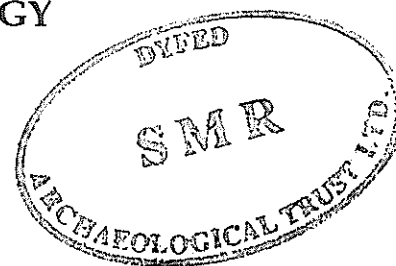


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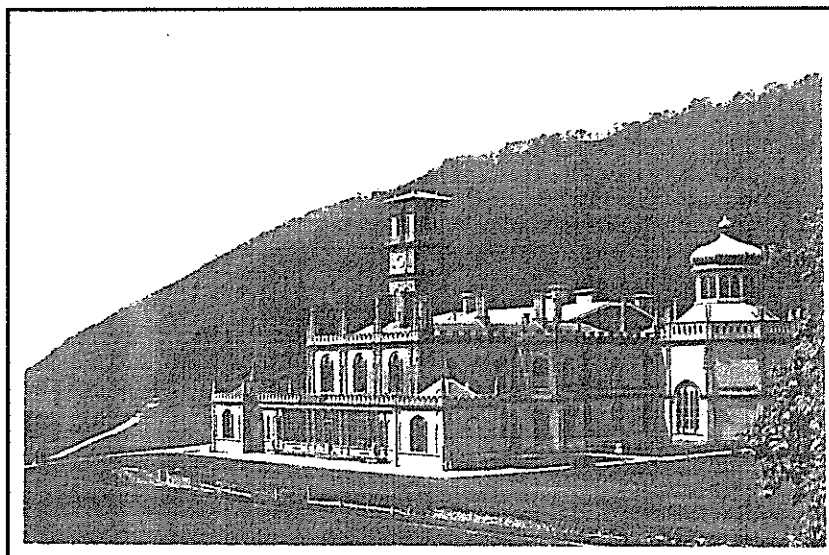
ARCHAEOLEG CAMBRIA ARCHAEOLOGY



HAFOD MANSION

AN ARCHAEOLOGICAL AUDIT,
JAN-FEB 1999

Parts 2-3 - Appendices and illustrations



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PART 2 - APPENDICES

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See also the accompanying topographic survey drawing and the Hafod
Archaeological Database for form and location of features.

APPENDIX 1 - HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

1.1 Pre-estate features

A number of features in and around the mansion site belong to a period prior to the late 18th century. Whilst it is not possible to closely date the features, it is probable that at least some of them are prehistoric and/or medieval.

The Upper Lawn area, ie. the field immediately east of the house, contains a number of earthworks which do not appear to relate to the 18th-19th century parkland landscape. They include a large, subcircular depression (PRN 37652), partly cut into the hillside, which may be a prehistoric or medieval hut platform. It is physically associated with a low, 'L'-shaped bank (PRN 37653), but this need not be contemporary and, like a stretch of north-south bank in the field near Pendre Pond (PRN 37654), may either represent part of a prehistoric field system or be associated with the medieval grange of Hafod Uchtryd (see below, 3.2.2). The latter bank, indeed, lies close to a possible small, quadrangular enclosure (PRN 37655) defined by low banks, which may represent a building rather than an enclosure. A circular depression towards the west end of Middle Hill (PRN 37656) may represent a further hut platform (or be the remains of an estate feature - see below, Appendix 1.2), while a small circular earthwork (PRN 37657) defined by low, but very steep banks towards the north-east of Upper Lawn has an unusual form and its nature cannot be defined. Upper Lawn, including the northern flank of Middle Hill, also contains four, low circular mounds of unknown origin (PRNs 37665 - 37668) but which are broadly similar in form to features encountered within bronze age 'ritual landscape' in areas of upland Ceredigion (Muckle and Williams, 1993).

Hafod Wood features a number of pathways which lead off of 'Back Road' (PRN 33064), the trackway running east-north-east towards Pendre Home Farm. The ends of the pathways (PRNs 32970 and 37676) lie beneath the substantial earth bank upon which Back Road is built, and which probably dates - like the associated road bridges - to the 1790s when the Back Road was converted from a parish road into a drive. If so, then the pathways are earlier, probably being post-medieval developments following the establishment of the parish road. A leat (PRN 37674) also lies beneath the make-up for Back Road.

1.2 The formation of the estate

Hafod Uchtryd (hereafter 'Hafod') formed part of the grange of Cwmystwyth, a possession of the Cistercians of Strata Florida during the medieval period (Williams, 1990, 57).

It is not known precisely when the abbey acquired the lands that formed the grange; Williams, 1889, reproduces a later *inspeximus* of the grant which was made by Rhys, prince of Deheubarth (South-west Wales) during the early 13th century. The nucleus of Strata Florida's lands lay in the uplands of Ceredigion (Platt and Robinson, 1992, 15); a further four granges, two of which were in excess of 5000 acres (2024 ha), lay in the immediate vicinity of Cwmystwyth (*ibid.*). The economy of these upland granges largely centred around pasturage - by the end of the 13th century the abbey possessed at least 1327 sheep and 428 cattle (*ibid.*) - but the aim was always to achieve a mixed agricultural economy.

It has long been recognised that the granges of Strata Florida were, by the later medieval period, not worked by lay brothers but rented out to tenant farmers who in addition rendered 'customary' payments such as oats, corn and sheep (Platt and Robinson, 1992, 15). However, the origins of this system have been subject to debate, and current opinion generally favours the view that pre-existing manorial structures were acquired by the monks and little or no change was initiated. As long ago as 1950 Pierce proposed that 'The so-called granges of Strata Florida, even the upland granges at Pennardd, Mevenydd (sic), Blaenaeron and Cwmystwyth, have the same semi-manorial pattern as the normal Celtic hamlet, with the tenants subject to the ordinary burdens of tribal tenure. Although at some of these widely

scattered granges there are slight traces of demesne cultivation, they appear in the main to have been developed hamlets, many of them with servile tenants, transferred by charter from secular to monastic ownership' (Pierce, 1950, 28-9).

This assertion receives support from a recent study of place-names and land divisions within the grange of Cwmystwyth (P. Sambrook, *Archaeoleg CAMBRIA Archaeology, pers. comm.*). The grouping of 'hafod' (summer pasture) place names, place names that contain a 'tyddyn' element reflecting pre-conquest land divisions (as mentioned in the 'Laws' of Hywel Dda) suggest the perpetuation of pre-12th century land divisions and tenure (as mentioned in eg. NLW, Abertrinant Deeds and Docs., No. 3, of 1725; NLW, Cwrt Mawr MSS, #1020, of 1661 *et. al.*). In summary, Cwmystwyth comprised a number of pre-monastic hamlets held under Welsh tenurial systems and leased from Strata Florida - they were probably never worked by lay brothers.

The hamlets were, by the early 16th century, represented by farms leased from the abbot (Morgan, 1991, 5). Contemporary rentals show that suitable land was intensively farmed, while the high upland areas were under pasture, their boundaries and tenure sometimes still yet to be formalised (*ibid.*); many of the holdings mentioned still survive.

Strata Florida Abbey was dissolved in 1539 (Robinson and Platt, 1992, 21). Richard Devereux was appointed receiver-general of its lands and appurtenances (*ibid.*) In 1547 he secured a lease on the estates which, after his death in the same year, passed to his heirs, the Earls of Essex (*ibid.*). Some tenant farmers sold their leases; others, including Hafod, were retained to be listed in c.1545-50 (Morgan, 1991, 7). Hafod is represented as two farms, 'Hafod Uchdryd Isaf' (under Moris ap Rhys ap Ieuan) and 'Hafod Uchdryd Uchaf' (under Rhys ap Ieuan ap Gwergenau), suggesting that it was well-established (*ibid.*); indeed, in a deed from 1661 'Hafod Uchdryd Isaf' and 'Hafod Uchdryd Uchaf' are referred to as 'ancient tenements' (NLW, Calendar of Deeds and Documents, Vol. II, Crosswood Deeds, 42) suggesting that an original holding of Hafod had been subdivided many years previously (and nb. the nearby 'Hafod yr Abad (Abbot)'). The former is thought to represent the site, if not the precise location, of the later mansion and its environs, and presumably included a farmhouse; the latter may represent the site of Pendre, the later home farm (*ibid.*; Macve, 1990 (b), 2).

The 'Mynydd y Ffynnon' project sponsored by ADAS with Forest Enterprise and undertaken by *Archaeoleg CAMBRIA Archaeology* has recorded the physical remains of pre-19th century farmsteads, with early origins, on Strata Florida land around the fringes of the Hafod estate (Sambrook, 1999).

By c.1570 the lease on Hafod Uchdryd Isaf had been purchased by William Morgan Herbert (Morgan, 1991, 8), and by c.1590, that on Hafod Uchdryd Isaf had passed to four leaseholders, including William Morgan Herbert and Richard William Herbert (Morgan, 1991, 8). They were of a branch of the powerful Herbert family, representatives of which had acquired extensive lands in Wales including Powis Castle, and had been created Earls of Pembroke (Inglis-Jones, 1990, 19). The two holdings appear to have been merged under the Herberts, who held, in addition, a large number of leases throughout Cwmystwyth (*ibid.*). The Herberts were also to acquire interest in a number of lead mines in the region (Meyrick, 1907, 289).

The Strata Florida granges were obtained from the Earls of Essex by the Vaughans of Trawsgoed in 1630 (*ibid.*). Like the Earls, they sold further leases on to the Herberts, only retaining the right to levy chief rent of £22 per annum, in lieu of the rent still owed to the crown as freeholder on the lands (*ibid.*); this was still being paid up until the 19th century (*ibid.*). By this process, Vaughan involvement diminished as the Herberts built up estates through the acquisition of leases, but the precise mechanism whereby the Vaughans ceased to be of importance in the region is at present unknown, and is a subject that requires future study.

Physical evidence for this period of the history of Hafod is discussed in Appendix 1.3 below; to this may be added the drawings of old coppiced and pollarded trees contained in the sketch book of Thomas Jones of Pencerrig, dated c.1786 (Hallett, 1991, 5-11). More recently, 'the beech tree with the largest girth in the British Isles', lying towards the western end of Allt Dihanog, was considered by the Tree Register for the British Isles to pre-date the 1780s, and may be as old as 400-500 years (Little, 1993, 8-11).

Furthermore, the present Hawthorn Cottage is a 19th century building attached to an earlier long-house which, whilst not closely dateable, may be 18th century and indeed, in this lower status agricultural function, is unlikely to have been constructed as an estate building after the 1780s. It may be part of the original Pendre Farm/Hafod Uchdryd Uchaf, but the name 'Pendre' is not recorded before 1800.

The last Herbert at Hafod, another William, died in 1704 (Morgan, 1991, 8). His estate passed to his daughter Jane; her marriage to Thomas Johnes, of Llanfair Clydogau and Dolaucothi, brought Hafod into the hands of its most celebrated occupant, Thomas Johnes Junior (*ibid.*).

1.3 The pre-1780s mansion (Fig. 9)

The Herberts appear to have established a residence of some importance at Hafod; they were later said to have 'kept a hospitable house at Hafod for many generations' (Meyrick, 1810, 364). They certainly had close interests in the estate, founding the neighbouring church of Eglwys Newydd 'for their convenience' in 1620 (Meyrick, 1810, 351) replacing the chapelry, to Llanfihangel-y-Creuddyn, at Llantrisant.

The Johnes, on the other hand, appear to have been largely absentee. Thomas Johnes Snr. apparently described it as a 'beggarly estate' let out for a 'wretchedly small' sum (Inglis-Jones, 1990, 30), although Thomas Johnes Junior (1748-1816), and his second wife Jane, are said to have occupied the old Hafod mansion 'for a certain period of time' (Thomas, 1973, 153). A much later account described the earlier mansion as 'an old house... deserted as an untenable residence' (Malkin, 1804, 361), but the estate was rented 'for life' by Lord Powis' Mining Agent, John Paynter, in 1759 (Inglis-Jones, 1990, 30). No mention is made of the house by H. P. Wyndham who travelled in the area in 1774-7, a fact which has been thought to reflect the 'utter meanness' of the house 'despite its age' (Thomas, 1973, 152).

It has been recently suggested (Kerkham and Briggs, 1991, 160), moreover, that John Paynter began the process of landscaping the environs of the house that was to be concluded so magnificently by his successor, Thomas Johnes (see also Appendix 2 below). Paynter was a Londoner and was regarded by his Cardiganshire peers as sufficiently suave and urbane to advise them on their building and decorating programmes, and was consultant to Sir Herbert Lloyd's work at Peterwell, Lampeter (Phillips, 1997, 147). It is therefore inconceivable that he left the mansion at Hafod untouched, and Paynter's own correspondence suggests that his influence spread further. In a letter to Bishop Squire of St Davids, sent from 'Havod House' in March 1762, Paynter referred to the house as 'my little hôtel surrounded with woods, rocks, caves, cataracts and rivers' and urged that visits should be made to 'this enchanting spot' (Meyrick, 1810, 365). He undertook to repair the house and, to that end, is said to have cut down £100 worth of timber (Inglis-Jones, 1990, 32), while he apparently spent £3000 on improvements to the house and estate (Dr. C. S. Briggs, *pers. comm.*). In a description from 1848 '(we) find (from) a description given by a Mr Paynter... that, long previously to 1783, the woods of Hafod excited admiration; and the appearance of the trees - some of the oaks are at least a century old - proves this' (Cliffe, 1848, 325). In addition, Paynter is known to have constructed a summerhouse and garden at Hafod by 1768 (Kerkham and Briggs, 1991, 170).

Little is known of the nature of the mansion under the Herberts and Paynter, nor its precise location. Kerkham and Briggs *et al.* have suggested that it lay immediately to the south-east of the later mansion, in the truncated and levelled area of the north-facing hillslope later occupied by domestic offices and stables (PRN 33097 - see below, Appendix 2; Kerkham and Briggs, 1991, 168). A view, possibly from 1788 and

part of the 'Hafod Dessert Service' shows a low, L-shaped building in this location, possibly adapted from the earlier house and in the Cardiganshire vernacular gentry tradition (Dr. C. S. Briggs, *pers. comm.*).

'Back Road' (PRN 33064), the present east-west trackway through Hafod Wood was, until 1790, the parish road from Pontrhydygroes to Cwmystwyth (Cardiganshire Quarter Sessions Order Book Vol. 4), and may have served the pre-1780s mansion via a track on the site of the present west-north-west drive. Another track may have approached the mansion site via the narrow valley in which Hawthorn Cottage now stands.

1.4 The late 18th century

Thomas Johnes Junior (1748-1816) acquired the estate on the death of his father in 1780, and moved the Hafod three years later. The family's own estate lay in northern Herefordshire but, having acquired Hafod, Thomas Junior decided, 'against the advice of family and friends', to settle there, with the express aim of creating a picturesque landscape (Macve and Sclater, 1996, 4). The estate then comprised about 8,000 acres.

The life and career of Thomas Johnes, Colonel of Militia, Lord Lieutenant, Custos Rotulorum, his wife Jane and daughter Mariamne, his tastes, his achievements and estate management at Hafod including silviculture and agriculture, his printing press, philanthropy, etc. have been extensively researched and published (eg. Inglis-Jones, 1990) and will not be replicated here; his work at the mansion site and environs, however, will be discussed in some detail in Appendix 2. Suffice to say that he commenced a total rebuild of the mansion, in what was apparently a different site, in the mid 1780s.

Johnes's mansion caught fire in March 1807 (Malkin, 1807, 95, *et. al*), with 'nearly the whole of its valuable contents, excepting the pictures, the best of which were saved... (ibid.). According to Samuel Meyrick 'Colonel Johnes's loss is estimated at seventy thousand pounds' (Meyrick, 1808, 298). Of this, Johnes received from the Imperial and British Insurance Company only £26,000 (Thomas, 1975, 216), and in an effort to raise cash for the rebuilding at Hafod, he attempted to sell Cardigan Priory (ibid.).

Johnes fell ill in 1814 and purchased a residence in Devon in which to convalesce, where he died, without a surviving heir, in 1816 aged 67 (Dibdin, 1817, 360n.).

1.5 The earlier 19th century

In 1814 a Mr Claughton contracted to purchase Hafod, but after Johnes' death he withdrew from the sale. The estate was in chancery with John Smith, the Johnes's solicitor (NLW, MS 15002 A), until 1832 (Thomas, 1975, 218) when it was auctioned.

According to an anonymous visitor in 1818 the house had already 'evidently declined as to the condition in which it is kept' (NLW, MS 542B, Cwrt Mawr). In 1832 the house was described as 'bad and falling into decay very fast...' (Nottingham University Library, Ne 2F 4); many of Johnes's garden features had gone, some many years previously.

Johnes's wife Jane died in 1833, and 'after various legal difficulties' (Thomas, 1975, 218) Hafod was purchased in the same year by Henry Pelham (1785-1851), the Fourth Duke of Newcastle, for the comparatively low price of £62,038 (Evans, 1995, 42). The Duke's family, whose main seat was at Clumber Park, Nottinghamshire, owned estates in several English counties (Evans, 1995, 41). Newcastle may have had an eye to exploiting the mineral resources that were thought to abound in the area, but it may also have been the landscape that drew him to Cardiganshire (Borron, 1997, 6). Nevertheless it is

clear from his diaries that the Duke only visited Hafod for 3-4 months each year, and indeed the Cardiganshire rain appears to have troubled his health (*ibid.*).

Newcastle did, however, spend another £20,000 on improving the mansion and estate (Cliffe, 1848, 326) which, in addition to improvements to the house, included the reroofing and embellishment of Eglwysnewydd Church (Evans, 1995, 44). The Duke attempted to sell the estate from 1843 onwards (Macve, 1998) finally succeeding in 1846 when it was sold to the Lancashire gentleman Sir Henry Hoghton, who had had a joint involvement in the Crewe - Aberystwyth Railway with Newcastle (Thomas, 1975, 223), for £97,000 (Cliffe, 1848, 326). Newcastle died six years later (Thomas, 1975, 223).

In 1848 Hoghton employed the architect Anthony Salvin to add a new wing to the mansion house, more than doubling its size; apparently, he had intended to demolish the older house but was forced to sell the property before this was undertaken (Morris, 1887, 77). However, his attentions were mainly to the house and he spent little money on the estate (Inglis-Jones, 1990, 245).

1.6 The later 19th century

Hoghton put Hafod up for sale in 1855 and it was purchased by the industrialist William Chambers, J.P., D.L., of Llanelli, for £102,000 (Thomas, 1975, 225). He is not known to have made any changes to the house, and in 1864 he attempted to auction the estate. The attempt was unsuccessful, doubtless due to the fact that the rentals were insufficient to maintain the estate, the lack of investment since 1846, and the incomplete nature of Hoghton's new wing (Borron, 1992, 388).

It was eventually purchased by John Waddingham, of Guiting Grange, Gloucs., in 1872 (*ibid.*). From a Lincolnshire family, John Waddingham had made his fortune in Leeds where, amongst other enterprises, he promoted railway companies (Borron, 1992, 386), retiring at the age of 47 in 1846. He died in 1890 after having prioritised the improvement of the estate, re-acquiring portions that had been alienated earlier in the century and ensuring its prosperity long after his death (Borron, 1992, 394). He was succeeded by his son James Waddingham, J.P., D.L. and High Sheriff in 1892, a reclusive, scholarly man under whom the church at Eglwysnewydd was restored. James resided at Hafod until 1932 when, due to ill-health, he moved to Aberystwyth (Macve, 1989, 63). The house was left under a caretaker and following the death, without issue, of James Waddingham in 1938, the contents were put up for auction (*ibid.*).

1.7 The 20th century

The artist John Piper and his wife Myfanwy visited Hafod in 1939 when the house was empty, but still in fair condition (Macve, 1998). The landscape was in the 'early stages of dereliction', a dereliction that was later to be hastened by wartime tree-felling and neglect (*ibid.*), despite the efforts of the next owner.

James Waddingham is generally regarded as the last owner-occupier of Hafod. However, after his death the estate was sold, for £46,000 to W. G. Tarrant (1875-1942) who lived at Hafod for a little under two years, from 1940 until his own sudden death in 1942 (Macve, 1989, 64). Tarrant was a Surrey builder who was also responsible for the failed ill-fated 'Tarrant Tabor' triplane bomber, the prototype of which crashed in 1919 (Macve, 1989, 62). As to why he should want to acquire the estate remains unknown; he had an eye to exploiting its timber and mineral reserves but he did undertake some work at the house, had an interest in landscaping and apparently intended to make Hafod his long-term residence (Macve, 1989, 59).

Between 1942 and 1949 the mansion, with a diminishing portion of land attached, changed hands several times, while outlying estate farms were sold off. At an auction in 1949 the mansion fittings such as doors,

windows, flooring and staircases were sold (Macve, 1989, 71) leaving just a shell which was then sold to a demolition contractor (ibid.).

Much of the estate, which had by now been largely denuded, was purchased by the then Forestry Commission in 1950 (ibid.). Replanting began and in 1952 ownership of the mansion reverted to the commission. By now it was largely roofless and parts of the Salvin wing, including the campanile (see below, 2.1.4), had been demolished. In 1958, when all attempts to find a use for the increasingly ruinous building had failed, it was destroyed by dynamite (ibid.). The mansion house site and its environs were used as a caravan site between c.1965 and 1986 (Little, 1992, 10-11).

APPENDIX 2 - DOCUMENTED DEVELOPMENTAL HISTORY

This section is a review of the documentary sources that refer to the mansion and its environs, structured as a chronological description of the development of the site. Many of the sources have been published, but the main source used has been J. Macve's '*A Documented History of Hafod*', in two volumes with index, a copy of which is held by the Hafod Trust and which contains transcripts and copies of a considerable corpus of primary source material.

2.1 The Mansion (PRN 7199)

2.1.1 The pre-Johnes house (Fig. 9)

Three early views show a building (PRN 26531?) occupying the area south-east of Johnes' mansion house. The 'Hafod Dessert Service' from ?1788, the possible Baker, or James Wathen view from before 1795, and a watercolour from 1795, but based on a sketch of c.1792, by John 'Warwick' Smith, show a low, plain building with an L-shaped in plan.

It has been suggested by Kerkham and Briggs *et al.* that the building possibly represents a remnant of the earlier Herbert (and Paynter) mansion house (Kerkham and Briggs, 1991, 168; see Appendix 1.3) which was remodelled by Johnes' architect, Thomas Baldwin. The building shown has been interpreted by Briggs as having two storeys, being in the Cardiganshire gentry tradition and possibly similar in form to the Stedman's Abbey Farm, Strata Florida (Dr. C. S. Briggs, *pers. comm.*) which may have 17th century origins (Smith, 1998, 270). However, the depiction is not unequivocally that of a 2-storeyed building and it may, alternatively, represent offices which were purpose-built by Baldwin in 1784-5. The building is not shown in an aquatint by Stadler, published in 1810 but based on Smith's earlier watercolour, nor is it marked on the 'Blake' map of 1796 (J. Macve, *pers. Comm.*) which suggests that it had been demolished by c.1795 (see below); it may equally, however, represent mere artistic convention. Later views depict the area to the south of the house as a lawn.

Whatever its date and original purpose, the building almost certainly represents the 'offices' that were 'originally... differently placed' according to Benjamin Heath Malkin's description of 1803 (Malkin, 1804, 349), which were thought to 'press too forward to notice' and 'were afterwards thrown into their present form'. No further ancillary buildings, enclosures, boundary walls or terraces appear to be depicted in these three early views of the mansion.

The area is now occupied by the cut platform (PRN 33097) described in Appendix 2.2 in which it is argued that the platform is mid-19th century. If this is the case, physical evidence for the buildings may have been removed. A magnetic susceptibility survey was conducted in this area, in 1990, in order to test for the presence of any features associated with the buildings/offices (Sinclair, n.d.). The results were inconclusive although stone, encountered during boring, was thought to perhaps represent rubble debris. However, an absence of burnt material was noted, further suggesting that the area was truncated after the fire of 1807 with the probable removal of earlier archaeological evidence; in the absence of conclusive proof the area remains archaeologically very sensitive.

2.1.2 The late 18th century house (Figs. 2; 9-10)

Phase I

Thomas Johnes Junior (1748-1816) embarked on the construction of a new house, on the site of the present ruins (PRN 7199). All contemporary sources agree that the house was an entirely *de novo* construction, owing nothing to the earlier mansion.

According to Inglis-Jones, 'it was not until June 1786 that the foundation stone of the new house was laid... as an inscription placed thereon recorded' (Inglis-Jones, 1990, 94) and it was complete 22 months later (Inglis-Jones, 1990, 101). It has, however, been suggested that the plans were drawn up in 1783 (Thomas, 1973, 152) while in a description from c.1800, by George Cumberland, of an earlier visit made to Hafod (NLW, Lloyd-Johnes MS Collection), Johnes was 'engaged in building a seat at that place' as early as 1784 (*ibid.*).

The earliest pictorial depiction of the new house appears to be the view of the west front which forms part of the 'Hafod Dessert Service'. Comparison with published research suggests that it was taken in 1788 but it may be of a slightly later date (Macve, 1998). It is very similar to the watercolour by John 'Warwick' Smith of c.1795 mentioned above (reproduced in Inglis-Jones, 1990, pl. 1), and a view, possibly by Baker, or James Wathen, taken from the west before 1795 (Macve, 1998); there appears to be, however, no contemporary plan. All three views show a large, two-storeyed building in Georgian Gothic style, in plan a rectangle with its long axis lying north-south. It featured a considerable quantity of worked stone, to the extent that it was described as 'built of Bath stone' by William Williams, writing in 1796 (NLW, MS 23, 253C); W. F. Mavor, in 1805, however, described it as 'built of Portland stone, with turrets (the pavilions) and painted windows...' (Mavor, 1806, 70); the structural evidence favours the former.

In the views, the façade is divided horizontally by a double string-course, and vertically divided into three main bays, the central of which is defined by pinnacled buttresses and rises above the level of the crenellated parapet. It contains the entrance, approached up a flight of steps and featuring a 'semicircular head and drip-mould, above which lies a large, three-light window in a two-centred surround and drip-mould, over which is a shallow, rounded gable apparently with a balustrade. The disposition of the bays may correspond with ground-floor internal divisions into a dining room, drawing room and hallway or loggia (see the anonymous description from 1797, and Martyn's description of 1801 below). The flanking bays of the façade were lit by three single lancets in each storey, and were in turn flanked by single-storey 'aisles' with similar parapets, the southern of which, facing the view south, was a long, colonnaded portico above which three first-floor windows are depicted. The engraving of the house, taken from the south-west, in Samuel Meyrick's *History of Cardiganshire* from 1808 and albeit much later, clearly depicts low, square angle pavilions projecting from three corners of the house, presumably accompanied by a fourth on the north-east corner, in apparent confirmation of arrangements less clearly shown in the earlier views discussed above and therefore reflecting the original layout. The pavilions have crenellated parapets and pyramidal roofs, and are lit by single- and triple-lancets. In addition, the engraving depicts the main door as occupying the central bay of a triple, blind arcade of two-centred arches. All in all, however, the house depicted in all three is more-or-less identical with the structure as rebuilt after 1807.

The design was by Thomas Baldwin of Bath, as confirmed by Johnes himself in a letter of 1807 (Thomas, 1975, 215 and there appears to be no justification for the doubts, expressed by Thomas, that Baldwin was responsible (Thomas, 1973, 154). The construction of a major house in the Gothic style - normally reserved for garden features and follies - was considered unusual by Johnes' contemporaries (Thomas, 1973, 153). However, like much Georgian Gothic, Hafod was overwhelmingly Classical in proportion and only Gothic in its detail, a detail described as 'Moorish' by William Gilpin in 1789 (Gilpin, 1789, 77). A visitor in 1803 had 'heard it objected, that the rooms are not large enough' (Malkin, 1804, 349).

Cumberland, in 1795, described the approach from the east, with a final turn from the south, thus - 'you... come suddenly and unexpectedly upon the Gothic mansion, facing the portico front; which, with its light wings, white, gay appearance, and spacious steps, seem to invite its visitors with cheerful hospitality' (Macve and Sclater, 1996, 11). The north side of the house is described as the 'plain front', opposite Hafod Woods (Macve and Sclater, 1996, 36).

Phase II

In 1793-4, Johnes engaged the architect John Nash to undertake alterations to the mansion. An octagonal library, and an adjoining conservatory (PRN 26532), were added, altering the former symmetry of the house; the library occupied a position previously occupied by the presumed north-east corner pavilion (see above). The conservatory had been added, by 1796, against the south face of an east-west wall leading east from the library; there appears to be no cause for the doubts, expressed by Thomas, 1973 (op. cit.), for the location of either building

There are no contemporary pictorial sources for the library, which appears not to have resembled the later octagonal library particularly closely (see Appendix 2.1.3 below). However, there are a number of contemporary written accounts. In his 'Journeys' of 1796, Richard Colt Hoare described the house as of 'a singular, and not an elegant species of Gothic architecture... The library circular (sic) in its form with a gallery supported by marble columns of the ancient Doric order without bases; the proportions are much too heavy. Conservatory of about a hundred feet in length joins the library' (Thompson, 1983, 63). In an anonymous account from 1797 'a Drawing Room... an Eating Room... and an elegant Library, form the principal Apartments; the latter, is a handsome Octagon room... of eight Tuscan columns of variegated marble, (supporting a gallery which surrounds the room)... A Door opens from the Library into a very elegant conservatory' (NLW, MS 16, 133C). Richard Warner, in 1798, called the library 'modern Gothick' in style (Warner, 1798, 148-9), with a 'colonnade of variegated marble pillars, of the ancient Dorick order, supporting a pediment of white marble, supported by a light gilt railing, and forming a gallery... The apartment terminates above in a dome, the top of which forms a circular window for the admission of light'. It communicated 'on one side with a noble greenhouse... and with the lawn... on the other side' (ibid.).

Subsequent descriptions of the house, library and conservatory are all very similar, but James Edward Smith, c.1800, gave the diameter of the library as 30 feet, and the length of the conservatory as 150 feet (Smith, 1810, 11). Meyrick described the conservatory as 160 feet long, 'with a walk down the centre. The walls are all pannelled with plate glass, so that when the door of the library, in which the plate glass is made into specula, is shut, the view from the end of the conservatory appears like enchantment' (Meyrick, 1808, 297). Mavor, 1805, says that the conservatory was 300 ft long (Mavor, 1806, 70), but judging from the present evidence it can not have been more than 46 metres (ie. 132 ft) in length. The surviving east-west wall here, which formed the rear face of the conservatory and includes a neo-Classical door from the yard to the north, is said to feature 'at least one flue at the base suggesting it might once have been a heated wall' (Kerkham and Briggs, 1991, 168). The remains of the fountain visible at the west end of the south face of the wall formerly featured a masked-head spout with a scalloped bowl (Inglis-Jones, 1990, endpiece; see Fig. 19), possibly designed by Thomas Banks (Kerkham and Briggs, 1991, 168); it has been resited within an arched recess of Staffordshire engineering brick from the 1880s (see Fig. 38), but originally stood at the 'end of the conservatory' as 'a large masked head in white marble and from the mouth issues a constant stream of pure water, that is received into an immense Vase of fine marble' (Malkin, 1804, 360).

Nash also appears to have added a service wing to the north of the house, and another conservatory, further altering the symmetry of the house; J. E. Smith, in c.1800, referred to the 'range of apartments, added subsequently to the main building on the left (ie. to the north) of the 'Warwick' Smith view, and forming along with it a gallery two hundred feet in length... those apartments having been built since the drawing was made' ie. since 'Warwick' Smith's visit of 1792 (Smith, 1810, 11). These buildings presumably replaced those to the south (see Appendix 2.1.1 above). According to Mavor, in 1805, 'the offices lie behind the house and are wholly concealed by plantations' (Mavor, 1806, 70).

A gateway, with a Classical pediment on Coade stone pilasters, flanked by similar pilasters with ball-finials, was illustrated by John Piper in 1939 (Victoria & Albert Museum). There is no other record of this feature and its location, and date, are unknown (1793 according to Suggett, 1995, 78), but it is said to

have stood 'to the rear of the mansion, forming an entrance to the stables' (Macve, 1998). The neo-Classical detail is not unlike the Gibbs surrounds in the north-south wall between the two service yards described above, and may therefore be contemporaneous.

Phase III

Some further internal alterations were apparently undertaken c.1800. A very full description of the house from 1801 (NLW, MS 1340C) repeats and expands many of the previous accounts; the 'dining Parlour is a neat good room, with a... fireplace... The Drawing Room (with) Fire screens'. In the middle of the conservatory was placed a 'naked figure of Thetis (and) Achilles...'. Upstairs, the house contained 'the young Ladies Apartments... very elegantly furnished, the Bed Chamber containing a state bed... (with an) intermediate space which connects the Chamber with the dressing Room... This dressing room is highly decorated. The Toilette is superbly furnished'. The statue of Thetis and Achilles was also by Sir Joseph Banks, apparently modelled by Jane Johnes (Evans, 1995, 58).

However, a recent addition was the 'anti-library (sic) which in winter is used as a Dining Room... This being the whole of the apartments' (NLW, MS 1340C). The ante-library was again noted by Malkin in 1803, when it had 'lately been completed'. It was 'in the form of a chapel, in which is placed some very curious painted glass... A staircase formerly occupied this area, which is now converted into a classical apartment' (Malkin, 1804). According to Mavor (1805), this painted glass occupied 'two beautiful windows', and had been acquired from a Flemish convent (Mavor, 1806, 70).

Malkin described the south 'colonnade' front as 'occupied by another suite' (Malkin, 1804, 360), 'the arrangements have, indeed, undergone various changes' (op. cit., 349); these rooms were, apparently, the ones given over to Johnes' daughter, Mariamne, as a result of her move downstairs due to infirmity (J. Macve, *pers. comm.*). Mavor, in 1805, listed the rooms including the hall, the dining and drawing rooms, the library and the ante-library, but a music-room is also mentioned (Mavor, 1806, 70). Meyrick's account from 1808 draws heavily from Malkin's and describes the pre-1807 house; the hall, music room, summer and winter dining rooms, the library and the drawing room are listed (Meyrick, 1810, 366-71); all rooms, including the library, appear to have had fireplaces. According to Meyrick the Dining Room fireplace was also by Banks (Meyrick, 1810, 368).

A reconstruction of the disposition of rooms within the Phase III house has been attempted by Macve (Macve, 1994), based on the above accounts, chiefly Malkin's 'Scenery, Antiquities and Biography of South Wales', 1803, 350-359, and is here reproduced as Fig. 2. She suggests that the Phase I staircase occupied the centre of the house, but was moved to the north-west corner during Phase II.

2.1.3 The early 19th century house (Figs. 2-5; 10-13)

The mansion caught fire in March 1807 and was gutted (Malkin, 1807, 95). The extent of the fire is difficult to assess from the sources - most suggest that while fixtures, fittings and timberwork were lost, the shell of the mansion survived - 'the walls of the house alone were left standing: the mansion was soon rebuilt' (Lewis, 1833).

Johnes himself, in a letter to George Cumberland 16 days after the fire, wrote - 'the outward walls are left standing, and I hope will serve, it seems by their entire appearance as if they were to be continued in the same design... the conservatory, wonderful to say, is in perfect preservation. All Nash's buildings are gone; and you will say, perhaps, no loss. But Baldwin's stand firm. I shall employ him again... (Thomas, 1975, 215). Rebuilding began under Baldwin in September 1807 (ibid.).

Phase I

According to Payne, c.1815 (NLW, Cwrt Mawr MS 101C), the house occupied a larger area than its predecessor, being 'thrown back further towards the back' ie. to the north. This may, at least in part, refer to additional outbuildings. The square projection that is shown from the north front on a map view of 1834 (NLW, Hafod Estate Map), and which has led Borron to recently suggest that the rebuild was more extensive (Borron, 1995, 16), may be a later addition (see below).

Moreover, the pictorial sources all agree that the shell of the house was retained and rebuilt in a form identical to that of its predecessor, differing only in detail, and also described as 'of Bath stone' (Morris, 1887, 77). According to Johnes himself 'My home is not larger than before, but I think better arranged' (Thomas, 1975, 216). The main block was a rectangle, with square corner pavilion at three corners, with an octagonal library again occupying the fourth, north-east corner. Even relatively superficial structures such as the aisles/colonnades between the corner pavilions appear to have been unchanged - when the southern pavilion was finally demolished in 1873 it was apparently found to contain a stone inscribed 'Mrs Jane Johnes placed this stone 14 June 1786' (Borron, 1992, 393).

Additions and changes were, in the main, minimal, but included the square, crenellated porch, entered from the side (ie. through the north wall), that was added to the main entry and shown in an engraving by Gastineau of c.1825. The north-west pavilion may have been rebuilt; it appears to project further than the southern pair in the pictorial sources (Macve, 1994, 7). The window above the entry, as opposed to the triple-lancet of its predecessor, was now a traceried three-light window.

An undated watercolour attributed to Frederick Nash, from c.1835, depicts a number of otherwise unrecorded features and may represent work that was proposed but never carried out; however, the view is taken from the south-east and thus shows a side of the house never previously depicted. The date and provenance of the watercolour, moreover, are uncertain and it must be interpreted with caution; it has, for example, been suggested that it is not by Frederick Nash at all, but may be a copy of an earlier work that showed alterations by John Nash which were more extensive than has been previously thought (Borron, 1995, 16). In the centre of the east front is a projecting bay occupying both storeys, a feature whose date is confirmed by the earliest surviving plan of the mansion, the map view from 1834 (NLW, Hafod Estate Map); the windows on this side are depicted as single lancets like those on the west front and which survived until the 1950s. The south-facing first floor windows are shown as triple lancets and there are pinnacled buttresses between. The ground floor of the south front, the area of the former colonnade, was now occupied by a conservatory linking the two pavilions; the north front featured an aisle as before (Thomas, 1975, 217). The southern crenellations were 'Moorish', with triangular merlons, and there are four of double chimney stacks rising from the low-pitched roof. The conservatory is shown as a long, fully-glazed lean-to with three projecting masonry bays, similar in style to the main block pavilions; the east-west wall behind is depicted with crenellations and pinnacles.

The octagonal library, which appears from Johnes's letter to Cumberland to have been structurally destroyed, was rebuilt in a somewhat different style to its predecessor, and without the columns and gallery (Thomas, 1975, 217). The new library was in a style 'looking forward to Brighton Pavilion' (Thomas, 1973, 161), and featured tall, 'Georgian' neo-Gothic windows, a balustraded parapet with pinnacles, and a dome with central lantern, all featuring Bath stone dressings. The pictorial sources depict the dome as somewhat higher than the 28 ft given by Dibdin in 1817 (Thomas, 1975, 217). The 'lantern at the top of the dome' is depicted as a gabled and traceried high-Gothic structure on the Nash watercolour from c.1835, but this may be mere fancy.

The earliest eyewitness account of the rebuilt house may be that of Walter Davies, in 1809, who remarked that 'The house is in the modern Gothic; with a glass house adjoining the eastern wing' (NLW, MS 1755 Bii). Anne Atherton noted in 1825, however, that the house was 'built of such crumbly stone that parts of

the ornaments are already falling to decay' (NLW, MS 2366 B), presumably referring to the Bath stone dressings.

The internal arrangements were altered with the addition of another library. An account of 1817 includes among a list of the rooms the entrance-hall, dining room and 'suite of libraries', three in number (Dibdin, 1817, 359n.); the first library was 'immediately connected with the dining room... the second (a) circular room... the third.... is a magnificent octagon, of 28 feet in height (including the lantern at the top of the dome) connecting... with a conservatory of some 70 feet in length'. The first library appears to have been created from two smaller rooms (J. Macve, *pers. comm.*), and the 'circular room' from the earlier ante-library (Thomas, 1975, 217). Like its predecessor, the octagonal library had a fireplace (*ibid.*), as did the circular library 'with noble marble chimney pieces' (NLW, MS 2366 B) but the dining room and first library were, in 1825, 'warmed by stoves very handsome but not so cheerful as open fires' (*ibid.*).

In 1832, these internal arrangements were confirmed in the sale catalogue (Thomas, 1975, 217). The ground floor contained the Dining Parlour (30' x 19'), the three libraries ie. The 'Long Library' (35' x 20'), Circular Library (20' diameter) and Octagonal Library (28' x 28'), the Conservatory (76' x 72' - sic), the Vinery (68' x 22'), a new library and a Billiard Room. The vinery appears to have taken up half of the conservatory, whose second dimension appears to be a misprint of 22', giving a total length of 144' which accords with earlier descriptions. Other chambers listed include nine 'bedchambers for female servants', 'four best bedchambers' and one 'dressing room' on the east side, 'four best bedchambers and two dressing rooms' on the west side; Thomas, 1975, thought that at least some of the bedrooms lay on the ground floor, possibly within the pavilions (*ibid.*). The house may never have had attic accommodation (Borron, 1992, 392).

A reconstruction of the disposition of rooms within the Phase I house has been attempted by Macve (Macve, 1994), based on the above accounts, Thomas Rees's 'Cardiganshire' published as part of 'The Beauties of England and Wales', 1815, 419-423, and Johnes' own correspondence; it is here reproduced as Fig. 2.

The 'offices and out houses were very successfully attached but hidden from view' in a description by Michael Faraday from 1819 (Tomos, 1980, 55). The earliest surviving plan of the mansion, from 1834 (NLW, Hafod Estate Map) shows a complex of outbuildings occupying both the present service yards (PRNs 37658 and 37659). The presence of these structures also suggests that the vertical-sided cutting, within which the present yards lie, was the work of Johnes. Accounts from 1839 state that 'excavating the ground at the back of the House', and building the retaining wall (PRN 37660), had commenced (Nottingham University Library, NeC 8485 & NeC 8671a), but the reference is probably to work on the Inn at Devil's Bridge. The east, west and south walls of both service yards appear to be occupied by ranges, with a return in the eastern yard on the site of the present stables (PRN 37659), and the Nash watercolour of c.1835 depicts a range of east-west gabled buildings, with chimneys and differing roof-lines, lying against the wall behind the conservatory, in the present eastern service yard. The plan also shows a narrow, north-south range just west of the western enclosure, depicted as a neo-Gothic, single-storey crenellated range, similar in style to the rest of the house and terminating as a similar square pavilion, in Walton's lithograph of c.1839. In addition, the western service yard appears to be depicted with a wall (and gate?) across its northern side on the 1834 plan.

The function of some of the outbuildings are suggested in the list of 'offices' within the 1832 sale catalogue (Thomas, 1975, 218); 'a servant's hall, butler's pantry, plate closet, dairy, laundry, brewhouse, china room' etc..

Phase II

The Duke of Newcastle acquired the estate in 1833 and spent £20,000 on its improvement (Cliffe, 1848, 326) including, at the house, major repair work and some alterations (Macve, 1998). Two building programmes were undertaken in 1833-5 and in c.1841, but neither are clearly defined (Borron, 1997, 6).

The Duke himself referred to the house as 'bad and falling into decay very fast' (ibid.). It had been unoccupied for a considerable length of time and urgent repairs included repairs (or replacements) to the roof and floors, including reroofing part of the Long Library (Evans, 1995, 44), the blocking of fireplaces and the replacement of staircases (Thomas, 1975, 220).

It is clear that more extensive works were also undertaken. In 1835 Newcastle found it necessary to 'cover the rear elevation in stone', which may suggest that Johnes had left the house unfinished (Borron, 1997, 7), or may account for the square projection that is shown from the north front on the 1834 estate map. A map of c.1837 appears to depict the projection as having been extended as a west range to the western service yard (Nottingham University Library, Ne C 8418); apparently contradicted by the tithe map from 1847; the former map also suggests unenclosed 'courtyards' to the west of the house, and to the east, ie. south of the conservatory.

After the 1841 work the Duke's diary entry read 'The alterations... about the house are very great and I have built new and considerable additions to the offices and sundry alterations to the main part of the house particularly on the staircase passages and hall' (Borron, 1997, 6). Some of these alterations are shown in a lithograph by W. L. Walton, taken from the south-west and based on a watercolour by the Duke's son Lord William Clinton from c.1839. The octagonal library is shown with an 'East Indian' onion-dome roof, replacing the earlier lantern but with a Gothic-fenestrated base that was possibly retained; originally, the dome was surmounted by what F. O. Morris, in 1887, called a 'glass spear-head' (Morris, 1887, 78. Later views show the dome with fish-scale tiles and a more conventional finial (Piper, 1987). Accounts from 1839 mention a new Dining Room chimney-piece (Nottingham University Library, NeC 8485). A lantern over the circular library is also mentioned, perhaps the conical cap suggested on the 'Lilywhite' postcard (in Birmingham Public Library; Thomas, 1975, 220); a staircase was apparently lit by a third lantern (ibid.).

The porch was also rebuilt between 1840 and 1845 (J. Macve, *pers. Comm.*). It is shown by Anne Salvin, in her sketch of 1848, with a side-entry, a west window and bartizan-like finials on the west corners.

It has been noted above the 1834 plan shows a complex of outbuildings occupying both the present eastern service yard, and a similar square enclosure north of the house itself (NLW, Hafod Estate Map); the plan, and the map of c.1837 show that the arrangement, at least, of the enclosures was as today, and they appear unchanged on the 1847 tithe map (NLW, Llanfihangel-y-Creiddyn parish, 1847). In addition, an account of 1839 (Nottingham University Library, Ne C 8445); refers to projected 'new additions to the offices' (Thomas, 1975, 201). Furthermore, Newcastle's 'new and considerable additions to the offices' mentioned above are elaborated on in the 1841 diary entry thus - 'all the offices have been newly modelled and rearranged and are now complete and ... are the best and most substantial part of the premises' (Borron, 1997, 7); the phrasing suggests that the work had been recently undertaken. The question then must remain open as to whether a total rebuild of the outbuildings, but following the same plan as the earlier buildings, was undertaken between 1839 and 1841; however, the Gibbs surrounds that survive within the north-south wall dividing the two service yards are of a style then going out of general use.

The conservatory (PRN 26532) is not shown on the c.1837 plan or on the Walton lithograph of c.1839 and had certainly gone by 1855, not being marked on a sale plan of that year; it was probably removed by the Duke as part of his alterations to the service yards (see Part I, the inventory).. He also removed Banks' sculpture of 'Thetis and Achilles' to his house at Clumber, Notts. (Borron, 1997, 7; Evans, 1995, 58).

A small, rectangular building is depicted immediately north of the house, within the cutting, on the tithe map of 1847 but appears in no other sources; the site was to be occupied by the new wing of 1848-55.

2.1.4 The new wing, 1848-1855 (Figs. 6; 14-15)

Henry Hoghton, soon after purchasing Hafod in 1846, commenced an ambitious building programme, undertaken to the designs of the architect Anthony Salvin (Cliffe, 1848, 326). Salvin had been responsible for the neo-Gothic Peckforton Castle in Cheshire, and most of his work was in Tudor or Jacobean style, but he undertook work in Italianate style at Penoyre, near Brecon, and it was this style that was chosen, presumably by Hoghton, for the new work at Hafod (Thomas, 1975, 223). According to Thomas, 1975, Salvin and his wife, Anne, had arrived at the house by September 1846 and work started immediately; however, Thomas incorrectly dated an important sketch of Hafod, from 1848 and by Anne Salvin, which shows the new work under construction from the west - complete with scaffolding - to the year 1846. Work continued until at least 1851 (Thomas, 1975, 224).

The work involved the construction of an entirely new east-west wing to the north of the earlier house, extending beyond it to the west to form an 'L'-shaped block (Cliffe, 1848, 326). The house was closed to visitors, at least during the 1848 season (Cliffe, 1848, 324). The question has been raised as to how far the work had progressed by 1870, when the sale catalogue states that the new wing 'has never been entirely completed' (Borron, 1992, 390). According to Inglis-Jones, 'Roofed and glazed, it is true, though behind the dead-eye slits was a dismal warren of unfinished rooms and passages... and since floors and ceilings were missing almost everywhere, an endless vista presented itself of rotting beams and transoms' (Inglis-Jones, 1990, 245). However seriously the accuracy of this account has been questioned (Borron, 1992, *et al.*), particularly in view of the fact that Hoghton's successor, William Chambers, was attributed by his contemporaries with at least some work (Borron, 1992, 391), the mansion was apparently 'still unfinished' in 1887 (Morris, 1887, 77).

The earliest known photograph of the mansion, by Francis Bedford.), shows the house from the south-west. It is traditionally dated to c.1865 but is possibly as late as c. 1873 (T. Lloyd, *pers. comm.*). The new wing was in the 'rural Italian' style and was 'built of Cambrian slate from a quarry near the lower lodge' (Morris, 1887, 77). Most of the earlier house was retained.

The internal arrangements are noted in the sale plans and catalogues of 1855 and 1870, which differ only in minor details. The plans show that the new wing was arranged as a triple-pile. The central, and longest range comprised six bays, which included two open courtyards surrounded by service rooms, terminating as a clock-tower in the style of an Italian campanile at the west end. To the south, and separated by a 'subrange' which included a further small yard, and a corridor, was a range of three libraries, the end ones octagonal internally, while to the north was a service range, the latter connecting with the south range by a north-south corridor which formed the east end of the wing (see Figs. 14 and 15). All the rooms are pierced by lights and connected by corridors.

Openings were both semicircular-headed and square, the former predominating on the south and west 'show' fronts; the western of the three libraries featured an external arcade of three arches to both the south and west, replicated as columns in first floor. The Cambrian slate stone was roughly cut, with plain quoins, and simple dressings including string-courses, abaci and a plain cornice. The clock-tower, however, was stylistically rather different with finer dressings and quoins, and 'Venetian' belfry openings similar to those in the extant Pontrhydygroes Lodge (Thomas, 1975, 224). Roofs were low-pitched, hipped at the corners, and slated. The simple, square chimneys with gabled cowls have been compared to those at F'alcondale, Lampeter, a 'vaguely similar' house from c.1850 (*ibid.*).

The libraries, as 'the circular and octagonal libraries', were listed among the elements of the design still unfinished in 1870 (Borron, 1992, 391); also unfinished were the bath complex in the central range 'and

eighteen bedrooms', and possibly the new service rooms (*ibid.*). The libraries appear to be complete in the 1885 photograph but later oral accounts suggest that they were never properly floored (Borron, 1992, 392); nor were the baths ever completed (*ibid.*).

The earlier house was retained but the north-west corner, including the pavilion and stairwell, were removed to make way for the new wing (Thomas, 1975, 218). The 1855 and 1870 plans show the former Billiard Room, in the north-west quarter of the earlier house, as divided by an east-west wall, the northern half open - to the elements - to the west, to allow light into the adjoining new library, while the southern half became the main staircase, but the plans are contradicted by the photographic evidence and may show work that was intended but was never undertaken. By 1870 a new Drawing room had been established from what was, in 1855, a Billiard Room at the south-west corner of the house; the former square library, on the east side, became the new Drawing Room. Both plans term the Octagonal Library the 'Saloon', suggesting that books etc. had been removed. The west 'aisle' had been removed before 1855, but the south conservatory was removed after 1873 with the corner pavilions (Borron, 1992, 393).

The two yards with their service ranges to the north-east of the house (PRNs 37658 and 37659) are shown in detail and occupy the same extent, and apparently much the same ground plan, as they did under the Duke of Newcastle. The western yard ie. north of the octagonal library, included the kitchen, pantries, laundries etc., connected to the earlier house and octagonal library by a long corridor; additions under Hoghton appear to include a northern range that comprised a blacksmith's shop, and a north-south range closing off the west side of the courtyard including a shed and fowl-house. These buildings have now gone but the selective duplication of functions within the Salvin block service rooms - ie. pantries, coal-house and turf-house - is interesting. The eastern yard comprised a south and an east range of sheds, stables and coach-houses.

George Borrow's description of 1854 is a curious mixture of fact and fiction, wherein 'three styles of architecture seemed to have been employed. At the southern end... a Gothic tower; at the northern an Indian pagoda; the middle part had much the appearance of a Grecian villa. The walls were of a resplendent whiteness, and the windows... shone with beautiful gilding' (Borrow, n.d., 486). He continued 'After gazing at this house of eccentric taste... sometimes with admiration, sometimes with a strong disposition to laugh, I followed the road...' (*ibid.*).

2.1.5 19th - 20th century alterations (Figs. 7-8; 16-17)

If the house was still unfinished in 1887 then it may be that John Waddingham completed Hoghton's work; however, it appears that his priority was the improvement of the estate. An account of 1887 states that he had 'much improved the estate by planting larch, draining, fencing and building' (Borron, 1992, 389).

Overall, the house appears unchanged in a photograph taken from the south in c.1885 which, along with the Bedford photograph of c.1865 or 1873, and an undated photograph of the house reproduced in Millward and Robinson (1980, 176), is the primary source for the late 19th century house. However, the southern pavilions had been demolished, by 1885 at least.

Waddingham rebuilt the eastern service yard (PRN 37659) to the north-east of the house, constructing the present stable-block (PRN 32973) which retained nothing from the earlier work. It bears the date-stone 'J.W. 1882', has distinctive Staffordshire blue brick quoins and surrounds, and has survived more-or-less unaltered, complete with its fittings as have the pigsties to the south (PRN 37662); the square, free-standing building (PRN 37663) shown on the Ordnance Survey 1:2500 First Edition of 1888 immediately south-west has gone. The southern ranges of both yards, which were shown on the 1870 sale plan were probably removed in 1882 and are not shown on the 1888 map; they are now represented only as an

earthwork in the eastern yard. Waddingham also appears to have been responsible for the Dutch barn in Upper Lawn field immediately east of the mansion complex which was also shown in 1888 (PRN 32972). The removal of the southern ranges, which had contained service accommodation (see above), suggests that the first floor of Salvin's block was completed, and available for such accommodation, by 1882 at least; this is partly confirmed by the 1939 sale catalogue in which the first floor extensions had been converted to form bedroom and staff accommodation, in addition to a kitchen and a Billiard Room (Borron, 1992, 392).

Salvin's Servants Hall was converted into a chapel in 1887, during alterations to Eglwysnewydd Church, and was retained in this capacity until the demolition of the house (Borron, 1992, 392).

Beneath and around the mansion site is a 'labyrinthine sewer arrangement lined with white ceramic tiles and capped by massive cast-iron man-hole covers' (Kerkham and Briggs, 1991, 168). The system appears to have been installed, or redesigned, under James Waddingham in 1912, when G. T. Bassett, Architect, of Aberystwyth, invited tenders for a drainage system beneath the house (Borron, 1992, 398) but it may incorporate some earlier features (Kerkham and Briggs, 1991, 168).

The map evidence suggests that the western service yard (PRN 37658) was altered early in the 20th century, probably between 1906 and 1932 under James Waddingham. The north-south range of buildings between the two yards, which is depicted from 1855 (sale plan) to 1906 (Ordnance Survey Second Edition) was removed, leaving the present north-south wall - formerly the west wall of the range - which was itself truncated. This area is unfortunately not clear in John Piper's photograph of 1939 which, however, does show the 'bothy' (PRN 37661) which was probably also erected, apparently new, between 1906 and 1932..

2.1.6 Decline (Fig. 18)

The mansion was still intact and structurally in good condition when it was photographed by John Piper in 1939 (see Fig. 18) , and by Cyril Flint in 1940-41.

According to Macve, the last owner, W. G. Tarrant, who resided at Hafod between 1940 and 1942, occupied the old, Johnesian wing (Macve, 1989, 64). The Morning Room and Plate Room of 1870, which had become the Study and Gun Room in the 1939 sale catalogue, became the kitchens, while Salvin's 'Gentleman's Room' was used for storing the estate grain (ibid.). It is also thought that he commenced restoration of Salvin's library suite (Macve, 1989, 67); it is known that he supplied the mansion with electricity for the first time, run from a generator on the estate at Dologau (ibid.).

With the departure of the Tarrant family in 1942, the house ceased to be a permanent home and its decline gathered speed. It was declared 'vacant' in 1946 and in 1949 fittings such as doors, windows, flooring and staircases were auctioned off (Macve, 1989, 71).

By 1952, the Salvin wing was in ruins, the octagonal library had lost its cupola and Johnes' original house had lost its roof (Thomas, 1975, 226). By 1958 the entire Salvin block had gone and major portions of Johnes shell (ibid.). The remnant of the mansion was dynamited to the ground in that year, leaving only the ancillary buildings and yards to the north-east; of the latter Waddingham's 'bothy' (PRN 37661) was, from c.1965 until 1986, utilised by the Caravan Club and is now a site office for Forest Enterprise, who also utilise the stable block for storage etc.

2.2 The Mansion environs

2.2.1 The mansion lawns (Figs. 3-14)

This section takes in the area immediately south of the house - the 'mansion lawn' (PRN 37664) - and the platform area (PRN 33097) cut into Middle Hill.

The mansion lawn

Cumberland, in 1795, referred to the 'lawn before the house' (Macve and Sclater, 1996, 12, 24) and in an account from 1798, Henry Skrine mentions that 'A well-formed lawn extends far beneath the house' (Skrine, 1798, 123, reproduced in Macve, 1998). In an anonymous account from 1797, a 'sloping lawn' lay 'in front' of the house (NLW, MS 16, 133C), while Warner mentioned, the following year, that the area was already occupied by a lawn (Warner, 1799, 148). Kerkham and Briggs have suggested that, during the construction of Johnes' house, a mason's yard stood in the mansion lawn area (Kerkham and Briggs, 1991, 167).

The mansion lawn is depicted with a circular flower-bed in the watercolour attributed to Frederick Nash of c.1835, but, as noted above, the depiction cannot be relied upon as an accurate record; it also shows a substantial east-west revetment wall south of the house which was not shown on the Clinton lithograph of 1837 and was almost certainly not built until later (Macve, 1998), as well as a fantasy bridge beneath the southern drive; the remainder is shown as lawn. Indeed, on a plan of c.1837 (Nottingham University Library, Ne C 8418), unenclosed 'courtyards' are suggested both to the east and west of the house (see Appendix 2.1, above).

The lawn is demarcated by a boundary on the tithe map of 1847 (NLW, Llanfihangel-y-Creiddyn parish, 1847). Expenditure relating to drainage laid beneath the lawn was recorded in accounts from 1840-41 (Nottingham University Library, Ne 3A 314).

A substantial east-west ha-ha was built along the southern edge of the mansion lawn, 25 metres south of the house, apparently after 1846 and as part of Salvin's design (Macve, 1998). It lay 25m further south than the line of the southern boundary of the mansion lawn as depicted on the 1847 tithe map, which is perpetuated as a dotted line on both the First and Second Edition Ordnance Survey maps of 1888 and 1906 respectively and for which slight physical evidence still survives. The ha-ha can be seen in Francis Bedford's photograph of c.1865 or 1873 on the line of the present wire fencing. There is now no physical evidence for the ha-ha, and indeed it does not appear in John Piper's photograph of the mansion from 1939, but the c.1865 photograph demonstrates that it was a substantial feature, and deep, with near-vertical revetted sides. The boundary terraces to the west of the southern drive are not clearly apparent and Borron, 1992, thought them later, but pre-1885; indeed, they do not continue the line of the ha-ha, instead reverting to the line of the former boundary as depicted on the tithe map. Two tiers of low revetment walls either side of a central terrace turning, as a chamfered corner, to run north-south, are still present; the three levels are linked by two sets of steps.

Both the 1855 sale plan and the c.1865 or 1873 photograph show the area between the revetment/ha-ha and the house as being occupied by well-maintained lawns, but the traces of old paths and flowerbeds can be seen in the grass to the east of the house in the photograph, and a post-and-wire fence runs along the ha-ha suggesting that the area had been suffering from a lack of maintenance for some years. Also in the photograph is a mature horse-chestnut, lying hard against the ha-ha towards its east end, which also appears in the Piper photograph of 1939.

The cut platform

The precise date of the cutting in the north-west flank of Middle Hill (PRN 33097), which forms a level platform to the south of the house, is not known (see Appendix 2.1). It may have been a primary feature of the construction of the pre-Johnes house/Baldwin's Offices (PRN 26531). However, it truncates the Lady's Walk which, in this area, was depicted in a map of c.1837 (see below) and does not appear to be shown in Anne Salvin's view of the mansion house from 1848 while a knoll or mound, rather than a level platform, appears to lie beneath 'Baldwin's Offices' on the view taken by Baker, or James Wathen, before 1795 (Macve, 1998). So although the method of cutting a building construction platform is common in the Ceredigion uplands and was used for low-status buildings as well as high-status sites, and indeed is used for the service yards of Hafod Mansion (see above), the platform south of the house may have been part of a landscaping programme under Henry Hoghton in the 1840s-1850s (possibly in 1846 by W. A. Nesfield - Macve, 1998, C3) to enhance the view of a house that now faced south; it has alternatively been suggested that the platform may have been laid out as a bowling-green (information supplied by K. Murphy, *Archaeoleg CAMBRIA Archaeology*). The cutting itself is shown on neither the Ordnance Survey 1:2500 First Edition of 1888, nor on the Second Edition of 1906, while the former shows it to be devoid of parkland trees.

Anne Salvin's view also shows the large oak still growing to the south-west of the house site, and a second oak closer to the house in the area of Salvin's terrace.

2.2.2 The drives (Figs. 3-14)

The present track leading west-north-west from the mansion site (PRN 32977) is depicted as a drive by 'Warwick' Smith (c.1795) and is marked on the contemporary 'Blake' map (J. Macve, *pers. comm.*). In addition, Smith included the drive leading from the south (PRN 32977), ultimately leading from Upper Lodge, running as a gentle curve around, and just west of, the rocky knoll which it now bisects; the drive, however, was described as the 'new way to the house' in 1795 (Macve and Sclater, 1996, map) and 'the new carriage road to the house' in 1803 (Malkin, 1804, 341). Some form of courtyard evidently existed to the west (and south?) of the house by c.1800 when James Edward Smith described the southern drive as 'a direct approach to the gothic colonnade on one hand, or the grand entrance on the other' (Smith, 1810, 8).

A view of c.1825, by E. Philips, shows the southern drive with the same curved line, as do a plan of c.1837 (Nottingham University Library, Ne C 8418), Walton's lithograph of c.1839 and the tithe map of 1847 (NLW, Llanfihangel-y-Creiddyn parish, 1847).

The present terraced, straight southern drive and the cutting through the rocky knoll (PRN 32978) may have been the work of Sir Henry Hoghton and may, like the cut platform described above (PRN 33097), have been intended to enhance the view of his reoriented house. However, they were not shown on a plan of 1864 (Cambridge University Library, Hafod Estate Map, 1864) and were possibly the work of the Waddinghams.

Francis Bedford's photograph of c.1865 or 1873 taken during the occupancy of William Chambers shows the southern drive running, without verges, to the main gate to the south of the house and what appear to be gate-posts, flanked by iron railings, are present. The situation had changed by c.1885, when a photograph of the house, from the south shows the drive sweeping straight to the front of the house, without gate-posts, and flanked by young conifers which had evidently been recently planted. Iron fencing lay either side, sections of which are now in the Kitchen Garden.

The flanking trees are depicted on the Ordnance Survey 1:2500 First Edition of 1888, and the 6" Second Edition of 1906. They were still present, and were photographed, in 1941 (Macve, 1989, 68) and appear in a semi-mature condition in an undated photograph of the house reproduced in Millward and Robinson, 1980, 176.

2.2.3 The Lady's Walk (Figs. 3-8)

Cumberland's map of 1796 (Macve and Sclater, 1996) clearly shows the Lady's and Gentleman's Walks, labelled '1st Walk' and '2nd Walk' respectively. That section of the Lady's Walk within the study area (PRN 33088) follows a line leading north-east from a point south of the house site, following the foot of the northern slope of Middle Hill to run either along the northern shore of Pendre Pond opposite Hawthorn Cottage (see below), or to climb the rocky knoll between the cottage and Pendre Home Farm; its line has not been clearly established in this eastern area. The walk had been 'shortened' by 1800, confirmed in a description by Jonathan Grey (Macve, 1998); judging from later descriptions it appears that the section within the study area, and its continuation towards Eglwysnewydd Church, ceased to be part of the tour (*ibid.*). However, it continued to be used as a path towards Pendre Home Farm and Hawthorn Cottage and it is possible that the 'sheltered and sequestered' walk to the farm, noted by J. E. Smith c.1800 (Smith, 1810, 11) may in part have followed its course.

The earliest surviving plan of the mansion, a map view from 1834 (NLW, Hafod Estate Map), does not show the Lady's Walk, but it is clearly depicted in a plan of c.1837 (Nottingham University Library, Ne C 8418) leading from the south-east corner of the house towards the north end of Middle Hill, where it divides; it is labelled 'Walk to Pendre'. The Lady's Walk in this area is not depicted on the tithe map of 1847 (NLW, Llanfihangel-y-Creiddyn parish, 1847).

The Lady's Walk always terminated at the house, but its west end appears to have been truncated by the excavation of the cut platform (PRN 33097) in the 1850s. However, the line of the walk continued to be used as a path and is shown as diverging from its original course to run around the platform, emerging at the south-east corner of the mansion lawn, on the Ordnance Survey 1:2500 First Edition of 1888. It is not shown on the Second Edition 6" of 1906.

2.2.4 Hafod Wood (Figs. 3-14)

Silviculture

It appears from the 'Warwick' Smith view (c.1795) that Hafod Wood to the north of the house, described as a 'hanging wood' in an anonymous account of 1797 (NLW, MS 16, 133C), was densely vegetated with mature broadleaved varieties; according to Sir Christopher Sykes, 1796, 'not an evergreen is to be seen within this whole country' (Macve, 1998). Malkin (1803) called it 'a most beautifully wooded hill' (Malkin, 1804, 341).

The existing vegetation within Hafod Wood was augmented with planting under Thomas Johnes. His woodland management has been adequately summarised elsewhere (eg. Linnard, 1970) and will not be discussed in detail here. However, a direct reference to Hafod Wood is made in a letter from Johnes to George Cumberland in January 1808 (Macve, 1998, Letters), in which he states his intention to 'cut down all the wood above the house, for it is in a state of decay, and fill it up next season with oak, beech etc. four feet high and very thick; so that I hope in a year or so, it will scarcely be missed. The sum I expect will be large, as I understand the ground measures 80 acres, and consists of about 18000 trees - of all sizes'. It is apparent that the area under discussion is not confined to that lying within the study area, but represents the entire hillside; moreover, not all trees may have been felled, for the area contains three very large beeches, and an oak, which may predate the 1780s.

Hafod Wood is shown with more-or less its present extent, including the strip westwards to Pendre, on the 1834 map (NLW, Hafod Estate Map). The plan of c.1837 (Nottingham University Library, Ne C 8418) appears to show a planting scheme, but with only four new trees in this area. In both plans, however, the area immediately north of the house is much less wooded than at present, its southern half being open and it is possible that Johnes had some form of garden here. The area is, on the Tithe Map of 1847, called the 'Drying Ground' (NLW, Parish of Llanfihangel-y-Creiddyn, Tithe Map, 1847), suggesting that either timber, or washing, was dried here.

The 1834 map shows a mix of both broadleaved and deciduous trees, while the c.1837 plan shows exclusively broadleaved varieties, but neither may be strictly accurate. On the tithe map of 1847 (NLW, Llanfihangel-y-Creiddyn parish, 1847) all are apparently conventionalised as broadleaved; the map confirms that the wood respected its present boundaries.

In 1837, the Duke of Newcastle's accounts record expenditure on 'pleaching a hedge by Hafod Wood' (Nottingham University Library, Ne 3A 312/1). A 'hurricane' occurred in January 1839 which approximately 380 trees were brought down on various parts of the estate (Nottingham University Library, NeC 8672a); however, neither Hafod Wood nor Middle Hill (below) are mentioned as sites damaged.

In Francis Bedford's photograph of the mansion, from c.1865 or 1873, Hafod Wood appears thinly wooded, possibly as a result of felling by the then owner William Chambers. A photograph of the house from c.1885 shows predominantly mature broadleaved varieties in the area immediately north of the house.

The wood is shown with its present boundary on the Ordnance Survey 1:2500 First Edition of 1888, when it was depicted as mixed but mainly with broadleaved varieties; however, two broadleaved trees, and a conifer, are shown beyond the boundary of the wood in the north part of Upper Lawn field, represented today by several loose stumps. The wood appears in much the same form on the Second Edition 6" of 1906.

'Back Road' and the garden features

Back Road (PRN 33064), the former parish road through Hafod Wood, is mentioned by Cumberland in 1795 (Macve and Sclater, 1996, 36), is shown as a green lane by 'Warwick' Smith in c.1795 (reproduced in Inglis Jones, 1990) and is labelled 'Back Road' on the plan of c.1837 (Nottingham University Library, Ne C 8418).

Johnes had received permission to close it off from the public in 1790 (Cardiganshire Quarter Sessions Order Book Vol. 4), and sections of it may have been redirected; a wide terrace (PRN 37677) running for 150 metres just south of the road may represent its original course (J. Macve, *pers. comm.*). Lipscomb (1799) mentions bridges over the various streams on the estate, but is not specific, and none of them can be clearly identified with the two present bridges (PRNs 32964 and 32968) beneath this drive; however, all were said to be of simple construction (Lipscomb, 1802, 128). In the 'last few years' of his life, before 1814, Johnes had apparently been 'making roads and erecting bridges for the public' (Dibdin, 1817, 357n.). No structures are shown in any of the early 19th century plans, nor the tithe map of 1847.

The area of the wood immediately north of the house, between Back Road and the retaining wall - the 'Drying Ground' of 1847 - has during the 20th century been known locally as the 'Japanese Garden' and thought to have been designated as such in the late 19th century. Two north-south streams define its east and west ends, and the latter had probably been culverted beneath the house site early on in Johnes' tenure (PRN 32965) - it is not shown here on any map or pictorial source. The area may be the 'New Garden, walled', with an area of just over two acres, listed in the 1832 sale catalogue (*ibid.*). Its earliest detailed depiction is on the Ordnance Survey 1:2500 First Edition of 1888, by which time the eastern stream had already been diverted to join the western, i.e. as the present east-west leat (PRN 32966), but the date of the

diversion is unknown; similarly, a date cannot be applied to the small, semicircular-arched 'Japanese' or rustic masonry bridge (PRN 32969) that survives as a garden feature over the watercourse (Macve, 1989, 68). The southern half of the area is depicted as treeless in 1888, and appears in much the same form in contemporary photographs (ibid.) and on the Second Edition 6" of 1906, while ornamental trees and shrubs appear to be shown in photographs taken under the Waddinghams, 1872-1932 (Kerkham and Briggs, 1991, 171). Restoration of the 'Japanese Garden' is said to have been begun by W. G. Tarrant between 1940 and 1942 (ibid.) who may have been responsible for planting the two young southern beeches (*Nothofagus* sp.) alongside Back Road. The area is now largely colonised by self-seeded Sycamores and Red Oaks, and few other garden features can now be identified. There is a terrace and a possible pond in the hillside immediately to the north of the stream, in an area that was wooded by 1847, suggesting that they may be Johnesian features.

None of the present features in the eastern strip between Upper Lawn and Back Road, which include paths and possible watercourses (see Part 1, the inventory), are depicted either in 1888 or 1906, but this is probably not significant.

2.2.5 Middle Hill (Figs. 3-14)

Silviculture

Early views of Hafod show that the mansion site and study area had already been landscaped, retaining some mature broadleaved trees. The 'Warwick' Smith view of c.1795 also suggests that some conifers were present; interestingly, a tall conifer is depicted on the site of the present mature cypress on the north flank of Middle Hill, which is unlikely to be conventionalised. It has been noted above (see Appendix 1.3) that in 1848 'some of the oaks (were) at least a century old' (Cliffe, 1848, 325). Three of the nearby, non-native broadleaved trees may also be depicted, as already mature, suggesting either that planting had been undertaken prior to Johnes' tenure, or that a proposed scheme of planting is represented. The similar trees depicted immediately south of the house do not appear in later sources. The landscaping was described by Lipscomb (1799) as 'natural'; 'a few trees are here and there scattered about, but they are all of the forest kinds' (Lipscomb, 1802, 127). A reference by J. C. Loudon in 1838 to a 40-year-old Cedar of Lebanon at Hafod (Macve, 1998, Misc. H) may refer to the mature cedar still standing on the north flank, which would then be a Johnesian planting. A sketch of Thomas Jones of Pencerrig, from c.1786 (see also Macve and Sclater, 1996), shows Middle Hill with a 'grassy west slope with single trees, and a more wooded south-facing slope' (Macve, 1998); all were broadleaved. The rocky knoll now cut by the southern drive was crowned by a clump of tall, young broadleaved trees.

The mansion surrounds are shown more-or-less with the present extent of woodland on the 1834 map (NLW, Hafod Estate Map) and the plan of c.1837 (Nottingham University Library, Ne C 8418). The 1834 map shows a mix of both broadleaved and deciduous trees, while the c.1837 plan shows exclusively broadleaved varieties, but neither may be strictly accurate. On the tithe map of 1847 (NLW, Llanfihangel-y-Creiddyn parish, 1847) all Middle Hill trees are conventionalised apparently as broadleaved. Accounts from 1839 state that 'thinning the wood opposite the house' was underway (Nottingham University Library, NeC 8671a), referring to Middle Hill?

An account from 1887 states that John Waddingham had planted a large quantity of European larch (Borron, 1992, 390) and he may have been responsible for the stand of conifers depicted crowning Middle Hill on the Ordnance Survey 1:2500 First Edition of 1888. The same map shows primarily broadleaved trees on the north- and south-western flanks of the hill, ie. reflecting the situation that prevails today. However, there were more of them, and two conifers are shown in the north part of Upper Lawn field.

Other features

George Lipscomb, writing in 1799, refers to a 'small turret' which 'has been happily placed' on Middle Hill, 'half buried in the shade of magnificent oaks' (Lipscomb, 1802, 126). The structure appears to be shown in two drawings by Thomas Jones from 1786 and it may have been constructed by John Paynter; he is known to have constructed a summerhouse at Hafod from which, in 1768, the following Latin inscription was transcribed - 'he designed this small garden and small house (or temple) in like manner.. for the amusement of his friends and so that he might in some measure wash away the more oppressive cares of life' (Kerkham and Briggs, 1991, 170, citing Bodleian MS Top, Wales (e) 1, fo 41).

The sources may refer to a summerhouse or gazebo immediately above the southern mansion drive, marked on the Ordnance Survey 1:2500 First Edition of 1888, the brick base of which still survives (PRN 26358) and which is described in Kerkham and Briggs, 1991, 170; however, the Jones drawing appears to depict it as lying further east, in an area within which a circular depression with low banks was recorded in 1999 (PRN 37656).

2.2.6 Upper (East) Lawn (Figs. 3-8)

The field immediately east of the house site, between it and Pendre, is termed East Lawn in the sale catalogue of 1832 and Upper Lawn on the tithe map of 1847 (NLW, Parish of Llanfihangel-y-Creiddyn, Tithe Map, 1847).

A leat (PRN 37699) running diagonally from Hafod Wood in the north-west to supply Pendre Pond (PRN 26533) in the south-east (see below) has been partially covered, but still survives as a linear depression in Upper Lawn. It may be referred to directly in a letter sent by Thomas Johnes to George Cumberland in May 1812, in which he says '(I) have thoughts of overflowing my valley above and below the house' (transcription prepared for Friends of Hafod by M. Walk). The method of watering a field by creating a leat, with overflows, was described by Cumberland in 1796 (Macve and Sclater, 1996, 26) and was fully discussed by Meyrick in 1810 in connection with Thomas Johnes (Meyrick, 1810, cxlv-ccxlcii). That the method was used by Johnes is incontrovertible and Macve has described another site within the estate (Macve, 1990, 7), and the use of the terms 'my valley' and 'the house' in the above transcription suggest that the Upper Lawn leat may be referred to.

Expenditure relating to drainage laid beneath the lawn was recorded in accounts from 1840-41 (Nottingham University Library, Ne 3A 314), although this may relate to the lawns immediately surrounding the house.

Upper Lawn is shown as an empty field on the 1834 map (NLW, Hafod Estate Map), the plan of c.1837 (Nottingham University Library, Ne C 8418) and all subsequent maps.

A path or track (PRN 33089) is shown crossing Upper Lawn from east-west on the Ordnance Survey First Edition 1:2500 of 1888, and on the Second Edition of 1906; a section of the eastern end of the path survives as an earthwork (PRN 33089).

2.2.7 Hawthorn Cottage (Figs. 3-8)

Hawthorn Cottage (PRN 33087) occupies a site formerly known as 'Pendre' Cottage, after the home farm of the same name immediately to the north, which may have origins within the later medieval period (see Appendix 1.3). Pendre Farm itself was rebuilt in the mid 19th century (Macve, 1990 (b), 3).

Hawthorn Cottage was not shown by George Cumberland in 1795 (Macve and Sclater, 1996), but it was depicted in the 'Hafod Dessert Service', on a piece manufactured in 1788, as a low, single-storeyed building with two square windows and a central square-headed doorway in the south wall. The building depicted is clearly represented by the present east wing which, in form, is in the long-house tradition as first defined by Peate, 1946, 51-84, and followed by Sambrook and Ramsey, 1999, xxi, ie. the living accommodation was at one end, and the byre at the other. This part of Hawthorn Cottage, whilst not closely dateable, may pre-date the 1780s and indeed, in this lower status agricultural function, is unlikely to have been constructed as an estate building under either Johnes or his successors.

The same building appears to be depicted in a sketch by Thomas Jones of 1786. During this period, the building, like the pond to the south, may have been known as 'The Menagerie', a name that suggests either that exotic birds roamed free within the area (Macve, 1990 (b), 2), or that the pond was used as a pheasantry (Kerkham and Briggs, 1991, 169) or as a duckpond; the 1832 sale catalogue refers to 'Pendre - house, garden and duckery'

The cottage is clearly shown on the 1834 estate map, as 'Pendre Isaf', and with the same plan as at present ie. with an addition west of the longhouse; with nine acres of land the cottage was let to one John Lloyd (NLW, Hafod Estate Map, 1834). The Duke of Newcastle's accounts for 1837-8 record payment of £1 0s 0d to quarrymen working at Pendre (Nottingham University Library, Ne 3A 312/2) - accommodated in the cottage?. According to the census returns of 1841 either the Dolby or the Searle family were lodging at the cottage (Macve, 1990 (b), 3), both families being involved in the construction trade under the Duke of Newcastle.

Pendre Cottage was probably renamed 'Hawthorn Cottage' by Henry Hoghton; the latter name is used on the tithe map of 1847 (NLW, Parish of Llanfihangel-y-Creiddyn, Tithe Map, 1847). The cottage was occupied by a tenant, a Mr. William Clepham (or Clephan), and a the present garden plot is shown and listed in the schedule. The cottage was described in both the 1855 and 1864 sale catalogues as a 'neat house with outbuildings in a picturesque spot with a pond', tenanted by one George Davies in 1864 (Macve, 1990 (b), 4). In 1870 the tenant was a Mr George Gibson, a teacher from Yorkshire, and in 1881 Thomas Morgans, a sawyer, was resident; both men insisted on calling the cottage 'Pendre' (Macve, 1990 (b), 5).

Hawthorn Cottage is depicted and labelled, on the Ordnance Survey 1:2500 First Edition of 1888, when a small building, now gone, had been added to the south-east corner of the original wing.

2.2.8 Pendre Pond (Figs. 3-8)

Pendre Pond (PRN 26533), immediately south of Hawthorn Cottage, is also depicted in a sketch by Thomas Jones of 1786, and in the 'Hafod Dessert Service', on a piece manufactured in 1788, but without the central island; in the latter the pond, rather than Hawthorn Cottage, may be the 'Menagerie' of the title (see above). It was also depicted by Cumberland in 1796 (Macve and Sclater, 1996) as was a banana-shaped body of water to the south, now gone. Curiously, Lipscomb commented in 1799 on the absence of a lake (Macve, 1990 (a), 4).

The pond is possibly a pre-Johnesian feature. It appears to have been, at least at first, a working fishpond, the existence of two of which is revealed by Jane Johnes' correspondence between 1788 and 1790 (Kerkham and Briggs, 1991, 169, citing NLW, Dolaucothi MSS). It was termed the 'duckery' in the sale catalogue of 1832 (ibid.), possibly perpetuating the 'Menagerie' function hinted in 1788. Kerkham and Briggs have suggested that it may originally have taken water from a stream running alongside the farm, channelled beneath a gravel track (ibid.), but the leat (PRN 37669) possibly constructed by Johnes to water Upper Lawn, described above, later supplied the pond.

It is depicted with a rather faint outline, but with its present proportions, on the tithe map of 1847 (NLW, Llanfihangel-y-Creiddyn parish, 1847); the surrounding present hedgebanks are also shown. The central island is not shown but the map may not be strictly accurate. The island is depicted on the Ordnance Survey 1:2500 First Edition of 1888 and the 6" Second Edition of 1906..

HAFOD MANSION

AN ARCHAEOLOGICAL AUDIT, APRIL 1999

Project Record No. 37050

PART 3 - FIGURES

Fig. 1 - Hafod mansion audit - the study area

Figures 2-8 - Copies of maps, plans etc.

Fig. 2 - Copy of ground plans of Hafod mansion in 1803 and 1810-15 as suggested by J. Macve (reproduced from Macve, 1994).

Fig. 3 - Copy of National Library of Wales, Hafod Estate Map, 1834.

Fig. 4 - Copy of Nottingham University Library, Ne C 8148, Plan of Hafod Mansion and Environs, c.1837 (reproduction permission applied for).

Fig. 5 - National Library of Wales, Parish of Llanfihangel-y-Creiddyn, Tithe Map and Apportionment, 1847.

Fig. 6 - Copies of sale plans of 1855 and 1870

Fig. 7 - Copy of Ordnance Survey, 1:2500, First Edition, Cardiganshire Sheets XI .16 and XII.13, 1888.

Fig. 8 - Copy of Ordnance Survey, 1:10560, Cardiganshire Sheets XI SE and XII SW, Second Edition, 1906.

Figures 9-19 - Copies of contemporary images

Fig. 9 - Copy of Hafod mansion from the west, by ?Baker, before 1795

Fig. 10 - Copy of John 'Warwick' Smith, Hafod mansion from the south-west, c.1795 (reproduced from Inglis-Jones, 1990)..

Fig. 11 - Copy of Henri Gastineau, Hafod mansion from the north-west, c.1825?

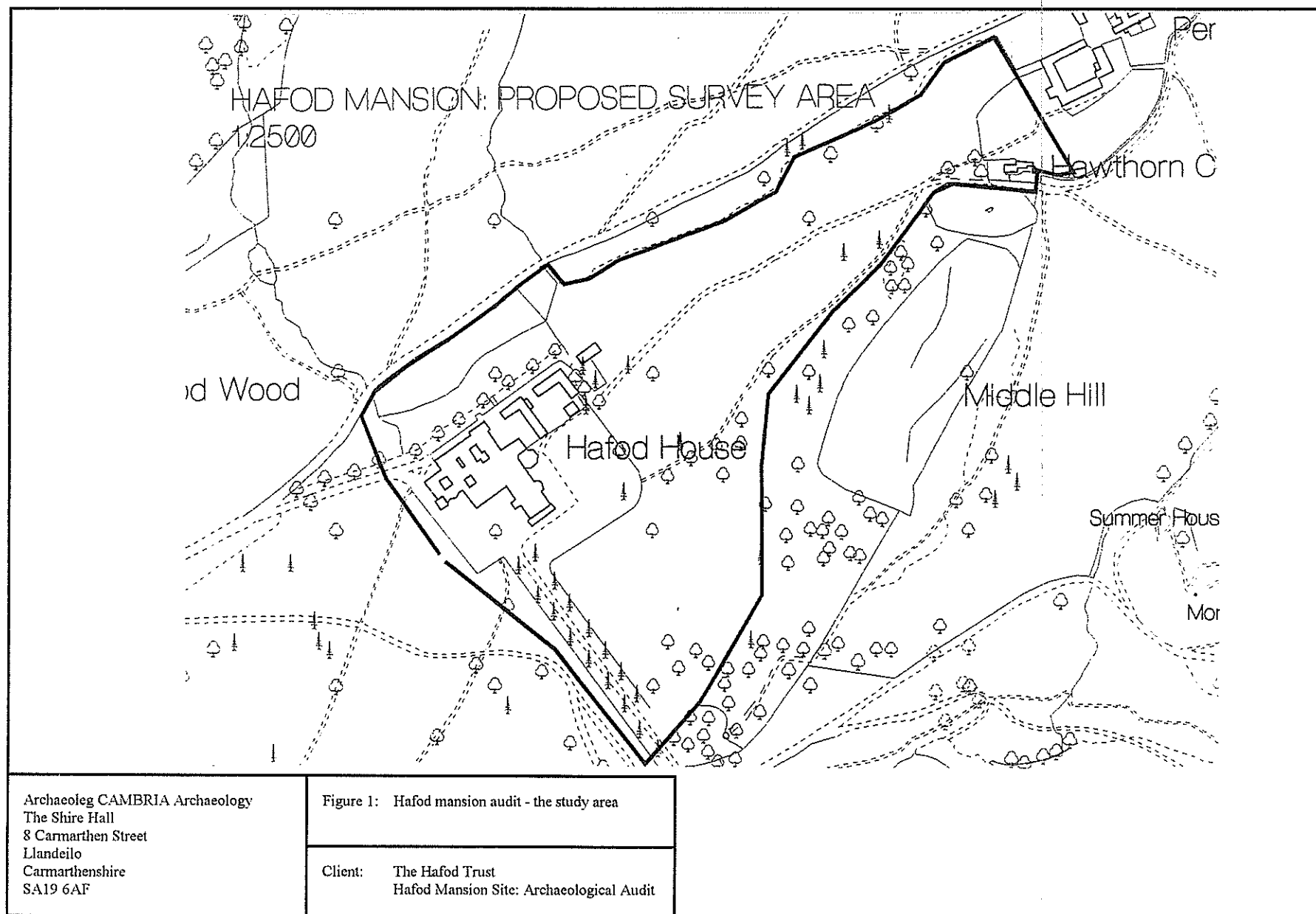
Fig. 12 - Copy of Hafod mansion from the south-east attributed to Frederick Nash, c.1835?

Fig. 13 - Copy of Hafod mansion from the south-west by Lord William Clinton, after W. L. Walton, 1839

Fig. 14 - Copy of Hafod mansion from the west by Anne Salvin, 1848

Fig. 15 - Copy of photograph of Hafod mansion from the south-east by Francis Bedford, c.1865

- Fig. 38 - Part of the south face of the south wall of the western service yard (PRN 37658), including the drinking fountain formerly in the conservatory
- Fig. 39 - Part of the south face of the south wall of the eastern service yard (PRN 37659) including the entry from the mansion lawn area
- Fig. 40 - The west end of the north face of the western service yard south wall (PRN 37658), including an entry from the mansion lawn area
- Fig. 41 - Part of the north face of the south wall of the eastern service yard (PRN 37659) including the entry from the mansion lawn area
- Fig. 42 - The west face of the north-south dividing wall between the two service yards (PRNs 36758 and 36759) showing blocked doorway.
- Fig. 43 - The east face of the north-south dividing wall between the two service yards (PRNs 36758 and 36759) showing blocked, and truncated openings
- Fig. 44 - The west face of the stable block south wing (PRN 32973)
- Fig. 45 - The south face of the stable block west wing (PRN 32973)
- Fig. 46 - The 'bothy' from the south (PRN 37661)
- Fig. 47 - The southern carriage drive (PRN 32977) and the mansion lawn terrace (PRN 37664) from the south-west
- Fig. 48 - The south-west section of the mansion lawn terrace (PRN 37664) from the south, showing the steps
- Fig. 49 - Hafod wood: the western stream and culvert (PRN 32965) from the south
- Fig. 50 - Hafod wood: the leat (PRN 32966) from the east
- Fig. 51 - Hafod wood: the shaft (PRN 37679) from the south-east
- Fig. 52 - The dutch barn (PRN 32972) from the south
- Fig. 53 - Hawthorn Cottage (PRN 33087); the earlier wing from the south
- Fig. 54 - Hawthorn Cottage (PRN 33087); the later cottage from the south
- Fig. 55 - Pentre Pond (PRN 26533) and sluice from the west
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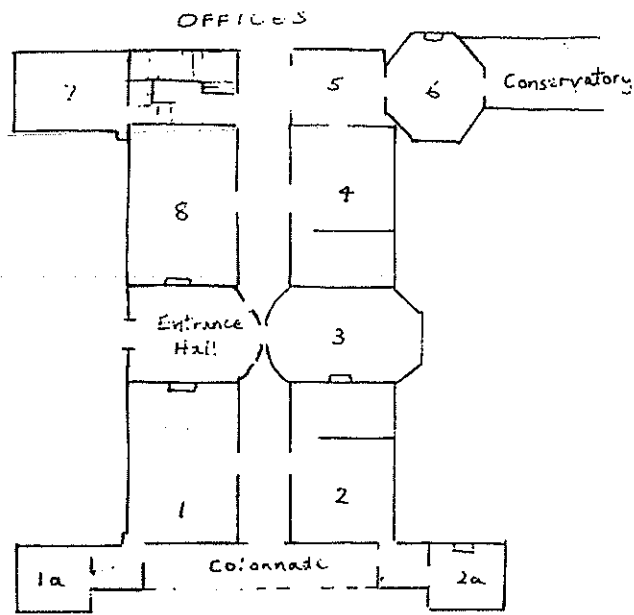


FIGURE A

GROUNDPLAN 1803

- 1 Music Room
- 2, 2a Mariamne's rooms
- 3 Dining Room
- 4 Winter dining room
- 5 Anti Library
- 6 Octagon Library
- 7 Tapestry Drawing Room
- 8 Servants' Hall

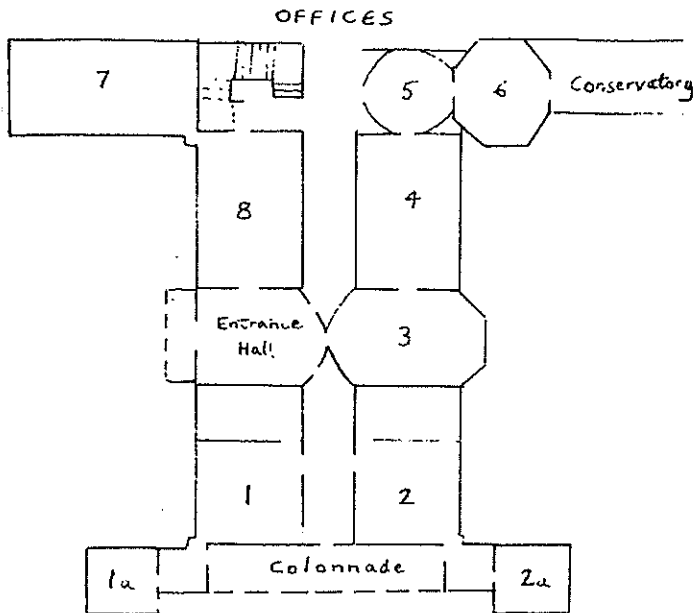


FIGURE B

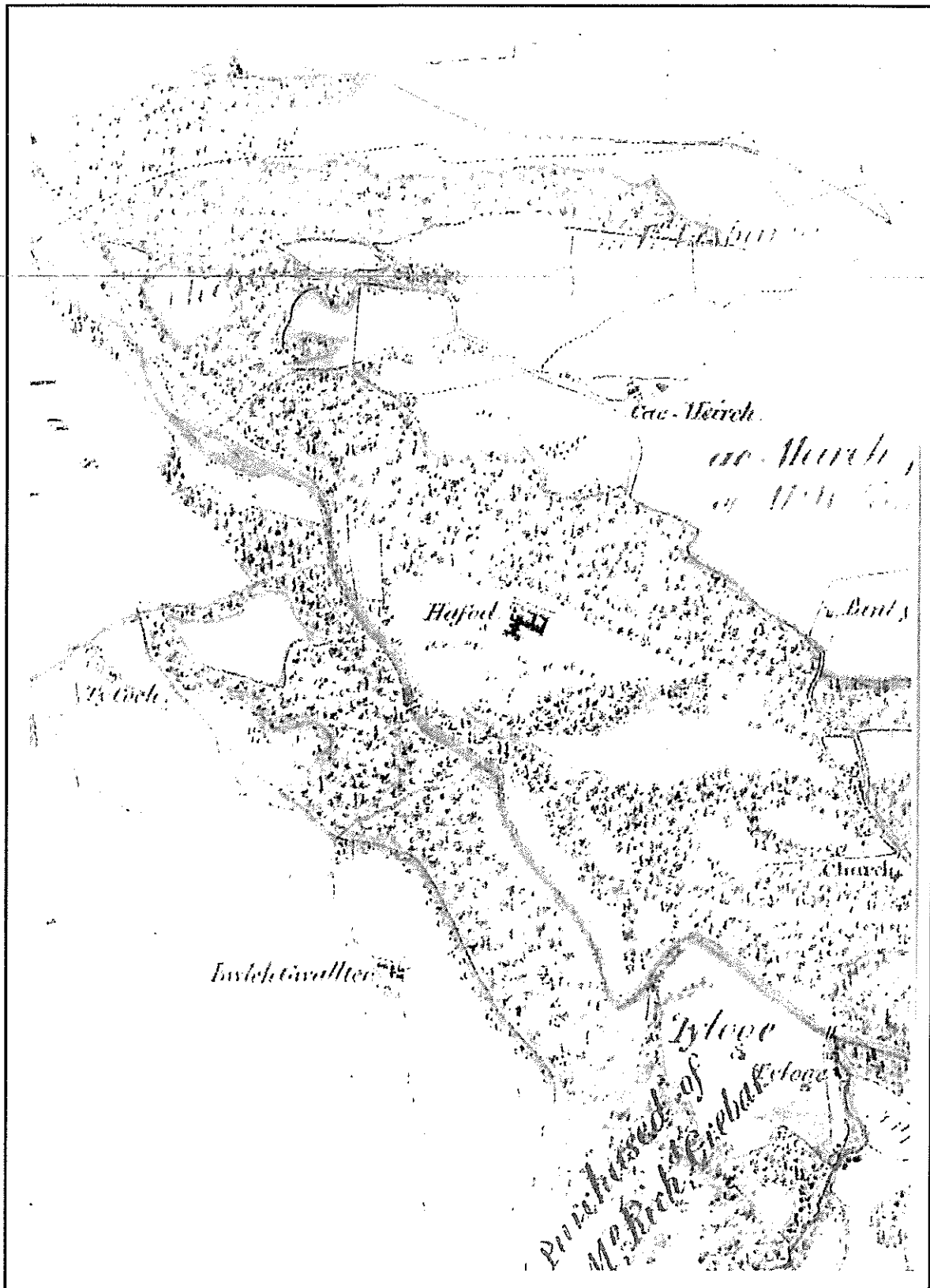
GROUNDPLAN 1810-15

- 1 Johnes' Bed room, dressing-rr
- 1a Study /dressing room
- 2, 2a Mariamne's rooms
- 3 Dining Room
- 4 Pesaro/Long Library
- 5 Anti /Circular Library
- 6 Octagon Library
- 7 Music Room /New Library
- 8 Billiard Room

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Figure 2: Copy of ground plans of Hafod mansion in 1803 and 1810-15 as suggested by J. Macve (reproduced from Macve, 1994).

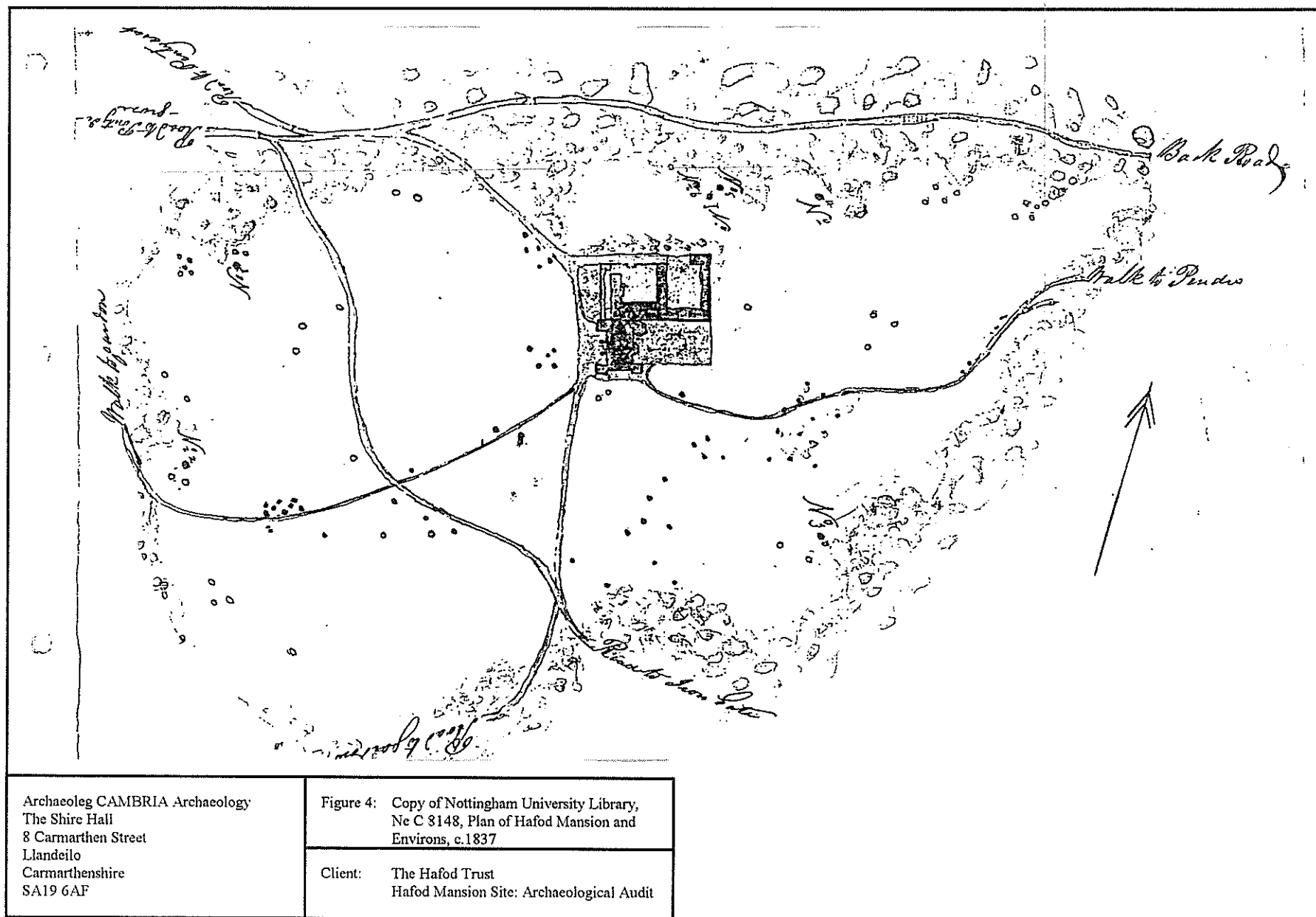
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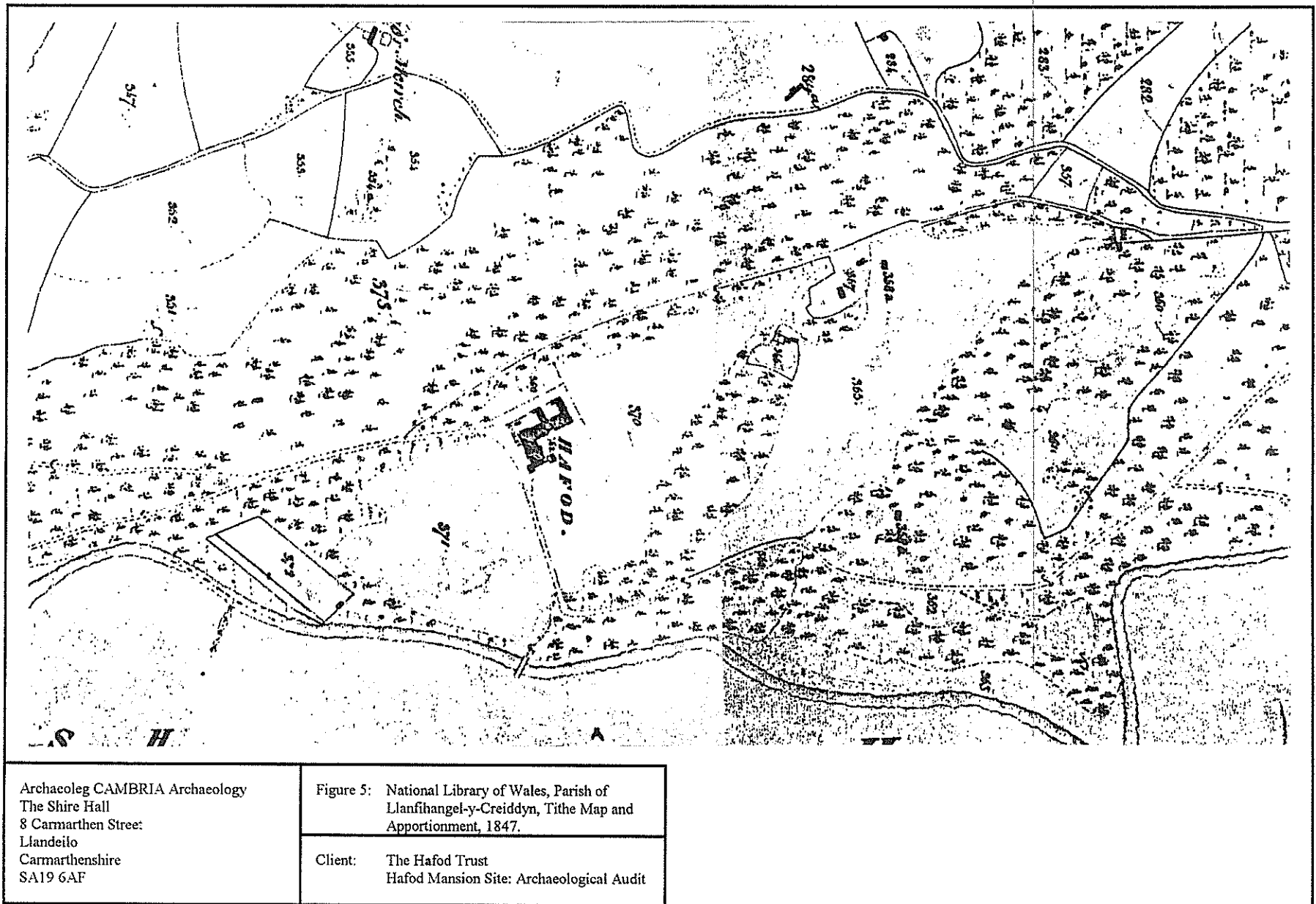


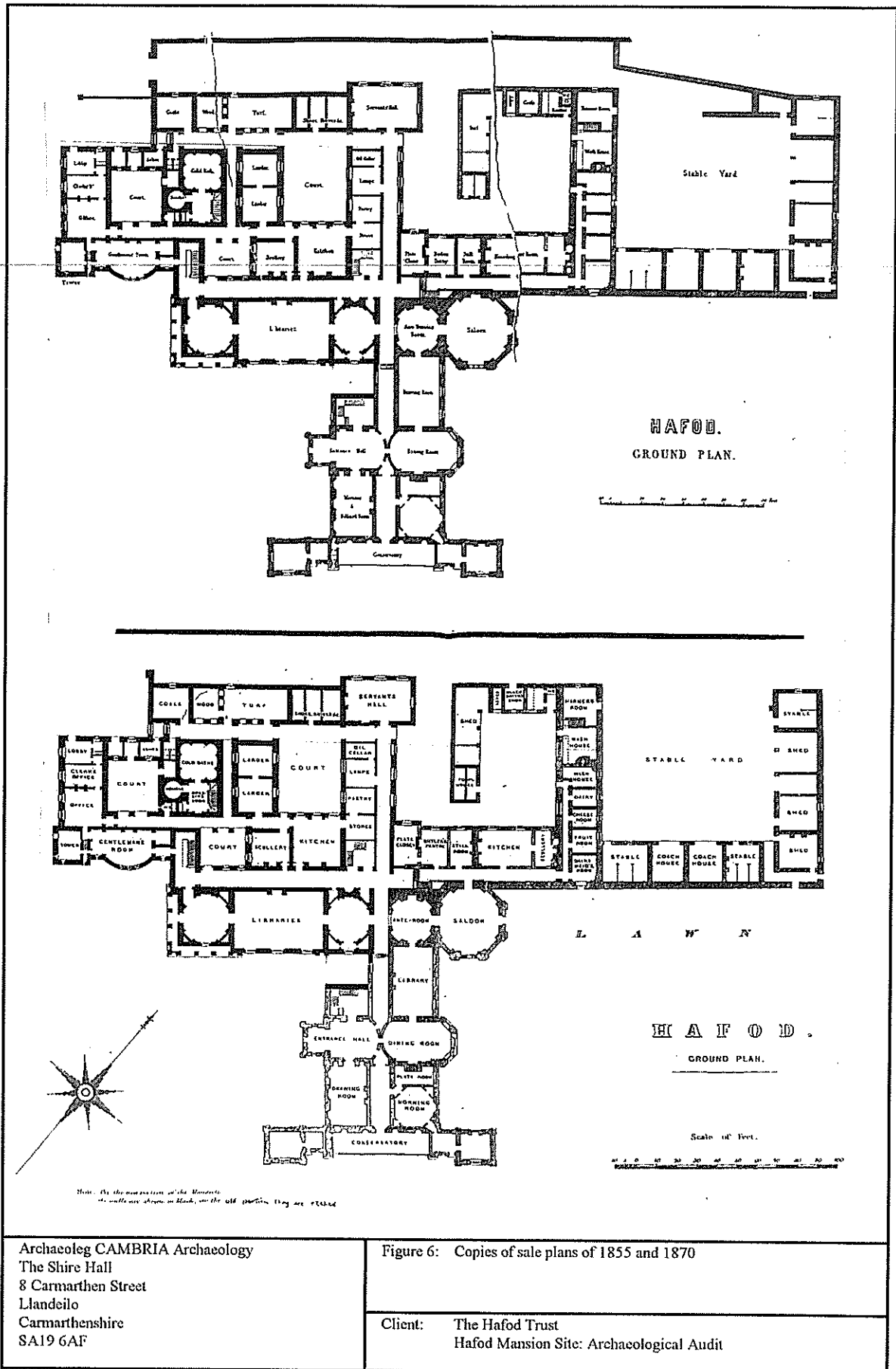
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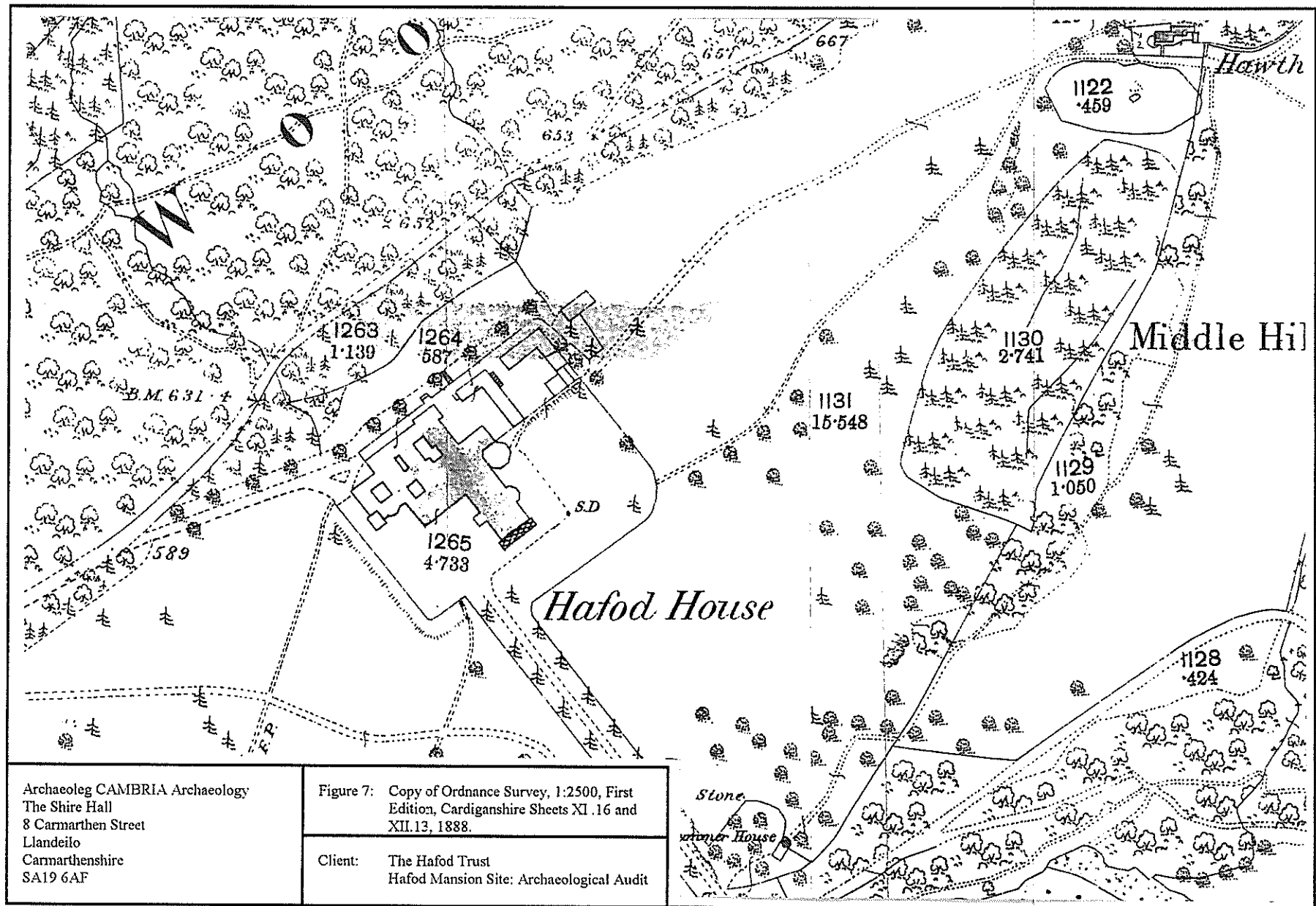
Figure 3: Copy of National Library of Wales, Hafod Estate Map, 1834.

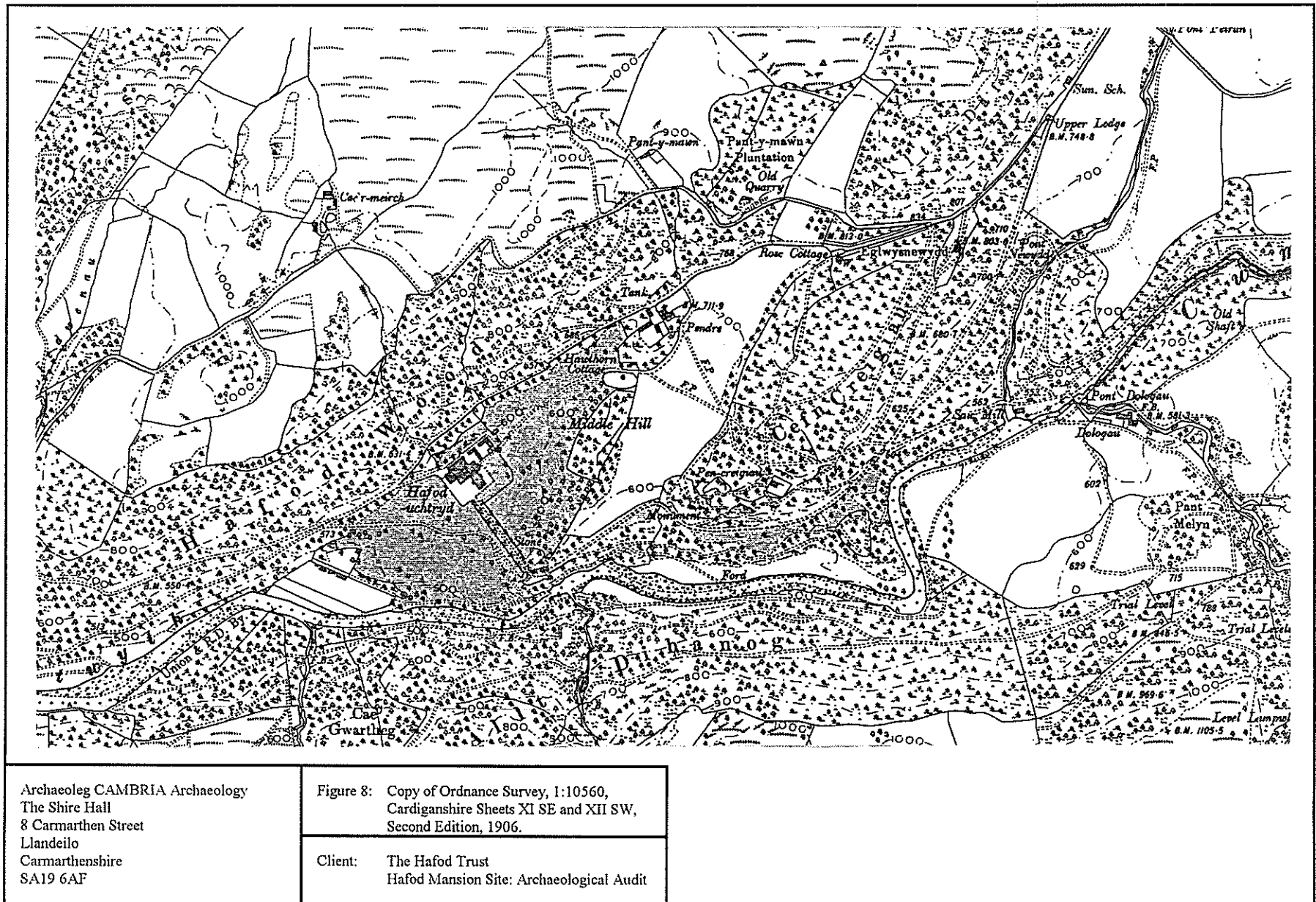
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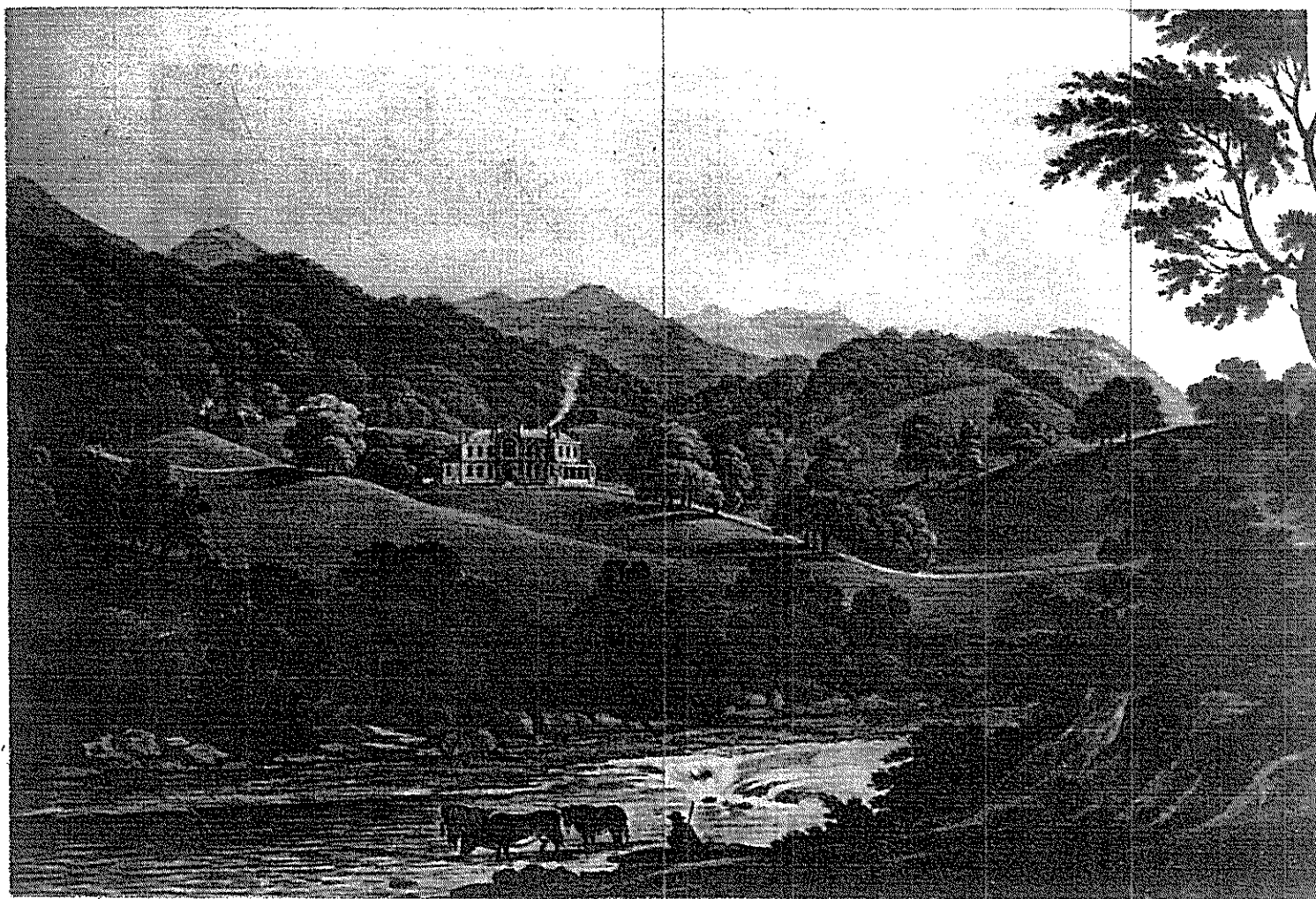




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Figure 9: Copy of Hafod mansion from the west, by
?Baker, before 1795, showing possible
earlier mansion/Baldwin's Offices

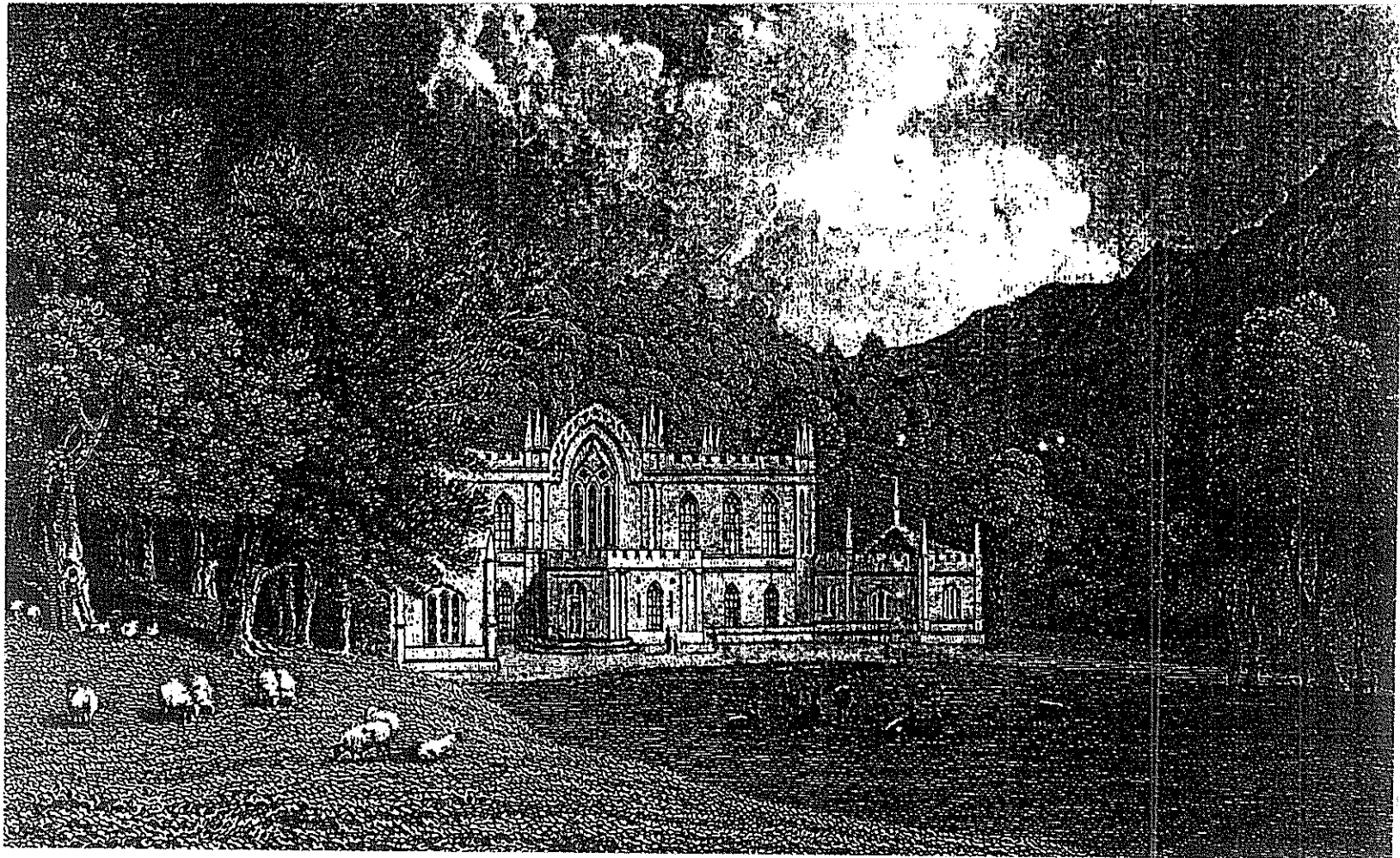
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Figure 10: Copy of John 'Warwick' Smith, Hafod mansion from the south-west, c.1795

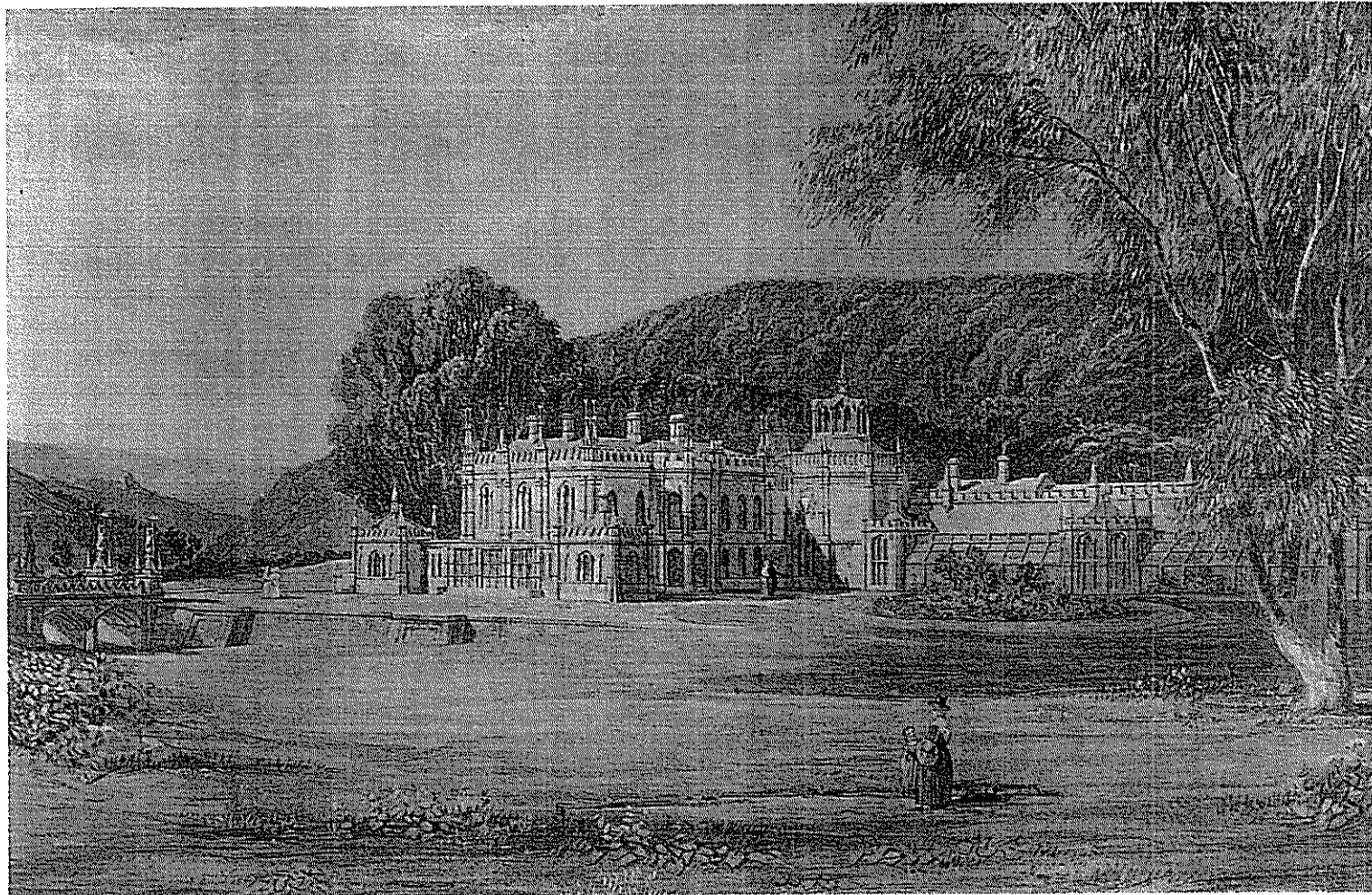
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Figure 11: Copy of Henri Gastineau, Hafod mansion
from the north-west, c.1825?

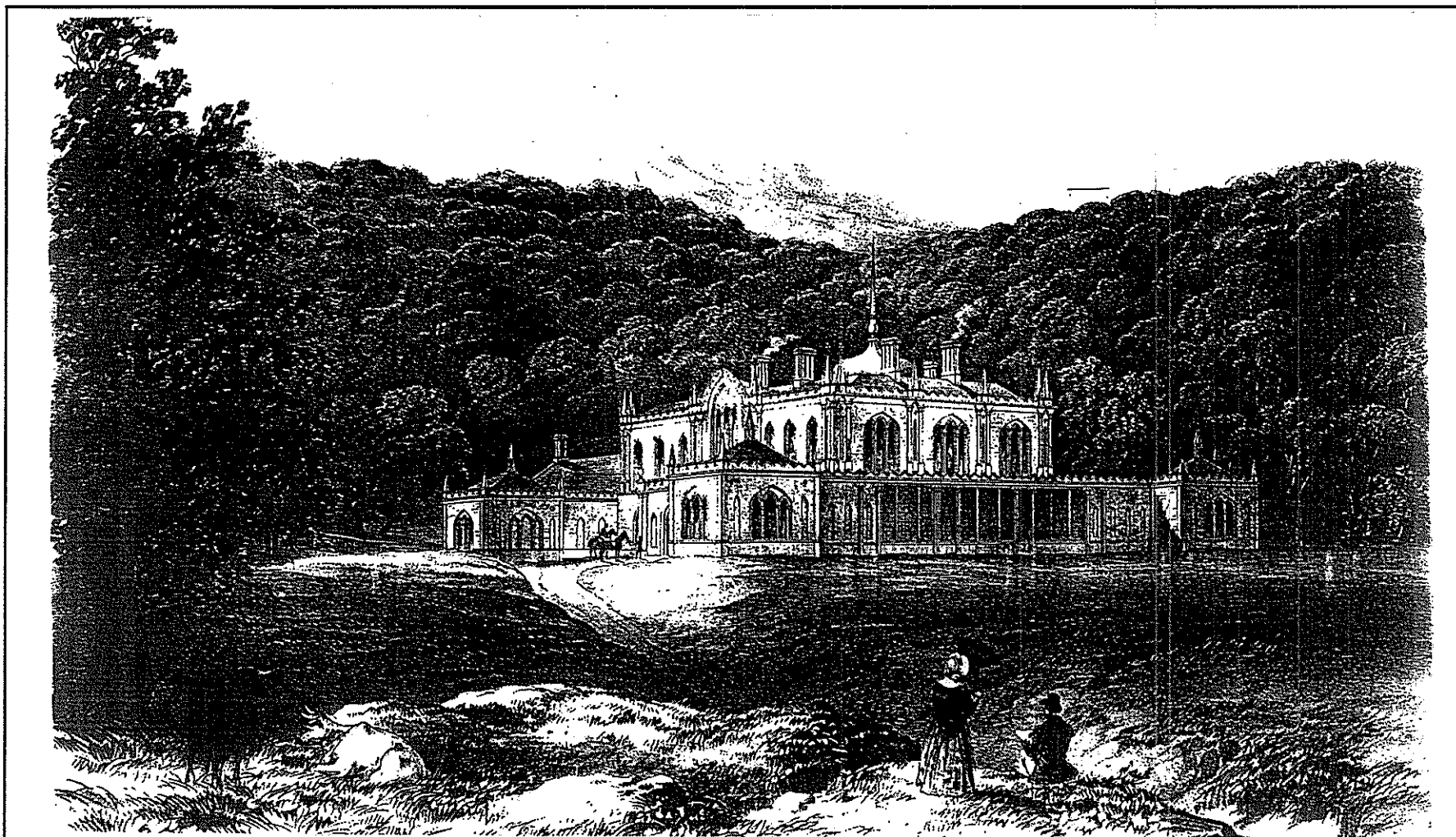
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Figure 12: Copy of Hafod mansion from the south-east attributed to Frederick Nash, c.1835?

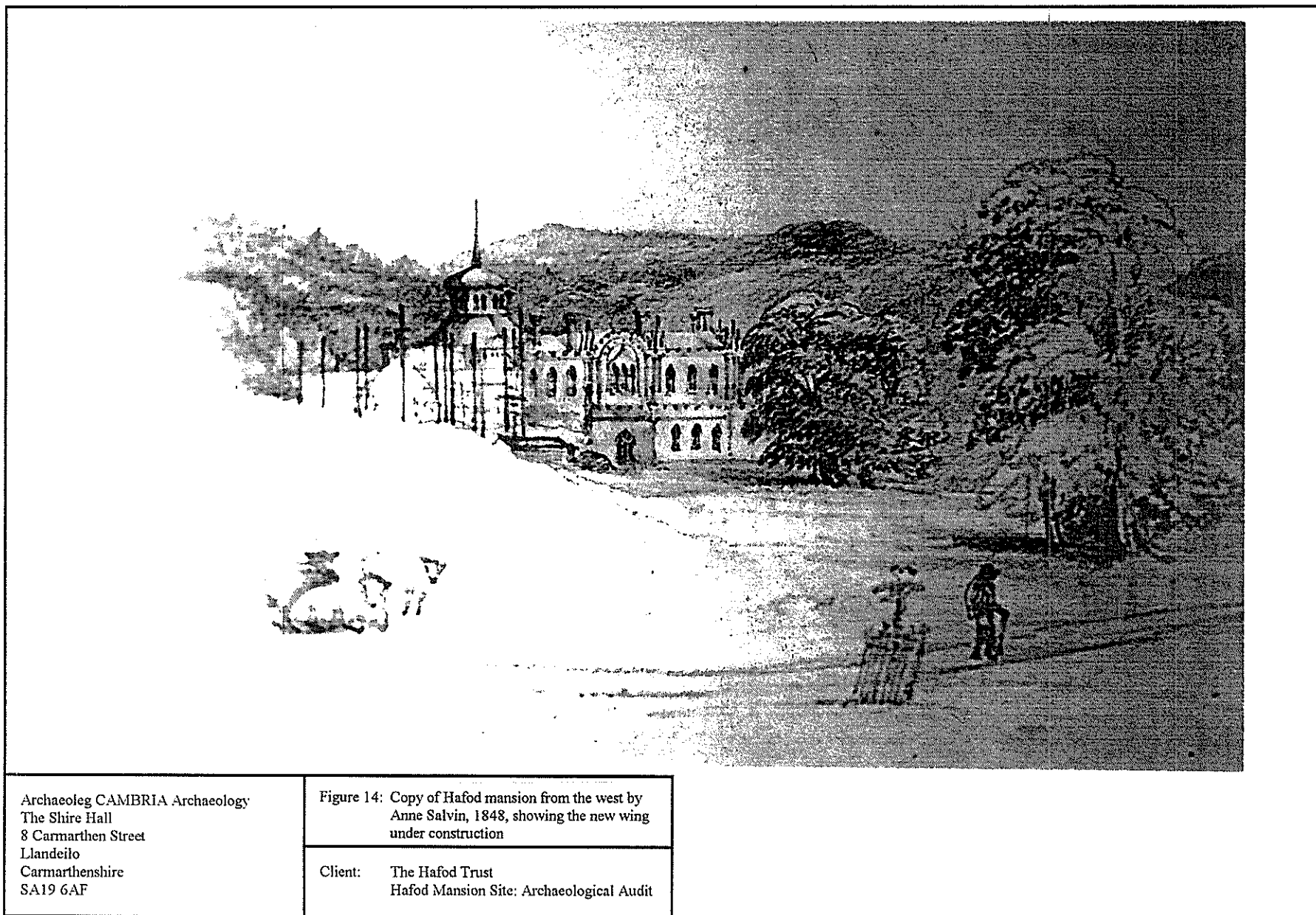
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Figure 13: Copy of Hafod mansion from the south-
west by Lord William Clinton, after W. L.
Walton, 1839

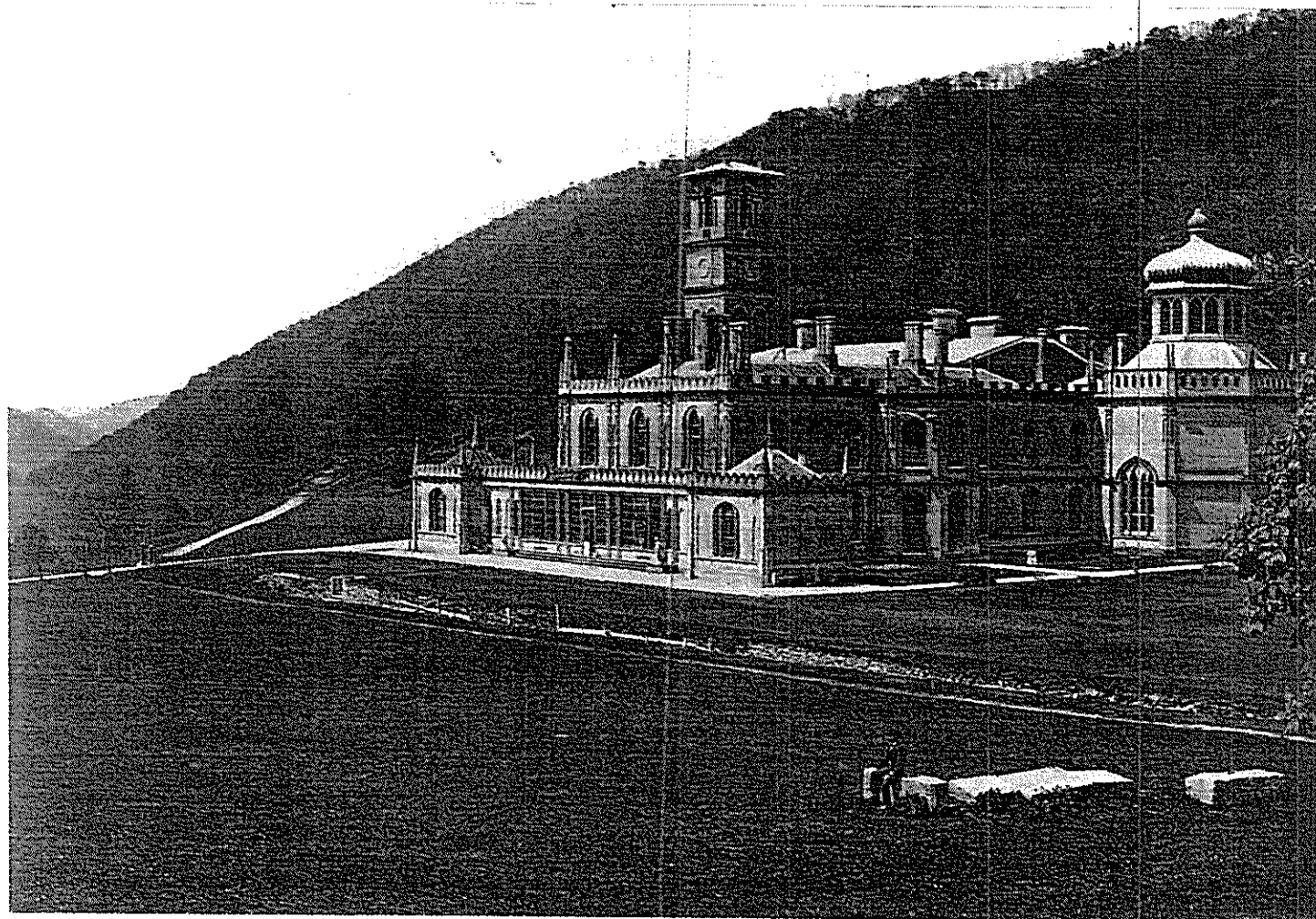
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Figure 14: Copy of Hafod mansion from the west by
Anne Salvin, 1848, showing the new wing
under construction

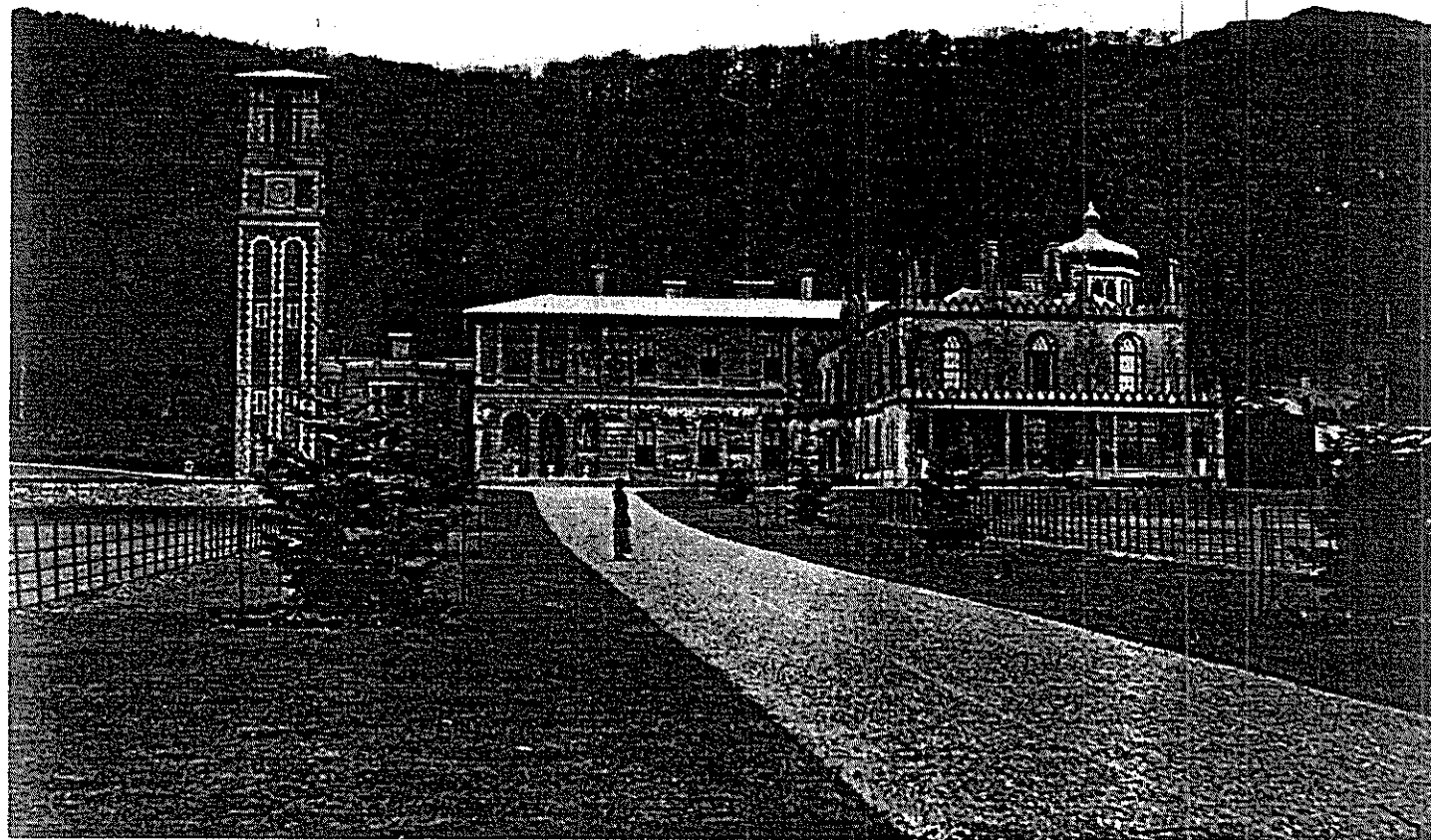
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Figure 15: Copy of photograph of Hafod mansion
from the south-east by Francis Bedford,
c.1865

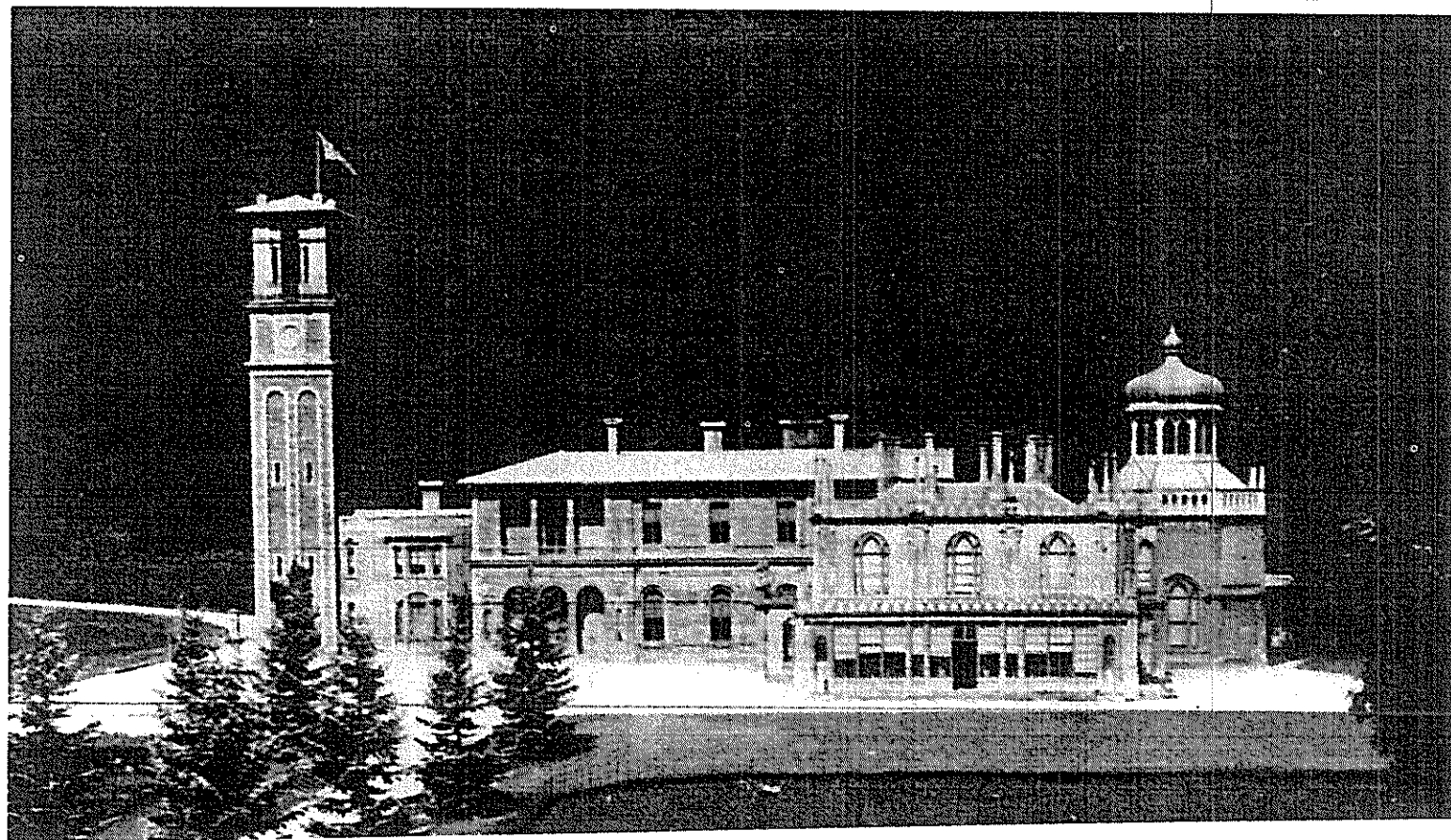
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Figure 16: Copy of photograph of Hafod mansion
from the south, c.1885

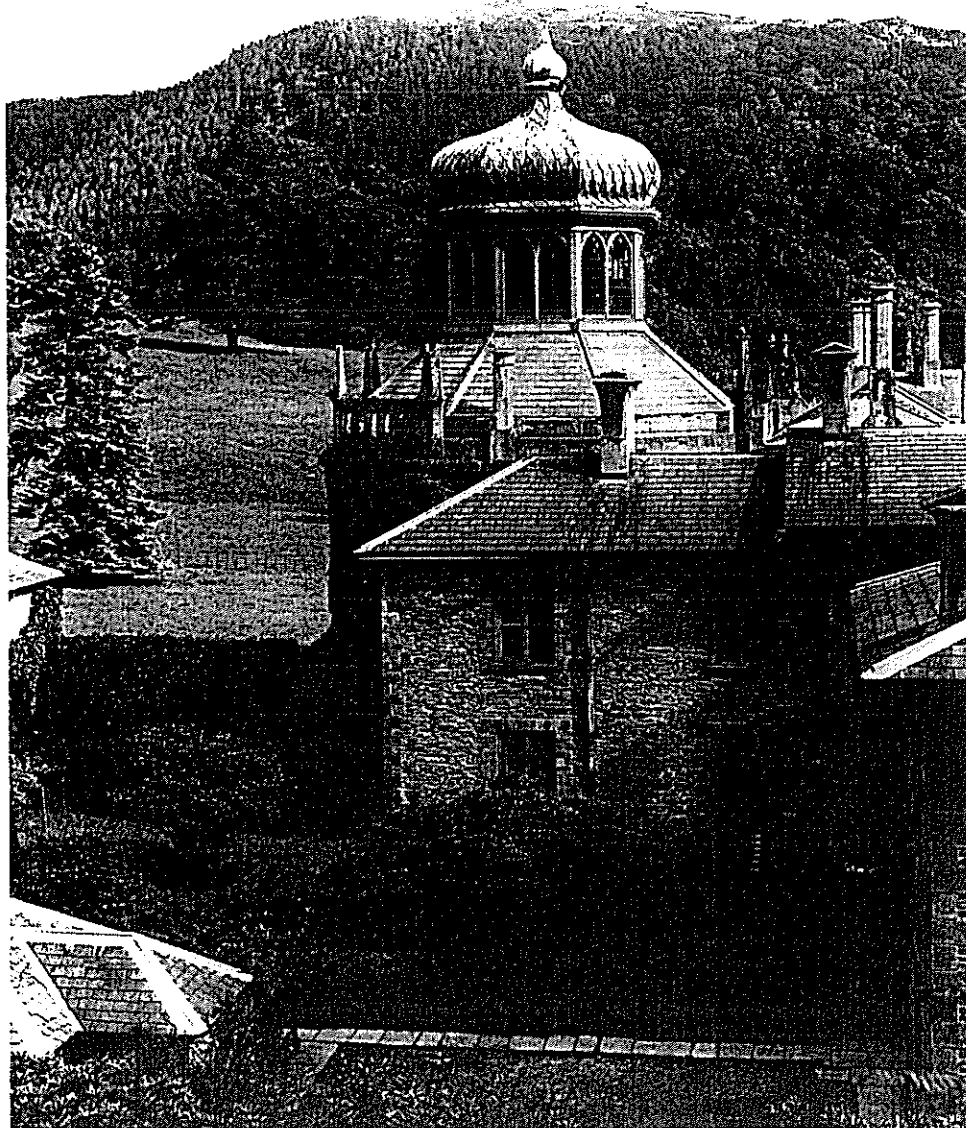
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Figure 17: Copy of photograph of Hafod mansion
from the south, n.d.

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Figure 18: Copy of photograph of part of Hafod mansion from the north, by John Piper, 1939

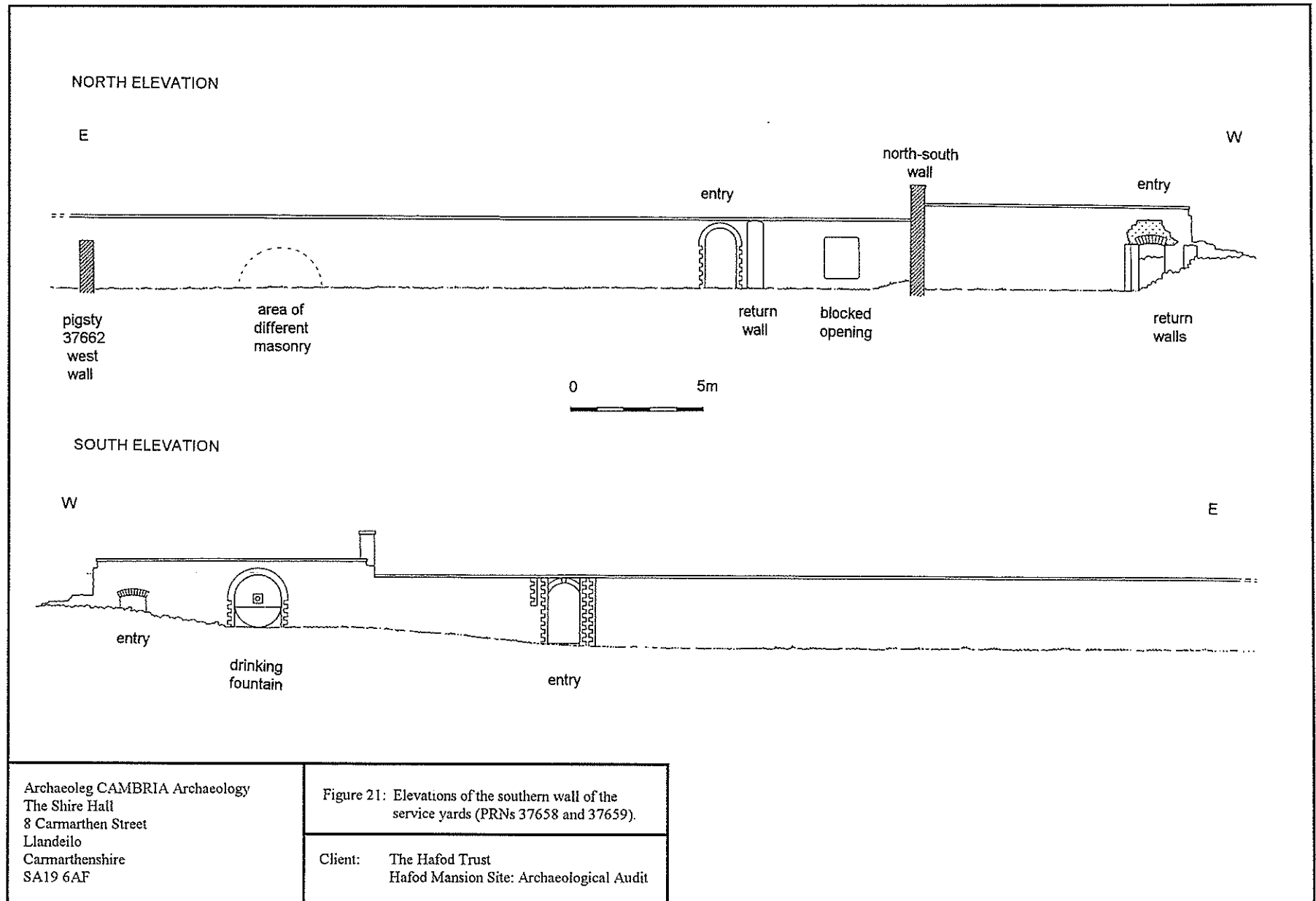
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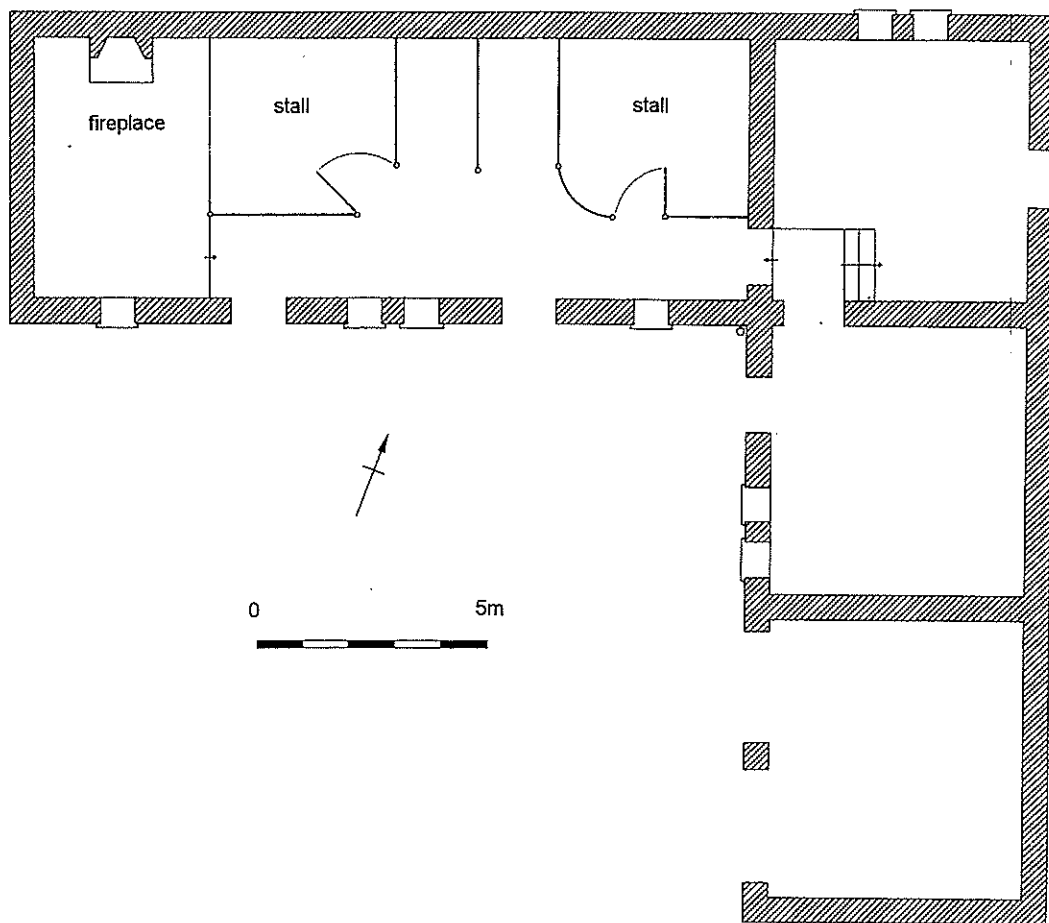


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Figure 19: Copy of photograph of drinking fountain, formerly in the conservatory, 1955

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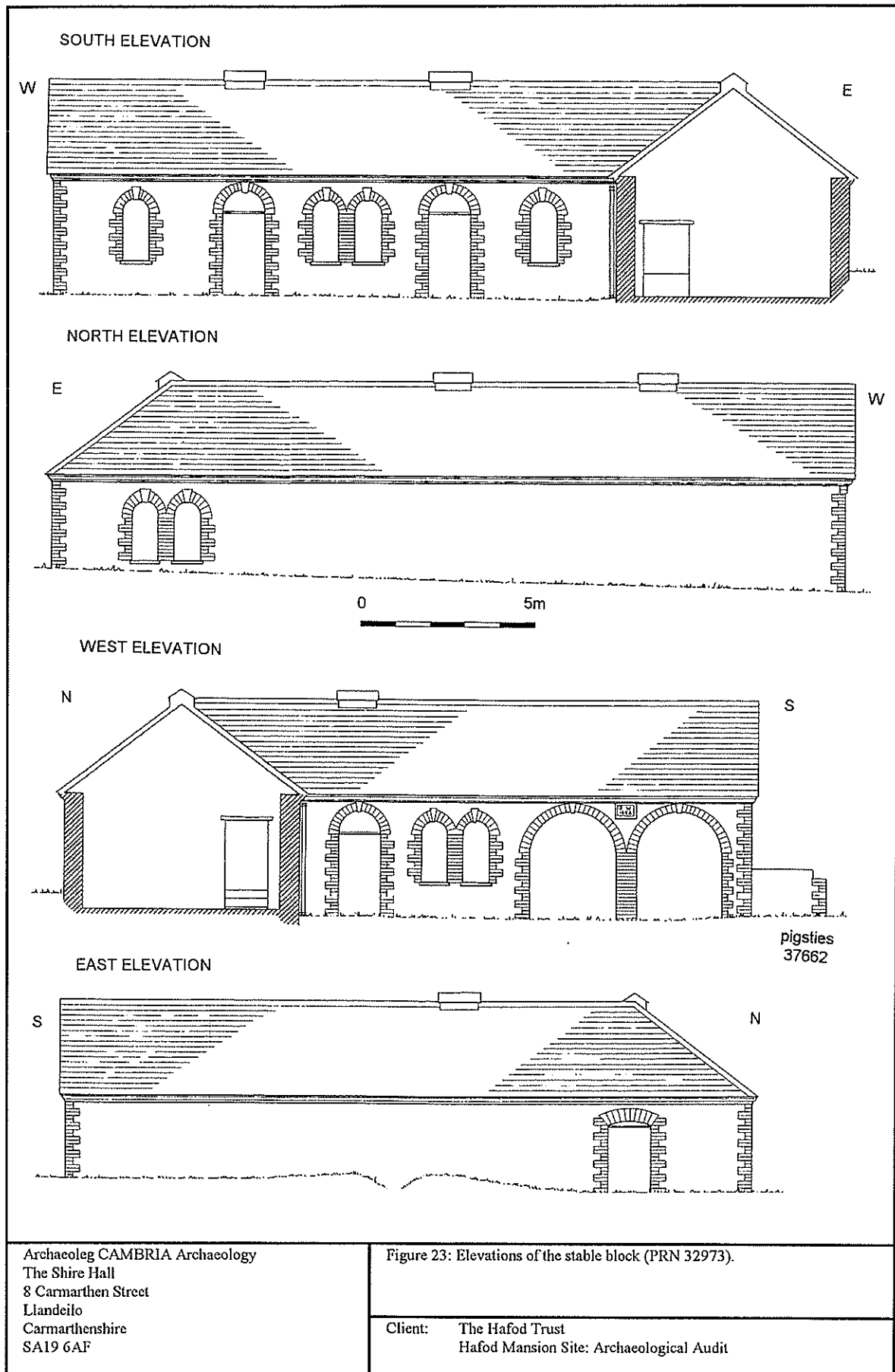


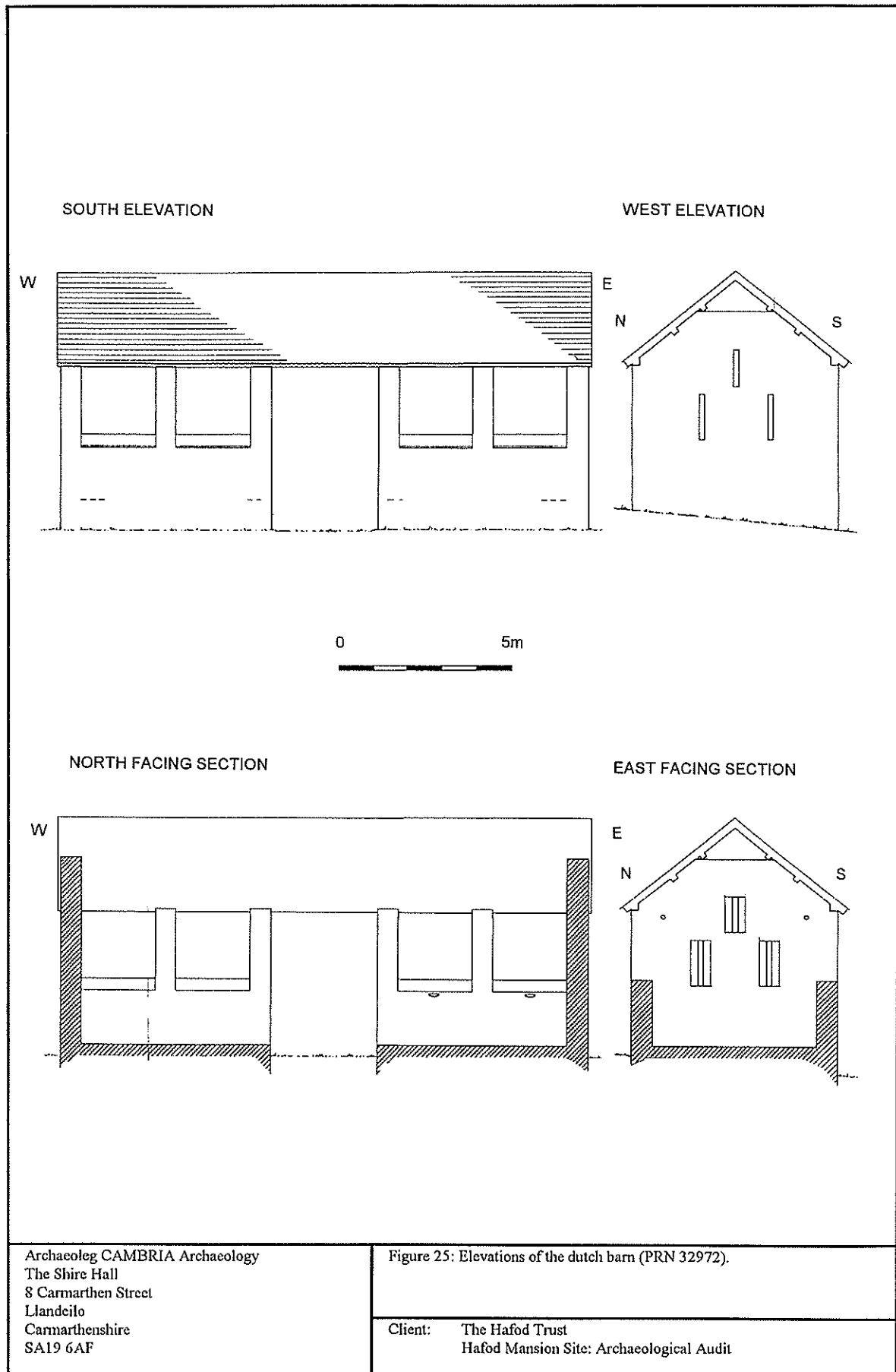


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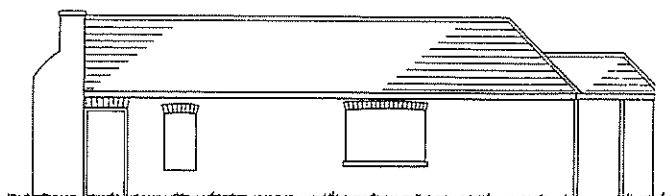
Figure 22: Plan of the stable block (PRN 32973).

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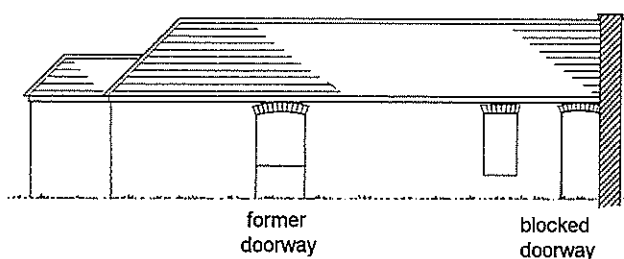




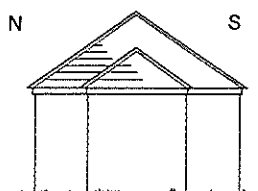
NORTH ELEVATION



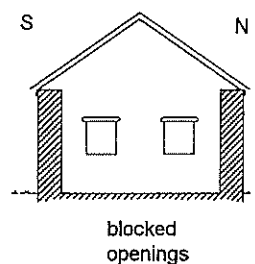
SOUTH ELEVATION



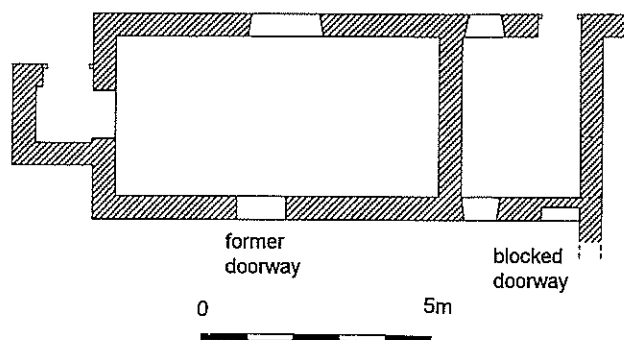
WEST ELEVATION



WEST FACING SECTION



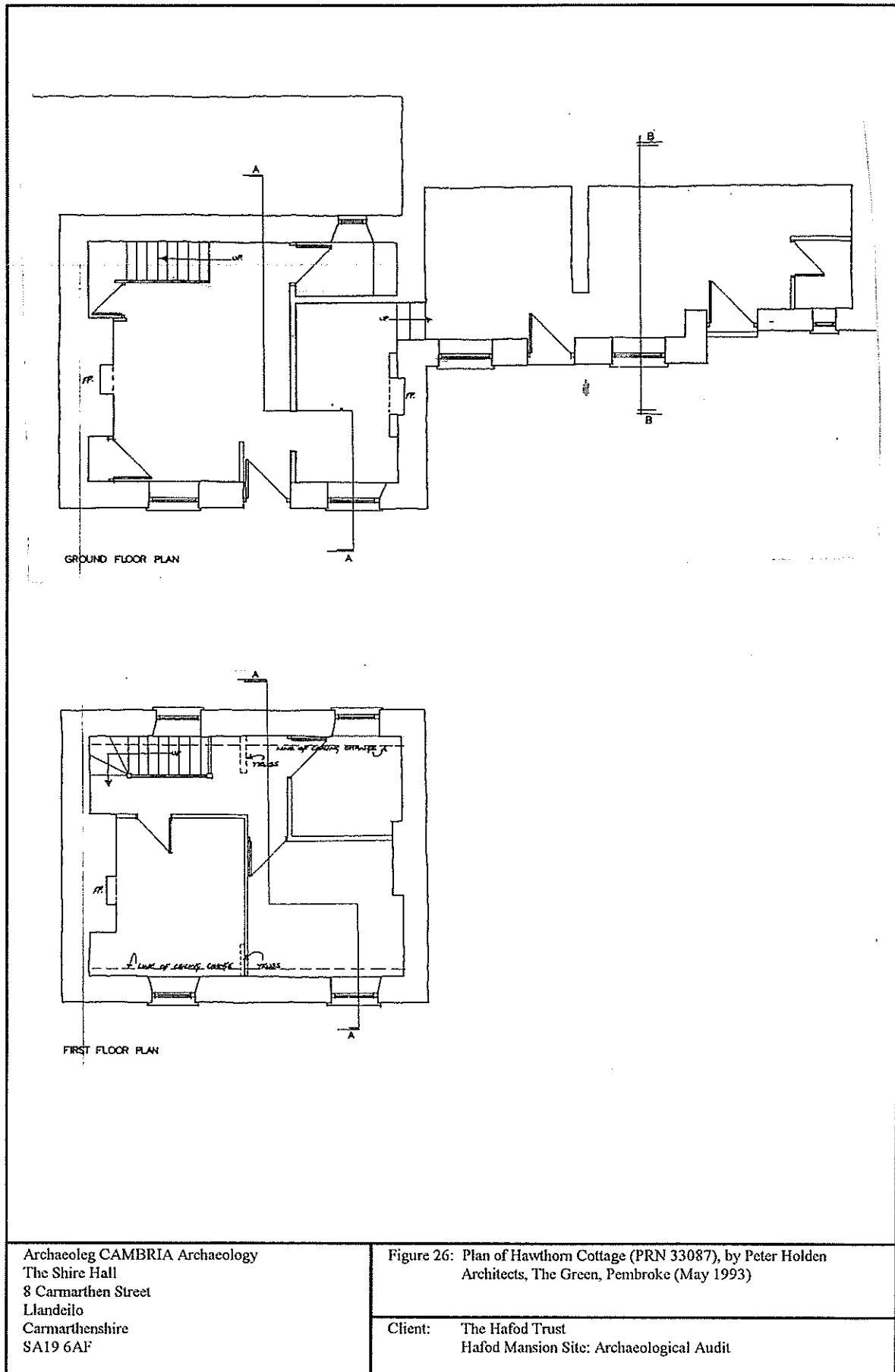
PLAN



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Figure 24: Plan and elevations of the 'bothy' (PRN 37661).

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Figure 27: Overall view of the mansion site from the
south-east (PRN 7199)

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Figure 28: Section of *in situ* walling towards the south-west
of the house ruins, from the south (PRN 7199)

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Figure 29: Example of dressed Bath stone from
Thomas Johnes' house (PRN 7199)

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Figure 30: Example of dressed Bath stone from Thomas Johnes' house (PRN 7199)

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Figure 31: Example of dressed Bath stone from Thomas Johnes' house (PRN 7199)

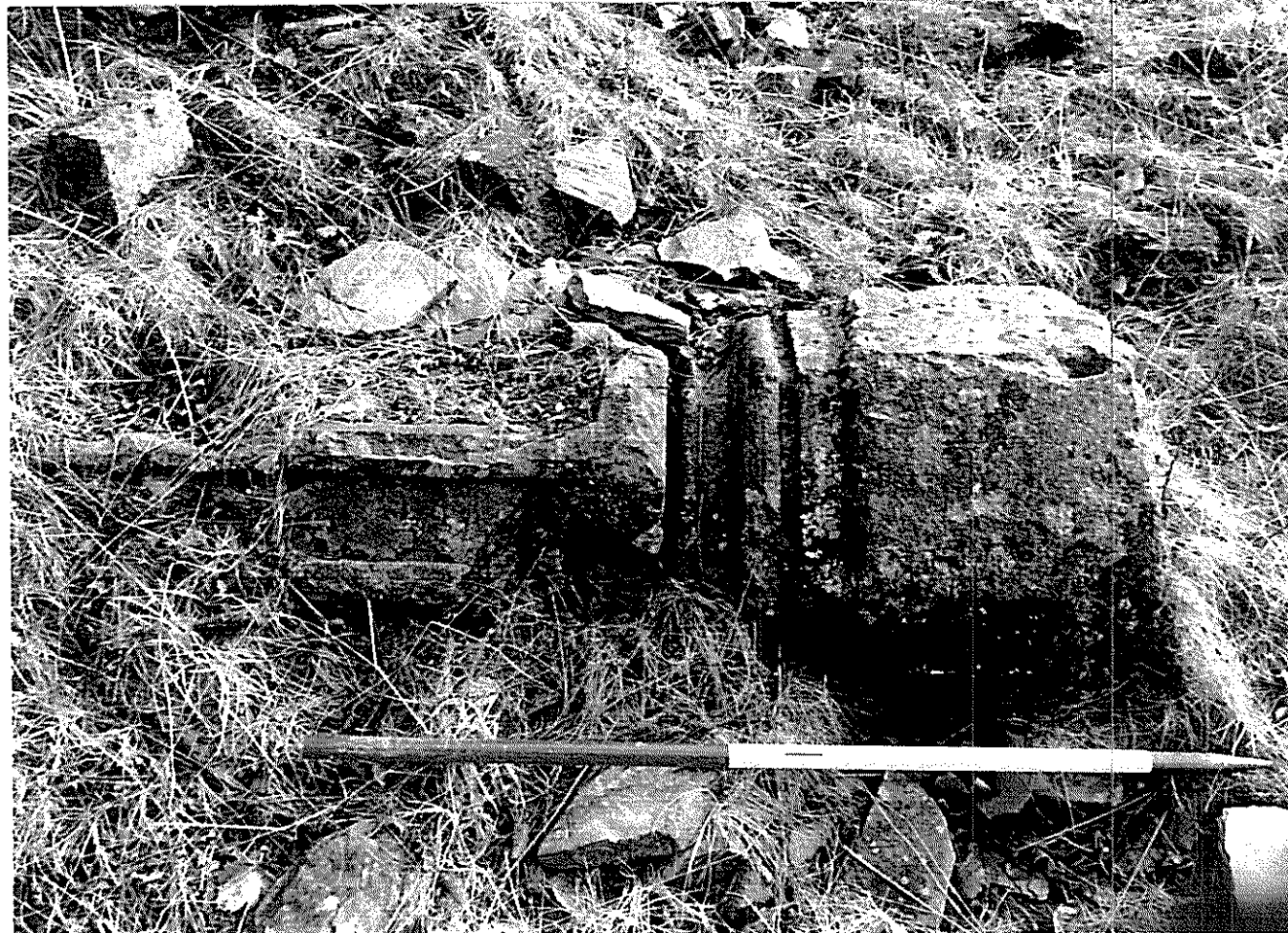
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Figure 32: Example of dressed Bath stone from Thomas Johnes' house (PRN 7199)

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Figure 33: Example of dressed Bath stone from Thomas Johnes' house (PRN 7199)

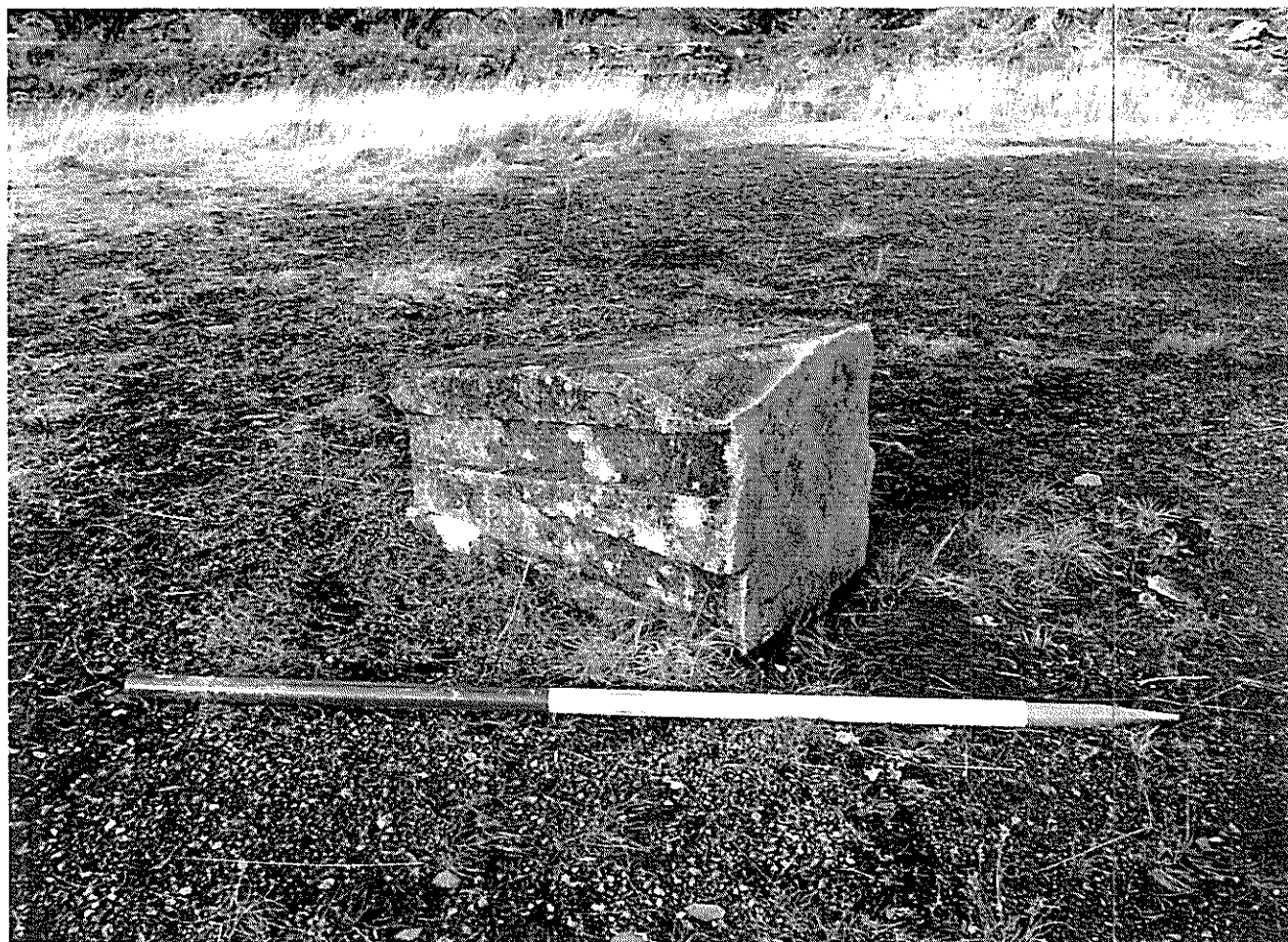
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Figure 34: Example of dressed Bath stone from Thomas Johnes' house (PRN 7199)

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Figure 35: Example of dressed Bath stone from Thomas Johnes' house (PRN 7199)

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Figure 36: Example of dressed Bath stone from Thomas Johnes' house (PRN 7199)

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Figure 37: Part of the south face of the mansion site revetment
wall (PRN 37660), including the spring, from the
south

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Figure 38: Part of the south face of the south wall of the western
service yard (PRN 37658), including the drinking
fountain formerly in the conservatory

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Figure 39: Part of the south face of the south wall of the eastern
service yard (PRN 37659) including the entry from the
mansion lawn area

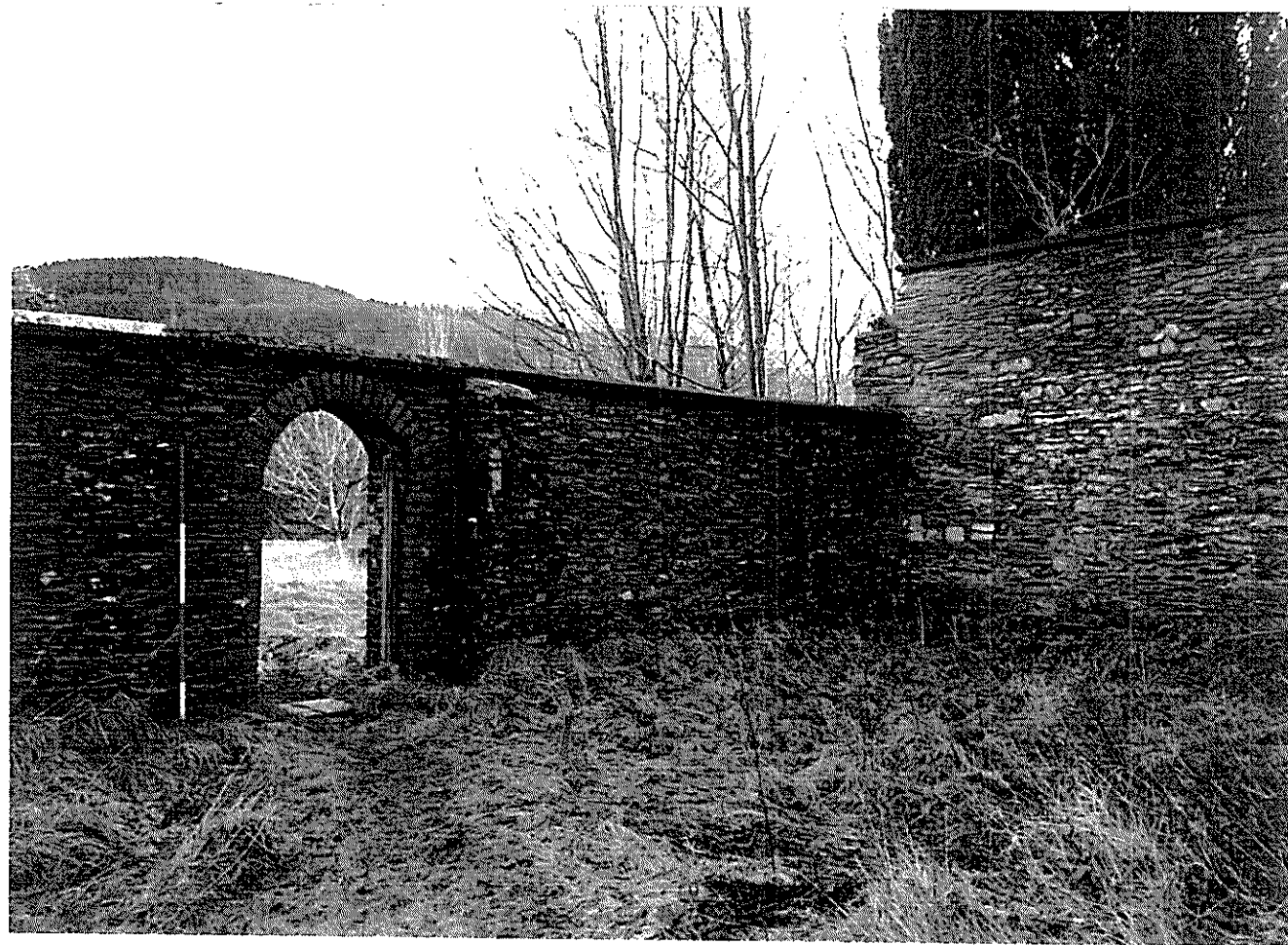
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Figure 40: The west end of the north face of the western service
yard south wall (PRN 37658), including an entry from
the mansion lawn area

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Figure 41: Part of the north face of the south wall of the eastern service yard (PRN 37659) including the entry from the mansion lawn area

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Figure 42: The west face of the north-south dividing wall between
the two service yards (PRNs 36758 and 36759)
showing blocked doorway.

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Figure 43: The east face of the north-south dividing wall between
the two service yards (PRNs 36758 and 36759)
showing blocked, and truncated openings

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Figure 44: The west face of the stable block south wing (PRN 32973)

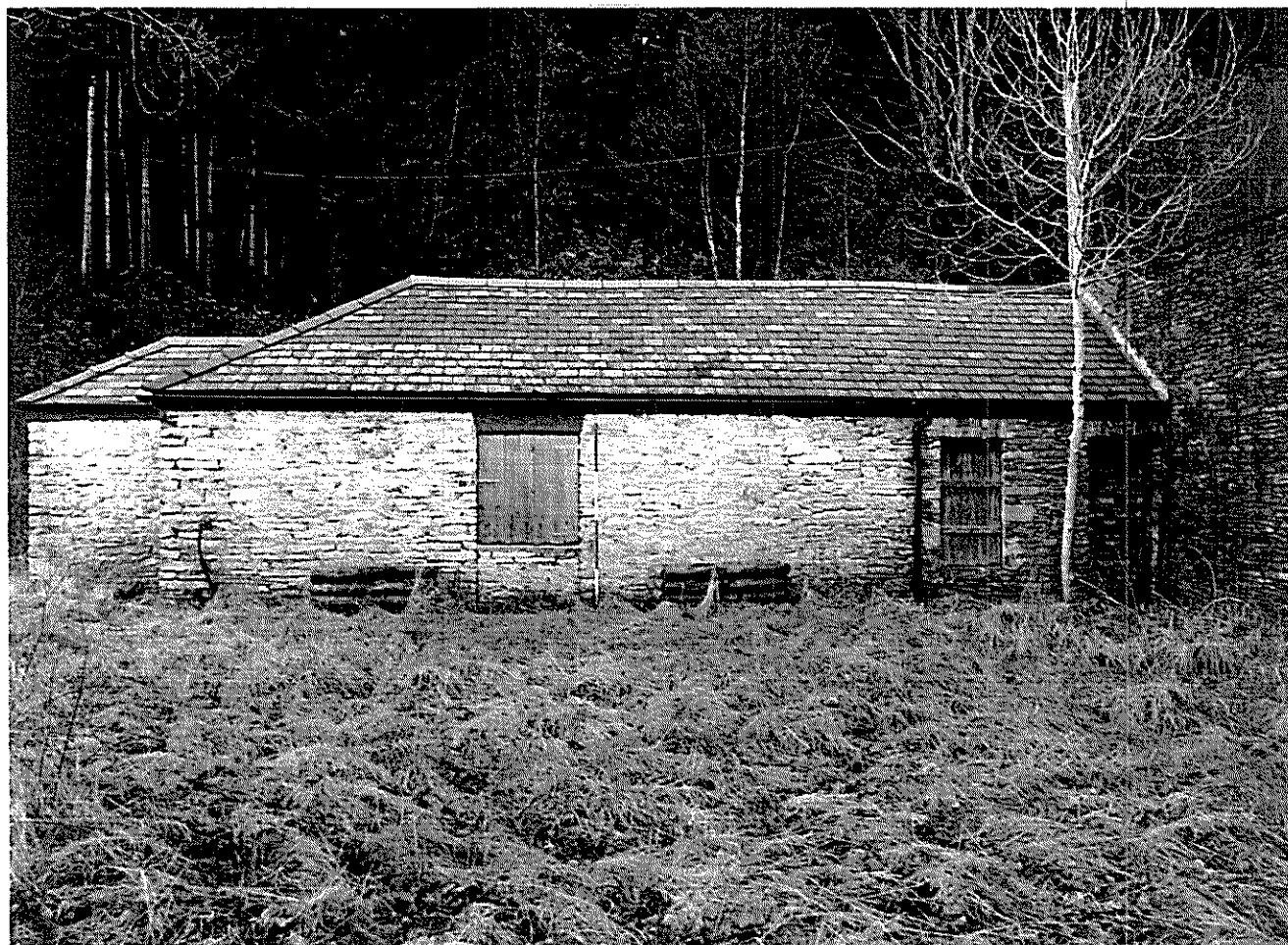
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Figure 45: The south face of the stable block west wing (PRN 32973)

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Figure 46: The 'bothy' from the south (PRN 37661)

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Figure 47: The southern carriage drive (PRN 32977) and the mansion lawn terrace (PRN 37664) from the south-west

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Figure 48: The south-west section of the mansion lawn terrace
(PRN 37664) from the south, showing the steps

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Figure 49: Hafod wood: the western stream and culvert (PRN 32965) from the south

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Figure 50: Hafod wood: the leat (PRN 32966) from the east

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Figure 51: Hafod wood: the shaft (PRN 37679) from the south-east

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Figure 52: The dutch barn (PRN 32972) from the south

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Figure 53: Hawthorn Cottage (PRN 33087); the earlier wing
from the south

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Figure 54: Hawthorn Cottage (PRN 33087); the later cottage
from the south

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Figure 55: Pentre Pond (PRN 26533) and sluice from the west

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