

A NORTH WALES INTERIOR BY CORNELIUS VARLEY

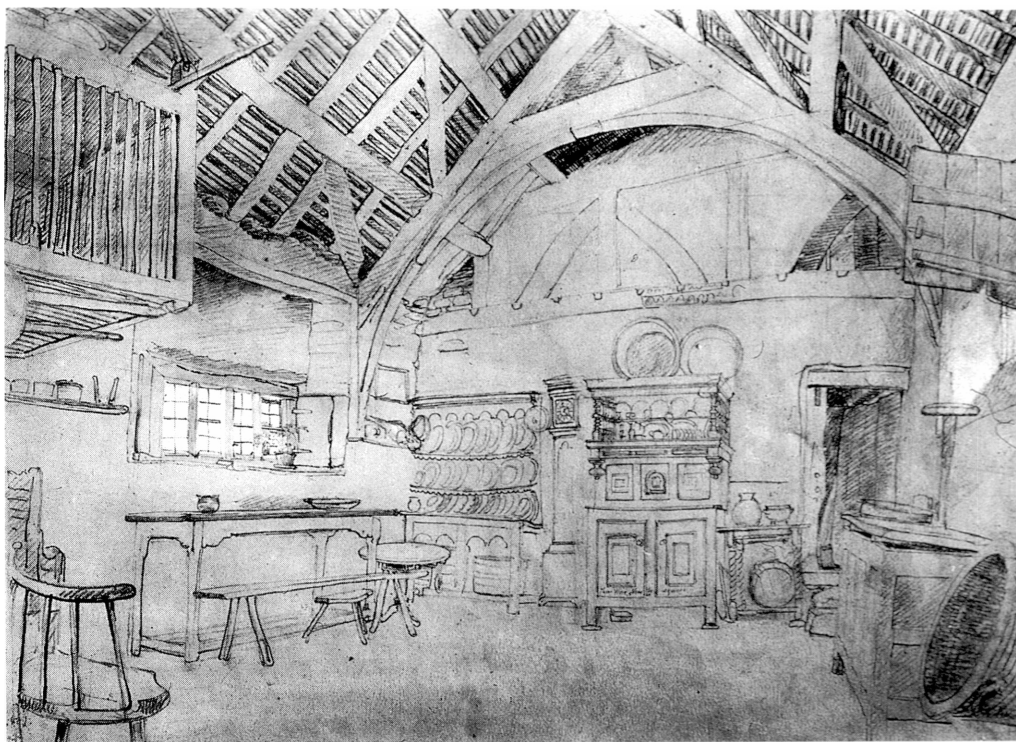
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There are few nineteenth-century images of the insides of Welsh vernacular dwellings, and even fewer of these are of real use to the furniture historian. This article is a case study based on a rare sketch by the artist Cornelius Varley, younger brother of the more famous landscape artist John Varley.

Cornelius Varley recorded the inside of a house in Conwy whilst on a sketching trip in North Wales with his brother John (Figure 1). Like John, Cornelius was a landscape artist who did not usually draw interiors and it is not certain what exactly prompted him to make this sketch. There is evidence, however, that the furniture in the room caught his interest, that he was keen to portray it accurately, and even that the furniture was the primary focal point for the artist. This is unusual, as in many paintings of cottage and farmhouse interiors the furniture is no more than a backdrop to human figures. In this picture, however, there are no human figures, the focal points of the sketch are the pieces of furniture, and the furniture is recorded with close attention to detail. Indicative of the artist's interest in recording the furniture accurately is the inscription across the doors of the *cwpprwd tridarn*, 'these were nearly square'. The image is also inscribed by the artist with the words 'Conway 1802' and is signed by the artist.

The image has been examined closely and studied in relation to a wide range of other sources. These include twenty-two probate records from the parish of Conwy for the period 1788–1816 now in the National Library of Wales, Aberystwyth,¹ other contemporary written sources, assorted visual material and object analysis.² This paper will provide information about Conwy c. 1802 and potential furniture makers within the town before going on to discuss the room and the furniture within.

The town of Conwy is situated close to the north coast of Wales in the old (pre-1974) county of Caernarfon, at the mouth of the river Conwy. The parish did not cover a large area and according to Hall, 'The Parish of Conway is about one mile and a half long from east to west, and from north to south little more than a mile'.³ The population of Conway in 1801 was only 889.⁴ Contemporary writers did not report favourably on the town. John Byng, for example, visited in 1784 and summed up Conway as 'a poor mean place and only subsists on the travell (*sic*) through the town'.⁵ A few years later, the Revd John Evans was similarly unimpressed: '... a few tolerable houses, numbers in a dilapidated state, and miserable looking cottages constitute this once flourishing town'.⁶ By far the most common occupations listed for the period in the Parish Registers are those of labourer and mariner.⁷ Other common occupations include victualler, weaver, glazier, ferryman, shipwright, shoemaker, tailor, glover and coachman. Joiners and carpenters are listed (and also shipwrights and ship's carpenters), but no turners, chair makers or cabinet makers are recorded. We can



1. *Conwy, 1802* by Cornelius Varley
National Museums and Galleries of Wales

assume therefore that most Conwy furniture would have been made by joiners and carpenters, although we cannot assume that each of those listed was necessarily involved in furniture making.

The following joiners are listed in the Parish Registers. Unless stated otherwise, dates refer to births/deaths of children. It is very likely therefore that these dates coincide with working years.

James Jones (1791 and 1793)

Hugh Williams (1753, 1757) died 1792

James Williams (1788)

Henry Crotchley (1782) — birth of illegitimate son

John Williams (1759)

William Jones (Son of John Williams, joiner⁸) d. 1769

Robert Jones (1757, 1761)

John Thomas (1758)

David Williams (1757, 1759)

Troy Gray (1757)

The joiner Hugh Williams died in 1792 and his probate inventory is held by the National Library of Wales.⁹ It reveals that he owned some relatively fashionable furniture — at least when compared to his neighbours — and also chairs in a variety of timbers including yew which may indicate that he was involved in furniture making. Unfortunately, the inventory lists only household goods and not workshop items. A possible reason for this is that there are a large number of joiners with the same surname, potentially, although not necessarily of the same family. If they were working for a family firm it would explain the lack of workshop items in the inventory, as they may have been commonly owned.

The inventories also give two new names of joiners working in Conwy at this period, where they appear as appraisers of other's property:

James Slaiter (1801)

John Foulkner of Llandudno, (1813)

In addition to joiners the following carpenters are listed:

John Jones (1784)

Thomas David (1773)

Robert Luke (1755, 1757, 1759, 1760, 1762)

One clock maker is also recorded:

John Owen, d. 1790

John Owen appears to have been the only clock maker in the town at this time. He is mentioned in *The Clockmakers of Llanwrst*, 'A clockmaker of this name was buried in the town in April 1790, but nothing more is known of him, nor have any of his clocks been recorded'.¹⁰ Like Hugh Williams, a probate inventory of his goods is in the National Library of Wales.¹¹ His working tools appear in the inventory but are not individually listed.

The house that Varley chose to document is of timber frame construction with stone walls. The layout of the house is based on the *hall house* which was the dominant form of house in the north and east of Wales.¹² Hall houses consisted originally of a single room, which was single storey and open to the roof. Often a half loft or *crogloff* was added at a later date to give additional storage or sleeping space. There may or may not be a half loft behind the viewer in the Varley image but there is certainly at least one other room which is entered through the door on the far wall to the right of the *tridarn*. The house therefore has at least two rooms, which the records indicate to be normal for the town at this period, at least amongst those social groups who left probate records. The following quotation, although of a much more recent date, describes a very similar arrangement of furniture as that evident in Varley's scene and refers to a typical farmhouse in the Snowdonia area:

In front of the window we find as a rule an oblong table at which the farm-hands and the sons and daughters of the family sat, the head-man, or farmer's foreman, taking the head of the table, even above the farmer's own sons. On the other side of the kitchen was a three-legged round table, at

which sat the farmer, his wife and youngest child. This was the arrangement during the earlier part of the nineteenth century and is kept up in the outlying districts even now. Projecting out from the side of the ingle and facing the window is the settle. The dresser, or 'tridarn' and the tall clock are placed against the back wall and the partition between kitchen and chamber. This completes the furniture of the room.¹³

Having briefly examined the background of the town of Conwy and the context of the room in which the furniture is seen it is now worth discussing those items of furniture which can be seen in Varley's sketch and making comparisons with other sources of information.

The large cage-like structure in the top left of the picture is a rack or *cratch* and was probably used for storing food such as bread, oatcakes or bacon. This example is constructed from a frame of sawn and joined timber with stick sides and base. The unevenness of the sticks or spindles indicates that they were probably hand-shaped with a knife rather than turned on a lathe. The top of the structure is more solid and appears to be made of wicker. Various different terms have been used to describe similar items, including bread crate, rack or cratch and bacon rack or cratch. The term *cratch* is used here, as the only mention of such an item in the Conwy probate inventories uses this term.¹⁴ Ogilvie's definition of 1850 defines a *cratch* as 'A rack; a grated crib or manger'¹⁵ although today it retains only its second meaning.¹⁶ However, Pinto writing in the 1960s refers to 'Bacon racks or cratches'.¹⁷ Terms such as 'cratch' and '*clwyd*' indicate that such items were probably made by the same craftsmen who made farm items such as gates, hurdles and animal troughs. In Welsh it is known as a *clwyd fara* (which translates literally as a 'bread hurdle or gate') or a *car cig* (meat car or carriage).¹⁸ Hughes and North do not give an English equivalent of the term, but there is evidence that the terms 'bread car' and 'bread cradle' were used in Wales, in the early twentieth century at least.¹⁹ The 'baking cratch' owned by Thomas Hughes of Conway²⁰ was not a particularly valuable object, being valued together with a salt box, noggin (a small mug), frying pan and bakestone at three shillings and nine pence, and was possibly one of simpler, ladder-like construction. However, because it appears as a minor item in this list it is not possible to know whether it was absent or merely unlisted in the other houses.

There is only one chair visible in the picture, a low stick back. In England, chairs of this construction are known as 'Windsor' chairs, but John Brown has argued effectively that the term 'stick chair' is more appropriate when referring to Welsh chairs.²¹ Welsh stick chairs come in a variety of forms and the type depicted here is sometimes described as a 'cottage type'. It is a type found throughout Wales, which appears to have been made with very little change over a period of at least 200 years. The seat is massive and roughly 'D' shaped, although the corner nearest the viewer is of an uneven shape, as if a rounded section had been taken out of it. Like many of these chairs, it was probably made from whatever pieces of timber were available, even if the resulting shape was slightly uneven. The opposite corner is out of sight of the viewer, and so it is not possible to see if the shape matches. The seats of these chairs are frequently roughly shaped, made of elm, and are rarely 'bottomed' in the way that the English Windsor examples are.

Chairs were common in Conwy at this period, at least amongst the class of people represented by the inventories. All of the Conwy inventories that list furniture mention at least two chairs, many list six or more. The chairs are not usually described, so it is not possible to know what type they were. The only additional detail regarding chairs in a contemporary and local inventory is that of Hugh Williams the joiner (1794) where the woods of the chairs are given. We know, therefore, that at the time of his death, he owned two elm chairs, two oak chairs, and six yew chairs as well as a night stool and an armchair of unspecified wood. Given his profession, it is most likely that these were of joined construction, but again, there is no way of knowing for certain. In addition to chairs, he also owned a settle, as did many of the other people represented by the inventories. No stools are listed amongst his belongings, although they are common in the other Conwy inventories.

There are three tables in the room. There is a long table with a framed base to the left of the picture situated under the window on the left wall. Between this table and the dresser there is a small, low, round table with a pedestal tripod base, and between the *tridarn* and the door is a small square table with spiral twist legs. All of the Conwy inventories which list specific furniture types include more than one table; many of these distinguish between large and small tables. It is interesting to note that in the Conwy inventories of this date, where tables are described in any way it is usually in terms of size rather than function. Six out of eleven people left at least two tables that are distinguished by the use of 'large' and 'small' as descriptors. Two tables are described as 'kitchen' tables, but there is no example of a 'dining' table. The use of large and small as qualifiers may relate to the fact that it was common in Wales for two tables to be set at meal times, particularly in farm houses. The farm servants and children old enough to eat unsupervised would eat at the larger table, whilst the master and mistress would eat at a smaller, usually round, table. This has been documented in both north and south Wales and the practice survived into the twentieth century.²² Other descriptors for tables in the Conwy inventories include 'old' (appears frequently), 'working', 'round', 'two leaf', 'three footed' and 'snap'.

This high level of table ownership both in the Varley interior and in the town's inventories is surprising when compared with a survey of inventories in the county over a thirty year period a little over a century earlier. G Haulfryn Williams studied inventories for Caernarvonshire 1660–90, and found that tables were frequently omitted from poorer inventories.²³ He concludes, therefore, that meals were probably taken sitting on the floor, which was strewn with rushes and grass, a custom which was recorded in the twelfth century by Gerald of Wales. The fact that all of the Conwy inventories at the end of the eighteenth century record two or more tables is an indication that this custom had probably died out at least amongst the families of shopkeepers, farmers and craftsmen and their families in the town. However, not everyone owned a 'large' or 'kitchen' table; some inventories list specifically only 'small' tables, and it is possible that many families sat on low stools around small circular tables to eat, or even around improvised tables as in Ireland.²⁴

The clock in the Varley interior stands against the wall facing the viewer, between the dresser and the *cwprudd tridarn*. The clock case is exceptionally plain, even by eighteenth-century standards. Although the Conwy Valley was well known for clock

production it is possible that the clock was made in Conwy town. As mentioned above, a clock maker called John Owen died in Conwy in 1790. The next known reference to a clock maker working in Conwy on the Museum of Welsh Life file is not until 1886 (Mary Jones, 10 Castle Street). However, Conwy appears to have been well supplied with clocks. Eight out of the eleven inventories list a clock. Clocks were among the most valuable items listed in the inventories.

On the wall facing the viewer are the dresser to the left of the clock and the *cupwrdd tridarn* ('three part cupboard') to the right. Unusually for a north Wales dresser it has an open pot board base. This type of dresser is most commonly found in the south of Wales and is often referred to as a South Wales dresser, whilst the cupboard base type is frequently called a North Wales dresser.²⁵ This dresser has either been moved from the south, or is an unusual example of a pot board dresser from the north. Like the long table in the room, there are no turned parts to the dresser, which is fairly unusual in a pot board type dresser, where turned parts are frequently used for decorative and/or constructional purposes. The dresser appears to be constructed entirely of sawn parts and the decorative features are restricted to scalloped edges, there are no fretted patterns as is sometimes found on dressers from all parts of the country but most frequently the south.

The *tridarn*, or three-part cupboard is very similar to many existing examples of *tridarns* from north Wales. The top section is an open shelf used for the display of earthenware; in this case plates and a jug. Like the dresser, the *tridarn* incorporates display and utility; two large tubs are stored on the top of the *tridarn* which are utilitarian rather than decorative. Both dressers and *tridarns* have come to be strongly associated with Wales, but how normal was it at this period to own both dresser and a *tridarn*? Robert Roberts described a room in his family home in Llangernyw, (approximately twelve miles south east of Conwy) in the 1830s. The furniture is described as being 'massive and heavy, like the door' and the main room included a settle, table, forms, chairs, corner cupboard, dresser and *tridarn*.²⁶ This example suggests that owning both a dresser and *tridarn* was perhaps relatively usual in the early nineteenth century, but is not sufficient evidence on its own to indicate a pattern. An analysis of the Conwy inventories confirms that it was indeed relatively common to own both a dresser and *tridarn*. Eight out eleven owned at least one dresser. Of these, four also owned a *tridarn*.²⁷ The figure may be higher, but some of the inventories list a cupboard or cupboards of unspecified type which might or might not be *tridarns*. All of the five people who owned dressers without a *tridarn* being also specified owned at least one other cupboard in addition.²⁸ Where these cupboards have a high value, it is tempting to assume that it is a large cupboard, possibly a *tridarn*. However, values depended on the age, quality and condition as well as the size and type of article, so it should not be assumed that the more valuable cupboards are large or that a cupboard of low value is necessarily a small cupboard. None of the group owned a *tridarn* without also owning a dresser. It can be seen, therefore, that amongst this group it was far from unusual to own both a dresser and at least one other cupboard, frequently a three-part cupboard. Surprisingly, the joiner Hugh Williams had no large cupboards or dresser listed despite owning a large quantity of furniture. The only other person with no dresser specified is Hugh Jones, although 'cupboards etc' is included in the list.

Nine out of the eleven Conwy inventories listing furniture mention a dresser. Owen Jones (MLW MS B/1800/51) had two, in addition to a *tridarn*. This contrasts with Williams' study of the earlier period for the Caernarvonshire where dressers were found to be listed only rarely. Where they were found in the big houses at the earlier date 'their place seems to have been in the kitchen or the buttery; in the seventeenth century they served a functional rather than an ornamental purpose'.²⁹ This supports Richard Bebb's theory that the dresser is equally, if not more likely to have developed from the dairy dresser of rural people, than from the English court cupboard in the homes of the wealthy.³⁰

Dressers in Conwy at this time were apparently associated with pewter and *tridarns* with earthenware:

'1 old dresser and pewters' — Mary Hughes³¹

'1 old dresser, pewter, etc' — Thomas Hughes³²

'Dresser, five pewter dishes and six plates' — John Owen³³

'One dresser with pewter plate upon, one old three pieced cupboard with earthenware upon' — Thomas Jones.³⁴

It is not possible to tell from the Varley image whether this distinction holds true. However, other sources from near Conwy of a slightly later date do not appear to support this distinction. A German traveller stayed on a farm between Aber and Llanfairfechan in 1856 and described the kitchen:

The hearth with its shiny black hobs was built into the wall, and a mighty wood fire was kept burning under a well-scoured cauldron. Against the wall stood two massive dressers of polished brown wood, with fittings of shining brass; on one of them the jugs, glasses and china ornaments, on the other the blue cups, saucers and plates in rich profusion.³⁵

However, the traveller may not have distinguished between a dresser and a three part cupboard. Robert Roberts describes the displays upon the *tridarn* differently:

... the 'three piece' cupboard, a sort of 'three decker' ... in heavy oak, fantastically carved, dated 1587, adorned with immense pewter dishes; the dresser, another gigantic collection of shelves adorned with similar dishes and ending in three goodly cupboards below.³⁶

This evidence suggests three possibilities. The evidence from the inventories may be misleading due to the smallness of the sample group; it may be a distinction associated only with the town of Conwy, or it may be associated only with the earlier period in history, and have died out by the mid nineteenth century.

Today, the dresser and *tridarn* are the pieces of furniture most frequently associated with Wales and are highly valued in the antiques trade. They hold a high position of value to their owners, with a strong sense of family tradition apparent not only in the piece itself but in the collection of ceramics displayed on the dresser.³⁷ There is evidence that by the late nineteenth century the dresser and large cupboards were the most highly valued piece of furniture in most houses and cottages and that from this period they were starting to be associated with national identity.³⁸ It is often assumed that they were the most highly valued piece at all periods in history:

From the 1660s onwards [the *cupwrdd tridarn*] became the centrepiece of a farmhouse living-room or cottager's parlour in the same way that the dresser had been the altar-like centrepiece of the medieval hall.³⁹

Williams has already demonstrated from inventory analysis that this was not the case in the late seventeenth century, where if the dresser existed at all, it was consigned to the buttery of larger houses. Some time between c.1690 and the late nineteenth century, the dresser became not only common in most houses but was also highly valued and esteemed and a visual focus for the room. Although financial value is only part of how highly an item is esteemed it is a significant element. The consistently valuable pieces of furniture listed in the inventories are beds, clocks, dressers and *tridarns* as an analysis of the comparative values of these pieces in the Conwy inventories reveals. Consistently, the most valuable articles of furniture in the inventories are beds, clocks, *tridarns* and dressers, usually in that order. The values assigned to beds include the bed itself, or 'bedstead' the mattress or 'bed', bedding, and various hangings. These amount to the bed as a whole, or what can be described as the 'total display factor' of the piece of furniture. The values of dressers and *tridarns* are usually inclusive of relevant pewter or earthenware, again the total display factor of the furniture when in use.⁴⁰ The values assigned to clocks always include total display factor as workings are not valued separately from the case.⁴¹ Thus there is consistency within each furniture category and like is compared with like in the sense that the total display factor of each object is calculated when comparing different types of furniture.

The values and average values of these pieces of furniture have been compared. The range of values, in £.s.d., is:

Clocks: 4.4.0–1.2.6

Beds and bedding: 4.4.0–0.4.0

Tridarns: 1.13.0–0.15.0 (including earthenware)

Dressers: 2.10.0–0.12.0 (including pewter)

The average values are:

Clocks: 2.8.4 $\frac{1}{2}$

Beds: 1.17.4

Tridarn: 1.7.6 (including earthenware)

Dresser: 1.3.6 (including pewter)

There are several observations and some exceptions to be made. Firstly, the one exceptionally valuable clock pushes up the absolute and average values of clocks. The average value of a bed is brought down considerably by the fact that most people owned more than one bed and additional beds are generally much cheaper. If only the first bed had been included, the average bed would be of higher value than the average clock. Although it is a small sample, it can be seen that dressers and *tridarns* are consistently of lower value than beds and clocks. Although it is not conclusive evidence, it does indicate that dressers and *tridarns* were in many cases less valuable (and possibly therefore also less valued) than beds and clocks in Conwy at this period.

The Varley interior appears to be typical of what might be considered a room of average wealth in Conwy at this time, as the material goods represented in the room compare well with those listed in the probate inventories of farmers, tradesmen and

craftsmen. This study demonstrates that ownership levels for all types of furniture had increased dramatically since the period 1660–90. All of the inventories listing furniture list two or more tables. This represents a change from the period 1660–90 for the county as a whole where tables were often found to be absent. However, as discussed above, not everyone owned a large table *c.*1802, so eating was not necessarily done at the table. All inventories list at least two chairs in addition to other seating furniture, and all had at least one bed, again, an increase from the earlier period. Clocks were also found to be common, as were dressers and cupboards. It was not unusual to own a three-part cupboard in addition to a dresser. However, the available evidence is not fully representative. Labourers, weavers and paupers are significantly under-represented (or not represented at all in the case of the latter two). Beyond assuming that they had significantly lower levels of material wealth, it is difficult to make any conclusive statements about these groups due to lack of evidence.

There are only two examples of people bequeathing items of furniture separately in their wills. The first is Anne Jones⁴² who leaves a trunk of clothes to her son that had been left to her by her late son. In this case, it appears to have been the clothes rather than the trunk that held them which was of particular significance. William David's will is more interesting.⁴³ He bequeaths a bed to each of his children. His two daughters each receive a feather bed and two chairs; his two sons receive a flock bed each. If it is accepted that people are likely to bequeath items they value, then yet again the evidence suggests that beds were more highly valued than dressers or *tridarns* in Conwy at this period.

The analysis of the Varley sketch has demonstrated that an image with a known date and location can be successfully used as a source for furniture history in a similar way to other historical sources (object or document). In the same way as other more traditional sources, images should not be seen in isolation but in relation to other evidence. The sketch offers — in a similar way to a photograph — the opportunity to visualise the past in a way not possible with other material. Uniquely, we are able to see the way in which the furniture is arranged within the room at a given place and moment in time.

An analysis of Varley's interior demonstrates that its contents are in many ways typical of the houses documented in inventories from Conwy at around this date. The majority of the inventories represent craftsmen, tradesmen and farmers, and Varley's interior can be said to represent material culture ownership typical to the patterns found within this group. However, this group represents some of the wealthier elements within the town. Further down the social scale, and less well paid were occupations such as labourers and weavers, with labourers forming by far the largest occupational group. However, these poorer elements of the town are entirely unrepresented by probate inventories making a comparative analysis of their material wealth difficult. It is however, unlikely to be representative of the dwellings of those with lower incomes, some of which may have been as spartan as the weaver's cottage observed in Barmouth four years earlier than the Varley sketch:

... the hut consisted of one room upon the ground floor; divided by a partition of lath and reeds. The floor was the *native soil*, rendered very hard and uneven from long and unequal pressure. At the farther end was a fire of turf, laid upon a few stones; near which stood a three-legged stool, a

small cast iron pot, some branches of broom tied up for a besom, and a few bundles of rushes thrown down for a bed. These constituted the principal furniture!⁴⁴

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4. Revd Robert Williams, *The History and Antiquities of the Town of Aberconwy and its Neighbourhood*, Denbigh, 1835, p. 91.
5. C. Bruyn Andrews (ed.), *The Torrington Diaries*, Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1934–36, 4 vols, vol. 1, p. 169 (refers to trip made in 1784).
6. Quoted in Norman Tucker, *Conway and Its Story*, Gee and Son, Denbigh, 1960, p. 102.
7. Alice Hadley, *The First Volume of the Conway Parish Registers, 1541–1793*, 1900.
8. Traditionally, Welsh surnames followed the pattern of the father's first name being adopted as the child's surname, a practice known as patronymics. English style settled surnames were adopted gradually during the period 1536–c.1862. The Conwy documents used in this study demonstrate some continued use of patronymics, such as this example.
9. NLW MS B/1794/57.
10. Colin and Mary Brown, *The Clockmakers of Llanwrst*, Wrexham, 1993, p. 129.
11. NLW MS B/1790/67.
12. Peter Smith, *Houses of The Welsh Countryside*, HMSO, London, 1988.
13. Harold Hughes and HL North, *The Old Cottages of Snowdonia*, Jarvis and Foster, Bangor, 1908, p. 66.
14. A 'beaking [baking] cratch' appears in the probate inventory of Thomas Hughes of Conway NLW MS B/1788/58.
15. John Ogilvie, *The Imperial Dictionary of the English Language*, Blackie and Son, London, 1850.
16. *Chambers English Dictionary*.
17. Edward H. Pinto, *Treen and other Wooden Bygones*, G. G. Bell and Sons, London, 1969, p. 132.
18. Hughes and North, op. cit., p. 20.
19. Peate uses the term 'bread car' (I. C. Peate, *Guide to the Collection of Welsh Bygones*, National Museum of Wales, Cardiff, p. 13); a newspaper cutting from a Llandudno newspaper (1918) refers to a 'unique old Welsh bread cradle' in the Penrhyn Old Hall sale; museum correspondence from the same year refers to the same item as an 'old Welsh bread car or cradle' and 'a bread cradle' (both in accession file 18.7 at the Museum of Welsh Life).
20. B/1788/58.
21. John Brown, *Welsh Stick Chairs*, Stobart Davies, Hertford, 1990.
22. S. Minwell Tibbott, 'Liberality and Hospitality, Food as Communication in Wales', *Folk Life* 24, 1985–86, 32, 51, p. 33.
23. G. Haulfryn Williams, 'Caernarfonshire House Interiors 1660–90', *Caernarfonshire Historical Society Transactions*, 38, 1977, 60–92, p. 64.
24. Claudia Kinmonth, *Irish Country Furniture 1700–1950*, Yale, 1993.
25. See for example T. Alun Davies, *The Welsh Dresser and Associated Cupboards*, National Museums of Wales, 1991.
26. Robert Roberts, *A Wandering Scholar: The Life and Opinions of Robert Roberts*, University of Wales Press, 1991, pp. 15–16.
27. Thomas Jones (NLW MS B/1798/48), Owen Jones (NLW MS B/1800/51), William David (NLW MS B/1791/40) and Mary Hughes (NLW MS B/1813/69).
28. In addition to a dresser, John Owen (NLW MS B/1790/67) owned a clothes cupboard and two small corner cupboards; William Hughes (NLW MS B/1794/56) owned a press cupboard and an additional cupboard of unspecified type; Thomas Hughes (NLW MS B/1788/58) owned a press cupboard and an oak cupboard of

- unspecified type; Anne Jones (NLW MS B/1790/65) owned the base of a second dresser, an old cupboard and a small cupboard and William Jones (NLW MS B/1795/60) owned a small corner cupboard and a press cupboard.
29. G. Haulfryn Williams, op. cit., pp. 85–86.
30. Paper given by Richard Bebb, 'The Development of Welsh Furniture', RFS Welsh Furniture Study Day, Kidwelly, 14 June 1998.
31. NLW MS B/1813/69.
32. NLW MS B/1788/58.
33. NLW MS B/1790/67.
34. NLW MS 1798/46.
35. Quoted in W. Linnard, 'Rodenberg's Autumn in Wales: A German Visit to Caernarfonshire in 1856', *Caernarfonshire Historical Society Transactions*, 46, 1985, pp. 45–50.
36. Robert Roberts, op. cit., pp. 15–16.
37. Moira Vincentelli, 'Artefact and Identity: The Welsh Dresser as Domestic Display and Cultural Symbol', in Jane Aaron, Teresa Rees, Sandra Betts and Moira Vincentelli, eds, *Our Sister's Land. The Changing Identities of Women in Wales*, University of Wales Press, Cardiff, 1994, pp. 228–41.
38. This is discussed in detail in my PhD thesis.
39. T. A. Davies, op. cit., p. 18.
40. Where these are not given as a single figure, they have been calculated by adding the value of the pewter to that of the dresser and the value of the earthenware to that of the *tridarn*.
41. There is one exception. In addition to his clock, John Owen, Clock maker (NLW MS B/1790/67) has an 'old dial and clock case' listed which is valued at 15 shillings. This has been excluded from this section of analysis.
42. NLW MS B/1790/65.
43. NLW MS B/1791/40.
44. Revd J Evans, *Letters written during a tour through North Wales in the year 1798, and at other times*, London, 1804, p. 116.