

LLANDUDNO URBAN PARKS  
ARCHAEOLOGICAL ASSESSMENT

Report No. 222

Ymddiriedolaeth Archaeolegol Gwynedd  
Gwynedd Archaeological Trust

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ARCHAEOLOGICAL ASSESSMENT (G1436)

prepared for Bridget Snaith Landscape Design  
by D.Rh.Gwyn

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G1436

"Llandudno derives its name from an extraordinary personage called St Tudno, who was a  
Romish recluse of extreme purity of manners"

(Thomas Jackson, *Nine Days' Rambles in Llandudno*)

## 1. PROJECT BACKGROUND

Bridget Snaith Landscape Design are preparing an application to the National Heritage Lottery Fund's "Urban Parks" Programme for the renovation of several urban parks in Llandudno. This will include the Promenade, North Parade, Happy Valley, North-Western Gardens and the Haulfre Gardens. Gwynedd Archaeological Trust was asked to prepare an assessment of the archaeological and heritage resource, to include an assessment of the townscape of Llandudno.

## 2. METHODOLOGY

Desk-top work was carried out in the Gwynedd Archaeological Trust's Sites and Monuments Record, in the library of the University of Wales, Bangor, in the Caernarfon Record Office, at Llandudno library, and at Llandudno Town Hall. The Mostyn estates record at the Hawarden Record Office were also consulted, and proved a most fruitful source, containing as they do the deeds and many of the plans of the buildings that were erected under lease from the Mostyn estate. A photocopy was made of one (D/M 4627, elevations of Queen's Hotel) as an example.

In addition the Llandudno Museum was visited as part of the project. The gardens themselves were visited on Friday 23 August.

## 3. DEVELOPMENT OF LLANDUDNO

### 3.1 Geology

The Great and Little Orme each constitute an isolated limestone promontory joined by an alluvial plain on which the Victorian town of Llandudno largely stands.

### 3.2 Prehistoric

The Great Orme contains an exceptionally full sequence of archaeological remains.

Evidence of human settlement from the Upper Paleolithic period is evident from the remains discovered in Kendrick's cave at SH77988281 in 1879-80, including four human skeletons together with animal bones, a polished stone axe and a knife and fragments of flint. Neolithic remains include a burial chamber at Llety's Filiast. Kendrick's Upper Cave at SH78008284 showed evidence of settlement in the Bronze Age, when it is clear that exploitation of the copper ores on the Great Orme was under way, on a scale which bears comparison with any of the other European prehistoric copper mines whose sites have so far been confirmed. Pen y Dinas hillfort, which stands immediately above the Happy Valley at SH77908295, is an Iron Age site which contains numerous hut circles, and has been described as an excellent example of a promontory fort, making use of the formation of the hill, a natural fastness that needed little strengthening, except at the neck of the promontory.

### 3.3 Roman

There is some evidence for a Roman presence in the area, such as the discovery of Roman copper cakes at Bryn Euryn, suggesting that the copper mines were being worked in this period (Aris 45). Some of the hut circles on the Orme may date from this period as well as from the pre-Roman Iron Age.

### 3.4 Post-Roman to 1283

Llandudno itself lies close to the important royal *maerdref* sites at Deganwy and Bryn Euryn, and it has been suggested that what became the manor of Gogarth, on the south-western slopes of the Great Orme, might have virtualised the royal courts in the early years of the Gwynedd princes. A Norse presence is indicated by the modern English name for Pen y Gogarth, which derives from *Horma Heva*, "the Great Serpent". The manor of Gogarth was granted by the English crown to the Bishop of Bangor in 1277, and it was here that a substantial hall house was constructed (Hague, *passim*). The Bishops of Bangor only

finally relinquished ownership of Gogarth in 1891 (Aris 24). The earliest part of the fabric of the church of St Tudno may date from the twelfth century (RCAHMW 111) and the remains of the ridge and furrow cultivation nearby constitute a fine example of the type.

### 3.5 Late Medieval and Early Modern

The early thirteenth century surveys collectively known as *The Record of Caernarvon* indicate that the episcopal manor of Gogarth included three townships on the Orme - Gogarth itself, Cyngreawdr to the north, and Yr Wyddfid to the east, overlooking the present Happy Valley site. However, consolidation of landholdings in the area by the Mostyn family is already marked by the mid-fifteenth century and by the 1680s the Bishop of Bangor was complaining about their enclosing activities. Both lay and ecclesiastical impropiators demonstrated a hard-headed and entrepreneurial approach to their lands, based on the exploitation of mineral ores as well as agriculture. The Mostyns were at work at least as early as 1692, and mine sites were already prominent enough to be marked on the Lewis Morris map of 1748, designed to assist coastal mariners (Smith, *passim*).

### 3.6 Modern 1800-1996

#### 3.6.1. Mining

Copper mining continued at Llandudno into the late nineteenth-century, but was always an uncertain means of generating wealth, being dependent on world-wide fluctuations in prices which could easily make marginal operations uneconomic. Drainage was a particular problem for the miners, tackled by a variety of means - a "Tom and Jerry" pump-rod system, which extended across the Orme from near Haulfre to Gogarth, the driving of a drainage level, and the construction of a steam pump-engine in 1835, from which Water Street near the Happy Valley takes its name. The miners supplemented their income by fishing and agriculture, and mid-nineteenth-century maps of their houses along show traces of the survival of medieval strip farming here (Aris 27). The most prosperous period for mining was in fact the period 1830 to 1850 (Smith 11); the Ty Gwyn mine began work in 1835 when a cow which was grazing on pastureland on or near the site of the present Happy Valley dislodged a piece of copper ore; the company installed a variety of steam and hydraulic machines for crushing and pumping, which worked for a while cheek by jowl with the tourist developments, until flooding put paid to the venture in 1850. The main adit tunnel was rediscovered in 1986 near the pier (Smith 28-31). The steam engines appear to have been located near the site of the present Hill Terrace.

These developments are evident in a number of adits and tunnels in the vicinity of the Happy Valley and Haulfre, as well as in the street plan of the Cwlach area.

#### 3.6.2. Resort development

A sign of the impending change in the area's focus in the early nineteenth century was the draining of the land at the base of the Orme (Aris 25), and the consecration of St George's Church in 1840, when St Tudno's had become too full, and possibly too remote. St George's was the parish church from 1862 (Brown *passim*).

The enclosure act of 1843, implemented in 1847, apportioned 832 acres out of 955 acres of parish common to Edward Mostyn of Gloddaeth, who resolved upon the creation of a seaside resort. The inspiration for a resort is said to have come from Owen Williams, an Anglesey-born surveyor, in 1846, who convinced Mostyn of the wisdom of the plan, and the first auction of leasehold building plots took place in April 1849. Henceforth Llandudno's future lay not with mining or agriculture but with holidaymakers.

The vogue for sea-bathing, on which this whole enterprise was based, was certainly established before the end of the seventeenth century: Sir John Floyer's *History of Cold Bathing* of 1705, which argued the therapeutic benefits of sea-bathing, went through its fifth edition by 1722, and the practice was given royal approval by King George III in the 1770s. The Prince of Wales established himself at Brighton from 1783, but the habit of making a seaside holiday soon became common among the more conventionally-minded members of Hanoverian society as well as with the prince's raffish set; Jane

Austen's Emma Wodehouse in 1811 had never seen the sea, despite her twenty thousand pounds, but Austen's last incomplete novel, *Sanditon* of 1821, is set at a seaside resort.

Nor was the practice restricted to the moneyed; there was a long-standing tradition of sea-bathing among the poorer folk of the Lancashire coast, ultimately reflected in the creation of the resort of Blackpool. For them, the habit was doubtless purely recreational (Walton 5-10).

The decision to develop Llandudno as a tourist resort meant that the new town also had to set about putting in place the infrastructure to attract the holiday trade necessary to generate capital in what had already become a very competitive market. The historian David Cannadine has suggested that "of necessity, during the first 10 or 20 years in the life of a resort town, investment had to be greater, the return was smaller, and the threat of failure greater than in the case of suburban development", and therefore aristocrats such as Mostyn became "the most frequent initiators of seaside town developments in the nineteenth century", a judgement conceded by Walton in the case of Eastbourne, Folkestone, Torquay, Bournemouth, Bexhill, Southport, Skegness and Llandudno. Elsewhere lesser gentry and limited companies were more in evidence (Walton 104).

At Llandudno as at Lytham St Annes and Weston-super-Mare a policy of controlled leasing was adopted, in which the type of building that could be erected was determined by locality, "assigning one building for larger houses and another for a smaller description, thereby giving protection and security to the former without depreciating the value of the latter" (Walton 117). This meant that the street pattern was laid down by the estate, and leaseholders could submit proposed buildings for approval to the estate - which accounts for both the extraordinary variety of Victorian architecture in Llandudno, and its remarkable homogeneity as a town. After Owen Williams left Mostyn's employment in 1854, the Charing Cross firm of Wehnert and Ashdown took over the planning of the town (Jones 28).

Along these lines, North Parade was developed from 1852 (HRO Mostyn 6180-6193), South Parade from 1857 (HRO Mostyn 6235-6248). The Queen's Hotel was erected in 1853 (HRO Mostyn 4627). The Llandudno Improvement Commissioners were established in 1854 under the Public Health Act of 1848, and administered the town until it was replaced by the Urban District Council (henceforth UDC) in 1896 (Bassett 185-7).

That indispensable feature of any Victorian seaside resort, the pier, made its appearance at Llandudno in 1876, built by John Dixon to the designs of James Brunlees and Alexander McKerrow, 2295' long, in two sections, and whose deck is lined with four kiosks leading to three larger kiosks at the head. An arm leads to the pavilion at the shore end (Sivewright 21-22).

Locally Rhyl, Prestatyn (Harris *passim*) and Colwyn Bay were also being developed; on Cardigan Bay, Pwllheli (Andrews *passim*). Aberdyfi (Lloyd *passim*) and Tywyn came into being after the Cambrian coast railway was opened in the 1860s, and elsewhere on the western seaboard of Britain, Blackpool, Lytham St Annes and Southport were already established, competing with the great south coast resorts such as Brighton and Eastbourne. For this reason, as resorts developed in the later nineteenth century, facilities tended to reflect what was on offer elsewhere; no resort could afford to lose out to its rivals because of failing to keep pace with the changing habits of holidaymakers. Therefore in one way the provisions of the one might be matched almost exactly in another. Yet there were at the same time both great and infinitely minute variations in each - some were grand, some were modest, some catered particularly for golfers, some, like Douglas in the Isle of Man, were noted for informality and conviviality, others expected boiled shirts and white ties, at least in the greater establishments. Some were high-church, and some were low-church; evangelical Christians for years avoided Bournemouth because of the ritualists' stranglehold on the resort's places of worship.

Llandudno was reached by a railway in 1858, consisting of a short branch line from the main Chester to Holyhead line. This was constructed by the St George's Harbour and Railway Company, who received their act in 1853. Operations began on 1 October 1858, using a locomotive hired from the London and North Western Railway, and a horse when traffic was slack in the winter. The line was doubled after 1875 (Bradley 90).

Llandudno successfully attracted an élite clientèle in the 1850s and '60s, but by the end of the nineteenth



century its appeal was directed more to the prosperous white-collar workers of the North of England and the Midlands, effectively much as it is at the end of the twentieth century. In terms of its resident population, in 1851 it was fifty-seventh in British terms, and fourth in Welsh terms, following behind Rhyl (fiftieth), Tenby (thirty-sixth) and Aberystwyth (twenty-first). By 1911 it was thirty-ninth in Britain, having overtaken its former Welsh rivals but having in turn been outstripped by Colwyn Bay and Penarth (Walton 51, 65).

A characteristic of Llandudno's development in the late nineteenth century and early twentieth was the proportionally smaller role played by the Mostyn family and the greater by the Improvement Commissioners, later the UDC, with the Ministry of Health occasionally making loans to develop garden sites from the 1920s onwards. The Mostyn family presented the Happy Valley to the town on long-lease in 1887, and the town bought the North Western and Haulfre gardens from private interests in the 1920s. This more active role by the elected authorities reflected a growing awareness of the need for resort amenities of a sort that they were better equipped than a private family to create and provide. This in turn reflects a change in sensibility towards the seaside; by the end of the nineteenth century holidaymakers' focus had changed from health to pleasure, and they expected a resort to entertain them rather than make them feel better. Entertainment might range from a popular concert or Punch and Judy to grand opera or the more refined pleasures of a garden.

The emphasis on health was to return again, with the vogue for sunbathing and exercise of the inter-war years, reflected in the construction of the Lido on the Serpentine in London in 1924, with the importance difference that the pursuit of health was now considered in itself a pleasurable form of relaxation. It was to be enjoyed for its own sake, rather than grimly undertaken as a Victorian clergyman might battle with icy waves in the hope that the struggle would do him good. However, Llandudno did not construct a Lido in the inter-war period, and relied instead on maintaining and upgrading the traditional attractions of a sea-side resort.

One respect in which it did adapt to changing holiday habits was in acknowledging the increased importance of road transport. As early as 1906 140 motor cars had visited Llandudno on the August Bank Holiday Monday, and when the Prince of Wales arrived for a brief visit on 2 November 1923 he did so by road.

## 4. PARKS

### 4.1 Background to the development of Municipal Parks.

Gardens have been recorded in Wales as early as the Roman period; the legionary fortress of Isca (Caerleon) had a typical Roman enclosed garden-court, and parks for hunting appear after the Normans established themselves - the *silva de Bruiz* in Gower, mentioned in 1230 (Whittle 7-9). Throughout Wales's later history, its élite laid out gardens and parks according to fashions derived from cultural centres elsewhere in western Europe.

The municipal park - in other words, one owned and maintained by an urban authority for the use and enjoyment of its citizens and visitors - develops from the royal park - initially an area set aside for hunting, but increasingly a pleasure-park in the modern sense - from the private garden, and from the commercial pleasure garden.

Its origins are apparent in the seventeenth century but its development is particularly marked in the eighteenth, and is best exemplified in the urban centres which expanded particularly in that period. The Phoenix Park in Dublin was originally intended as a royal deer park, and therefore in practice (given its proximity to the capital) a public park, rather than purely as the demesne surrounding the vice-regal lodge. It was laid out from 1662 onwards, but bears the mark most particularly of Chesterfield's viceroyalty of 1744-7, and the example was copied in London at Regent's Park, Hyde Park, Kensington Gardens, St James' Park, Green Park and elsewhere (Craig 11-14).

Parks such as these were developed partly with a view to impressing the citizenry with the power and resources of government, much as the royal parks had done (Craig 13), and the municipal parks which began to be developed in the large English industrial towns from 1844 onwards were laid out in the hope

of alleviating the lot of, and civilising, the new proletariat (Briggs 135).

Another tradition again was that of the pleasure garden, for which the public were charged admission; the Vauxhall Gardens in London were first laid out in 1661, and lasted until 1859. Refreshment, musical entertainment, fireworks and displays of statuary were offered. A later rival was Cremorne Gardens in Chelsea, opened in 1845.

The parks of the holiday resorts which began to be developed from the late eighteenth century onwards drew on all these traditions but had the immediately mercenary ambition of persuading visitors to stay in the area, or indeed move there to live. The picturesque visual tradition derived from landscape painting was translated into the semi-urban terms of Bournemouth, Torquay and Llandudno, in which development is subservient to landscape, and underlies the garden city ideals which developed from the Bedford Park project at Turnham Green, begun in 1875.

## 4.2 Llandudno Parks and Gardens

### 4.2.1 Promenade and North Parade SH 7818 8263

These gardens form an arc along the course of the North Parade and Promenade from the pavilion to Prince Edward Square and thereafter east along the course of the Promenade, consisting of grassed areas, and shrubs in raised corner plots, shaded by trees. These are laid out in the vicinity of some of the earliest substantial tourist developments in Llandudno. An anonymous *Tourists Guide* published at Liverpool in 1849 laments the lack of an hotel at Llandudno, and assured potential capitalists that anyone who proposed such a building would be "very liberally dealt with" (*Tourists Guide* 9). Work began on the Promenade and North Parade shortly afterwards. The North Parade deeds begin from 1852 (HRO Mostyn 6193), and those for South Parade in 1857 (HRO Mostyn 6235-6248). Together they form a classic promenade development, with a curving littoral road and a grid-pattern of streets inland. Trees were commonly planted in such situations to afford shelter and shade, an important consideration when many of the visitors might be bath-chair bound. References to them in the UDC minutes, however, are few; in 1900-01 it was resolved that more evergreens should be planted on the promenade, and a few years later it was recorded that the shrubs opposite the North Parade had been damaged by people playing on them (UDC 1908-9 97). It is therefore possible that they date from 1900-1901. It was resolved to widen the North Parade at a cost of £50, to include the planting of new trees. On 12 November 1918 it was resolved to open out the North Parade grass plot. Small planted areas are marked here on the 1913 ordnance survey map.

The trees consist mainly of cordelines, with a number of weeping elms at the pavilion end, which has been affected by Dutch elm disease, and an experimental planting of weeping willows, which may be planted elsewhere in place of the weeping elms. Professor Codman's Punch and Judy show now takes place near the gardens at the Pavilion end.

These gardens are of considerable importance in that they form an essential and integral part of the Promenade development, intended to be the most visually impressive part of any resort development, and link it to the Pavilion, the pier and the Happy Valley. Its importance is enhanced by the survival of items of last-century street furniture, in the form of cast-iron lamp standards, as well as by nos 1-27 of North Parade and 1-15 South Parade (all listed grade II) (Welsh Office *Buildings of Special Architectural or Historic Interest* 80-88, 121-124).

### 4.2.2. Happy Valley SH782 831

The Happy Valley is situated on the east-facing lower slopes of the Great Orme, partly on the site of a quarry, a late nineteenth-century garden with later terracing and rock garden.

The area has an association with entertainment that goes back much before the Victorian development of Llandudno; on the Wyddfid Road is an area known as Tan y Stage, where Twm o'r Nant performed one of his celebrated *anterliwts* in 1767. A sheepfair was held nearby on 22 September every year, and the remains of the sheep-pens are still to be seen along the side of Wyddfid Road.



The enclosure act of 1843 brought to an end the sheep fair and allotted the land to the Hon. Edward Mostyn Lloyd Mostyn. Between 1856 and 1858 it became a starting point for the original path around the Great Orme, which preceded the Marine Drive, and which was named after Reginald Cust, the barrister who was a trustee of the Mostyn Estate. The site of the gardens themselves were under lease in 1857 to the Llandudno Gas and Water Company (HRO Mostyn 4708).

The drive itself was constructed by a limited company, the Great Orme's Head Marine Drive Company Ltd, who issued their prospectus in 1872. The engineers were George Felton, Mostyn Estate surveyor since 1857, and Hedworth Lee of the London and North Western Railway; work was complete in 1878 (Jones 44). It may be that the quarry on the site was used to provide stone for the construction of the drive.

The site came to be used as a place of public resort from the 1860s; Lot Williams built a camera obscura there in 1860, which survived until it was burnt down in 1966, and a husband and wife team of what were then known as "Nigger Minstrels" provided entertainment from 1873. It was granted to the town on lease by the third Baron Mostyn in 1887 in commemoration of the Queen's Jubilee, and the drinking fountain was inaugurated by Lady Augusta Mostyn in 1890.

The lower slopes of the Happy Valley had been landscaped and made accessible to wheeled vehicles shortly after 1887 (Williams and Williams 37), and from the start the UDC minute books record alterations and proposals for the site. In 1912-13 a premium of fifty guineas was advertised for the best scheme for laying out Happy Valley and the adjacent Wyddfid area, which had recently been purchased. Tellingly, Lord Mostyn stipulated that the land "be laid out in simple and natural lines to be approved. The preservation of the natural surroundings and the sympathetic and harmonious treatment of paths and shelters to be the chief factors in such laying out" (222-3). Even during the war, when allotments were dug in the Happy Valley, proposals continued to be made and discussed, such as a rock garden of plants native to the Orme, and the gardens were in sufficiently good condition for an article on them to appear in *Gardening Illustrated* on 23 November 1918, less than a fortnight after the war ended.

The stones from the allotment walls were later used to build the rockery (*Llandudno Rock Garden Handbook* 3). The impressive colonnade structure was opened on 31 March 1932 (CRO XM/4016/130), and the theatre was constructed in 1933, replacing an earlier structure which had been burnt. In 1969 the lower terminus of the cabin lift was constructed in the Happy Valley. The focal area of the gardens is a plantation of pines and native hardwoods in the north-eastern part, with an arrangement of zig-zag paths within it, and an area of lawn which includes a late-Victorian drinking fountain and a gorsedd circle dating from 1963. The drinking fountain is built out of marble and sandstone with a bronze bust of Queen Victoria under a canopy supported by four marble columns. It is weathered in places.

Below this area the grass falls away sharply in a bank covered by paths ascending from the road below.

The children's playground is in the north-eastern corner of this part of the garden, and the bulk of the visitor facilities (café and shop) lie to the south of the grassed area. These are housed in a single-storey building, stone faced, of modern construction.

The second main part of the garden is the rockery or terraced garden, occupying the head of the small valley leading up to the west. The structure is mainly of rough walling, and a greenhouse and potting shed were noted.

These areas are separated by the road which leads up to the artificial ski-slope situated above the western end of the rockery.

The southern part of the garden consists of a bluff overlooking the town, and offering extensive views to the south, east and west. This is the location of the camera obscura, a small conical wooden structure, and of the lower cabinlift station, a box-like iron-framed structure clad in corrugated steel. To the north of this feature an area has been levelled for a putting green., and to its south another levelled area may be a bowling green.

The colonnaded walk ascends alongside the road through the gardens from opposite the Grand Hotel; it is designed in a pseudo-classical style and is constructed from concrete.

As well as purely recreational facilities, other activities have taken place in the Happy Valley. Eisteddfodau were held partly on the site in 1896, when Hwfa Môn was Archdruid, and again in 1963 (Jones 42), though the eisteddfod of 1864 which prompted Matthew Arnold's *Essay* was held on Mostyn Street in 1864. Political meetings were occasionally held there; the Liberal Federation was granted the right to use the site for "oratorical purposes" in 1896, on condition that "the Minstrels shall not be interfered with" (UDC 1896 84).

The importance of this site is underlined by the fact that it has been included in the Cadw *Register of Historic Gardens*. Although it has suffered some unsympathetic modern development, it retains many attractive features from the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, as well as being near Pen y Dinas hillfort, and it occupies a superb position overlooking the bay. The drinking fountain is listed grade II, as is a lamp standard in an arcade to the north of the Happy Valley Road and the Grand Hotel of 1900, built by J. Francis Doyle of Liverpool (Welsh Office *Buildings of Special Architectural or Historic Interest* 40).

#### 4.2.3 North-Western Gardens SH 7855 8214

These gardens and underground lavatories occupy a triangular site at the intersection of Vaughan Street, Conway Road and the Mostyn Street-Mostyn Broadway axis and that was being developed in the 1890s. They were originally for the private use of residents of the North Western Hotel, and were constructed on what was effectively the eastern perimeter of the town. The proximity of the hotel itself and its name strongly suggests that it was owned or part-owned by the London and North Western Railway, which took over the branch line to Llandudno in 1863 (Bradley 90). The LNWR, as the largest joint-stock company in the world, was well placed to construct its own holiday infrastructure in the areas it served.

The gardens were in existence by 1910, when photographs show a triangular area of grass bounded by a hedge and furnished with benches (Williams and Williams 8). In 1923 it was purchased by the UDC, who had it redesigned with a balustraded wall, transverse pathways and underground public conveniences. The Ministry of Health sanctioned a loan of £6,051, and the conveniences themselves were constructed by Arthur Thorpe, contractors. These developments were in place by 1925 (Roberts 19-20) and may reflect the fact that increasingly the town was being visited by motorists, who would pass it on their way in. The site is little changed from the mid-1920s; the ladies' lavatory is accessed by two curving stairways from the Conway Road and Mostyn Street sides of the triangle, and the gentlemen's lavatories by a flight of steps which bisect the acute angle thus formed at the north-western corner of the site. Wrought-iron gateposts are installed at the top of the stairs in each case.

The apex of the garden around the men's lavatories is surrounded by a balustraded ornamental fence; elsewhere the site was formerly walled by a wrought-iron fence whose traces may be seen in the concrete base. The site is crossed by transverse pathways and there is a small lawn and flower-beds.

This site, though small, is placed at an important location for visitors entering the historic part of the town by car, and is an attractive example of an inter-war development constructed with a view to impressing visitors making their way to the town by road.

#### 4.2.4 Haulfre Gardens SH 776 825

The house and gardens at Haulfre are situated at the extreme north-west edge of the town of Llandudno, cut into the rock on the slopes of the Great Orme, uphill of Cwlach Street and accessed by Cwlach Road. Cwlach Street was once the main thoroughfare of the early nineteenth-century community of Llandudno. The site of the gardens is marked as Haulfre on the tithe map of 1840 (HRO D/M/4706), and on Enclosure Award of 1847 it is recorded as belonging to Mr William Jones, who had properties elsewhere in the town (CRO Enclosure Award).

The gardens were developed between 1871 and 1873 by the industrialist Henry Davis Pochin, who laid out the Bodnant Gardens at Eglwysbach from 1874, possibly the most famous gardens in Wales, and who was instrumental in the development of Prestatyn as a resort (Milliken 70-1, 77-81). The situation of

Haulfre is very different to anything at Bodnant, being an elevated site exposed to the sun and wind. In 1873 they were bought by Sir Thomas Lipton of the tea company, and were later owned by Walkers' Ales (pers. comm., Mr Clare, Heulfre café owner). By 1900 the property belonged to Joseph Broome who, according to an article in the *Gardener's Chronicle* in 1903, specialised in growing orchids and other glasshouse subjects.

The gardens were opened as a public garden by David Lloyd George, MP for the Caernarvon Boroughs (a constituency which did not include Llandudno) in 1929 (Jones 21).

At the opening ceremony, at which Lloyd George was accompanied by his daughter Megan, James Cheetham JP, Chairman of the UDC, referred to the opposition to the purchase of Haulfre by the Council, and hoped that it had now died down. He pointed out that the local authority was determined to maintain the town's place as a leading resort, and to add to its attractions. New entrances were being added (*Haulfre Official Souvenir Guide* 21-3).

The house is a nineteenth century villa of a common Llandudno type, two storey with a double-gabled front with decorative barge-boards, rendered and painted white; it is now used as a café. There are two adjacent cottages bearing a sign *Haulfre Gardens Cottages 1865-1995*, which appear to be modern reconstructions. Behind these buildings is a conspicuous rendered retaining wall.

The house lies near the east corner of a terraced garden site which is an approximate rectangle, whose long axis runs north-east to south west. To the north of the house is the main terraced area, with woodland and further terraces to the south. In the south corner of the garden, extending almost halfway along the south-east edge, is an enclosed area with a long narrow sloping lawn, broken up by flowerbeds. Uphill of the terraced gardens is an area of woodland on which paths have been built, but many are now lost.

The style is dictated by the steep site; the winding paths and irregular terraces fit themselves into the hillside, and have retaining walls often both above and below.

The importance of Haulfre Gardens is reflected by their inclusion in the Cadw *Register of Historic Gardens*, and is underlined by their association with H.D. Pochin, creator of Bodnant. They retain their inter-war character, and occupy an attractive location affording superb views.

## 5. PERSONALITIES CONNECTED WITH LLANDUDNO

Llandudno's status as a holiday resort has inevitably meant that a considerable number of famous personalities have been associated with it. Its role as a venue for party political conferences has meant that many people from public life have been connected with it - Ramsay MacDonald, Stanley Baldwin, Winston Churchill. The following list is not meant to be a comprehensive list of famous people, but intends particularly to describe those who have recorded impressions of Llandudno. The possible connection with Lewis Carroll is discussed by JB Edwards, who suggests that there is little evidence for Carroll having been at town while composing *Alice in Wonderland*.

### 5.1 Hugh Hughes: artist

Hugh Hughes the artist was born at Pwll y Gwichiaid on or about the 20 February 1790; though he has long been famous as the engraver of *The Beauties of Cambria*, recent research by Peter Lord, of the Centre for Welsh and Celtic Studies at Aberystwyth has established the extent and skill of his work, and confirmed his place as one of the leading artists of nineteenth century Wales (Lord, *passim*).

### 5.2 Matthew Arnold: poet and essayist.

Matthew Arnold stayed at the Trevona Hotel in St George's Crescent in 1864 (Jones 29) and witnessed the eisteddfod which took place in Mostyn Street that year. The contrast between English and Welsh attitudes to literature and to more worldly concerns which he believed himself to observe in the course of his stay prompted him to write *Essay on Celtic Literature*; justifiably condemned by many for a



patronising view of the Welsh, it nevertheless prepared the way for a much more sympathetic view of Welsh, and Irish, Gaelic and Breton culture, which was reflected not only in the foundation of the chairs of Welsh and Celtic at Oxford and at some of the great continental universities but also in the "Celtic twilight" movement reflected in the work of Oscar Wilde and William Butler Yeats, among many others, and in the Irish nationalist movement.

### 5.3 David Lloyd George: statesman.

David Lloyd George's roots lay in Eifionydd, and the constituency he represented in parliament from 1890 to 1945 included Conwy but not Llandudno. Nevertheless, he was a frequent visitor to Llandudno, and opened the Haulfre Gardens in 1929. It was at the pier in Llandudno in 1938 that he delivered a speech critical of the Chamberlain administration's appeasement policy towards Hitler and Mussolini, and it was Lloyd George who two years later was to bring down the Chamberlain administration by a speech in the Commons.

### 5.4 Arnold Bennett: novelist

The community described by Matthew Arnold in *Essay on Celtic Literature* is one in which mandarins in the reformed civil service, such as Arnold himself, mingled shoulders with cathedral deans and members of parliament, the intellectual and political élite of Victorian England, who had largely deserted the place by the end of the century; by the early 1890s Llandudno's visitors were the clerks and business people of the North-west of England and of the potteries. The novelist Arnold Bennett, with his keen eye for social detail, provides much incidental detail of the sort of holidaymakers who made their way there in this period, and the sort of amusements they expected; Denry Machin, the hero of *The Card*, stays at St Asaph Road, two doors away from his fiancée, who has chosen Llandudno because it is "more stylish than either Rhyl or Blackpool, and not dearer" (62), but who nevertheless expects him to pay for "Pier, minstrels, Punch and Judy, bathing, buns, ices, canes, fruit, chairs, row-boats, concerts, toffee, photographs, char-à-bancs; any of these expenditures was likely to happen whenever they went forth for a simple stroll" (63-4). *The Card* was filmed, partly at Llandudno, in 1951, starring Alec Guinness as Machin, with Glynis Hooson and Petula Clark.

### 5.4 Evelyn Waugh: novelist

Thirty years after Machin's visit, Evelyn Waugh, drawing on memories of his brief schoolmastering period at Llanddulas, describes a jolly in the Hotel Metropole, which overlooks "the strip of water which railway companies have gallantly compared to the bay of Naples", and where Paul Pennyfeather, Mr Prendergast and Captain Grimes annoy "the Manchester merchants on the spree" who constitute the other diners (Waugh 98-100).

## 6. RECOMMENDATIONS

Since the gardens form an essential part in the evolution of Llandudno as a resort, any further work to them would have to reflect their historic importance. Therefore, as much as possible, existing structures should be incorporated in any new schemes rather than replaced, and any new features should be in keeping with their character.

Before development takes place on the garden sites themselves or in the immediately related areas, further archaeological work is desirable. This would include a full survey of the gardens and their surroundings from an archaeological, architectural and horticultural point of view, drawing on further archival work, in particular the references to articles in horticultural journals which came to light in the course of the present study.

The provision of interpretative panels in the gardens themselves would enhance visitor enjoyment of these sites, and of the individual features within them.

Furthermore, the provision of interpretative panel in the gardens themselves can be made to form part of larger scheme, embracing much of the town. The gardens offer abundant scope for development within a

town trail, which would not only emphasise their own importance but their relationship to the abundance of heritage features in Llandudno, primarily the built heritage of the last 150 years, but also the natural heritage of the area and the archaeology of earlier periods. The proximity of the Happy Valley to the hillfort at Pen Dinas leaves open the possibility that this spectacular site could be incorporated in a trail.

## 7. SUMMARY

The present study has outlined the archaeological resource of Llandudno, and has confirmed its place within the development of the holiday resort both within Wales and in the United Kingdom as a whole. It is clear that in terms of size, it was one of the larger resorts in Wales, a nation whose economy, as early as the last century, was already beginning to depend on tourism and that Llandudno's attractions matched those of its rivals to meet the changing needs of the resort visitor in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The gardens form part of a remarkable and comprehensive whole, which includes the Victorian street-plan, hotel and domestic architecture, places of worship, the pier and the town's transport systems. Furthermore, despite the intensity and scale of development from the 1850s, traces remain of the community which predated the enclosure award, in the form of mining remains and the parts of the earlier street pattern, as well as of much earlier phases of human development, stretching back to the Palaeolithic era.

Llandudno has been described as "The Queen of the Welsh Resorts", and there can be little doubt that this title is merited. Though it is one of a great many resorts on the coast of north and west Wales, as well as inland centres such as Llandrindod and Builth Wells, none has preserved its character as well as Llandudno, which has largely escaped unsympathetic development. The Welsh Office list of Buildings of Special Architectural or Historic Interest for Llandudno, published in 1976, makes clear the extent and significance of the architectural resource of the town, and its inclusion on the recent Cadw *Register of Historic Landscapes* is not only testament to its survival as a Victorian landscape, the only resort to be included as such, but also to its importance as a planned nineteenth-century community. As such it forms an instructive contrast with the planned medieval community of Conwy on the other side of the river, now a World Heritage Site.

The Great Orme has been designated as a Heritage Coast, and part of it is a nature reserve. Most of it has been designated a site of Special Scientific Interest.

The gardens at Haulfre, Happy Valley and Mostyn Street, and on the Promenade reflect the richness of this natural heritage as well as the comprehensive survival of the built environment from the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

The association of Haulfre Gardens with H.D. Pochin, creator of one of the most famous gardens in Britain, adds to the importance of this site. More generally, Matthew Arnold's musings on the nature of Celtic and English identity, prompted as they were by the development of Llandudno as a resort, both reflected and encouraged a profound change in sensibilities which was to be of enormous significance for the emergence of the modern British state.

It is recommended that developments on and near the gardens reflect their historic character, and that the possibilities exist for the erection of interpretative panels both within their gardens themselves and as part of a Llandudno trail.

## 8. ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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