design to the actual building process, through direct control by a single mind and a single hand. Writing in the 1850s, his works had a profound effect on the Gothic Revivalists, instigating a revolution

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[205]*Archaeologia Cambrensis,* 1907, p.8 and Annual Meeting Report, 1908, p. 106.
[206] He had trained as an architect, articling with Arthur Baker in 1880 for four years, passing his qualifying examination in 1890. It was with Baker that he went into partnership in 1891 (after marrying his daughter). In 1892, he opened a practice in Bangor under Messrs Baker and Hughes Architects, where he was to be diocesan architect for nearly fifty years. His keen interest in archaeology was satisfied by the wealth of remains in North Wales, encouraging him to join the Cambrian Archaeological Association in 1892. He went on to be a regular contributor to *Archaeologia Cambrensis*, later to become joint-editor in 1926 and President in 1930. This grounding and first-hand research in archaeology influenced his work as an architect, and is witnessed in his two publications with Herbert Luck North, *Old Cottages of Snowdonia* (1908) and *Old Churches of Snowdonia* (1924).

in its use by publishing *The Seven Lamps of Architecture*.[207] Architecture, to Ruskin, was an art form, not a science or profession; it had to be a true reflection of the spirit of mankind, expressing all its failings as well as the individual's triumphs. By humanising architecture, Ruskin claimed, the technical and rigorous ethos, set down by Pugin, must be put aside, even though the 'Lamp of Memory' necessitates respect for the historical continuum.[208] *The Seven Lamps of Architecture* and its successors contributed to the ensuing 'Battle of Styles', providing a platform for debate, but, by the late nineteenth century, its values and arguments were becoming lost in the new professionalism of architectural practice.

It was from the office of George Edmund Street (1824-1881) that the four forebears of the movement: Philip Webb (1831-1915), Norman Shaw (1831-1912), William Morris (1834-1896) and John Sedding (1838-1891) were articled. Morris had first tried to accomplish the Ruskinian principles outlined above by venturing into the architectural profession, but found it too restrictive. He had joined Street's office in 1856 but, through his adherence to Ruskin's writings, could not adapt to conventional practice. Following Morris's experiences and subsequent rhetoric, Arts-and-Crafts architects founded their philosophy on 'a direct relationship between the artist and his work'.[209] The movement was an attempt to re-establish a way of working that allowed the creative process its proper place in daily life, which was only possible, as Ruskin and Morris conceded, by following a 'medieval' working ethic. This ethic, they claimed, had been lost through the development of contractual methods, particularly through the practices of the Industrial Revolution. Morris politicised this outcome, taking an anti-industrialisation stance, proposing a counter-revolution through architecture. He called for a reaction against commercialisation and the sterilisation of architectural thought and process. The process of working, he believed, should be an organic

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[207] Project Gutenberg's The Seven Lamps of Architecture, by John Ruskin e-book URL: http://www.gutenberg.org/files/35898/35898-h/35898-h.htm#Page_15 [accessed 19.12.14].
[208] Ibid., Chapter VI. The Lamp Of Memory.
[209] M. Drury, *Wandering Architects: In Pursuit of an Arts and Crafts* Ideal (Stamford, 2000), p. 1.

one, enabling architects to emerge from the same point of origin as their medieval forbears. Arts and Crafts' proponents 'were to put themselves into the same way of thinking about their art as their medieval counterparts and then, from this position of understanding, attempt to create new buildings relevant to their time.'[210] It was intended as a lifestyle as well as an architectural mode, fitting in with the approach of *yr uchelwyr*.

Philip Webb, also trained by Street, is perhaps the architect best able to translate Ruskin's arguments into real architecture, as can be seen in his design of Morris's Red House (1859-1860). Webb, like Morris, took a great interest in the decorative arts, stating that they all depended on architecture. Webb took no pupils, on principle, but his influence was profound, with its emphasis on the importance of rural industries and practices. He supported Ernest Gimson (1864-1919) and Sidney Barnsley (1865-1926) in their plans for a rural crafts community, while William Lethaby (1857-1931) employed Webb's advice that architecture should encompass the high ideals of both art and craftsmanship. Webb passed many aspiring architects on to Shaw and Sedding, whose protégés formed the core of the Arts and Crafts architects. Many met at Morris's Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings (SPAB), where Philip Webb was a principal architectural member, and through the action of SPAB, they had first-hand experience of conservation in action. Webb ensured that all new architects associated with SPAB were not only equipped to deal with the repair of ancient buildings, but also had a true understanding, as Webb and Morris saw it, of '[...] the medieval way of thinking.'[211]

Only the 'Wandering Architects' were able to truly achieve Morris's ideal of architectural practice and society so that their working relationships were firmly established from the outset.[212] They designed uncompromising realisations of Morris's architectural principles that were neither historically derivative nor stylistically eclectic. A defining feature

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[210] Ibid., p. 3.
[211] Ibid., p. 2.
[212] Ibid.

of this group of Arts and Crafts architects was a desire to work on projects with their own hands. They were able to capture this spirit with vigour, but the labour intensivity resulted in a low yield of finished projects. Their work became integrated into various aspects of contemporary life. Detmar Blow (1867-1939) was a central, connecting figure within the movement and one of the principal 'Wandering Architects'; his work for Winifred, countess of Dundonald, produced amongst the most distinctive interiors of any Welsh country house.

It was relatively soon after inheriting the Gwrych Estate, in 1894, that Winifred's approach to life appears to have changed. Within a period of time, she had begun to diversify her interests and to focus on Wales. She had moved away, albeit only over a ten year period, from the sphere of her husband, to the extent that, by 1904 they were virtually estranged. This separation allowed Winifred to move freely amongst a small group of archaeologists, architects and folklorists, whose interests intermingled and produced a variety of projects, including a treatise on vernacular architecture, archaeological excavations and historical exhibitions, after which we may surmise she had direct involvement. The countess's first recorded building project was in 1899, altering the Old Blacksmith's Shop, Nelson Terrace, Abergele, where she used local builders to undertake the work,[213] followed in 1901, by the Abergele drill hall.[214] On August 22nd 1910, Lady Dundonald laid the foundation stone of Church House, Llanddulas. She had paid for the building of the village hall and also the land. The builders of Church House were Messrs Roberts and Son, Abergele. The cost of the village hall was in the region of £1,200. During December 1909, Winifred commissioned Charles Ernest Elcock (1878-1944) of Porter and Co., Colwyn Bay to work on designs to extend and alter Gwrych. Elcock proposed that the Castle should be extended vertically in the area over the main entrance, so as to provide further bedroom accommodation.

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[213] DRO, UDD/C/5/24/2346
[214] *The Times*, 13.5.1901.

Correspondence with the countess was initially through her steward, John Inglis at the Abergele estate office, but Elcock suggested that he should meet with the countess at Gwrych to discuss the proposals more fully.[215] The countess annotated Elcock's plans and questioned his proposed costings, which had parallels with Sir John Vanbrugh's work at Blenheim Palace, 1705-1716, where Sarah, duchess of Marlborough scrutinised every detail she could.[216] Elcock had been born in Belfast but educated at Bootham School, York. He attended Belfast Technical College from 1895 to 1896 and the Belfast School of Art, after which he was articled to J.J. Phillips and Son from 1896 to 1901, moving on to Lawson's Travelling Studentship.[217] He became assistant to John James Burnet from 1901 to 1905, then with the practice of Matear and Simon from 1905 to 1906. He opened an independent practice in Colwyn Bay, in partnership with J.M. Porter from 1906 to 1912, and later with John Brooke in Manchester in 1912-14.[218]

Elcock's association with Gwrych began in 1909 with a series of suggested layouts for a bathroom on the first floor, and a new bathroom, converted from a bedroom, on the second floor.[219] In the papers of Porter & Co. at Denbighshire Record Office were deposited a set of working drawings that were based on a survey of the extant structure at Gwrych. Elcock proposed the addition of a porte-cochère for the main entrance into the castle, as well as doubling the width of George Edmund Street's chapel. It seems it was Elcock who suggested converting it into a 'Sports Room' with a massive fireplace, bay window and the insertion of at least three new windows. He also drew a bay window on the east wall of the Breakfast Room, which would have resulted in the loss of one of Thomas Rickman's cast iron windows. The countess rejected all of the plans. The drawings show that the Italian marble

[215] DRO, DD/PO/2855 Letter to Mr. John Inglis, Gwrych Estate Office, 4.4.1911.
[216] V. Hart, *Sir John Vanbrugh: Storyteller in Stone* (New Haven and London, 2007), pp. 13-14.
[217] URL: http://www.dia.ie/architects/view/1762/ELCOCK-CHARLESERNEST [accessed 1.4.15].
[218] URL: http://www.scottisharchitects.org.uk/architect_full.php?id=404464 [accessed 1.4.15]. Elcock received an IRIBA in 1911 and a FRIBA in 1912.
[219] DRO, DD/PO/2855 Suggested Additional Bathrooms, J.M. Porter & Elcock, December 1909.

staircase was not part of Elcock's original scheme, as it appears to have been drawn onto the plans at a later date. The ground floor plan is particularly informative as it shows the original configuration of the billiards room before Elcock's proposals of 1911. The staircase that Winifred removed had been installed by Lloyd Hesketh Bamford-Hesketh in the 1840s, and was designed by Welch. A contemporary described it thus:

> [...] Moulded in iron, of beautiful Gothic tracery, with pedestals surmounted with carved panicles of fine workmanship; the mouldings and crockets in gold and stone coloured ground, then thirteen compartments, in the centre of which is a shield of the Tudor form, each shield bearing armorial of the various branches of the family commencing with

> 1. Hesketh, of Bamford Hall, Bart
> 2. Hesketh of Fleetwood, Bart
> 3. Bamford-Hesketh of Upton
> 4. Bamford, of Bamford Hall
> 5. Nicholson, of Long Lea.
> 6. Lloyd, of Gwrych
> 7. Hesketh, with coat of pretence, for Nicholson
> 8. Hesketh, impaling Bamford
> 9. Hesketh, with coat of pretence, for Lloyd
> 10. Hesketh, impaling Lygon
> 11. Lloyd, impaling Lewis of Persaddved's
> 12. England – Edward I's time
> 13. Ancient Arms of North Wales

> The shields are emblazoned on each side in their proper colours and metals, and produce a rich and beautiful effect [...] They were executed by Mr. Brown, herald painter of Chester [...][220]

Elcock did revise the domestic hot water supply and heating system in the castle's basement.[221] A new boiler was placed next to the wine cellar, with new flooring and other additions installed in the servants' private rooms. In April 1911, the countess decided that the playing space in the billiard room was not large enough for the billiard table.[222] She employed Elcock again to submit designs for alterations which saw the room turned on its axis, taking away the original 'boot room', 'goods passage' and a coal pit to create a much larger space. The design, which included extensive panelling and an inglenook fireplace with

[220] *North Wales Chronicle*, 3.8.1847.
[221] DRO, DD/PO/2855 Plan 'Shewing Revised Domestic Hotwater Supply and Heating for Basement', not dated.
[222] DRO, DD/PO/2855 Letter to Mr. John Inglis, Gwrych Estate Office, 4.4.1911.

columns, was costed at £245. We do not know whether Elcock did meet the countess to discuss the proposals, but we do know that the inglenook and panelling were not adopted.

Figure 69: *The entrance front of Gwrych showing the building of Detmar Blow's extension above the outer hall, c.1913.* Mark Baker

In 1912, Elcock parted company with John Merry Porter, firstly opening up his own private practice in Colwyn Bay, but then, probably due to the dominance of his old firm in the area, he moved to Manchester to partner with John Brooke. This move coincided with the appointment of Detmar Blow and Fernand Billerey as architects for the refurbishment of Gwrych (see figure 69). It is worth noting that the countess dispensed with Porter but continued to employ Elcock, despite his removal to Manchester.[223] His designs, with Winifred's annotations, are now in the RIBA library, included in Detmar Blow's collection of drawings.[224] Featured in designs for the interior were a set of bookcases from Dyffryn Aled, Llansannan, which had been purchased by Winifred on 5th June 1912.[225] Elcock must have

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[223] John Brooke & Elcock Architects were based at18 Exchange St., Manchester.
[224] RIBA T463 and T438. Purchased 1987 with the assistance of the Museums & Galleries Commission/Victoria & Albert Museum Purchase Grant Fund and the National Heritage Memorial Fund. See appendix M.
[225] NLW (Gwrych Castle) Box 8, Dyffryn Aled Parcel.

seen the bookcases in-situ at Dyffryn Aled as he submitted drawings to Detmar Blow of the brass bars in fronting the bookcase doors.

Figure 70: *Detmar Blow's marble staircase, which connected the principal ground floor rooms with the family's apartments and private entrance into the house, c.1960.* Mark Baker.

The earliest sketch in the collection from Elcock to Detmar Blow is a proposal for the entrance hall, dated 1912.[226] It appears that Winifred had developed a close working relationship with Elcock, who, in January 1913, sent a coloured sketch of an inner hall looking into the entrance hall, a sketch of the new stair off the main staircase, which Winifred annotated with 'not liked' and a reverse view of the same proposal, on which Winifred commented thus: 'this curve of railing not liked'. Another sketch of the main staircase from the second floor plan has Winifred writing 'place of higher floor Gwrych Castle? Side window needed? Side window', as, evidently, she did not like the proposed curved corners of the balconies.[227] Elcock proposed roof lights over the main staircase[228] and submitted an altered design that was executed.[229] He

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[226] Not executed.
[227] RIBA, T438 Not Dated
[228] RIBA, T438 No. 14. Dated 1.4.13
[229] RIBA, T438 No. 15. Dated 3.4.13

continued with his earlier proposals for the service section under the main staircase[230] and servant rooms at basement level. Detmar Blow arrived at Gwrych in October 1912 for the purpose of meeting the countess to discuss her vision for Gwrych. He set about surveying the extant interiors of the ground floor, completing them in December. They included the dining room ceiling and elevations, which showed the original gothic dining room, the entrance hall ceiling, as existing with Gothic detailing and elevations, the inner hall ceiling and elevations, the staircase showing the original Gothic staircase of 1840s, the billiard room existing as one single room and the library.[231] By January 1913, Blow and Billerey had drafted designs for the library and its bookcases, as well as for the dining room and the entrance hall.[232] Work was progressing rapidly during February, with drawings being sent out on almost a daily basis. It must have been decided with the countess that the dining room was to have a late-seventeenth-century French design, with pilasters in the windows, neo-classical door overmantels, a heavy plaster coved ceiling and a large, muscular white marble fireplace. As with the library, it had been decided by Winifred that the Dyffryn Aled bookcases should determine the design of the room. The fireplace enrichments were to be adapted from the school room and library fireplaces at 9, Halkin Street in Halkin Street, London. Halkin Street, had been designed by Blow and Billerey for Scottish millionaire Hugh Morrison (1868-1931).[233] When completed in 1912, it was one of the last mansion houses to be built in London. Halkin Street was named after one of the duke of Westminster's seats: Halkyn Castle, in north Wales. The dining room ceiling was also to be adapted from the Halkin Street drawing room, whilst the fireplace was to follow Detmar Blow's models used at Beenham Court. Design for the fireplace in the entrance hall was to prove a contentious issue, with Winifred writing on the proposal submitted in February '*Not approved*'. Blow had designed

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[230] RIBA, T438 Dated 9.5.14
[231] RIBA, T463 No. 1-10.
[232] RIBA, T438 No. 11-16, 18.
[233] Of Fonthill House, Wiltshire and Islay, Argyll.

10, Carlton House Terrace, for Lord Ridley [234] in 1908, the year in which he visited Gwrych. [235] The staircase created for Ridley, out of black marble, may have inspired Winifred's creation at Gwrych. [236] A straight run of fifty-two marble steps was proposed, featuring a 'verde-antico' dado rail, wrought iron balustrading and brilliantly designed stained glass fitted to replica wooden Rickman windows (see figure 70). The entrance hall fireplace was copied and adapted from the late-sixteenth century town house of the Wynns of Gwydir at Plas Mawr, Conwy, then home to the Royal Cambrian Academy of Art. [237] When the billiard room was rebuilt, Elcock's ground plan was preserved, but to this plan was added a morning room, out of the western portion of the original space. Double doors were inserted so that on occasion the two rooms would form one. A new accommodation wing was built above the main entrance, creating a bolder, and more solid, principal façade (see figure 69).

Social relations are embodied both consciously and unconsciously in the way space is used in buildings. Spatial arrangements between the sexes are socially created, and the organisation of space may perpetuate status differences. [238] Therefore, it is possible to understand ideals and realities through interpretation and critical analysis of structures. It is suggested that the space outside the home is where social relations are produced, whilst, inside the home, social relations are reproduced. Feminist writings have suggested that country houses were retreats from the world; their spaciousness, beauty and gardens all added to an improved quality of life. [239] Judith Lewis, in *Creating Paradise: The Building of the English Country House 1660-1880*, suggests that women are too often assumed to have had no impact upon the design, construction or furnishing of country houses; their assumed role

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[234] Politically active with the Primrose League, Winifred had organised a rally in the grounds of Gwrych Castle regarding Tariff Reform. Ridley was keynote speaker at the rally.

[235] Now owned by the British Academy. URL: http://10-11cht.com/about/ [accessed 9.12.14].

[236] It was noted by Prof. D. Pringle that this staircase, being black and curved in an irregular fashion, as being quite dangerous.

[237] RCAHMW, *An Inventory of the Ancient Monuments in Caernarvonshire: I East: the Cantref of Arllechwedd and the Commote of Creuddyn: Volume 1* (London, 1956), p. 58.

[238] D. Spain, *Gendered Spaces* (Chapel Hill, 1992), p. 3.

[239] J. Lewis, 'When a House Is Not a Home: Elite English Women and the Eighteenth-Century Country House', *JSB*, 48 (April 2009), p. 338.

was to encourage their husbands to spend money extravagantly.[240] Such misogynistic views are unsupported by the evidence here - which is of women taking a direct lead in the construction of country houses. Even female writers have failed to recognise the contribution their own sex has made to architecture, as shown by the title of Jill Franklin's *Gentleman's Country Houses*.[241] Judith Lewis even goes as far as to propose that, based upon such scholarship, women were merely permanent houseguests in a gentleman's home.[242]

Winifred's story was not as unusual as it might seem. Lady Augusta Mostyn (1830-1912) of Gloddaith, Llandudno had renovated her family homes, built churches and patronised organisations that promoted rural crafts. Yet what sets the countess of Dundonald apart from other contemporary women was her patriotism, which centred on her descent from the Lloyds of Gwrych and the role which they had played in traditional Welsh society. She viewed herself as achieving a destiny which tradition had set down to her. Her deliberate patronage of Welsh art, music and literature during the early twentieth century, as well as her decision to base herself at Gwrych, can be seen as a continuation of *uchelwriaeth*. In terms of architecture, Winifred continued the precedent set by her parents and grandparents, both paternally and maternally. She continued to express her heritage by means of building. This mix of public and private display is evocatively expressed at Gwrych Castle, which was not only a family home but also a centre of the community, both symbolically and physically. The countess's act of donating land and stone for the building of Church House, Llanddulas, too is a continuation of the gentry's role in supporting and fostering the communities over which they presided, furthering the maternal responsibility personified in *Mam Cymru*.

One of the problems in discussing female architectural patronage has been defining a body of work. A woman's role has frequently been hidden behind that of her male relatives.

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[240] Ibid.
[241] See G. Franklin, *Gentleman's Country House and Its Plan, 1835-1914* (London, 1981).
[242] J. Lewis, 'When a House Is Not a Home: Elite English Women and the Eighteenth-Century Country House', *JSB*, 48 (2009), p. 338.

The commissioning of a building project required her adoption of something like a male persona; she had to adopt a business-like, managerial and tough outlook. Architecture and the use of space play an important role in delineating gender distinctions. As Rendell suggests, 'specific places may be 'sexed' according to the biological sex of the people who occupy them, or gendered according to the 'gender' associated with the different kinds of activities which occur in them.'[243] Historically, women may pass through three phases of life: daughter, wife and widow. It is noted here that a wife - as either an heiress or through her marriage - could make a significant architectural impact upon their own property, or that of their husband. Widows, likewise, were in some instances heiresses, who, after the death of a spouse, continued to improve and alter their family's property. Women can also inherit estates which formed part of a settlement, such as at Llys Dulas and Lady Dinorben. Even though the research for thesis is on domestic architecture, it has been necessary in some instances to take a wider view, incorporating examples of ecclesiastical and public architecture. By employing both historical and comparative analyses to explore the intersection of gender, space and status in Welsh country houses, it has been possible to explore a theory of space and status in the empirical sense, and to assemble a credible construal of the convergences of gender, status and space. Qualitative research utilising historical information has been supported by quantitative comparisons of the layout and usage of houses. Further work is required to investigate the topic of female property ownership in Wales. We cannot say for certain that female property ownership contributed to a distinctive Welsh country house. Only the case studies of Winifred, countess of Dundonald, and Elizabeth Easthope, show that the property owners were definitely referencing the vernacular architectural traditions of Wales, as previously outlined in Chapter 3.

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[243] J. Rendell, 'Gender, Space', in *Gender Space Architecture: An Interdisciplinary Introduction*, ed. by J. Rendell, B. Penner and I. Borden (London, 2000), p. 101.

Chapter 6: The Welsh Country House - Architecture of Wales or Architecture in Wales? Some Conclusions

Through the research undertaken for this thesis, it became apparent that, due to the scale of the subject matter, it would be impossible to explore all aspects of the houses of the Welsh gentry. Original research and study of primary sources, particularly the buildings themselves, has underpinned the analysis of Welsh country houses. *Yr uchelwyr* architectural patronage, from *c.*1600 to the beginning of the twentieth century, has shown an awareness and appreciation of British tastes. By concluding the thesis with Gwrych Castle and its Arts and Crafts refurbishment, the topic of house development in Wales has come full circle, returning to its original theme: *yr uchelwyr* and late-medieval building practices and techniques. It highlights a strong desire to maintain architectural styles that represented Wales and its cultural identity. This thesis has demonstrated that the architectural development of the Welsh country house was distinct from those given in the canon of architectural histories of English houses, given the greater emphasis in Wales on artisan craftsmen and provincial architects being appointed by home owners. The answer to the initial question of whether the country house could be defined as being an example of the architecture of Wales, or as architecture in Wales is that the reality lies somewhere in between the two. By the employment of local artisan craftsmen and later of provincial architects, the identity that marked the Welsh gentry post-1750 was a continuum of earlier practices, albeit appearing in a modified form.

The thesis has established that a majority of country houses in Wales built before 1750 were designed and erected by artisan craftsmen. As Wales is a province of Britain, there are comparable architectural developments in others parts of the Union, such as Scotland,

northern and southwest England. [1] Scotland has the strongest architectural and cultural identity of these comparators. Like Wales, it was joined to England by acts of union, and it had its own language and traditions, which also went through periods of revival. Metropolitan efforts for regularisation of the architectural profession were felt earlier in Scotland than in Wales, and produced an impressive corpus of architect-designed country houses that fitted in with the buildings created by artisan craftsmen. This thesis has proposed that the Welsh country house reflected the confidence of *yr uchelwyr* in their cultural, social and economic position, which also fitted in with house building on a national level. London and southeast-centric interpretations of architectural history, such as that implied in Giles Worsley's claim that 'all forms of building slumped in the ten years before 1748' are not reflected in the Welsh architectural record. [2] It may be the case that the Welsh gentry were shielded from the effects of the economic difficulties of the 1740s. As previously outlined, the picturesque movement and the rise of internal tourism due to continental wars (the opening of country houses for visits), together with the improvement of roads, rising agricultural profits and expanding industry, gave British landowners the means for greater expenditure. [3] The rise of the provincial architect, superseding the artisan craftsmen, is the way in which houses were developed in Wales. The competent knowledge and use of use of local materials, as well as being a cheaper alternative to architects of 'national' standing, enabled the provincial practitioner to be appointed and thrive. These practitioners may have lacked in terms of original design, but their availability to be on hand must have proved attractive to a Welsh landowner. The physical issue of being able to move around Wales quickly and easily also proved fortunate for their employment.

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[1] There has never been a unified Welsh state, and since the Acts of Union, despite possessing a distinctive culture, Wales has been a constituent part of the English sovereign state. Since 1536-42, there has been no separate legal and territorial structures. The establishment of the Welsh Assembly in 1997 was the closest Wales has ever been to becoming an independent state.
[2] G. Worsley, *Classical Architecture in Britain: the Heroic Age* (New Haven/London, 1995), p. 223.
[3] M. Snodin & J. Styles, *Design and the Decorative Arts: Britain 1500-1900* (London, 2001), p. 30.

Broad conclusions can be drawn, despite each house and family being different in terms of its requirements and approach. Each building project demanded varying levels of financial input from its owner and the availability and quality of locally sourced materials likewise varied. It was often as expensive to remodel an existing house as it was to build from scratch, since the skill to alter a standing structure called for greater expertise than undertaking a new build. When a house was built anew, it was in response to specific design requirements, such as retirement from court (Plas Teg); as a memorial or homage (Gwrych Castle); to house a collection (Hafodunos) or for an expanding family (Brynkir). With such variations in approach, it has been difficult to provide direct comparisons.

The hostility to the country house in Wales, as outlined in Chapter 1, is proposed by this thesis to have emerged due to a matter of taste. In England, with the rise of country house visits and commentary on art and architecture, the domestic architecture of Wales was compared: the increasing stock of new or extensively rebuilt houses in Britain after 1750 made visiting houses a regular and essential part of a landowner's experience. This phenomenon - of serious critical appraisal of property - amongst the elite, appearing well before its popularisation among the more middling members of society, was crucial in the 'dissemination of architectural style in the provinces.'[4] Welsh reliance on buildings erected by artisan craftsmen and provincial architects was the source of negative commentary by outsiders who did not understand the internal dynamics of the situation. This clash of taste created a social and cultural barrier between Welsh and English identities. *Yr uchelwyr* were entrenched in a distinctive cultural tradition, rooted in their houses and landscapes. Adherents of the picturesque movement were to appreciate this difference by embracing the wildness and natural beauty of Wales, and its *uchelwyr* culture. In many instances, the houses of the late-eighteenth-century onwards were secondary to the landscape, being unobtrusive and

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[4] R. Wilson, 'Novelty and Amusement? Visiting the Georgian Country House', *The Historian*, 70 (2001), pp. 4-9.

retiring in character, much like the sub-medieval and early-modern houses of Wales. Polite society did exist, and the gentry would indulge in it at places such as Bath and London, yet through their ancestral roots and kinship networks, a traditional way of life was maintained in their houses and estates.[5] The separation between the two approaches was subtle, but resulted in distinctiveness. The act of remodelling an ancestral home could either be the demonstration of contemporary taste, and/or an expression of identity of the designer and client, which was trusted to a locally-based practitioner, rather than someone distant.

Chapter 1 discussed how approaches to architectural history in Wales had changed and developed over time, and proposed the concept of change and continuity as a central theme of gentry housing. This was then placed into the theoretical framework established by architectural anthropologist Amos Rapoport. Chapter 2 discussed the issue of a relative lack of visual evidence, and how this may have been a result of the use of poetry as a form of recording. Chapter 3 dealt with the physical evidence of unit-system houses and the spread of crow-stepped gables, and how the houses built by artisan craftsmen developed in Wales. Chapter 4 considered the concept of survival and revival, by looking at the rise of architectural professionalism, and how this was adopted by *yr uchelwyr* in contrast with the entrepreneurial classes. Chapter 5 indicated that one key difference from England came in the form of female property ownership and management. This distinction was supported by case studies of several families' multigenerational engagements with their houses, and a return to a 'medieval' approach in the form of the Arts and Crafts movement. Overall, it has been shown through the case studies that there was an identifiable culture of *uchelwriaeth* that had its origins in the laws codified by the medieval Princes, which continued past the Act of Union as custom and practice. The architecture of the native gentry reflected this, and a battle ensued between continuity and change, which was expressed in a variety of ways by a class

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[5] It is important to note that the architecture of Bath and London was enjoyed by yr uchelwyr, but was not replicated back in Wales.

of people who were both inward and outward looking. Each family experienced the phenomenon of *uchelwriaeth* differently, and this is reflected in their houses. Unifying links, such as kinship groups and the shared use of skilled craftsmen and provincial architects, illustrate the spread of ideas through a region and across a 'corpus' of houses and families. A broader theme demonstrated by this thesis, as Shaun Evans noted in his concluding evaluation of the Mostyn family, is that the 'concept of *uchelwriaeth* has been employed […] in recognition that conceptions and practices of gentility in Wales were vested with their own traditions, cultures and values.'[6] This suggestion is supported by the research undertaken into Welsh country houses, and challenges the concept of Anglicisation. The creation of the early modern house, discussed in Chapter 3, brought together several complex concepts and building forms to represent in physical terms a family's growth and dominance in a community at both local and national levels. Architectural forms such as the use of courtyards, gatehouses and staircase towers would have been immediately recognisable. Any contemporary observer would have understood that the owner of the house belonged to a particular group. Poets propagated and celebrated this identity, and on their circuits around gentry homes reinforced the architectural mechanisms employed as means of presenting their ideology.

Knowledge of building technology has been seen as a series of inevitable steps, from cave to complex palace, as consecutive advances have pushed building further forward. In north Wales, the introduction of brick in the mid-sixteenth century saw the gradual disappearance of timber-framed houses in the Vale of Clwyd and its hinterlands. Stone quarrying techniques, such as plug and feather - appearing in the latter part of the eighteenth century - enabled builders using igneous rock volcanic to excavate easily. Rapoport states that the determinist view neglects 'the *idea* of the house; just because man can do something

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[6] S. Evans, 'To contynue in my bloud and name': Reproducing the Mostyn Dynasty, c.1540-1692', unpublished Aberystwyth University PhD Thesis (2013) p. 257.

does not mean that he will.'[7] For example, there were many seventeenth century houses built in the Vale of Clwyd that continued to follow sixteenth century building types, as seen at old Hafodunos, which was built c. 1625. It could easily have been a house built in the 1550s. Advanced houses, such as Plas Teg built in 1610 and influenced by the plans of Serlio, were at the forefront of architectural design, so archaism and modernity in house design existed within the same geographical region and time period. Plas Teg was never copied, but the pattern used at Hafodunos was. Rapoport makes a significant point about how social values and/or symbolism take precedence over technological advances. Before Rapoport, it had been generally thought that technological advances equate with progress, and that most of the agents involved in manufacturing do not consider the social consequences of adopting such advances.[8] Therefore, materials, construction and technology are treated by Rapoport as being modifying factors rather than form determinants, since 'they neither decide *what* is to be built nor its form - this is decided on other grounds.'[9] They make it physically possible to enclose space, and facilitate or make impossible certain decisions, but 'they never decide or determine form.'[10]

In Welsh society, kinship was seen as one of the strongest and most valuable of ties. This identification and acknowledgement of a distinct cultural approach is fundamental to understanding the meaning and distinctiveness of gentry housing in Wales. As Mary Chadwick concludes, 'multiple and simultaneous national identities are part of the character of Wales and the Welsh, as they are for Scotland and Scots.'[11] They were formed by a dynamic and enterprising group of people who not only recognised that their power was based on their shared ancestry but who made sure that conspicuous display was at the fore of

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[7] A. Rapoport, *House form and culture* (Upper Saddle River, 1969), p. 24.
[8] Ibid., p. 25.
[9] Ibid.
[10] Ibid.
[11] M. Chadwick, 'National Identities in the Literary and Manuscript Culture of the North Welsh Gentry *c.*1776-1817', Unpublished Aberystwyth University PhD Thesis (2013), p. 221.

their architectural output. Encoded in their houses was a set of values that was to become far reaching and to appear complex to outsiders. And it was only through the writings of Thomas Pennant that unwritten methodologies were given a voice capable of finding an audience outside of Wales. In the nineteenth century, some families continued to promote the architectural practices of their forebears as examples of survival, and there are cases where incoming families tried to emulate and adapt building patterns and approaches of the past as a revival of earlier styles. The plethora of choice presented to owners is something that resonates in the theory of house form, as there are multiple identities and affiliations exhibited by members of the gentry, so that by the beginning of the twentieth century, every major style of European architecture was to be found in Wales. This thesis proposes that, due to the kinship links across the great houses of Wales, particularly in north Wales, families chose to use certain building types to assert their family's genealogy. This created an exclusive group that was not static but remained ever-changing, generation after generation, and was being diluted by marriages from outside Wales and by families becoming extinct.

The evolutionary house and its incorporation of ancestral architectural styles was seen across Wales, and has been illustrated through the case studies discussed in this thesis. Palladianism failed to take hold in Wales, where patrons preferred to build in simpler styles, without the amassing of architectural features that was seen elsewhere. The simplicity of astylar design, as promoted by Lord Burlington at the beginning of the eighteenth century, was taken up by the Welsh elite. This national movement was described by Robert Morris in 1750, and echoes the eighteenth and nineteenth century house in Wales:

> 'Redundancy of members, ornament, and dress are the productions of unthinking Geniuses. Undecorated plainness […] in a well proportioned building will ever please […] Simplicity, plainness and neatness, with just proportion, is now all that is necessary to be understood by the designer, when that is in view, rather appropriating the structure to use and convenience than to show and ornament […] Your structure must answer the end to which it was erected and the ornament be suited to the dignity

of the inhabitant; but all such additional embellishments should be rather the intent of internal than external gaiety.'[12]

The continuity of older forms of architecture, favoured by *yr uchelwyr*, endured even though the Royal Academy was educating artist-architects from 1768 onwards. The choice of gothick over neo-classical fitted with the ancient lineage of *yr uchelwyr* and the romantic influence of the picturesque movement, allowing the landed gentry 'the freedom to express individual and national identity'.[13] Herbert M. Vaughan casts a comical anecdote about how one old gentry family got more than they bargained for when commissioning a house architect. They protested thus: '…I shall only need a dining room!'[14] This statement reveals something somewhat deeper about the approach of the Welsh gentry to their houses. The gentry were pragmatic in the way their built their houses, conscious of cost. This was the case even though the use of provincial architects may have encouraged designs that were often derivative rather than entirely original. Social mobility within the architectural profession pre-1800 was often restricted to people with wealth, such as Robert Adam, who was supported by the money supplied by his father and was well-received in English and Scottish country houses due to this social standing.[15] This access to wealthy clients was echoed by John Nash who, during his time in Wales, relied on his social connections to obtain commissions. This patronage network appears to have been standard practice for late-eighteenth century architects and artists.[16] Richard Wilson found many patrons amongst the Welsh gentry, of which he was a part. It has been suggested by this thesis that the gentry

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[12] R. Morris, *Rural Architecture: Consisting of Regular Designs of Plans and Elevations for Buildings in the Country in Which Purity and Simplicity of the Art of Designing are Variously Exemplified* (London, 1750), Introduction.

[13] D. Arnold, 'The Illusion of Grandeur? Antiquity, Grand Tourism and the Country House', in *The Georgian Country House: Architecture, Landscape and Society*, D. Arnold (ed.), (Stroud, 2003), p. 116.

[14] A quote from an unnamed Welsh squire, in H.M. Vaughan, *South Wales Squires: A Welsh Picture of Social Life* (London, 1988), p. 82.

[15] D. Yarwood, *Robert Adam* (London, 1970), p.25.

[16] S. D'Cruze, 'The Middling Sort in Eighteenth-Century Colchester: Independence, Social Relations and the Community Broker', in *The Middling Sort of People: Culture, Society and Politics in England, 1550-1800*, J. Barry & C. Brooks, eds. (Basingstoke, 1994), p. 189.

retreated into the world of *yr uchelwyr* as a way of protecting their heritage and identity, as well as their finances.

The scope of this piece of work determines that a brief overview is provided of the topic of country house studies in Wales. Naturally, there are areas in which further study could be directed, enhancing our understanding of how the houses of the gentry came to be. There is considerable scope for further research into those regional agents of change which appeared in the different areas of Wales. Shaun Evans suggests that, given the numerous plasterwork fireplace designs at Mostyn hall and elsewhere, these designs were the 'product of a prolific workshop of plasterers who specialised in heraldic over-mantel and ceiling mouldings from the late-sixteenth century through to the mid-seventeenth century.'[17] Further to this, this identifiable group of material culture, seemingly created by the same body of craftsmen, is evidence of a guild system existing in north Wales. Research has shown many gentry residences across north Wales presenting a regional mechanism allowing *uchelwriaeth* to function. Firstly, an initiative to assemble and translate the body of poetry in the Welsh language relating to the domestic architecture would shed much light on an understudied yet utterly illuminating aspect of architectural history, uniquely to Wales. Secondly, further research into building forms, such as the courtyard houses of north Wales or the gate houses of northwest Wales, would provide an excellent base for establishing regional styles directly linked to kinship groups. Thirdly, the rise of architects and architectural practice could potentially illustrate how gentry houses evolved with the aid of professional and later regulated practitioners. [18] This transitional phase in the development of professional architecture in Wales could be contrasted with the country houses built for the industrialists.

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[17] S. Evans, 'To contynue in my bloud and name': Reproducing the Mostyn Dynasty*, c.*1540-1692', unpublished Aberystwyth University PhD Thesis (2013), p. 261.
[18] Another area of potential research is to investigate the role that membership organisations such as the Freemasons had on the development of houses in Wales, and whether it was the rise of such groups that enabled the social mobility of artisan craftsmen to the level of the provincial architect, through recommendation and patronage.